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English for Specific Purposes at the Interfaces

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Introduction

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TEXTE

- 1 Genre-based approaches in Languages for Specific Purposes (LSP) play a crucial role in deepening our understanding of specialized and professional communities, as genres provide valuable insights into their discursive practices. In his seminal work on the structure of research article introductions, John Swales defines a genre as “a class of communicative events” characterized by a shared communicative purpose and subject to constraints and variations in content, positioning, and form (Swales, 1990). Genres are not fixed entities; rather, they are diverse, complex and multifaceted objects of study whose in-depth analysis requires the mobilization of multiple approaches and theoretical frameworks.
- 2 Genres can be examined from a linguistic perspective - focusing on their terminological, lexical, grammatical, structural (Biber et al., 2007) and rhetorical (Swales, 1990) traits. They can also be analyzed from an extralinguistic, and more specifically sociolinguistic, perspective (Giltrow & Stein, 2009; Martin, 1985), when focusing on genre as social action (Miller, 1984) and on the interplay between human interaction and language. Consequently, Bhatia (2016) underscores the essentially multidimensional nature of genres and advocates for a multiperspective approach drawing on textual, ethnographic, sociocognitive, institutional and other types of analytical data.
- 3 A central concept in the study of specialized genres is that of interfaces, which may arise in various forms. Numerous LSP scholars have shown that genres are strongly interconnected, as “the use of one genre assumes, or depends on, the use of a number of other related genres [...] of which the text is a part” (Paltridge & Starfield,

2013: 348). Several terms have been put forward to describe this interrelatedness – such as “systems of genres,” “genre mixing,” “genre sets,” “genre constellations,” “genre chains,” “genre networks,” and “repertoires of genres” (Bazerman, 1994; Devitt, 2004; Hyland, 2002; Swales, 2004; Tardy, 2003).

- 4 In her contribution, “Discourse interrelations in English for Police Purposes: Typology, genre networks and textual travels,” Audrey Cartron investigates the multiple interrelations characterizing discourse produced by British and American police officers. Her study shows that police texts and genres form a network of interrelated discourse productions that can be called the “police sequence” – what is termed as the “police sequence.” Throughout this sequence, which unfolds in several stages, the narrative of events is shaped according to shared professional objectives and future procedural requirements. Cartron convincingly uses English and American police discourse to illustrate the process of “textual travels” (Garner & Johnson, 2013), that is, how information circulates from one communicative event to another and is filtered through the prism of specializedness to serve professional purposes effectively.
- 5 These interdiscursive relations may be explicit and deliberate, or implicit and unconscious when shaped, for example, by underlying assumptions, hidden influence or institutional constraints. The notion of interface also proves valuable for examining the nature of the intended audience, as interactions may involve members of the same discourse community, occur with professionals from related specialized domains, or with a non-specialist lay audience.
- 6 In “Professional vs. consumer discourse communities: Comparative genre analysis of online music reviews,” Karolina Ryker analyzes digital genres emerging in participatory online spaces where both professional and consumer communities produce texts. She focuses on 100 non-academic online music reviews published on two prominent platforms – Pitchfork (professional reviewers) and Rate Your Music (consumer reviewers). Through a comparative move -step genre analysis, Ryker highlights both similarities (a shared communicative purpose) and differences (balanced informative evaluations vs. word-of-mouth recommendations), showing how

these two discourse communities may also influence one another's generic conventions.

- 7 In their contribution "Shaping knowledge in health communication: Information structure and editorial strategy in EuroHealthNet magazine," Jacqueline Aiello and Rita Calabrese explore health communication and emerging genres of scientific popularization, based on a comparative study of 140 articles and editorials published before and after Covid-19 across 14 issues of a non-profit organization's magazine. Their analysis of information-structuring features reveals how this discourse community constructs, interprets, and mobilizes sub-genres to achieve its communicative goals. While articles and editorials share common patterns (notably a similar sequence of moves), they also display distinct structural traits. Aiello and Calabrese ultimately show that the magazine maintains a high level of specialization while developing evolving and distinctive communication strategies. The precise knowledge of such strategies constitutes a vital tool for mastering specialized genres and discourses, and a key skill for entering and evolving within the communities that produce them.

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Discourse interrelations in English for Police Purposes: Typology, genre networks and textual travels

Interrelations discursives en anglais de la police : typologie, réseaux de genres et voyages textuels

Audrey Cartron

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TEXTE

Introduction

- 1 Among the various approaches that can be used to investigate specialized languages, discourse and genre analyses provide interesting insight into the specialization of discourse communities and their practices, taking into account linguistic and extralinguistic features. In his presentation of the chronological and gradual development of written discourse analysis, V. K. Bhatia (2004: 12) identifies three main successive but complementary and overlapping phases that highlight major concerns in discourse analysis: textualization, organization and contextualization. In the 1960s and 1970s, discourse analyses were mainly influenced by formal linguistics and focused on the lexicogrammatical and syntactic features of discourse productions (Barber, 1962; Halliday et al., 1964; Spencer, 1975). In the 1980s and early 1990s, extensive attention was then given to the internal organization of genres, with a specific emphasis on rhetorical structures, patterns and moves within specialized texts (Miller, 1984; Swales, 1990; Bhatia, 1993). Starting in the 1990s, the third phase extended the analysis beyond the textual dimension and incorporated the disciplinary and social contexts of discourse practices, shedding light on the sociocognitive and pragmatic features of genres (Bhatia, 1993; Bazerman, 1994; Hyland, 2000). These different approaches show that discourse, defined as language in use (Neveu, 2004: 105), is a complex and multifaceted object of study. When studying specialized discursive practices, and especially specialized genres,

[t]he analyst takes on the role of detective, in order to unravel the mysteries of the artifact under consideration and to emphasize the importance of motive as a clue to the nature of that artifact, thus introducing a kind of excitement rarely experienced in other approaches to linguistic analysis (Bhatia, 1993: xiii).

- 2 The present paper adopts this perspective in order to investigate discourse practices of British and American police officers, with a specific focus on discourse genres. This article does not aim at adopting a contrastive perspective on the British and American varieties of English for Police Purposes, but rather at drawing on

examples from both cultural contexts in order to illustrate discourse interrelations at work in this specialized language.

- 3 In the literature exploring English for Police Purposes – and police discourse in particular – studies tend to focus on specialized communication and practices as well as on major police discourse genres. They analyze caution and Miranda warnings (Rock, 2007; Heydon, 2013), police calls (Tracy and Anderson, 1999; Rock, 2018), police reports (Coulthard, 2002), police humor (Holdaway, 1988; Gayadeen and Phillips, 2016; Cartron, 2023b), suspect interviews (Leo, 1996; Magid, 2001; Haworth, 2006; Benneworth, 2009; Cartron, 2023a), victim and witness interviews (Rock, 2001; Milne and Bull, 2006), interactions with professionals of related specialized fields (Johnson, 2003; Charman, 2013), and “policeseak” (Fox, 1993; Johnson et al., 1993; Hall, 2008). In order to investigate interfaces at work in police discourse, this article draws on the results of a detailed analysis of authentic productions from British and American police officers (Cartron, 2022). It also examines several sources, including emergency calls to the police, court case files, police reports and suspect/victim interviews related to various cases (aggravated child abuse, discovery of dead bodies, indecent exposure/bestiality and theft). Qualitative as well as quantitative methods were used to investigate the multiple facets of these specialized genres¹. In addition, interviews were conducted with eleven British and five American police officers. Several topics were addressed, including frequently used police discursive genres, conventions regulating discursive practices, language registers, communicative events in which they participate, as well as frequent interlocutors.
- 4 English for Police Purposes is a specialized variety of English characterized by various genres, both spoken – such as police interviews, radio communications or court testimonies – and written genres – police reports, manuals or codes of ethics, for instance. Although different in terms of linguistic features, internal organization, context of production or intended audience, these different genres are closely interrelated, as they all serve a common “specialized collective intentionality” (Van der Yeught, 2019: 65) shared by the members of the discourse community. In other words, discourse genres are used by police officers in order to reach and

fulfill a set of common professional goals, that can be outlined as follows: maintaining public order, preventing and punishing breaches of the law and protecting individuals and property. Discourse productions are “specialized” because they are produced by law enforcement officers while carrying out their duties in order to serve various specialized purposes. The first section of this paper presents an overview and a typology of police productions, shedding light on the different professional purposes they serve. The article then focuses on another salient characteristic, exploring the network of related texts – both spoken and written – produced by police officers at the different stages of the investigation. Finally, it explores the constellations of communicative events as well as the discourse modelling process and the textual travels that occur at the different and successive steps of the criminal process.

1. Overview and typology of police discursive practices

- 5 In order to present an overview of police discursive productions, this section describes the different types of intended audience and the stakeholders with whom police officers interact while on duty (Subsection 1.1) and then it highlights the main specialized purposes they serve (1.2).

1.1. Interactions with multiple stakeholders

- 6 Several authors have underlined the necessity to analyze discourse by taking into account the target audience and purpose (Resche, 2011: 120) as well as the difference between internal discursive flows and discourse directed outwards from the community (Beacco and Moirand, 1995: 50). When they carry out their duties, police officers constantly interact with multiple actors: police peers, scientific experts, legal professionals (lawyers, prosecutors, judges...) and members of the general public. Four main types of intended audience and specialized discursive practices can be identified: internal communications (police ↔ police), productions intended for judicial bodies (police → judicial bodies), interactions with one or more

members of the public (police ↔ member(s) of the public), and productions intended for the general public (police → general public). Table 1 presents various examples of discourse produced for each type of intended audience.

Table 1: Typology of police discursive productions

Type of discourse (intended audience)	Examples of corresponding discursive productions
police ↔ police	intranet articles; pocket notebooks (UK); Codes of ethics; radio communications; emails; custody records; letters; manuals, guides, directives...; force journals/magazines; roll calls (US); call logs, arrest logs, event/incident logs, evidence logs, missing person inquiry logs
police → judicial bodies	emails; meetings; letters; police reports; court testimonies
police ↔ member(s) of the public	emergency calls; interviews/interrogations; diverse exchanges during patrols, traffic stops, demonstrations, searches, seizures, etc.; arrests; cautions (UK) and Miranda warnings/rights (US)
police → general public	autobiographies; crime prevention campaigns; press releases and press conferences; booklets, flyers; specialized dictionaries, glossaries and encyclopedias; memoirs; podcasts; annual reports; force official websites and social media; personal websites and social media

7 Most of the discursive productions listed above are discourse genres. As defined by Swales (1990: 45-57), a genre is a class of communicative events, which implies a shared set of communicative purposes. Genres vary in their prototypicality and their production is shaped by constraints in terms of content, positioning and form. Finally, genres provide insights into the specialized discourse community. However, an in-depth study of each type of discourse would be necessary to scientifically validate this status. Moreover, these four categories are permeable, as discursive productions initially intended for a particular audience (or type of interlocutor) can be made accessible to other stakeholders. For instance, British police officers carry on pocket notebooks (PNB) at all times when on duty and an entry is made every day to record evidence relating to an offense or an investigation. Specific rules and discourse conventions need to be followed, regarding the type of information recorded (date, place, presence of other police officers, type of incident, information on the person being interviewed, actions carried out by the police officer...), as well as the diverse contexts in which the

police officer may use the PNB, the color of the ink, erasures and the compulsory use of direct speech (Hampshire Constabulary, 2015; West Mercia Police, 2021). Police officers consult these notes when writing police reports at a later stage (police → police), but PNBs also provide support when conducting an interview (police → member of the public) or when testifying in court (police → judicial bodies), either to refresh memory or to quote *verbatim* evidence of conversation and statement.

1.2. Various specialized purposes

- 8 Police discourse practices serve various interrelated specialized purposes and five main categories can be distinguished: (1) communicating in order to guarantee operational efficiency; (2) collecting elements that are useful for the investigation and the judicial process; (3) recording, documenting and reporting on facts and operational activities; (4) supervising and regulating specialized practices; and (5) carrying out prevention operations.

1.2.1. Communicating in order to guarantee operational efficiency

- 9 Several discursive genres serve specialized aims by contributing to internal communication within the institution and to the effectiveness of field operations. For instance, radio communications are used daily by police officers on patrol and during interventions to communicate with dispatch and with the control room. Exchanges and turn taking are highly scripted, formatted and standardized (Johnson et al., 1993: 6) as brevity and efficiency are key. Specific procedures codify these spoken exchanges, such as the use of call signs (to quickly identify participants), the NATO phonetic alphabet (Alpha, Bravo, Charlie, Delta, etc., to simplify spelling) or “procedure words” (also called “prowords”) like “Copy” or “Roger” (to notify your interlocutor that you understood the message). Another example would be the “ten codes” (“ten one”, “ten two”, “ten three”, etc.) used by officers during radio transmissions in the United States and the “state codes” (“state one”, “state two”, “state three”, etc.) in the United Kingdom. Each code refers to a specific and longer utterance. For example, to indicate that a police officer is in danger, a member of

the New York Police Department uses “10-13” in their radio transmission and a British officer uses “state zero”. Moreover, other police discourse productions also serve the shared professional intentionality by ensuring the circulation of information within the institution. Articles published on the intranet, letters, emails and force journals and magazines² are some examples. These discursive practices contribute to the spreading of specialized instructions and knowledge across the profession.

1.2.2. Collecting elements that are useful for the investigation and the judicial process

- 10 One of the central aspects of police work is the gathering of elements that will be useful for the investigation and in the subsequent judicial process. In order to serve this specialized purpose, officers on duty carry on various professional acts: interviews, identity checks, roadside checks, management of police informers, undercover operations, arrests, patrols, searches, seizures, emergency calls... During these exchanges, specialized purposes are of the utmost importance. For example, in the case of emergency telephone calls (999 in the United Kingdom and 911 in the United States), exchanges are controlled and oriented in order to obtain all the essential pieces of information needed to ensure the necessity, specificities and urgency of the required intervention (Garner and Johnson, 2013: 35; College of Policing, 2020b). Besides, in the event of a field intervention, information gathered during the call is invaluable to police officers, contributing to their safety and efficiency in the field (Rock, 2018: 7). Similarly, the police interview – also referred to as “police interrogation” in the United States – is a particularly useful tool for gathering information and evidence that will be useful and exploitable in the subsequent judicial process (Baldwin, 1993: 325; Magid, 2001: 1182; Milne and Bull, 2006: 8). This stage is an essential step in the police sequence (Vlamynck, 2011: 58), and this discursive genre is at the service of police intentionality (Walton, 2003: 1772), as the elements gathered during the interviews can be decisive in the progression – or even solving – of a case. Hence, various linguistic, discursive and rhetorical strategies are used by police officers to collect evidence when conducting victim, witness and suspect interviews (Cartron, 2023a).

1.2.3. Recording, documenting and reporting on facts and operational activities

- 11 Police officers are frequently required to report their activities and findings to their superiors, relevant judicial authorities or the general public. This specialization is at work in several discursive productions of British and American police, including press releases, press conferences, interviews with decision-making authorities (to obtain a warrant, for example), pocket notebooks, police reports, annual reports, court testimony and logs. In both countries, police accountability is closely linked to issues of transparency and to the legitimacy of policing activities and powers (Reiner, 2000: 183). The police institution must be able to trace and justify the actions and decisions of its officers, which is why they regularly record, document and account for their activities. For instance, police reports are essential and central discursive genres in the unfolding of the police sequence and judicial handling of a case and they must meet a set of specific criteria in order to serve their specialized purpose. They must be: precise, clear, concise, factual, objective, impartial, free of personal opinions and written in correct English, in terms of spelling, grammar and punctuation (Torregrosa and Sánchez-Reyes, 2018: 116). An American Police Sergeant, interviewed in June 2020, explained that this genre is characterized by discourse conventions, in terms of linguistic features and content, and stated:

When it comes to police officers or Detectives writing reports, sure, it's a definite style. It's very mechanical. There isn't a lot of fluff. It usually starts out on day, date and time. So, "On Thursday, May 4th, at about eleven ten a.m., myself, Sergeant [states his first name and surname], on Squad 21 15 observed...", then you go into whatever the story is. Or "I was dispatched to a call with a man with a gun. Upon arrival, I observed" or "I spoke with". [...] The writing style and how they write the reports are pretty uniform. It all starts out with "On day, date and time, I was dispatched to", "I respond to", "I observed", blah blah blah. You're always gonna cover the who, what, when, why.

- 12 Police reports feature a number of linguistic and discursive specificities, including the frequent use of adverbial phrases of time and place, passive voice, specialized legal terms, formal register and

first and third person singular (Fox, 1993; Johnson et al., 1993; Hall, 2008). Besides, the communicative aim of police reports is to present a series of facts but also to model discourse in order to provide usable content for the judicial process (Cartron, 2023c). A transition is operated “from witness[/suspect]-speak into something that the legal process can use” (Rock, 2001: 67). When it does not comply with these generic conventions, a police report fails to fulfill its function and to serve specialized purposes, jeopardizing the credibility of the facts recorded and, to a certain extent, the entire case.

1.2.4. Supervising and regulating specialized practices

- 13 Several discursive practices also serve specialized purposes by helping to regulate and supervise specialized practices. For instance, in the United States, operational police officers take part in a daily meeting called “roll call”. Lasting around twenty minutes before the start of each shift, these briefings serve a dual purpose: informative and operational. The superior in charge of the meeting – usually a police sergeant – forms the different squads, allocates vehicles, assigns the various tasks and cases, distributes mail (summonses, reports returned for correction...) and presents the new regulations that have come into force (O'Donnell, 2019: 164). The degree of formality and the modes of address vary depending on the superior chairing the meeting. Specialization is reflected not only in language, but also in clothing as all officers must wear their uniforms and equipment. Furthermore, the practices of the specialized discourse community are also framed and regulated by manuals, guides and codes of ethics. These documents specify the rules, values and principles that should dictate the police personnel's actions and govern their behavior in order to best serve specialized goals. Finally, professional practices are also governed by the law, and certain discursive productions have the primary aim of placing the officers' actions within a legal framework. For instance, when a suspect is taken into police custody to be interviewed, police officers in the UK and the US are required by law to notify them of their rights. This formal notification of rights (“caution” in the UK and “Miranda warning” in the United States) is highly scripted and formulaic, as displayed in numerous movies and TV series: “given the global reach

of the American entertainment industry and its cops-and-robbers movies and television dramas, the *Miranda* warning, beginning with the phrase, ‘You have the right to remain silent’, may be the most well-known criminal law tenet in the world” (Ainsworth, 2012: 287-288). In practice, any change in the phrasing would invalidate information obtained during the interview and prevent the use of these elements in court.

1.2.5. Carrying out prevention operations

- 14 Finally, other types of discourse produced by the police institution are related to prevention operations, as prevention is one of the essential aspects of specialized police intentionality. They include, among others, brochures, leaflets, flyers, official police force websites and social networks, as well as campaigns in educational establishments (in primary schools and high schools, for instance). These initiatives contribute to the creation of a communicative interface with members of the general public and to the sharing of diverse information.
- 15 As discussed above, each police discursive production is characterized by its own specific linguistic and rhetorical features; nevertheless, all these types of specialized discourse directly serve professional purposes. They are complementary, as well as closely interrelated and interweaving as cases, investigations and the judicial process unfold.

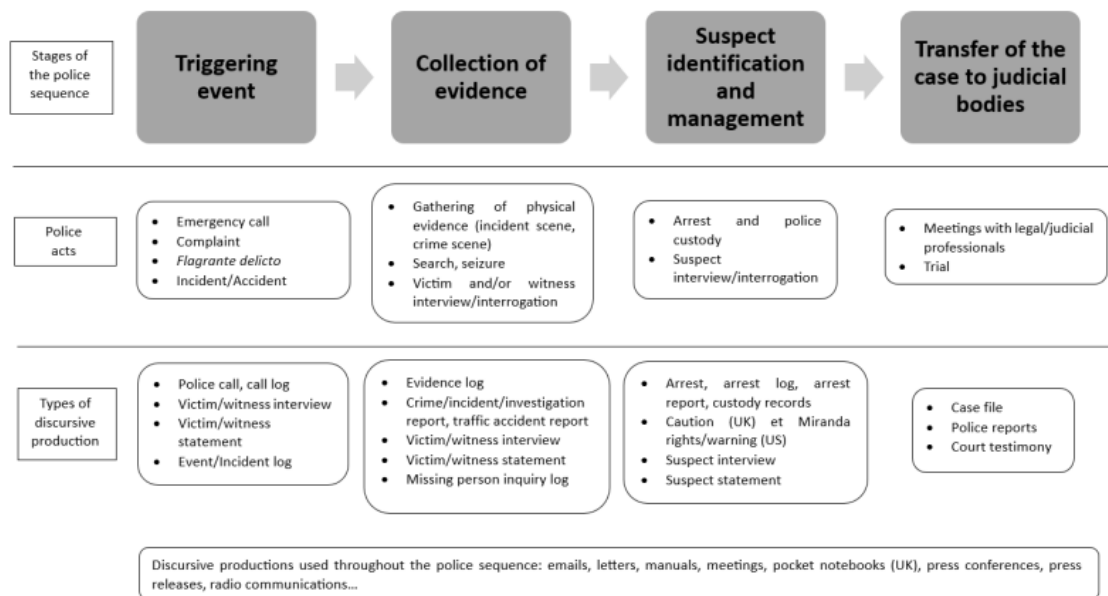
2. Discourse networks and inter-relations between genres in English for Police Purposes

2.1. The police sequence, a network of discourse productions

- 16 As Hyland (2013: 107) points out, genres form “constellations” with neighboring genres or “genre sets” when “spoken and written texts cluster together in a given social activity”. Several researchers in the

field of English for Specific Purposes (ESP) have investigated these interrelations (Paltridge and Starfield, 2013: 348), using the notions of “systems of genres”, “genre networks”, “genre chains”, “genre sets” and “repertoires of genres” to describe relations between genres (Bazerman, 1994; Tardy, 2003; Devitt, 2004; Swales, 2004). Police discourse is characterized by a series of interconnected communicative events involving multiple actors and multiple means of communication over an extended period of time (Garner and Johnson, 2013: 39). Most of the discourse produced to serve the professional purposes of the police form a network of interrelated discourse productions that can be called the “police sequence”. This linear sequence (Hyland, 2002: 123) is made up of an ordered network of successive discursive elements vectored according to a pattern < beginning → end >, triggered by the commission of an offense and, ideally, ending with the solving of the case and its transfer to the competent judicial authorities. The main stages of the police sequence are: the triggering event (emergency call, complaint, *flagrante delicto*³, for instance), collection of evidence (physical evidence at the crime scene, victim or witness interviews, searches...), suspect identification and management (notification of rights, police custody, interview...) and then transfer of the case to judicial bodies. Each stage requires specific police acts as well as different types of discursive practices, as illustrated in Figure 1.

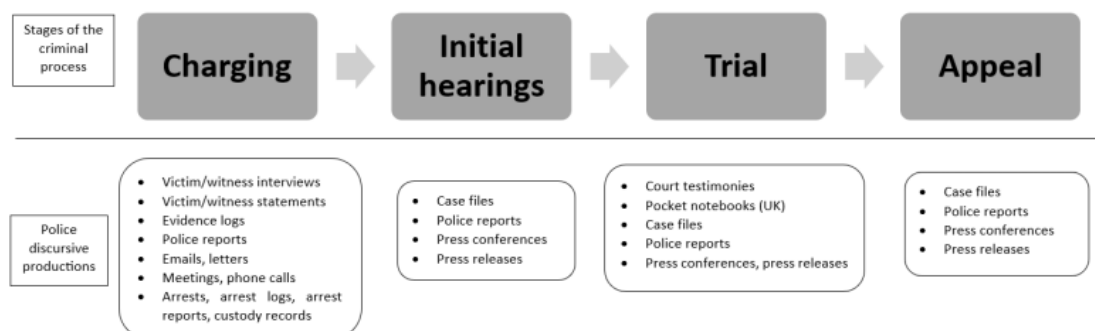
Figure 1: Network of related discourse productions throughout the police sequence



- 17 For instance, in order to collect evidence (second phase of the police sequence), police officers can carry out various professional acts that comprise the gathering of physical evidence on the scene, searches, seizures, victim and/or witness interviews or interrogations. Several discourse practices are related to this stage, including logs (such as evidence log or missing person inquiry logs), police reports (crime reports, incident reports, investigation reports, traffic accident reports), victim/witness interviews and statements. The use of one genre is related to and influenced by a number of other interrelated genres and they form together systems of genres (Bazerman, 1994) that organize and orchestrate the profession (Hyland, 2002: 124). For example, the spoken exchanges that take place during the witness/victim interview influence the content of the written witness/victim statement elaborated by the police officer afterwards.
- 18 Multiple police genres, produced during investigations to record, document and report facts and operational activities, are ultimately compiled to form the court case files. For example, in February 2024, when Ruby Franke, a former parenting influencer on YouTube, was sentenced to prison for aggravated child abuse, the Washington County Attorney's Office released court case files.⁴ They included

numerous police productions, such as audio and video recordings (bodycam footage, interview recordings, ...), photos as well as written documents (such as witness statements, press releases and detailed incident reports). The police sequence can thus also be integrated in the broader sequence of the legal and judicial process. The police investigation is followed by – or very often intertwined with – the different steps and discourse productions of the criminal process. These different steps are presented in Figure 2 in a very simplified way, as there are multiple variations depending on the country under study or the type of case, for example. The major phases include: charging, initial hearings, trial and appeal. Similarly, each of these steps requires specific discourse productions and genres.

Figure 2: Network of related discourse productions throughout the criminal process



2.2. Potential variations

19 The police sequence is subject to potential variations. On the one hand, some stages presented in Figure 1 might not be necessary. For instance, a case may be closed without prosecution for a number of reasons, including the use of alternative measures such as a reminder of the law or the payment of a fine, or when there is insufficient evidence. As a result, not all cases handled by the police lead to prosecution or the transfer of the case to judicial bodies (prosecutor, courts...). Besides, more stages could be added to the police sequence, such as the collection of additional evidence after the defendant has been heard or the gathering of intelligence, through surveillance, telephone tapping, undercover work or the management

of police informers. Moreover, the order of the different stages of the police sequence and the police actions carried out may vary depending on the information available to the investigators at the outset of the case:

Every investigation is different and may require a different route through the process, e.g., in some cases the identity of the offender is known from the outset and the investigation quickly enters the suspect management phase. In others, the identity of the offender may never be known or is discovered only after further investigation. (College of Policing, 2020b)

- 20 Likewise, the nature of the triggering event and the classification of the offense determine the necessary professional acts and corresponding discourse practices. The categorization occurs very early in the police sequence, for example, as soon as the emergency call is received, as evidenced by call logs classifying reported events in specific categories of criminal offenses. It can evolve during the course of the investigation, as new evidence is discovered, and it determines the department to which the case is assigned, the type of evidence that needs to be collected, the acts carried out by the police and the corresponding spoken and written discourse practices. Besides, the cultural specificities of the legal context also need to be taken into account, as they impact the different steps of the police sequence.
- 21 From one step of the police sequence to another, discourse practices are interrelated and each genre is part of a constellation with neighboring genres, clustering together to serve specialized purposes. Discourse productions are interweaving and complementary as the investigation is carried out and the case is prepared for the subsequent judicial process. At the different steps of the criminal process, evidence collected and information gathered transition from original raw material to elements that can be used in court, thus implying discourse modelling and textual travels.

3. Discourse modeling and textual travels in English for Police Purposes

- 22 The role of the police officer is to collect, sort and select information throughout the investigative process in order to “‘set the scene’ for the court and jury” (College of Policing, 2020a). As a result, during the police sequence, each stage models the narrative of the facts according to both the specialized professional intentionality it serves and the requirements of the next phase. In order to illustrate this process of discourse modelling, three examples are explored below: emergency calls to the police (3.1), suspect/victim/witness interviews (3.2) and police reports (3.3).

3.1. Emergency calls to the police

- 23 When an emergency call is received by the police, so from the very beginning of the police sequence, the account of the incident initially given by a member of the public is modelled so that it can be used in the rest of the policing sequence:

The call from a member of the public is not an isolated, fixed communicative entity; it is rather the initial construction of a dynamic and fluid text as it enters the police domain, and it is reconstructed and re-entextualized as it passes through a range of organizational, operational contexts and technological mediation. (Garner and Johnson, 2013: 37)

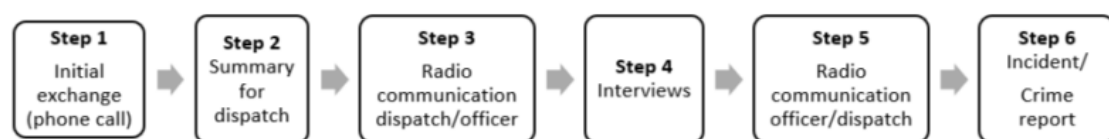
- 24 For instance, in February 2025, the Santa Fe County Sheriff's Office released audio from the 911 call related to the discovery of the bodies of actor Gene Hackman and his wife at their home in Santa Fe (New Mexico).⁵ In the following extract, the 911 operator is methodically collecting information that will then be transmitted to dispatch and to officers on duty:

911 operator (hereafter O): Santa Fe 911, what is your emergency?
 Caller (hereafter C): Hello, my name is [name⁶]. I'm the caretaker for Santa Fe Summit [...]. I think we just found two or one deceased

person inside the house. [...]
 O: OK. What's gonna be the address?
 C: [address]
 O: How old is the patient?
 C: I have no idea.
 O: You don't know? OK, that's fine. Is the patient a male or a female?
 C: A female and a male probably. [...]
 O: Are they awake?
 C: I have no idea.
 O: Are they breathing?
 C: I have no idea. I'm not inside the house. It's locked. I can't go in.
 But I see them. I see them laying down on the floor from the
 window. [...]
 O: OK. My units are on their way. [...] Is there any way you can open
 the house?

- 25 Raw information obtained during a call is then filtered through the prism of specialisedness during various communication events involving multiple actors. Garner and Johnson (2013: 37-51) describe this process as “textual travels” and identify six communicative events. At each of the six stages, illustrated by Figure 3, a reformulation and a modelling of discourse content are carried out: (1) initial text (i.e. communication between a member of the public and the call handler); (2) text entered in the computer by the call handler (for dispatch) and summarizing the information; (3) communication between dispatch and the officer; (4) exchanges between the officer and stakeholders on the scene; (5) brief report made to dispatch; and (6) report on the event written later by the officer.

Figure 3: Communicative events and textual travels related to emergency calls to the police



- 26 Additional texts are also related, such as officers' pocket notebooks or logs for example. These interconnected communicative events are

characterized by a process of discourse modelling that occurs at each stage: information collected during the initial exchange is filtered and reformulated in order to guarantee operational efficiency. Textual, and especially lexical, transformations that occur between the initial emergency call and the police report can sometimes be traced back, as in the following extract from a report written in 2018 by an officer of Rogers County Sheriff's Office:

On 08/01/2018 at approximately 0844 hours, Deputies were assigned to investigate a report of a man having sex with a pony at the intersection of [address]. [Person 1] was leaving for work and observed a white male full nude standing in the field having sex with a pony. [Person 1] called her neighbor [Person 2] and asked her to go check it out and call the police. When [Person 2] and her daughter [Person 3] arrived, they also witnessed a white male standing behind the pony full nude, and what looked like he was having sex with the animal. [Person 2] said when her daughter started to video, he stopped what he was doing and started walking towards them. Video evidence is attached to the report, the suspect was identified as [Person 4] DOB [date of birth], he was arrested for Indecent Exposure and Bestiality.

- 27 This extract warrants attention for two main reasons. Firstly, in this final report (Step 6), several prior communicative events can be identified. The initial call to the police (Step 1), is mentioned: “[Person 1] [...] asked her to go check it out and call the police”. This triggering event then led to a radio communication between dispatch and officers (Step 3): “Deputies were assigned to investigate a report of a man having sex with a pony at the intersection of [address]”. When they arrived on scene, officers conducted witness interviews (Step 4) and information provided by the witnesses during these interviews are referred to using mostly the preterit tense (“observed”, “called”, “asked”, “arrived”, “witnessed”) as well as reported speech (“[Person 2] said”). Thus, this extract illustrates the interconnection of communicative events throughout the different steps of the police sequence. Secondly, it exemplifies the travelling of a single piece of information from one communicative event to another, being modelled to best serve professional purposes. One striking example is the lexical transition from “man having sex with a pony” to “Indecent Exposure and Bestiality”. The former is the first reference to the

offense in the report and it mirrors the wording used by the lay witness when they called the police and then transmitted as such by dispatch; whereas the latter is the formal and specialized term used in legal texts to refer to this type of offense. A transition was operated from a non-specialized phrasing to specific legal terminology, in order to insert the facts into the wider context of the legal system.

3.2. Suspect/witness/victim interviews

- 28 Throughout the police sequence, officers gather information and drive the case in the direction of one or more common law precedents: “legislators codify offences *ex ante*,⁷ and [...] police and prosecutors confine their collective attention to the catalogue of what has already been defined as criminal” (Bowers, 2014: 997). Hence, the legal framework determines the exchanges as well as the selection of information. For instance, while investigating Ruby Franke’s aggravated child abuse case mentioned earlier (Section 2.1), the police interviewed her ex-husband, Kevin Franke.⁸ The aim of this interview was to determine if he was aware of the neglect and abuse inflicted upon his children, as explicitly stated by the detective: “My job is to find out about your knowledge of the treatment of these [...] children”. According to Utah’s state legislature (specifically, Utah Code Section 76-5-109):

An actor commits child abuse if the actor:
 (a) inflicts upon a child physical injury; or
 (b) having the care or custody of such child, causes or permits another to inflict physical injury upon a child. (le.utah.gov.)

- 29 This legal framework guided the exchanges as several questions were asked to Kevin Franke to determine if he knew about such practices: “When was the last time you physically saw [your children]?”, “Did you ever try to reach out to the kids?”, “Are you aware of how [your wife] handles the kids’ behavioral issues?”, and “Are you aware of the physical condition of your children?”.
- 30 Moreover, the exchanges that take place during interviews of suspects, witnesses and victims are then subject to textual travels and are mentioned in numerous discourse productions and genres.

As illustrated by Figure 4, the content of these interviews are quoted in suspect/witness/victim statements but also in other documents throughout the investigation and criminal process, including various police reports, case files, pocket notebooks, meetings with legal professionals, press conferences and releases. Such elements are also quoted, sometimes *verbatim*, as evidence in court during trials.

Figure 4: Police interviews and related discourse productions



- 31 In the case files released by the Washington County Attorney's Office, Kevin Franke's interview is mentioned several times, illustrating this process of textual travels. For instance, in the detail incident report (DIR), a one-page description summarizes the 30-minute interview, focusing exclusively on elements that will be useful in the upcoming steps of the judicial procedure. The officer then concludes "I believe that Mr Franke did not have involvement in the abuse and neglect of Child 2 and Child 1" (DIR, 09/13/2023, 19).

- 32 Finally, the legal framework determines how information is selected but also how it is transformed. In order to be consistent with the description of the offense in the legislation, textual elements are reformulated, to the point that the initial dialogue or words used by the victim, witness or suspect during the interview are modified. For instance, in her discourse analysis of police interviews with suspected pedophiles, Benneworth (2009: 561-562) quotes a police officer conducting a suspect interview as follows: “she says you were *masturbating* yourself [...] you would be watching *pornographic* videos [...] and she says you’d make *no attempt* to try and hide it and your *erect penis* was *clearly visible*” (our italics). The police officer uses reported speech (with the utterance “she says...”), supposedly quoting the words of the victim previously interviewed. However, it is highly probable that the terms in italics were not used *verbatim* by the 12-year-old-girl and that these specific terms were included to fit the vocabulary used in legal descriptions of the offense. Such a process of discourse modelling also occurs – and is even more visible – when officers write police reports intended for judicial bodies and legal professionals.

3.3. Police reports

- 33 The legal framework heavily influences discourse conventions, especially in terms of report writing. A police report (or record of suspect interview) exclusively focuses on elements that will be useful and exploitable in the next steps of the judicial process and the interviewee’s words are modelled to meet this professional goal. The following sentences are extracted from a short descriptive note (SDN) written by a Detective Constable of the Kent Police in 2004 (our italics):

The defendant admitted entering the shop with the *intention* of *stealing* food.

The defendant knew it was wrong to *steal* and agreed that her actions were *dishonest*.

The defendant stated she had every *intention* of *eating* the food items she stole.

- 34 Firstly, it is rather obvious that these statements do not quote the suspect word by word but are rather the result of a dialogue. We can read between the lines that the suspect answered affirmatively to questions such as “Did you have the intention of stealing and eating the food?” or “Do you know that this behavior is against the law?”. The words of the suspect and those of the police officer are strongly intertwined and information initially suggested by the police officer sometimes becomes an integral part of the suspect’s speech. Besides, the suspect’s statement is modelled in order to fit into the legal framework and to tally with the description of the offense of “theft” in British legislation. The SDN can be compared with the following extract from the UK 1968 Theft Act:

(1) A person is guilty of theft if he dishonestly appropriates property belonging to another with the *intention of permanently depriving* the other of it; and “*thief*” and “*steal*” shall be construed accordingly.
(legislation.gov.uk, our italics)

- 35 Striking similarities can be identified between the SDN and the legal text and were underlined in italics. The sentence “The defendant admitted entering the shop with the *intention of stealing* food” (SDN) establishes – without doubt – that the defendant intended to commit an offense. In criminal law, the intent to commit a crime is a foundational element, as it differentiates intentional criminal behavior and innocent mistakes or accidents. A parallel can be drawn between “she had every *intention of eating* the food” (SDN) and “with the *intention of permanently depriving* the other of it” (Theft Act). In addition, the SDN also explicitly refers to the criminal offense category of “theft”, when the law specifies that ““thief” and “steal” shall be construed accordingly”. Finally, “the defendant [...] agreed that her actions were *dishonest*” (SDN) undeniably echoes “*dishonestly*” (Theft Act). These findings echo Coulthard and Johnson (2007: 59)’s analysis of an interview with a woman suspected of stealing money. They shed light on the hybridity and intertextuality of police discourse, emphasizing the lexical similarities between the Theft Act defining the offense and the closing stages of the interview:

A comparison of the two reveals the inbuilt generic hybridity present in many of the legal genres. On the surface, the talk [...] appears to be

summing up and closing the questioning phase of the interview, but it subtly incorporates the legislative genre [...] within it [...]. The effect is to produce a complex and powerful set of communicative actions that create interpretative challenges for the lay participant in the talk and also for observers and analysts.

- 36 As a result, police discourse and genres are not communicative events that occur in isolation but rather need to be considered as intrinsic parts of a wider process (Haworth, 2006: 741).

Conclusion

- 37 To conclude, English for Police Purposes is an interesting, multifaceted and complex object of study. Investigating this specialized variety of English through a discourse perspective allows for shedding light on the linguistic, generic and rhetorical characteristics of police English and to show that it is composed of multiple discursive productions that are closely linked with other communicative events and genres, distributed throughout the police sequence. There is a constellation or network of discourses and genres that are related together to serve the purposes of the specialized domain, i.e. to gather and then present elements that will be exploitable in the subsequent judicial process. In order to understand specialized practices and discourse conventions, it is thus necessary to place English for Police Purposes in the broader context of the judicial and criminal process. This multidimensional approach relates texts and discourse genres (intratextual perspective) to professional and cultural practices (extratextual and contextual dimensions) of specialized environments. Such a holistic approach offers ESP researchers the possibility to thoroughly investigate their objects of study and to shed light on the diversity, complexity and interrelations at work within specialized languages.

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NOTES

- 1 For more detailed information on the methodological framework used to investigate English for Police Purposes (*modus operandi*, challenges and approaches), see Cartron 2024.
- 2 A few examples of force journals and magazines are *Police* (published by the Police Federation of England and Wales), *The Job* (London Metropolitan Police Service), *Police: The Law Enforcement Magazine* (American specialized press) and *Police Chief* (published by the International Association of Chiefs of Police).
- 3 *Flagrante delicto* is a legal term referring to a person being caught in the act of committing an offense.
- 4 <https://www.washco.utah.gov/departments/attorney/case-highlights-media/utah-vs-franke-hildebrandt/>.
- 5 https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TQuMlbfF_pM
- 6 Names, addresses and personal details were redacted throughout the article, to ensure anonymity and comply with the ethical standards of the methodological protocol adopted for data collection.
- 7 *Ex ante* is a Latin term that translates to “from before”. It refers to a decision made before the outcome is known, based on forecasts or expectations.
- 8 <https://media.washco.utah.gov/franke-hildebrandt/Videos/>.

RÉSUMÉS

English

English for Police Purposes is a specialized variety of English characterized by different discourse productions and genres. They have linguistic, discursive, rhetorical and cultural features that vary depending on the intended audience. While carrying out their duties, police officers constantly interact with multiple actors, including police peers, professionals of related – and especially judicial – fields, specific citizens, as well as the general public. These various interactions form a series of

interconnected communicative events involving multiple actors and multiple means of communication over an extended period of time, as well as specific professional goals. They are complementary, interrelated and interweaving as cases, investigations and the judicial process unfold. The present article investigates the multiple interrelations at work in discourse produced by British and American police officers. After elaborating a typology of police productions, the paper explores the network of related texts – both spoken and written – produced by police officers at the different stages of the investigation. It then delves into the constellations of communicative events, shedding light on the discourse modelling process and textual travels that occur at the different and successive steps of the criminal process.

Français

L'anglais de la police est une variété spécialisée de l'anglais caractérisée par des productions et des genres discursifs différents. Ils présentent des caractéristiques linguistiques, discursives, rhétoriques et culturelles qui varient en fonction du public visé. Lors de l'exercice de leurs fonctions, les policiers interagissent constamment avec de multiples acteurs, comprenant leurs pairs, des professionnels de domaines connexes (et, notamment, judiciaires), des citoyens spécifiques, ainsi que le grand public. Ces diverses interactions forment une série d'événements communicationnels interconnectés impliquant de multiples acteurs et de multiples moyens de communication sur une longue durée, ainsi que des objectifs professionnels particuliers. Elles se complètent, sont étroitement liées et s'entremêlent tout au long du déroulement des affaires, des enquêtes et du processus judiciaire. Le présent article étudie les multiples interrelations à l'œuvre dans les discours produits par les policiers britanniques et américains. Après avoir élaboré une typologie des productions policières, cette contribution explore le réseau de textes connexes (oraux et écrits) produits par les policiers aux différentes étapes de l'enquête. Elle examine ensuite les constellations d'événements communicationnels, en mettant en lumière le processus de modélisation du discours et les voyages textuels qui se produisent aux différentes étapes successives du processus judiciaire.

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Mots-clés

modélisation du discours, anglais de la police, réseau de genres, séquence policière, objectif professionnel, discours spécialisé, typologie

Keywords

discourse modelling, English for Police Purposes, genre network, police sequence, professional purpose, specialized discourse, typology

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Professional vs. consumer discourse communities: Comparative genre analysis of online music reviews

Communautés discursives professionnelles vs communautés discursives de consommateurs : analyse comparative du genre des critiques musicales en ligne

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TEXTE

I would like to thank two anonymous reviewers and Professor Krystyna Warchał for their insightful comments on the previous versions of the paper.

Introduction

- 1 The advent of the Internet has contributed to the emergence of digital genres that pose a challenge to the genre analysis framework, which initially focused on texts employing solely textual resources (Stein and Giltrow, 2009). The migration of genres from print to digital spaces has redefined authorship dynamics. While print genres were historically shaped by professionals, nonprofessionals participated through local newspapers and independent publications. However, their reach was limited by distribution issues. In contrast, digital genres develop in open, participatory environments. This stems from the fact that the Internet is also conducive to the creation of spaces accommodating both consumer and professional discourse communities.
- 2 Professional music criticism on the web, published by outlets such as Pitchfork, Rolling Stone and NME, plays a pivotal role in shaping critical discourse within the music industry. These reviews typically offer comprehensive evaluations of albums, singles, and live performances. By referring to established music genre conventions, technical aspects, and historical context (Walker, 2024), professional reviews have the capacity to legitimize particular artists. The legitimization unfolds in the review text and is further strengthened by features such as Pitchfork's "BEST NEW MUSIC" label as well as numerical or star scores. Due to their prestige and institutional support, professional music reviews still serve as an important reference point for both audiences and creators. Simultaneously, consumer-generated reviews have proliferated across participatory platforms including YouTube, Reddit and RateYourMusic. Characterized by their informal tone, these reviews are written by consumers who tend to be music fans. In contrast to the analytical rigour of professional criticism, consumer reviews privilege authenticity, relatability, and affective response, thereby expanding the discursive space surrounding musical texts. The coexistence of professional and consumer music criticism on the web underscores the complexity of evaluative discourse in digital environments. While professional reviews offer institutionally sanctioned critique, consumer reviews articulate experiential perspectives. In tandem, these forms of authorship contribute to a dynamic ecosystem in

which music is actively interpreted, contested, and recontextualized across global digital platforms. Therefore, the aim of this paper is to juxtapose professional and consumer online music reviews by showing their rhetorical structure as well as interfaces, interactions and differences between the discourse communities producing them. First, the genre of online music review will be described within the framework of Bhatia's (2016) Critical Genre Analysis. Secondly, a quantitative and qualitative analysis of the rhetorical structure of the reviews will be conducted. Finally, interfaces, interactions and differences between the two discourse communities will be elaborated on in more detail.

1. The online music review genre

1.1. Critical genre analysis of the online music review

- 3 There is a plethora of various music-related genres on the web ranging from music blogs through official band websites to music reviews. Music reviews form a genre chain corresponding to the album rollout. The album rollout typically starts with a single serving as a preview of the album. It is followed by an album release. The rollout usually ends with live performances either in the form of a big scale tour or several concerts. Albums represent a significant body of work and receive detailed coverage on platforms such as Rolling Stone, Pitchfork and NME. Single reviews are less frequently published as they tend to be devoted to major releases and chart-topping tracks. Concert reviews are not published as frequently as album reviews. Since album review is the most prevalent genre out of the three on the web and since it has received little scholarly attention, it constitutes the subject of the present study.
- 4 The study of genre has undergone profound changes since its inception. The origins of genre analysis were tightly associated with demystifying the structure of academic texts to English learners (Swales, 1990). The approach consisting in dissecting texts into rhetorical units was then adopted to deconstruct non-academic genres such as business writing (Bhatia, 1993).

- 5 Genre analysis consists in establishing the rhetorical structure of a particular genre of texts by identifying the smallest communicative units (steps) which can then be grouped into larger units (moves). Examples of steps include *background of the artist* and *background of album creation*, which can be grouped into a move of *situating the album*. This can be exemplified by a recent study pertaining to genre analysis of philosophical texts which helped account for the structure of the genre by highlighting its most salient features (Lucas and Lucas, 2024). The results of such studies highlight textual dynamics between function (the communicative goal) and form (the internal organization) of texts.
- 6 Recent years have seen this approach being employed to both discourse and genre analysis of other written genres (Ho, 2023; Kathpalia, 2022). The main purpose of this kind of analysis is to deconstruct different types of discourse into transparent moves and steps and subsequently decode the way discourse communities write. Because they are underresearched in comparison to academic text types, non-academic genres require extensive research with the aim of creating or revising existing methodological frameworks. Internet genres have become an integral part of our lives since the beginning of the 21st century (Stein and Giltrow, 2009). While online book and film reviews have been analyzed through the lens of genre analysis (Chik and Taboada, 2020; De Jong and Burgers, 2013; Taboada, 2011), online music reviews have not received much scholarly attention in this respect. This may stem from the fact that because of their ephemerality, music and sound are a challenge to describe and evaluate. Musical works develop over time, with acoustic elements fading as they are heard, as opposed to static visual or textual media. Even though recordings provide a certain degree of permanence, the experience of interpretation is still dynamic and influenced by factors such as auditory memory and listening environments. A rare instance of a study on music reviews is a diachronic genre analysis of record reviews published in an academic journal of classical music reviews *Musical Times* (Ha, 2011), which involved a sample of 40 reviews (18 900 words). The author focused on texts written within four periods of time between 1921 and 1995 to capture the expansion of the gramophone market over time. She devised a codebook encompassing four moves. De Jong and Burgers (2013) compared

professional and consumer film reviews, focusing on the frequency of rhetorical elements. They established that critics tend to describe films in more detail while consumers tend to place more emphasis on their evaluation as well as alluding to personal experiences. A particularly interesting contribution to the field is a monograph on persuasive genres in old and new media (Kathpalia, 2022). In this volume, Kathpalia (2022) explores a wide array of review genres such as book blurbs, book and film reviews, and last but not least product reviews. Each of these genres is analyzed in a twofold manner, i.e., in terms of its conventional and digital form. Thus, Kathpalia (2022) juxtaposes traditional blurbs with digital ones, printed film reviews with digital ones, and the other genres accordingly. Apart from providing an analysis of the scaffolding of the genres, she delves deeply into genre hybridity and multi-level genre analysis of texts, as well as situates the genres in a broader context by employing the Critical Genre Analysis framework devised by Bhatia (2016).

- 7 Despite the pivotal role that genre analysis plays in disassembling texts into the smallest meaningful units, it has received criticism due to its seemingly tunnel-vision approach. Critics point out that certain instances of genre analysis are limited to the creation of lists of moves and steps that encourage an overly formulaic view of genres. This criticism was addressed by situating genres within a particular context or environment they belong to and operate in, within the framework of Critical Genre Analysis (Bhatia, 2016). This approach helps one better understand the choices behind particular genres that are dictated by their habitus, as no genre functions in a vacuum. Apart from the genre environment, genres are shaped by discourse communities. It is these discourse communities that ultimately mould the texts in order to achieve particular communicative goals. Drawing on Swales' (2016) *Reflections on the Concept of Discourse Community*, both professional and consumer music reviewers may be viewed as distinct discourse communities. According to Swales' revised framework, a discourse community is characterized by eight elements: 1) a broadly agreed set of goals, 2) mechanisms of intercommunication, 3) participatory mechanisms, 4) genre use, 5) specific lexis, 6) a threshold level of expertise, 7) silential relations, and 8) horizons of expectation (Swales, 2016: 8-10). Both professional and lay reviewers fulfil these criteria, albeit in distinct

ways. Professional critics share the goal of producing culturally resonant music criticism, communicate through editorial channels and published reviews, and exchange insights grounded in journalistic and aesthetic traditions. Their use of formal genres, such as longform single, album and performance reviews, is supported by a specialized vocabulary and a high level of professional expertise. Implicit norms, such as tone, structure, and evaluative rigour, govern their writing, while readers anticipate a certain depth and style, reflecting shared horizons of expectation. In contrast, consumers pursue the communal goal of cataloguing and discussing music, interacting through forums, comment threads, and user-generated lists. Their genres such as short reviews are more informal, but still recognizable and consistent. While many users lack formal expertise, the consumers foster a kind of grassroots knowledge, where credibility is earned through consistent engagement, deep listening, and community validation. Silential norms emerge around what counts as a “good” review or a meaningful rating, and expectations around authenticity, niche discovery, and stylistic voice shape how users engage with one another. Despite differences in professionalism and editorial control, both groups exhibit the core features of discourse communities.

- 8 Apart from underscoring the importance of discourse communities in Critical Genre Analysis, Bhatia (2016: 69-70) introduces a multiperspective and multidimensional analysis that enables one to situate a particular genre in a broader context. It encompasses features such as the communicative purpose, discursive space, nature of content, participants, medium, style as well as a network of interdiscursively relevant genres. These seven aspects will be elaborated on in the following sentences to situate the online music review genre. Hence, the first question that should be answered is: What is the communicative purpose of an album review? Expert and lay reviews share the same communicative purpose, which is to provide a review of a music album. It is important to mention that initially, album reviews were published in print only but now they have also migrated to the web as a result of remediation (Pérez-Llantada and Luzón, 2022). The original purpose of an album review was to provide a balanced evaluation. Critic reviews should strive for objectivity as they represent a disinterested genre that

should provide a balanced evaluation (Shaw, 2006). Walker (2024: 2) points out that criticism is not confined to evaluation; rather than being merely a form of assessment, criticism encompasses multiple elements such as “describing a song (album, band, genre, or performance), interpreting its meaning, analyzing its structure and composition, evaluating its worth, and/or placing it in its proper historical or cultural context”. Consumers, on the other hand, provide very polarized evaluations as a result of which these reviews resemble word-of-mouth recommendations.

- 9 In terms of the discursive space, the second feature proposed by Bhatia (2016), album reviews have to be compliant with the policies of websites they are posted on. Therefore, they have to observe spatial constraints that may be imposed by the layout of the websites. The nature of content, i.e., the third feature enumerated in the multiperspective and multidimensional analysis, depends on several various aspects, but in the corpus of online music reviews, a noteworthy factor was the music genre of an album. For example, in electronic album reviews more attention is devoted to the instrumentals, whereas very little space is taken up by the lyrics description due to very short or no lyrics featured on electronic albums. This aligns with Kathpalia’s (2022) study where she showed that depending on book subgenres (romance, etc.), varying amounts of textual space is devoted to the description of various elements of the plot. As far as participants are concerned, professional writers and critics write expert reviews while consumer reviews can be written by just about anyone. Due to the context collapse on the web, it is undoubtedly more challenging to define the target audience. Context collapse pertains to digital genres as they do not cater to a clearly designated and fairly uniform audience (Davis and Jurgenson, 2014). Instead, they can be appreciated by individuals with varying levels of expertise on a particular topic. It can be presumed, however, that both kinds of reviews are significant for consumers and critics but first and foremost for musicians. Lay reviews reflect the commercial success, whereas critic reviews are tantamount to critical acclaim. This point will be highlighted in the section related to the interfaces, interactions and differences between the specialized and non-specialized music reviewing communities. With regard to the medium, both lay and critic reviews are transmitted

through the Internet. The sixth aspect, which is style, varies with professional reviews which are more lexically creative and formal and consumer texts which are more informal. The last feature suggested by Bhatia (2016) is the network of interdiscursively relevant genres. It encompasses genres that may be useful when writing a music review as these genres may be reformulated to aid the creation of a review. Genres that can be integrated into reviews after reformulation and recontextualization are album announcements, interviews, single reviews, concert reviews and music lyrics. Music lyrics are often quoted in music reviews to situate the narrative presented in the album. Intertextuality can be identified in both expert and lay reviews, yet it is more prevalent in professional reviews where contributors are more willing to refer to longer excerpts of music lyrics or interviews.

Table 1: Comparison of professional and consumer discourse communities with respect to several situational variables

	profes- sional reviewers	consumer reviewers
power differential between the author and the audience	yes	no
remuneration	yes	no
responsibility	yes	no
word-of-mouth recommendations	no	yes
anonymity	no	yes
production circumstances	revisions and editing	spontaneity

10 Despite the same overarching communicative purpose of online music reviews, there is a plethora of differences stemming from situational variables between the two discourse communities (Table 1). Naturally, this juxtaposition focuses on opposite ends of the spectrum. There will be cases that fall along the continuum rather than into two categories, for example influencers or blog writers. However, the analysis of features displayed by these opposites may help analyze intermediate cases in future studies. In the professional reviewer-readership dynamic, there is a power differential (Csomay and Crawford, 2024). Music critics professionally engage in review

writing and hence have more knowledge in the field. In lay reviews, there is no such or very little such differential between the writer and the audience, as it resembles a situation of friends recommending an album to one another. What may point to a slight differential is when a seasoned fan of a particular artist has more knowledge on their work than casual listeners. Some consumers are likely to be more knowledgeable on a specific artist as opposed to a professional music critic who may know less about one artist but more about the musical landscape as a whole. As a result, critics find it easier to contextualize certain albums and put them into perspective against the historical backdrop and other albums. Additionally, many consumers belong to a dedicated fanbase and as a result have a personal attachment to the artist and their œuvre. By contrast, even if a professional reviewer is a fan of a particular artist, they should not divulge it in the review, as it could be construed as biased.

- 11 What varies in these two situations are also the production circumstances (Biber and Conrad, 2009: 65). Numerous revisions and editing are bound to be made to a text prepared by a professional contributor whose earnings hinge on the quality of submitted texts. Consumer reviewers post their more spontaneous reactions to albums for which they do not receive any kind of remuneration. Owing to this, consumer reviews tend to be more emotionally charged, with frequent instances of swear words. Expert reviews are meant to be disinterested genres offering a balanced account of the reviewed object (Kathpalia, 2022; Shaw, 2006). Professional contributors place their names and surnames in each review so that it is easy to establish their identity. Consumer reviews frequently opt for obscure usernames that, in many cases, prevent one from establishing their identity even if it is possible to search for reviews written under the same username. According to Kathpalia (2022) and Gea-Valor (2006), consumers are more detached from their online personas and they have a propensity to be more direct. It is also a possibility that one consumer account may be employed by several different users, therefore one cannot be certain that each account corresponds to one individual.

1.2. Different measures in genre analysis

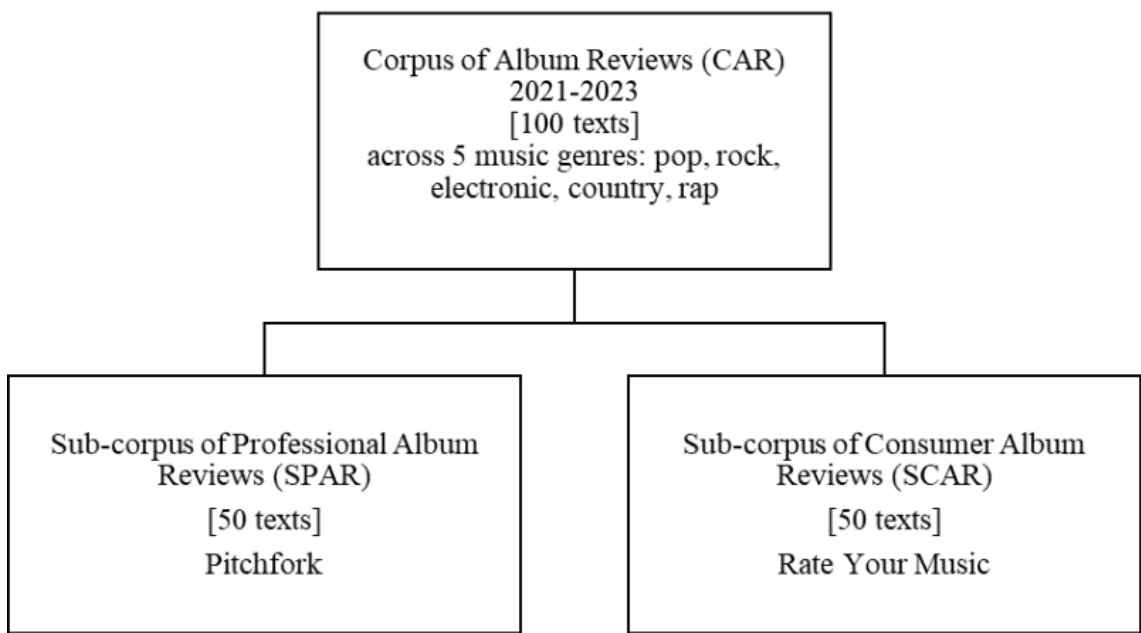
- 12 The analysis of rhetorical moves and steps can pertain to several different aspects. The most commonly adopted measure is the frequency of rhetorical elements (Işık, 2023; De Jong and Burgers, 2013). This enables one to establish how frequently particular elements occur. If an element occurs particularly frequently, it may mean that it is recycled many times within a text. One can also measure the amount of textual space taken up by rhetorical elements (Warchał, 2023). This does not help assess the frequency of particular elements but rather the number of words used to realize these rhetorical steps. This is a very useful measure that helps one determine which rhetorical steps are realized with the use of the highest and the lowest number of words. Last but not least, one can also take into account the distinction between optional and obligatory rhetorical elements. Some scholars suggested that obligatory elements should be found in at least 50% of texts analyzed in a particular study (Li and Ge, 2009; Nwogu, 1997). This enables establishing the core rhetorical steps of a given genre and optional elements that can be identified only in selected genre exemplars. In this study, all three aforementioned measures are taken into account.

2. Study design

- 13 A corpus of 100 album reviews (59 960 tokens) written between 2021 and 2023 spanning five different music genres (pop, rock, electronic, country and rap) was compiled for the purpose of the study (Figure 1). The corpus is referred to as the Corpus of Album Reviews (CAR). The corpus can be subdivided into two subcorpora, namely the Sub-corpus of Professional Album Reviews (SPAR) amounting to 47 502 tokens and its consumer counterpart (SCAR) amounting to 12 458 tokens. American websites were selected as, according to the newest annual report published in 2024 by the International Federation of the Phonographic Industry (IFPI), which summarizes the year 2023, the US is the biggest music market in the world, occupying the first spot. These webpages (Pitchfork and Rate Your Music (RYM)) were also selected because of the high number of

visitors on the websites and their large reach due to the ubiquity of the English language in the music industry. The number of monthly visitors was drawn from Similarweb (2024) statistics: Pitchfork had 12.1 million visitors a month as of November 2024 while RYM had 14.8 million visitors.

Figure 1: Corpus composition



14 For the sake of transparency, each text has a particular label. Texts in the corpus are labelled according to the following pattern:

[abbreviated name of the sub-corpus–year of publishing the review–keyword from the album title–music genre]

This can be illustrated with the following example:

The label [SPAR-23-dawn-pop] denotes a pop album review drawn from the Sub-corpus of Professional Album Reviews, published in 2023, titled Dawn FM.

15 The research questions guiding the study are as follows:

- What is the rhetorical structure of expert and lay digital album reviews?
- What are the interfaces, interactions and differences between expert and lay discourse communities?

- 16 The order of the analysis is as follows: First, descriptive statistics regarding lexicogrammatical features of the subcorpora drawn from UAM corpus tool are presented. Secondly, the move-step structure of reviews is elucidated in a quantitative and qualitative manner. The study ends with the analysis of interactions, interfaces and differences between these two discourse communities.
- 17 In order to establish the move-step structure of music reviews, a pilot study was conducted first. The draft codebook was created based on guides on how to write a good music review (Walker, 2024; Woodworth and Grossan, 2015) and previous studies related to book, film and music reviews. Kathpalia (2022) warns against blindly adopting move-step labels proposed by practising professionals, as they do not always truly reflect the propositional content of a particular move or step, but are rather codes applied by professionals to denote certain review elements. These code-like-labels have a propensity to be outdated, as discourse community members are prone to leaving them unchanged instead of carrying out systematic revisions of the terminology. Therefore, the best approach is to confront the terminology used by practitioners with the labels that emerge from a pilot study. The minimal coding unit in this study is a step, drawing on Moreno and Swales (2018) who advocate identifying steps first and then grouping them into moves. Steps were annotated based on a close reading examination of each clause. Then 10% of the corpus was coded with another researcher specializing in genre analysis. We arrived at a simple percentage agreement of 81%. After comparing and discussing the annotations, the codebook was refined and the final version encompassing 6 moves and 49 steps was created. Then the rest of the corpus was annotated with the use of QDA Miner qualitative analysis software. Sometimes one rhetorical step was assigned two codes when no overarching purpose could be identified. This was the case with sound and lyrics description as well as sound and lyrics evaluation. The migration of reviews to the Internet causes significant changes to the genre. Rather than consisting solely of textual material, online music reviews demand inclusion of multimodal elements in the analysis. QDA Miner allows one to calculate an album cover or a music clip as an occurrence that does not take up any textual space. Additionally, UAM corpus tool was

employed to generate descriptive statistics regarding lexicogrammatical features of the subcorpora.

3. Data analysis

3.1. Quantitative analysis

Table 2: Descriptive statistics from UAM corpus tool

	tokens	avg. review length	lexical density	subjec tivity	subjective strength	academic word use	1st	2nd	3rd
							person reference		
SPAR	47 502	950	55.03%	0.103	0.441	3.42%	1.12%	0.73%	4.39%
SCAR	12 458	249	49.84%	0.205	0.479	3.14%	2.39%	0.53%	3.93%

18 The descriptive statistics obtained from UAM corpus tool enable drawing certain conclusions related to lexicogrammatical aspects of professional and consumer reviews. First of all, critic reviews are almost 5 times as long as consumer reviews. Critic reviews are also more lexically dense. In UAM statistics, subjectivity denotes “[a] measure of the positiveness of the words in the text. -1: very negative, 0: balanced, +1: very positive. Based on the 8,200 word MPQA Subjectivity lexicon” (O’Donnell, 2023). MPQA Subjectivity Lexicon stands for Multi-Perspective Question Answering lexicon. This measure shows that expert reviews are more balanced due to their subjectivity being closer to 0 (0.103) whereas consumer reviews are less balanced than professional reviews (0.205). Subjective strength describes “[a] measure of the average subjective strength of the words of the text. From 0 (all weak) to 1 (all strong)” (O’Donnell, 2023). Subjective strength value for consumer reviews (0.479) is therefore higher than the one related to critic reviews (0.441). Academic word use describes the “[p]ercentage of lexical words which are on the academic word list” (O’Donnell, 2023). The percentage of words from the academic word list is higher in SPAR in comparison to SCAR. Consumers employ first person reference more frequently as they

often allude to their personal experiences and use the first person pronoun 'I'. Experts do not use the first person pronoun as frequently as consumers do. Professionals, on the other hand, tend to deploy third person pronouns more frequently than consumers due to them describing artists in more detail.

- 19 Quantitative analysis will be conducted from three vantage points. The first one is the frequency of particular moves and steps. The second one is their word coverage, i.e., the percentage of textual space occupied by a rhetorical step. The third one is their division into obligatory and optional steps.
- 20 While this study draws on Swales' (1990) rhetorical genre theory to analyze the communicative purposes embedded in online reviews, it is important to clarify that structural boundaries within texts, such as headings or paratextual elements, do not always correspond directly to rhetorical moves. Swales (1990) defines genres as classes of communicative events characterized by shared purposes and recognizable structural features; however, not all textual divisions serve rhetorical functions, and rhetorical strategies often extend beyond formal boundaries. Titles, in particular, function as paratexts in the Genettean (1997) sense: they frame the main text and guide reader expectations. Providing metainformation about the reviewed object, such as the publication date or the record label, and including relevant images are typically classified as a rhetorical step in studies on genre analysis (e.g., Kathpalia, 2022; Ha, 2011). However, such elements may also be referred to as paratextual elements, in contrast to textual units focusing on sound evaluation or lyrics description. In the present study paratextual elements are labelled in the same way as textual rhetorical steps, e.g., ms1s2 album title* and m4s2 lyrics description, yet they are marked with an asterisk. The data suggest that online reviews consist of both textual and paratextual units, some of which perform rhetorical functions, while others serve primarily organizational or navigational roles. Recognizing this distinction allows for a more nuanced understanding of genre in digital contexts, where multimodality and user interaction complicate traditional genre boundaries and rhetorical sequencing.

3.1.1. The most frequent rhetorical steps

Table 3: Top 10 most frequent steps in SPAR

	Code	Count	% Codes
1	m4s2 lyrics description	90	6,60%
2	m5s1 sound evaluation	77	5,70%
3	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	73	5,40%
4	m3s1 artist background	70	5,20%
5	m4s1 sound description	70	5,20%
6	m3s2 album background	60	4,40%
7	m1s1 section name*	59	4,30%
8	m6s1 overall evaluation	57	4,20%
9	m1s2 album title*	50	3,70%
10	m1s3 name of the artist*	50	3,70%

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- The most frequent rhetorical step in SPAR is the one referring to lyrics description (m4s2). This rhetorical step consists in quoting the lyrics from particular songs on the album and describing what they refer to. This step is followed by the one pertaining to sound evaluation (m5s1). As music is certainly inextricably linked to its sonic dimension, the evaluation of sound lies at the core of music reviewing. The third most frequent rhetorical step is the one of lyrics evaluation (m5s2). While the lyrics description was more frequent, lyrics evaluation is still significant as it ultimately points to the quality of songwriting. It is the third most frequent step in this data subset probably due to the fact that critics place emphasis on the lyrical quality of songs. The three most frequently employed rhetorical steps in SPAR are therefore lyrics description, sound evaluation and lyrics evaluation.
- 22
- Artist background (m3s1) was the fourth most frequently applied rhetorical step in SPAR (5,20%). Music critics frequently allude to the artist’s upbringing and childhood in order to contextualize their journey to becoming musicians. Equally frequent was sound description (m4s1). Not only do critics frequently evaluate sound, but they also describe it. Sound description elaborates on different production and instrument choices. It is quite prolific with regard to

a range of metaphors and adjectives employed. Album background (m3s2) follows the steps m3s1 and m4s1 as far as the frequency of use is concerned. Just as the artist's background introduces one to the persona of the artist, album background helps one visualize the story of album creation. It may start with referring to a particular event that inspired the inception of the album and also details referring to the place where it was recorded. This step is followed by a section name (m1s1)* which is a part of the first move meant to provide metainformation about the album. Section name usually occurs once in most reviews as it denotes the name of the website section devoted to the reviews of music albums ("ALBUM REVIEWS"). In certain reviews, however, there was an additional section name indicating the exceptional quality of a particular album ("BEST NEW MUSIC"). Steps indicating the album title (m1s2)* and name of the artist (m1s3)* can be placed on the 9th and 10th spot on the list. The 8th spot on the list is occupied by the step of overall evaluation (m6s1). This step may occur once or several times throughout the whole review and it is meant to provide an overall verdict on the album, all aspects considered.

Table 4: Top 10 most frequent steps in SCAR

	Code	Count	% Codes
1	m6s1 overall evaluation	75	13,60%
2	m1s6 numerical/star rating*	54	9,80%
3	m5s1 sound evaluation	52	9,40%
4	m1s7 name of the reviewer*	50	9,00%
5	m1s11 avatar*	50	9,00%
6	m1s10 review date*	47	8,50%
7	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	26	4,70%
8	m3s1 artist background	21	3,80%
9	m2s2 headline*	18	3,30%
10	m6s10 enumerating most/least favourite songs	18	3,30%

23 The most frequent step in consumer reviews is the overall evaluation m6s1 (13,60%) (Table 4). This appears to be the most critical rhetorical step, as consumers ultimately seek a general assessment of the product. Following this, the album rating (m1s6)*,

typically presented in the form of a star rating, is the next most common step. Sound evaluation (m5s1) ranks as the third most frequent rhetorical step employed by consumers. The sonic dimension seems to hold significant importance for them, akin to its relevance in professional reviews of albums.

- 24
- The next three paratextual elements provide information about the review: the reviewer’s name (m1s7)* (or username in the case of consumer reviews), an avatar (m1s11)* (a photograph or picture), and the review date (m1s10)*. These elements can frequently be found in consumer reviews. This is followed by an evaluation of the lyrics (m5s2). Background information about the artist (m3s1) is sometimes included in SCAR (3,80%). The headline previews certain elements of the review (m2s2)*, and the tenth step involves enumerating the most or least favourite songs (m6s10).
- 25
- The frequency of rhetorical steps reflects how frequently they were used by the two discourse communities. Certain steps were utilized multiple times throughout the review. For example, indicating the music label that released the album was used once in a review usually. Sound evaluation and lyrics evaluation, on the other hand, were reused several times throughout the reviews. This is referred to as step recycling, which seems to be more prevalent in this genre, since it is not as formulaic as, for example, academic texts, which follow a more rigid rhetorical structure. Also, since professional reviews are longer than consumer reviews, they have a greater propensity for step recurrence. Hence, it can be stated that the longer the review, the greater the propensity for step recycling.

3.1.2. Word coverage of rhetorical steps

- 26
- Certain rhetorical steps may as well be frequent, yet they do not take up a lot of textual space. The following table (Table 5) presents ten most frequent rhetorical steps with regard to the amount of textual space taken up by them.

Table 5: Top 10 word coverage in the subcorpora

Top 10 word coverage in SPAR		Top 10 word coverage in SCAR	
Code	% Words	Code	% Words

1	m3s1 artist background	17,00%	m5s1 sound evaluation	21,00%
2	m4s2 lyrics description	11,80%	m6s1 overall evaluation	17,30%
3	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	11,40%	m3s1 artist background	10,20%
4	m5s1 sound evaluation	10,50%	m4s1 sound description	8,70%
5	m3s2 album background	9,70%	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	8,10%
6	m4s1 sound description	8,90%	m4s2 lyrics description	7,10%
7	m6s1 overall evaluation	5,90%	m3s2 album background	6,50%
8	m6s6 interpretation	4,00%	m5s6 delivery evaluation	5,10%
9	m5s3 artist evaluation	3,90%	m5s3 artist evaluation	2,70%
10	m2s1 overall impression	2,80%	m3s3 reviewer background	2,50%

- 27 Artist background (m3s1) takes up the most textual space in SPAR (17,00%). The artist background is described with the use of a significant number of words. These are usually quite extensive passages amounting to two or three paragraphs. Lyrics description (m4s2) also takes up a significant amount of space as the string of lyrics (11,80%) might be quite long and the same pertains to lyrics evaluation. Sound evaluation (m5s1) has a high word coverage. It seems that describing and evaluating lyrics and sound lies at the heart of music reviewing. Album background (m3s2) is also expressed with a high number of words as it is essentially a story about the album creation. Overall evaluation (m6s1) also takes up quite a lot of textual space and so does artist evaluation (m5s3) and overall impression (m2s1). It is interesting that artist evaluation takes up a significant amount of space, as it usually alludes to the personal characteristics of the artists that do not necessarily pertain to the album itself. This is an element by means of which professional reviewers express their private intentions (Bhatia, 2016) and bend generic conventions to express their opinions. Interpretation (m6s6) is expressed with longer passages of text as critics attempt to decode the meaning behind the music. It has to be taken into account that images, for example album covers, are accounted for in QDA Miner as an occurrence but they do not take up any textual space as they belong to non-textual semiotic resources.
- 28 Authors of consumer reviews, on the other hand, allocate the most textual space to sound evaluation (m5s1) and overall evaluation (m6s1). This suggests that consumers tend to use the highest number of words to express their opinions on sound. Artist background

(m3s1) was the eighth most frequently occurring step in SCAR (Table 4), yet as far as the amount of textual space attributed to this step is concerned (Table 5), it is the third rhetorical step in terms of word coverage in SCAR. Lyrics evaluation and description occupy the fifth and sixth spot respectively with regard to the number of words attributed to the realization of the steps. Album background also occupies a significant amount of textual space (6,50%). Delivery appears to be an important aspect, specifically referring to the manner of singing or rapping. This term exclusively pertains to the execution of the voice, not the instrumental components. Artist evaluation occupies a substantial portion of the text, as does the reviewer's background, which frequently references the consumers' previous experiences with the artist's music.

3.1.3. Optional and obligatory rhetorical steps

- 29 When it comes to the obligatory steps in professional reviews, i.e., steps that occurred in at least 50% of texts subject to analysis, they can be divided into several subgroups. Paratextual units referring to providing metainformation about the album (move 1) (Table 6) are an obligatory element of each and every review. This is due to the fact that they signify what the review is going to be about and act as a business card of an album. Affiliate links can be found in 64% of the reviews while affiliate link disclaimers were identified in 62% of the reviews. The body of the review in SPAR is always preceded by overall impression (m2s1). Artist background and album background (belonging to move 3) can be found in 86% and 78% of reviews respectively. Sound description and sound evaluation can be found in 76% and 74% of reviews. Overall evaluation constituting the overall verdict on the album was found in 72% of reviews. Lyrics evaluation and description can be found in 70% and 66% of reviews respectively. Reviewer background was found in 54% of reviews. Interpretation is also an obligatory element of a critic review as it occurred in 52% of reviews. There are also several steps absent from critic reviews. These include m1s11 avatar*, m1s12 review number*, m2s2 headline*, m5s10 concept evaluation, m5s11 title evaluation, m5s12 sequence evaluation, m6s10 enumerating the most or the least favourite songs and m6s11 suggestions. These were identified in SCAR.

Table 6: Inclusion rates in SPAR

Textual units in SPAR				Paratextual units in SPAR		
	Code Description	Cases	% Cases	Code Description	Cases	% Cases
1	m2s1 overall impression	50	100,00%	m1s1 section name*	50	100,00%
2	m3s1 artist background	43	86,00%	m1s2 album title*	50	100,00%
3	m3s2 album background	39	78,00%	m1s3 name of the artist*	50	100,00%
4	m4s1 sound description	38	76,00%	m1s4 album release date*	50	100,00%
5	m5s1 sound evaluation	37	74,00%	m1s5 album cover*	50	100,00%
6	m6s1 overall evaluation	36	72,00%	m1s6 numerical/star rating*	50	100,00%
7	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	35	70,00%	m1s7 name of the reviewer*	50	100,00%
8	m4s2 lyrics description	33	66,00%	m1s8 music genre*	50	100,00%
9	m3s3 reviewer background	27	54,00%	m1s9 music label*	50	100,00%
10	m6s6 interpretation	26	52,00%	m1s10 review date*	50	100,00%
11	m4s4 message description	15	30,00%	m6s4 affiliate link*	32	64,00%
12	m5s3 artist evaluation	15	30,00%	m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer*	31	62,00%
13	m5s4 message evaluation	15	30,00%	m6s8 music clip*	9	18,00%
14	m5s5 atmosphere evaluation	13	26,00%	m6s9 correction note*	2	4,00%
15	m4s5 delivery description	10	20,00%	m1s11 avatar*	0	0
16	m5s6 delivery evaluation	10	20,00%	m1s12 review number*	0	0
17	m6s7 establishing contact/urging action	10	20,00%	m2s2 headline*	0	0
18	m4s6 emotions description	7	14,00%			
19	m4s8 atmosphere description	7	14,00%			
20	m6s6 general/unspecified evaluation	6	12,00%			
21	m4s3 artist description	3	6,00%			
22	m5s8 collaboration evaluation	3	6,00%			
23	m6s2 (not)recommending listening	2	4,00%			
24	m4s7 length description	1	2,00%			
25	m5s7 length evaluation	1	2,00%			
26	m5s9 artwork evaluation	1	2,00%			
27	m6s3 predictions	1	2,00%			

	Code Description	Cases	% Cases	Code Description	Cases	% Cases
1	m2s1 overall impression	50	100,00%	m1s1 section name*	50	100,00%
2	m3s1 artist background	43	86,00%	m1s2 album title*	50	100,00%
3	m3s2 album background	39	78,00%	m1s3 name of the artist*	50	100,00%
4	m4s1 sound description	38	76,00%	m1s4 album release date*	50	100,00%
5	m5s1 sound evaluation	37	74,00%	m1s5 album cover*	50	100,00%
6	m6s1 overall evaluation	36	72,00%	m1s6 numerical/star rating*	50	100,00%
7	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	35	70,00%	m1s7 name of the reviewer*	50	100,00%
8	m4s2 lyrics description	33	66,00%	m1s8 music genre*	50	100,00%
9	m3s3 reviewer background	27	54,00%	m1s9 music label*	50	100,00%
10	m6s6 interpretation	26	52,00%	m1s10 review date*	50	100,00%
11	m4s4 message description	15	30,00%	m6s4 affiliate link*	32	64,00%
12	m5s3 artist evaluation	15	30,00%	m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer*	31	62,00%
13	m5s4 message evaluation	15	30,00%	m6s8 music clip*	9	18,00%
14	m5s5 atmosphere evaluation	13	26,00%	m6s9 correction note*	2	4,00%
15	m4s5 delivery description	10	20,00%	m1s11 avatar*	0	0
16	m5s6 delivery evaluation	10	20,00%	m1s12 review number*	0	0
17	m6s7 establishing contact/urging action	10	20,00%	m2s2 headline*	0	0
18	m4s6 emotions description	7	14,00%			
19	m4s8 atmosphere description	7	14,00%			
20	m6s6 general/unspecified evaluation	6	12,00%			
21	m4s3 artist description	3	6,00%			
22	m5s8 collaboration evaluation	3	6,00%			
23	m6s2 (not)recommending listening	2	4,00%			
24	m4s7 length description	1	2,00%			
25	m5s7 length evaluation	1	2,00%			
26	m5s9 artwork evaluation	1	2,00%			
27	m6s3 predictions	1	2,00%			
28	m5s10 concept evaluation	0	0			
29	m5s11 title evaluation	0	0			

30	m5s12 sequence evaluation	0	0			
31	m6s10 enumerating most/least favourite songs	0	0			
32	m6s11 suggestions	0	0			

30 Consumer reviews have only six obligatory elements (Table 7). Most of them are related to providing metainformation about the album (move 1) and they constitute the template of the review at the same time (m1s7*, m1s11*, m1s6*, m1s10*). Obligatory steps that do not belong to move 1 are sound evaluation and overall evaluation. It seems, therefore, that sound and overall evaluation constitute the core of consumer reviews. SCAR is devoid of several steps, namely m1s1 section name*, m1s5 album cover*, m1s8 music genre*, m1s9 music label*, m6s8 music clip*, m6s4 affiliate link*, m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer*, m6s9 correction note*, m4s3 artist description, m4s7 length description and m6s7 establishing contact/urging action. There is no need for affiliate links as these websites are not meant to generate profit which entails the lack of affiliate link disclaimers as well. Some pieces of information are not placed in consumer reviews, as they can be found in a frame preceding consumer reviews, e.g., the album title.

Table 7: Inclusion rates in SCAR

Textual units in SCAR				Paratextual units in SCAR		
	Code Description	Cases	% Cases	Code Description	Cases	% Cases
1	m6s1 overall evaluation	48	96,00%	m1s7 name of the reviewer*	50	100,00%
2	m5s1 sound evaluation	39	78,00%	m1s11 avatar*	50	100,00%
3	m3s1 artist background	19	38,00%	m1s6 numerical/star rating*	49	98,00%
4	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	19	38,00%	m1s10 review date*	45	90,00%
5	m6s10 enumerating most/least favourite songs	16	32,00%	m2s2 headline*	18	36,00%
6	m5s6 delivery evaluation	15	30,00%	m1s4 album release date*	6	12,00%
7	m3s2 album background	13	26,00%	m1s2 album title*	2	4,00%
8	m4s1 sound description	12	24,00%	m1s3 name of the artist*	2	4,00%
9	m6s2 (not)recommending listening	11	22,00%	m1s12 review number*	2	4,00%
10	m4s2 lyrics description	7	14,00%	m1s1 section name*	0	0
11	m5s5 atmosphere evaluation	7	14,00%	m1s5 album cover*	0	0
12	m3s3 reviewer background	6	12,00%	m1s8 music genre*	0	0
13	m5s8 collaboration evaluation	6	12,00%	m1s9 music label*	0	0
14	m4s8 atmosphere description	5	10,00%	m6s8 music clip*	0	0
15	m5s4 message evaluation	5	10,00%	m6s4 affiliate link*	0	0
16	m6s3 predictions	5	10,00%	m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer*	0	0
17	m2s1 overall impression	4	8,00%	m6s9 correction note*	0	0
18	m5s3 artist evaluation	4	8,00%			
19	m4s5 delivery description	3	6,00%			
20	m4s4 message description	2	4,00%			
21	m6s11 suggestions	2	4,00%			
22	m4s6 emotions description	1	2,00%			
23	m6s6 general/unspecified evaluation	1	2,00%			
24	m5s7 length evaluation	1	2,00%			
25	m5s9 artwork evaluation	1	2,00%			
26	m5s10 concept evaluation	1	2,00%			

	Code Description	Cases	% Cases	Code Description	Cases	% Cases
1	m6s1 overall evaluation	48	96,00%	m1s7 name of the reviewer*	50	100,00%
2	m5s1 sound evaluation	39	78,00%	m1s11 avatar*	50	100,00%
3	m3s1 artist background	19	38,00%	m1s6 numerical/star rating*	49	98,00%
4	m5s2 lyrics evaluation	19	38,00%	m1s10 review date*	45	90,00%
5	m6s10 enumerating most/least favourite songs	16	32,00%	m2s2 headline*	18	36,00%
6	m5s6 delivery evaluation	15	30,00%	m1s4 album release date*	6	12,00%
7	m3s2 album background	13	26,00%	m1s2 album title*	2	4,00%
8	m4s1 sound description	12	24,00%	m1s3 name of the artist*	2	4,00%
9	m6s2 (not)recommending listening	11	22,00%	m1s12 review number*	2	4,00%
10	m4s2 lyrics description	7	14,00%	m1s1 section name*	0	0
11	m5s5 atmosphere evaluation	7	14,00%	m1s5 album cover*	0	0
12	m3s3 reviewer background	6	12,00%	m1s8 music genre*	0	0
13	m5s8 collaboration evaluation	6	12,00%	m1s9 music label*	0	0
14	m4s8 atmosphere description	5	10,00%	m6s8 music clip*	0	0
15	m5s4 message evaluation	5	10,00%	m6s4 affiliate link*	0	0
16	m6s3 predictions	5	10,00%	m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer*	0	0
17	m2s1 overall impression	4	8,00%	m6s9 correction note*	0	0
18	m5s3 artist evaluation	4	8,00%			
19	m4s5 delivery description	3	6,00%			
20	m4s4 message description	2	4,00%			
21	m6s11 suggestions	2	4,00%			
22	m4s6 emotions description	1	2,00%			
23	m6s6 general/unspecified evaluation	1	2,00%			
24	m5s7 length evaluation	1	2,00%			
25	m5s9 artwork evaluation	1	2,00%			
26	m5s10 concept evaluation	1	2,00%			
27	m5s11 title evaluation	1	2,00%			
28	m5s12 sequence evaluation	1	2,00%			
29	m6s6 interpretation	1	2,00%			

30	m4s3 artist description	0	0			
31	m4s7 length description	0	0			
32	m6s7 establishing contact/urging action	0	0			

3.2. Qualitative analysis

3.2.1. Move 1 Providing metainformation about the album

- 31 It is hardly surprising that the first move is meant to introduce one to the album. The information provided in this move is, for instance, album title, name of the artist and release date of the album. Apart from textual elements, these steps may be realized with the use of multimodal elements such as album covers. These pieces of information differ between the two subcorpora, for example, there is no information on the music label on RYM. RYM provides information regarding the name of the album, the name of the artist, the name of the label and album cover in a frame above consumer reviews. As a result, these pieces of information do not have to be reiterated in the main body of reviews. Therefore, the information provided specifically in consumer reviews includes the user avatar, username, review rating (in the form of star rating), and review date. Occasionally, name of the artist, album title, release date, and review number are provided by consumers. Review number pertains to the number of reviews created by a given user. It is noteworthy that despite a preconceived template available on RYM, many users repeat elements already accounted for in the very template. A notable example is the rating of the album on a scale from 1 to 10 included at the end of the review in spite of the fact that at the very beginning of each consumer review, the user has to rate the album on a scale from 1 to 5. It seems that users are willing to underscore the importance of particular steps by repeating them on their own terms, slightly bending the convention. The reason for this may be that they view the in-built, predetermined steps as fairly uniform ones that do not draw attention and thus may go unnoticed.

3.2.2. Move 2 Communicating overall impressions

- 32 The second move is meant to capture the reader's attention. Professionals write two or three sentences reflecting their overall impression before the main body of the review. Consumers, tend to realize this rhetorical move in the form of a succinct headline preceding the main body of the review.

m2s1 overall impression

With production by Peter Kember and an added gospel choir, the Danish band's fifth album completes their transformation from grim-faced nihilists to wearied soothsayers. [SPAR-21-seek-rock]

m2s2 headline

DJ Khaled the worst part of his own albums, yet again [SCAR-21-khaled-rap]

3.2.3. Move 3 Situating the album

- 33 Situating the album is of paramount importance on Pitchfork as experts are expected to paint a broader background of the body of work. The beginning of the review usually encompasses the background of the artist starting from their childhood and the trajectory of their career. After that, events that inspired the album are described. One can also find the background of the reviewer in certain reviews in the form of a bio-note. These steps are less frequent in consumer reviews, and if one finds them, they are much shorter on average.

m3s1 artist background

Harlow's origin story is repeated often: At age 12, he decided he wanted to be a rapper and got to work, practicing, recording, and selling CDs at school. By 19, he made "Dark Knight," the song that launched a major-label bidding war for his talents and, ultimately, landed him a deal with the once-promising Atlantic imprint Generation Now. [SPAR-23-come-rap]

- 34 Artist background allows one to situate the artist within a particular genre. It is also a recapitulation of their achievements and endeavours in the recent years. Background of album creation entails

traces of intertextuality as it often alludes to interviews or any other artist's utterances that are related to the album creation.

m3s2 album background

There is a lot of shared life bound up in the Slowdive project now, after all. Since the group began sessions in April 2020—and then quickly abandoned them for six months as the world shut down—Goswell's mother and drummer Simon Scott's father died. [SPAR-23-slowdive-rock]

Dawn FM is a concept album, sort of. In interviews, Tesfaye has said that the album plays like listening to a kind of adult contemporary radio station as you sit in a traffic jam in the tunnel, only the tunnel is purgatory and the light at the end of the tunnel is death. [SPAR-23-dawn-pop]

m3s3 reviewer background

Alfred Soto is an assistant professor of communication at Florida International University. His work has appeared in *Billboard*, *Spin*, *The Village Voice*, the *Miami Herald*, and others. He was an associate editor of *The Singles Jukebox*. He lives in Miami. [SPAR-23-dawn-pop]

- 35 Reviewer names in bio-notes are often hyperlinked so that one can be redirected to the webpage with all the reviews written by a particular contributor. Move 3 plays a pivotal role in terms of providing background information that may help one understand the broader implications of the body of work created by an artist. It draws one's attention to aspects that are not related to music itself, yet they create a contextual backdrop against which the album can be properly interpreted. While this move may initially appear peripheral in a genre that is fundamentally evaluative and argumentative, it plays a significant role in the corpus. This is also shown by the word coverage data, especially for the professional subcorpus (see Table 5 word coverage in SPAR, m3s1 artist background: 17,00% words, m3s2 album background: 9,70% words). These narrative passages often function as framing devices, shaping the reader's perception of the artist and subtly influencing the interpretation of the work that follows.

3.2.4. Move 4 Album description

- 36 The boundary between evaluation and description may prove to be fuzzy at times. In many studies adjectives are construed as markers of evaluation (Martin and White, 2005). In the present study, evaluation refers to reviewers expressing their stance towards the album.

Certain clauses encompassing adjectives are used to describe the quality of sound, therefore they are not inherently evaluative. Description involves reporting on objectively identifiable traits of sound, lyrics, vocal delivery, etc. For example, sound description typically consists in employing words that specify the type (synths, clinks) and quality (cold, droning) of sound that can be heard (see example presented below):

m4s1 sound description

The song opens with cold, droning synths and clinks that sound like spikes hammered into railroad track. [SPAR-21-laurel-rock]

3.2.5. Move 5 Album evaluation

- 37 A nuanced approach is required to distinguish evaluative meaning from descriptive content. Therefore, in this study evaluative units are identified drawing on Martin and White's Appraisal Theory (2005). The theory offers a comprehensive framework for this task by categorizing evaluative meaning into three subsystems: *attitude*, *engagement*, and *graduation*. The *attitude* system, comprising *affect*, *judgement*, and *appreciation*, is particularly useful for identifying expressions of emotional response, ethical evaluation, and aesthetic value respectively. While adjectives are common markers of evaluation, Appraisal Theory emphasizes that evaluative stance can also be realized through verbs (*improve*, *fail*), adverbs (*skilfully*, *startlingly*), nouns (*anguish*, *beauty*), and metaphorical constructions (*like a jack in a box*). The *graduation* subsystem modulates the intensity or focus of evaluation through quantifiers, repetition, and intensifiers, while *engagement* resources, such as modality (*might*, *must*), attribution (*critics argue*), and dialogic framing, signal the writer's alignment or distance from the evaluative stance. The framework distinguishes between *inscribed* evaluation, where the evaluative stance is directly stated, and *invoked* evaluation, which relies on contextual inference. These deliberations underscore the importance of attending to both linguistic form and rhetorical function when analyzing evaluative discourse. Evaluation is not always overt; it may be subtly woven into the text through metaphor, modality, narrative framing, or discourse structure. Evaluation may refer to either music-related or extramusical aspects. The

extramusical aspects can be related to the structural aspects of the album, i.e., the sequence of the songs, their length. While it is also related to the music, it alludes to a more technical dimension thereof. Professionals tend to be more metaphorical with their evaluations and even if they are critical they try to precede that with a description. Consumers, on the other hand, start directly with the evaluation. That being said there are instances of private intentions in expert reviews where not the music *per se* is assessed but for instance the artist's personality. As critic reviews are supposed to be disinterested genres, private intentions (Bhatia, 2016) become apparent when reviews are openly biased and negative criticism is not sufficiently accounted for or when the evaluation does not pertain to the album itself but rather to the personality of the artist.

- 38 The prevalence of evaluation over description in consumer reviews stems from various expectations readers have towards these two discourse communities. Experts are expected to have a more profound understanding of the music industry and inform the readers about the events relevant to the album and the backdrop against which it should be interpreted. Consumers, on the other hand, are supposed to provide a succinct word-of-mouth recommendation that does not have to be backed by any justification. It can take on the form of a purely subjective evaluation. These reviews foreground subjective engagement, often emphasizing personal reactions, emotional resonance, and grassroots critique. Hence, drawing on Martin and White's (2005) Appraisal Theory, consumer reviewers frequently employ affect. Professional reviewers, on the other hand, tend to employ judgement and appreciation more often than affect. Enumerating most or least favourite tracks may also be construed as evaluation as it lacks any justification for the most part. In certain cases, however, evaluation may be highly context specific and implicit. Thus, close reading of the text was crucial to label text segments.

m5s2 lyrics evaluation

Don't read any of the lyrics on Genius unless you want to cringe. [SCAR-23-maybe-rap]

m5s1 sound evaluation

This is, for the most part, high-octane, inoffensive dance-pop that will sound great in Sephora and adequately pad out the playlist at your nearest shipping container bar. [SPAR-23-beast-pop]

The instrumentals, sampling and beats are genuinely terrible. I mean I honestly don't understand how this is professionally produced and approved by a lot of people. [SCAR--23-coi-rap]

3.2.6. Move 6 Summary

- 39 The move of summary contains several rhetorical steps. Overall evaluation can be found across both subcorpora. An interesting multimodal element of an embedded music clip can be found only on Pitchfork. It should be borne in mind that images and videos do not take up textual space, but rather the visual space of a review.

m6s1 overall evaluation

Painfully bland, shallow (even for Coi Leray's standards) and underwhelming. [SCAR-23-coi-rap]

- 40 It is interesting that experts employ the generic resources of promotional and legal discourse in the last move. This can be regarded as an example of interdiscursivity, which consists in the "constitution of a text from diverse discourses and genres" (Fairclough, 1995:134-135). Bhatia (2016) notes that many inherently non-promotional genres have become colonized by promotional texts in recent years. This seems to apply to music criticism as well. At the end of the majority of Pitchfork reviews, one can find an affiliate link that allows one to buy the album immediately and is frequently accompanied by an affiliate disclosure. The disclaimer informs readers that even though Pitchfork makes a profit from these links, they still select albums independently. Expert reviews appropriate promotional resources and legal resources. They also aim to keep the audience engaged by urging readers to engage with other content on the website (m6s7) and providing links to streaming platforms. These elements contribute to the genre hybridity of expert reviews that not only describe and evaluate an album, but also advertize it as a product that can be monetized.

m6s4 affiliate link

Muse: Will of the People

\$27 AT ROUGH TRADE

\$21 AT AMAZON [SPAR-22-will-rock]

m6s5 affiliate link disclaimer

(Pitchfork earns a commission from purchases made through affiliate links on our site.) [SPAR-21-softer-electronic]

All products featured on Pitchfork are independently selected by our editors. However, when you buy something through our retail links, we may earn an affiliate commission. [SPAR-23-radical-electronic]

m6s7 establishing contact/urging action

Catch up every Saturday with 10 of our best-reviewed albums of the week. Sign up for the 10 to Hear newsletter here. [SPAR-21-medicine-rock]

Listen to our Best New Music playlist on Spotify and Apple Music. [SPAR-21-seek-rock]

- 41 Consumers explicitly enumerate their most and least favourite tracks from the album in move 6. As critics bear the onus of responsibility for the factual accuracy of their rating, the step of correction note was identified.

m6s9 correction note

CORRECTION: The Weeknd narrates the passage from Rilke's "Duino Elegies" on "Every Angel Is Terrifying"; director Josh Safdie voices the Arthur Fleminger character. [SPAR-23-dawn-pop]

- 42 As digital reviews evolved from their print predecessors, critic reviews encompass song and album interpretation that likens the interpretations of other works of art such as poems, paintings, etc. This is owing to the fact that experts are supposed to decode hidden and symbolic meanings and make them more readily identifiable to the public that may not have the expertise needed to go beyond the surface level interpretation.

m6s6 interpretation

If being in love made Musgraves feel connected to the world, these songs find her burrowing inward, questioning everything. Accordingly, the tragedy unfolding on the album is not that of a good relationship turning bad; it is of a once-confident person losing touch with the things that made her feel complete, worried that life might never be so simple again. [SPAR-21-star-country]

3.3. Interfaces between professional and consumer reviews

- 43 The Internet allows these two discourse communities to enter into interactions as a result of which they influence each other's generic conventions. Several instances of reviews in SCAR resemble the structure of critic reviews. Yates et al. (1999) term this phenomenon as implicit genre structuring, which consists in consumers replicating reviews that are more balanced with regard to praise and criticism as opposed to clearly biased consumer reviews. This is the result of being influenced by generic conventions applied by critics. In the same vein, critics are not impervious to criticism they receive from their readership. Pitchfork accommodates a section of rescored album reviews which could be viewed as a response to ratings that were considered unjustified. In this section, Pitchfork reviewers revise their album evaluations.
- 44 Even though professional contributors are superior to consumers in terms of their expertise, the reviews and their scores frequently generate a great deal of heated debate on such forums as Reddit, as consumers are willing to question their validity. Some webpages, e.g., Slant Magazine, allow users to post a comment directly under the professional review. This encourages discussion among the discourse community members and implies more scrutiny on the part of the contributor, as the claims in the review can be easily questioned and rebutted in an easily accessible comment section. This may also have a bearing on the way critics approach review writing.
- 45 In SCAR, a consumer review that referred explicitly to Pitchfork was identified:

I'm trying to stop listening to music Pitchfork tells me is good. I've been hurt and let down too many times. This album reminded me that sometimes, they're alright, those old hacks.

[SCAR-22-boat-rock]

- 46 There is a glaring discrepancy between commercial success and critical acclaim that should not be underestimated. The importance of critical acclaim in relation to such awards as the Grammys lends validity and relevance to professional music reviews. Even though

consumers may ‘vote with their ears’ more than ever before and it is being directly reflected in the statistics on streaming platforms, critical acclaim is valued more than ever perhaps as a way of balance. The role of music critic is still relevant. In a BBC music podcast, the hosts state that:

Annie Macmanus: It’s good to discuss because I think the world of the critic has changed, it’s become democratized somehow where we all are reviewers now.

Nick Grimshaw: But also I think that’s [...] given everyone the chance to be a critic but then also I think it’s given more weight to the actual critics. Because in a sea of a million voices you’re like, hang on, I need to hear from someone who actually knows what they’re talking about. (Macmanus and Grimshaw, 2024: 18:10-18:32)

- 47 Commercial success translates into pecuniary gain whereas critical acclaim is a sign of prestige and esteem in the industry. It is also associated with the creation of watershed moments that have a cultural impact. The picture of music that emerges from expert reviews is not solely the one of sound. There are numerous remarks in SPAR related to the albums’ impact and message, how they have contributed to the current music landscape and whether they are an artistic statement.

4. Discussion

- 48 Higher share of descriptive steps in critic reviews and higher share of evaluative steps in consumer reviews constitutes the main finding of the study. This can be substantiated by the study conducted by De Jong and Burgers in 2013 that juxtaposed professional and consumer film reviews that yielded the same pattern. The need for providing more context is expressed by one of the crucial roles of the contemporary critic. The following quote is a music critic’s opinion (Laura Snapes) on the role of music reviews in this day and age:

I think that what we’re doing at this point is more like cultural criticism and documentation, it’s adding context, it’s making sense of things and I think that’s the purpose of a good review these days. It’s to help [...] put something in context and help you see sort of the

bigger picture around it [...] I think the best criticism makes connections between things that the artist is doing now and they've done in the past or drawing out different themes and ideas within a work that the artist might not even have elucidated themselves and [...] putting in the context of other artists and periods of history as well. So I think that's the role now. (Macmanus and Grimshaw, 2024: 19:35-20:05)

- 49 The most frequent rhetorical step in SPAR was the lyrics description, while in SCAR, overall evaluation. This difference may stem from the fact that consumers frequently cannot pinpoint the aspects the evaluation pertains to; hence, they are more likely to express a general assessment. Artist background was assigned the greatest amount of space by critics, whereas sound evaluation was expressed with the highest number of words by laypeople. This difference shows that critics strive to provide more extensive context in their reviews, while consumers devote more textual space to sonic evaluation. The data shows that professional reviews have a larger repertoire of obligatory steps (10 obligatory steps excluding paratextual elements) in comparison with their lay counterparts (2 obligatory steps excluding paratextual elements). Another finding is that consumers express their personal opinions and experiences in an explicit manner, as opposed to experts. This is achieved mostly through the more frequent use of the first person pronoun 'I' by laypeople. A similar result was obtained in Dachoviboon's (2019) study on expert and lay book reviews.
- 50 The present study also portrays that the most frequent steps should not be conflated with the elements that occupy the most textual space. By way of illustration, the paratextual unit indicating the review date is the most frequent in professional reviews, yet its share in the textual makeup of reviews is negligible. Sound evaluation, on the other hand, has fewer occurrences compared to the review date step, but it takes up the greatest amount of textual space in SPAR.
- 51 The findings of the present study show that consumers tend to refer to their own experience. Dachoviboon (2019) also showed that expert reviews seem to be more uniform, while lay reviews are less consistent in the review structure. In the current study, this was also the case as certain consumer reviews were fairly brief and personal,

while several exemplars emulated the structure and wording of professional reviews. Koreman et al. (2024) also show that consumer critics allude to their personal experiences more often. At the same time, they increasingly engage in practices resembling the professional ones. Selected consumers, however, follow the structure of critic reviews, thus engaging in implicit genre structuring (Yates et al., 1999).

- 52 Extralinguistic variables should not be underestimated as far as their influence on the generic makeup of the reviews is concerned. Since expert reviews are supposed to generate profit, they contain elements inextricably related to marketing (affiliate links), which entail the use of legal discourse (affiliate link disclaimers).
- 53 The study also shows the need to supplement coding schemes with multimodal elements that are not merely embellishments. Digital genres engage in the exploitation of various semiotic modes, thereby occupying textual, visual, and aural space (music clips).

Conclusion

- 54 In conclusion, professional and consumer reviews mostly differ with respect to the step dimension of the analysis. Professional reviews are balanced evaluations whereas consumer texts are word-of-mouth recommendations. These discourse communities can enter into interactions thanks to the technological affordances of the web. Professional and consumer online music reviews share a number of rhetorical steps. It is the details that make them diverge. Consumer reviews tend to be more evaluative, whereas professional ones provide a more extensive background by offering broader contextual information. It could also be argued that expert music reviews constitute an example of a hybrid genre which combines the format of a music review and features elements derived from legal and promotional discourses. Even if the review is negative, there is still an affiliate link below it which resembles an advertisement. In expert reviews, steps tend to be recycled more frequently, also thanks to their greater length compared to their consumer counterparts. For instance, *sound evaluation* can permeate the review and be found in its different parts, not solely in one fixed place. Texts produced by these two discourse communities also differ with respect to the

rhetorical step frequency, word coverage and a different repertoire of obligatory steps. Despite these differences, lyrics and sound evaluation constitute important rhetorical steps in both subcorpora, thereby stressing the significance of lyrics and sound assessment for both discourse communities. While this study focuses on two distinct communities at opposite ends of the spectrum, it is important to acknowledge the existence of intermediary texts that fall outside this binary. For instance, blog reviews written by fans may closely resemble the structure and tone of professional outlets such as Pitchfork, blurring the boundaries between amateur and institutional discourse. The decision to narrow the corpus to clearly defined communities necessarily excludes these hybrid forms, which may offer valuable insights into the fluidity and overlap between fan and professional practices.

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RÉSUMÉS

English

Even though rhetorical move-step analysis has originally been applied to academic texts, this approach has also been employed to genre analysis of other written genres for some time. Reviews constitute an interesting example of texts as they may significantly influence the perception of a particular work and its potential success or failure. The juxtaposition of texts written by professional and consumer reviewers allows one to pinpoint similarities and differences between the characteristics of these discourse communities. While book and film reviews have been subject to comparative genre analysis, music reviews have not received much scholarly attention in this realm. In order to fill this gap, this paper aims to provide a comparative move-step genre analysis of 100 online music reviews from two salient online reviewing websites, namely Pitchfork (professional reviews) and Rate Your Music (consumer reviews). For the purpose of this study, two subcorpora of music reviews, each consisting of 50 texts published between 2021 and 2023 were compiled. The corpus was manually annotated with the use of a rhetorical function protocol employing structural move analysis and fine-tuned to the specific needs of the corpus in question. Respective parts of reviews were assigned a particular rhetorical step, e.g., *providing background of the artist*. Steps were then grouped into moves, e.g., *situating the album*. Corresponding steps were extracted from each subcorpus to examine what patterns are most frequently employed to realize them. The results indicate that professional reviews encompass more descriptive rhetorical elements, whereas consumer reviews contain more evaluative rhetorical elements. There are also many rhetorical steps that can be found in both professional and consumer reviews, yet they have different linguistic realizations in the two subcorpora.

Français

Bien que l'analyse rhétorique des mouvements et des étapes ait initialement été appliquée aux textes académiques, cette approche est depuis quelque temps utilisée pour l'analyse des genres dans d'autres types de textes. Les critiques constituent un exemple particulièrement intéressant de ce type de textes, car elles peuvent influencer de manière significative la perception d'une œuvre et déterminer son succès ou son échec potentiel. La comparaison entre des textes rédigés par des critiques professionnels et des consommateurs permet d'identifier les similitudes et les différences dans les caractéristiques de ces communautés discursives. Alors que les critiques de livres et de films ont déjà fait l'objet d'analyses de genre dans une perspective comparative, les critiques musicales n'ont pas encore suscité beaucoup d'intérêt scientifique. Pour combler cette lacune, cet article propose une analyse comparative des unités et étapes rhétoriques de

100 critiques musicales en ligne issues de deux plates-formes majeures de critiques : Pitchfork (critiques professionnelles) et Rate Your Music (critiques de consommateurs). À cette fin, deux sous-corpus de critiques musicales, chacun comprenant 50 textes publiés entre 2021 et 2023, ont été compilés. Le corpus a été annoté manuellement à l'aide d'un protocole fonctionnel rhétorique fondé sur l'analyse structurelle des mouvements et adapté aux besoins spécifiques du corpus étudié. Nous avons associé les différentes parties des critiques à une étape rhétorique particulière, telle que *fournir un contexte sur l'artiste*. Ces étapes ont ensuite été regroupées en mouvements, telles que *situer l'album*. Nous avons extrait les mêmes étapes de chaque sous-corpus afin d'identifier les schémas les plus fréquemment employés pour réaliser ces étapes. Les résultats montrent que les critiques professionnelles incluent davantage d'éléments rhétoriques descriptifs, tandis que les critiques de consommateurs privilégient des éléments rhétoriques évaluatifs. De nombreuses étapes rhétoriques se retrouvent dans les deux types de critiques, mais elles présentent des réalisations linguistiques distinctes dans les deux sous-corpus.

INDEX

Mots-clés

analyse des genres, structure rhétorique, critique musicale, critique professionnelle, critique de consommateurs

Keywords

genre analysis, rhetorical structure, music review, professional review, consumer review

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Shaping knowledge in health communication: Information structure and editorial strategy in *EuroHealthNet* magazine

Modeler les connaissances dans la communication sur la santé : Structuration de l'information et stratégies éditoriales dans le magazine EuroHealthNet

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Droits d'auteur

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PLAN

Introduction

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The division of labor was carried out as follows.

Jacqueline Aiello is the author of the sections: 1.1 Overview of the larger study, 1.2 Critical genre analysis and health communication, 1.3.2. Text-external factors, 2.1 Materials, 2.2.2 Preliminary genre analysis and text-external factors, and 3.2 Results: Editorial strategies and themes.

Rita Calabrese is the author of the sections: Introduction, 1.3 Descriptive approaches to information structuring, 1.3.1. Text-internal factors, 2.2.1 Data annotation and tag extraction, 3.1 Information Structuring Results, and 4 Discussion and Future Directions.

TEXTE

Introduction

- 1 In a relatively recent model of communication, the so-called incremental model (Stalnaker, 1999), it is assumed that communication mainly tends to reduce the differences in the knowledge of the interlocutors by increasing the common ground between them, i.e. their stock of shared knowledge. Nonetheless, a comprehensive definition of knowledge is needed: epistemology focuses on fundamental issues of the nature of knowledge, traditionally defined as ‘justified true beliefs’ (for a selection of work in epistemology, see, for example, Bernecker and Dretske, 2000), i.e. as the consensual beliefs of an epistemic community. Van Dijk (2003: 86) maintains:

Producing and comprehending discourse not only involves the processing of meaning, but presupposes vast amounts of knowledge. Notions such as topics, global and local coherence, implication, presupposition, schematic structures and a host of other properties of discourse, all require a knowledge component. And not only the meaning of discourse requires a knowledge component, but also its forms. [...] It is therefore crucial to understand how exactly powerful groups and institutions (such as media, universities, and so on) manage and express their knowledge in public discourse.

- 2 A critical approach to knowledge¹ is also a study of the relations between knowledge and varied forms of linguistic structures implied in knowledge accessibility and communication. One of these means is represented by the analysis of Information Structure (IS). IS relates two major functions of language: as a means to transmit knowledge and as a vehicle of social and linguistic interaction. Linguistic research on information structure is based on the assumption that natural languages are equipped with formal means of signaling the basic distinction between known and unknown pieces of information, and a number of other distinctions. The study of information structure is mainly concerned with lexical and propositional content and with the way such content is transmitted. It is therefore intended to be a component of grammar, more specifically of sentence grammar, i.e. as a determining factor in the formal structuring of sentences. Thus, IS can be formally manifested in aspects of prosody, in special grammatical markers, in the form of syntactic (in particular nominal) constituents, in the position and ordering of such constituents in the sentence, in the form of complex grammatical constructions, and in certain choices between related lexical items. Consequently, IS intervenes at all meaning-bearing levels of the grammatical system and its analysis can be centered on the comparison of semantically equivalent but formally and pragmatically divergent sentence pairs, such as active vs. passive, canonical vs. topicalized, canonical vs. clefted or dislocated, subject-accented vs. predicate accented sentences, among others (Lambrecht, 1994: 6).
- 3 Despite the relevance of issues related to IS, research investigating how information is structured in specialized texts has so far been largely overlooked in favor of a closer examination of specific linguistic phenomena occurring at phrase or discourse/genre level. Consequently, there has been a dearth of clause-level research. It is worth mentioning an individual study carried out by Shirley Carter-Thomas and Elizabeth Rowley-Jolivet in 2001 who analyzed the syntactic differences characterizing oral and written scientific discourse and the role played by IS. Nonetheless, a systematic study leading to generalizations on how information is structured in specialized informative texts and how knowledge is accessed by expert and/or lay audiences is still lacking. Indeed, the present research is an attempt to bridge the gap between theoretical

assumptions about IS and their practical applications to the syntactic analysis of specialized texts in the field of health communication.

4 These analyses are also complemented by an examination of the communicative purpose, editorial strategies, and other text-external factors of semi-specialized health texts, in order to account for their sociopragmatic, institutional, and disciplinary considerations.

5 The present paper therefore addresses the following research questions (RQs):

1. How does an informative/specialized magazine cope with the different linguacultural backgrounds of its potential audience(s)?
2. What are the most prominent text-internal and text-external features characterizing health communication and emerging genres of science popularization and dissemination?
3. In terms of information structuring and knowledge accessibility, have the canonical IS features undergone highly or marginally relevant changes as a consequence of the Covid-19 pandemic [and the communication strategies related to it]?
4. In terms of frequency and statistical relevance, what are the most recurrent IS features and syntactic structures of the postpandemic health communication?
5. How do editorial structure, tag distribution, keyword profiles and deictic patterns characterize the rhetorical and audience-oriented strategies within public health communication?

6 In order to address these questions, a very preliminary study has been carried out on sample data extracted from a corpus (still under construction) of editorials and articles published in an online magazine (<https://eurohealthnet-magazine.eu/>) specifically compiled as part of a larger project investigating knowledge accessibility across genres in specialized communication set up in English as a lingua franca (ELF)/EU contexts.

7 The paper is organized as follows. In Section 1, a brief introduction to EuroHealthNet and the central aims on which the PRIN 2022 PNRR project is grounded precedes an outline of basic concepts pertaining critical genre analysis and health communication as well as descriptive approaches to information structuring in specialized texts. Section 2 is dedicated to the description of the data collection

and analysis approaches employed in the study, while Section 3 shows the results of a preliminary study of both text-internal (i.e. via information structuring) and text-external factors (i.e., via tag, keyness and deictic analysis) within the multiperspective and multidimensional framework provided by critical genre analysis (Bhatia, 2017). Finally, the implications of the present findings for future research on popularization and knowledge accessibility are discussed in Section 4.

1. Background

1.1. Overview of the larger study

- 8 The present study presents preliminary findings from initial analyses of the uses of ELF to enhance accessibility and acceptability within the public health messaging. It sits within a larger PRIN 2022 PNRR study funded by the European Union – Next Generation EU entitled “Acceptability strategies through variations of English as a lingua franca in multicultural and multimodal discourse types” (P2022AFTEJ, CUP D53D2302065 0001) which involves two research teams at the Universities of Salerno and Salento in Italy. The main focus of the larger study conducted by our research team at the University of Salerno is eHealth. At the turn of the century, Gunther Eysenbach (2001: 1), editor of the *Journal of Medical Internet Research*, defined eHealth as “an emerging field in the intersection of medical informatics, public health and business” characterized by “a commitment for networked, global thinking, to improve health care locally, regionally, and worldwide by using information and communication technology.” Within this ongoing digitalization process, which intensified with the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic, health messaging emanating from global, supranational, national, and local institutions has carved out a new, critical space in our daily lives. Accordingly, today, the ubiquitous presence of health recommendations and scientific findings across media channels and increasingly on emerging digital platforms has become commonplace. Seeing as the effective communication of health promotion information and services can impact positively on health outcomes, whereas ineffective communication can put people’s lives

at risk (Ochieng, 2013), the larger study seeks to contribute to this critical, rapidly evolving phenomenon by casting light on the features that both characterize digital health communication and are necessary for it to be effective, accessible, and acceptable.

- 9 To this end, our research unit has begun investigating the strategies used within the multimodal digital health communication of Europe-based public health institutions and projects aimed at enhancing access to healthcare services and the dissemination of health-related information and expertise. A primary premise of our study is that, for it to be effective, the communication of these public institutions must be attentive, sensitive, and receptive to the diverse linguacultural backgrounds and levels of knowledge of specialized discourses of their heterogeneous audience, which includes but is not limited to health institutions, health professionals, and the general public. Within the framework of this larger study, the present paper focuses on specific aspects, including the analysis of *EuroHealthNet* magazine as a primary data source, the exploration of information structuring strategies and the application of critical genre analysis. By examining these elements, this study aims to serve as a foundational step toward addressing the broader objectives of the overarching research project concerning the creation of accessible, acceptable, and effective digital health communication by public health institutions.

1.2. Critical genre analysis and health communication

- 10 Genre studies, which encompass a range of frameworks used to analyze various textual genres within academic, professional, workplace, and other institutional contexts, involve analyses that can range from a detailed linguistic examination of texts as discursive products to broader investigations into the dynamic complexities of communicative practices in professional settings (Bhatia, 2017). Outsiders to a discourse community may struggle to follow specialized communication, even if they understand the language used (Swales, 1990). Of interest in this regard is the characterization of professional communities as communities of practice, which consist of individuals who have a common concern or passion and

seek to improve their abilities through regular interaction. Lave and Wenger (1991) describe that the concept of legitimate peripheral participation serves as a bidirectional link between the acquisition of knowledgeable skill and the development of identity and the (re)production of these communities. Through a social process characterized by increasingly centripetal participation, newcomers gradually become established members, or 'oldtimers,' as they gain legitimate access to the ongoing practices of the community. Over time, newcomers develop a deeper understanding of the practice by engaging in peripheral participation in the community's activities. The acquisition of knowledgeable skill is intrinsically tied to assuming the identity of a practitioner and becoming a full participant within the community. Indeed, Lave and Wenger (1991: 56) maintain that in any given community of practice, "the process of community reproduction – a historically constructed, ongoing, conflicting, synergistic structuring of activity and relations among practitioners – must be deciphered in order to understand specific forms of legitimate peripheral participation through time".

- 11 Another related and pertinent aspect is highlighted by Candlin et al. (2002), who emphasize that professional communities consist of diverse participants with varying perceptions, beliefs, and positions regarding the community's goals, membership criteria, discourses, texts, and practices. They argue that understanding this heterogeneity requires a comprehensive analysis of texts and their conditions, influenced by the lived experiences and disciplinary identities of members. This necessitates a shift from purely linguistic descriptions of genres to a broader exploration of the social and historical contexts influencing the production and reception of texts, posing challenges for research methodologies.
- 12 These aspects demonstrate challenges that, in turn, accentuate the importance of genre knowledge in achieving communicative efficiency, as it goes beyond recognizing linguistic forms to understanding the conceptual and rhetorical structures established within discourse communities (Widdowson, 1998). In essence, communication in specific contexts is not just about grammatical accuracy but involves understanding the conventions and goals of a particular discourse community. This requires knowledge of how professionals conceptualize and discuss issues to achieve their

objectives. Many significant aspects of genre construction and interpretation in disciplinary and professional contexts are thus closely tied to the shared understanding of context. As a result, context has assumed an increasingly central role in genre analysis, redefining genre as “a configuration of text-internal as well as text-external resources, highlighting two kinds of relationships involving text and context” (Bhatia, 2017: 4).

- 13 In response to the aforementioned challenges and to the novel conceptualizations of genre, Bhatia (2017) developed a framework for genre analysis that emphasizes both intertextual relationships centered primarily on text-internal properties, and interdiscursive relationships resulting primarily from text-external factors concerned with interactions and appropriations across genres, professional practices, and disciplinary cultures. Bhatia (2017: 5) has argued that there is a dearth of research on interdiscursivity – defined as “the function of appropriation of generic resources, primarily contextual in nature, focusing on specific relationships between and across discursive and professional practices as well as professional cultures” and “more innovative attempts to create various forms of hybrid and relatively novel constructs by appropriating or exploiting established conventions or resources associated with other genres and professional practices” (Bhatia, 2017: 35), particularly within the realm of genre studies. He further maintained that it is not sufficient to analyze intertextual aspects of discursive practices but “it is more important that we address the role such discursive practices play in the achievement of professional actions” (Bhatia, 2017: 5).
- 14 To fill these gaps, Bhatia (2017) developed a four-level model of discourse realization that encompasses his interest and effort in emphasizing modes of action and thought. In the model, the first level is discourse as text, which refers to the analysis of surface-level text-internal properties of discourse or information structures, which was discussed earlier in this paper, and is not primarily focused on context. The next level, discourse as genre, is interested in broader conceptualizations of context not only related to how text is constructed, but also how it is interpreted and used in particular contexts to obtain specific ends. The third level of discourse realization is professional practice, by which Bhatia (2017) refers to

actions deemed as successful achievement of the typical objectives of a specific professional community often studied by means of the analysis of interdiscursive exploitation of linguistic and other semiotic resources within sociopragmatic space. The fourth level, professional culture, “indicates that appropriate forms of professional and disciplinary identities are constructed and played out to ensure pragmatic success of the discursive and professional action in question.” The author concludes that “any theory or framework that chooses to underemphasise any of these four aspects of language use is unlikely to offer a sufficiently comprehensive and insightful understanding of a specific genre used as part of a professional activity to achieve specific professional, disciplinary and institutional objectives” (Bhatia, 2017: 35).

- 15 Thus, critical genre analysis (CGA) is a methodological approach, as Bhatia (2017: 9) explains, that “focuses on demystification of professional practice through the medium of genres”. It acknowledges that members of professional communities, while adhering to shared values and genre conventions, possess the flexibility to incorporate personal intentions within these frameworks. The primary goal of CGA is to describe, explain, and account for the discursive performance of professionals, emphasizing the importance of understanding the underlying motivations and structures that shape professional genres and actions. Unlike traditional critiques, CGA does not aim to evaluate but rather to elucidate the conventional responses and interdiscursive behaviors typical of professional communities. CGA distinguishes itself by its objective to unpack the complex, multiperspective, and multidimensional nature of professional practices by means of a rigorous and objective integration of genre analysis with various methodological frameworks and multiple perspectives, for instance, considering both the intentions of the author and the reception by the audience. This multiperspective analysis is crucial for understanding discursive conventions in professional settings, making CGA a comprehensive and nuanced approach to studying professional communication.

1.3. Descriptive approaches to information structuring

16 This study adopts Lambrecht's (1994) approach to grammatical analysis, in which the function of a given lexicogrammatical structure is not interpreted compositionally, in terms of the meanings of its parts, but globally, in terms of the formal contrast between the entire structure and semantically equivalent alternative structures provided by the grammar.

17 Methodologically, the study is an attempt to combine insights from both formal and functional approaches to grammatical analysis. More specifically, the main assumption is that the relationship between the internal structure of sentences and the extralinguistic contexts in which sentences are used as units of propositional information is governed by rules of sentence grammar in a grammatical component called *information structure* or *information packaging*: the "relationship between speaker's assumptions and the formal structure of the sentence is taken to be governed by rules and conventions of sentence grammar, in a grammatical component which I call information structure, using a term introduced by Halliday (1967)" (Lambrecht, 1994: xiii). In other words,

"information structure deals with the way the information conveyed by the discourse in question is packaged into informational units within and between clauses by the enunciator (writer or speaker), in order to satisfy two communicative goals: i) making the information conveyed by the discourse easier for the reader/hearer to understand; ii) indicating what the enunciator considers to be the most important or salient items of information" (Carter-Thomas and Rowley-Jolivet, 2001: 2).

18 In order to make information easier to be accessed and processed, speakers tend to place at the beginning of the clause what they are speaking about, the *theme*, which usually contains given (or recoverable) elements that other speakers/interlocutors can easily identify. New elements of information concerning this theme will figure afterwards in the *rheme*.

- 19 This type of organization with *given* information first and *new* information second, reinforced by the principle of end-weight and final focal stress, is considered to be the unmarked option for organizing the information. On the syntactic level, unmarked information packaging arrangements are often rendered in English by a Subject + Verb + Object (SVO) structure, where the grammatical subject of an active verb provides the thematic anchorage, with the verb complex and object constituting the *new* or rhematic part of the clause. However, this SVO order is not always sufficient or suitable to create a coherent text. To respect unmarked information structure, the speakers may use a different syntactic arrangement. They may also choose to deliberately reverse the usual information packaging arrangements in order to give certain elements of information particular salience or focus².
- 20 Even though the definition of information structure is not one on which scholars unanimously agree depending on the different topics and related terminology adopted, two more general approaches have emerged (Arnold et al., 2013: 2): the former stresses the importance of background/known information shared by two speakers compared with the new informational load/content to be conveyed (expressed by the dichotomy *given/new*); the latter reflects the distinction between the topic (i.e. information that is backgrounded or assumed) and the focus (i.e. information that is highlighted or focused). Broadly speaking, these binary approaches have received considerable attention within theoretical linguistics, where researchers argue for different types of information-structural divisions (e.g. topic-comment; topic-focus; rheme-theme), as well as gradient representations of information status along a continuum such as salience, prominence, or accessibility in the framework of functional linguistics (see also Givón, 1983, who characterizes information along a continuum of topicality that is very similar to what other researchers call ‘accessibility’). Therefore, both models seem to be effectively congenial to the purposes of the present study and reasonably representative of its theoretical background. The following sections will briefly touch on the linguistic as well as the contextual features which have been the main foci of the present study.

1.3.1. Text-internal factors

- 21 Previous individual studies (for a complete overview of past literature see Arnold et al., 2013) on information structure have been so far especially concerned with how it relates to four linguistic phenomena: 1) referential form, i.e. how people refer to entities in the world which is determined by the salience, or accessibility of a referent in a given context and accessible when they are topical in the recent discourse and mentioned in syntactically prominent positions like the subject position; 2) morphological marking to indicate grammatical roles (including noun/verb morphology and focus particles like *also*, *merely*, *even* and *only*); 3) word order or constituent order by means of different constructions, following the universal generalization that given or more accessible information precedes new or less accessible information, namely a. Active: *The cat swiped the dog on the nose*. b. Passive: *The dog was swiped on the nose by the cat*. c. Heavy-NP-shifted: *The cat swiped on the nose the dog that had frightened it*. d. Topicalization: *The DOG the cat swiped on the nose, while the ferret got away*. e. Prepositional Dative: *The cat gave a warning to the dog*. f. Double object Dative: *The cat gave the dog a warning*. g. Cleft constructions (including three main types: IT-clefts, Pseudo-clefts, ordinary WH clefts (WH)/reverse WH clefts (RWH): *It was the dog that the cat swiped on the nose*; 4) *inversion* or *fronting* (In a language such as English in which the SV(O) sequence is the canonical (or unmarked) word order), the reversal of this sequence has traditionally been referred to by the name of inversion triggered by some element other than the subject being placed in clause initial position; 5) the existential *there* construction whose communicative function is to introduce a brand-new referent into the discourse and to make it cognitively accessible even as the theme of the subsequent clause. Noun groups in scientific research articles are often heavily pre- or postmodified. Placing the noun group in rhematic position, thanks to the existential *there* construction, avoids overloading the clausal theme, thus respecting the principle of end-weight; 6) prosody in oral discourse (which is not the subject of the present paper). In particular, features 3c, 3f and 5 were taken into account for the present study.

1.3.2. Text-external factors

- 22 In the study of genre analysis, particularly within the framework of CGA, text-external factors are pivotal in shaping the construction, interpretation and use of genres. These factors, which include discursive practices, professional practices, and professional cultures, provide essential context that influences how genres are understood and employed within specific professional communities (Bhatia, 2004). Discursive practices encompass the norms and conventions of language use within a particular community, while professional practices refer to the standardized procedures and routines that define professional behavior. Professional cultures refer to the broader values, beliefs, and norms that characterize a professional community. Research by Swales (1990) and Bazerman (1994) underscores the importance of these external elements, highlighting how they constrain and enable interdiscursivity – the blending and borrowing of elements across different genres – within a given professional context. For instance, Hyland (2000) discusses how academic genres are shaped by the interaction between disciplinary conventions and institutional expectations, demonstrating that an understanding of these external factors is essential for a comprehensive analysis of genre. Similarly, studies by Fairclough (1992) and van Dijk (2009) illustrate how power dynamics and social structures external to the text influence genre conventions and their reception. Thus, incorporating an awareness of text-external semiotic resources provides a more nuanced understanding of genre as a socially situated phenomenon, and reveals the complex interplay between textual features and the broader socioprofessional landscape.
- 23 Text-external factors include a wide array of social, cultural, institutional, and historical elements that shape the construction, interpretation, and usage of texts. Swales (1990) emphasized the importance of understanding the discourse community and its shared goals and values as critical text-external factors that shape genre conventions. Bhatia (1993) further elaborated on the significance of professional practices and organizational norms, arguing that genre analysis must account for the specific professional context in which a text is situated. This perspective aligns with the

work of Bazerman (1994), which stressed the historical and social dimensions of genre, emphasizing how genres evolve in response to changing societal needs and expectations. More recently, researchers like Askehave and Swales (2001) and Devitt (2004) have expanded the focus to include the interrelationship between genre and broader sociopolitical and economic contexts, suggesting that genre analysis must consider the power dynamics and ideological influences that pervade professional and institutional settings. CGA, as discussed by Bhatia (2004), incorporates these text-external factors to offer a multiperspective analysis, aiming to demystify the discursive practices within specific disciplinary communities. By integrating these external influences, CGA seeks to provide a comprehensive understanding of genre as a socially situated and contextually bound phenomenon, thereby offering a richer and more nuanced interpretation of professional communication.

2. The present study – Methods

- 24 Drawing on the notions of IS and CGA introduced above, the study compares and investigates two written scientific/informative genres – namely articles and editorials published in an online magazine covering different health-related domains – of selected issues of the *EuroHealthNet* magazine.

2.1. Materials

- 25 EuroHealthNet is a not-for-profit partnership comprising organizations, institutes, and authorities dedicated to public health, disease prevention, health promotion, and reducing health inequalities. The mission of EuroHealthNet is to contribute to building a sustainable, fair, and inclusive Europe through healthier communities and to address health disparities within and between European states. Their vision is to create a society where all citizens can enjoy their fundamental right to the highest attainable standard of health, regardless of race, religion, gender, or socioeconomic status.
- 26 EuroHealthNet publishes an online magazine biannually, which is disseminated to over 12,000 professionals via email and social media

platforms. The aim of the magazine, as listed on the website, is “to inspire professionals working in health promotion, tackling inequalities, or other related fields” by highlighting “the most interesting projects and developments in the field of health equity, public health, and health promotion from within the partnership and beyond.” Regular content includes detailed reports on active or recently evaluated projects, analyses of contemporary issues, strategic approaches, and innovative ideas driving health promotion. Additionally, the magazine features summaries of relevant research, publications, academic work, and professional development opportunities.

- 27 The present study explores 140 articles included in fourteen editions of EuroHealthNet’s magazine, which are available online (<https://eurohealthnet-magazine.eu/category/editions/>). Two editions were published yearly from 2017 to 2023. Each issue contained on average 10 articles, with Edition #22 published in December 2023 and Edition #13 published in July 2019 having the highest representation with 12 articles each. The textual content of each of the selected articles, excluding author names, notes, references and dates, constituted a 148,495-word (169,730-token) corpus, named The EuroHealthNet Magazine (EHN) corpus. This larger corpus was divided into two small corpora consisting of 126 magazine articles (133,603 words | 152,709 tokens) and 14 editorials (14,891 words | 17,021 tokens). Other information about and within both article types, including the titles, visual elements, and other tags applied, was also collected.
- 28 In order to address the research questions outlined in the introduction, two subcorpora were constructed for each text type (editorials and articles) based on magazine issues published during the pre-Covid-19 period (issues 9 to 14, 2017-2019) and the post-Covid-19 period (issues 15 to 22, 2020-2023).

2.2. Procedure

2.2.1 Data annotation and tag extraction

- 29 To investigate the IS of the texts selected from the corpus, given the different size of the subcorpora, all the data were first normalized on

a 1000 basis to make them easily comparable according to the following procedure: the frequencies for each structural type were searched for in each corpus to determine the number of occurrences of a given feature per one thousand words, so that the raw frequency was divided by the total number of words in the corpus section and the result multiplied by one thousand.

30 Moreover, to test the significant difference in frequency between the two corpora of different sizes, the UCREL log-likelihood (LL) wizard (<http://corpora.lancs.ac.uk/clmtp/2-stat.php>) was used to determine the saliency of specific features. The subsections of the corpus were then automatically parsed and annotated by using the language analysis tools provided by the VISL website (<https://edu.visl.dk/visl/en/parsing/automatic/>). More specifically, the VISL interface provides both morphosyntactic and semantic annotations of constituent structures by automatically assigning tags of inflection, syntactic functions and constituent dependency³. The starting point of the analysis was the list of syntactic features characterizing a varied constituent order marking different constructions and theme-rheme relations. Those features were searched for in the corpus and then mapped onto VISL tags by analyzing the constituent structures of the clauses. Once annotated, tags/instances for each feature could be automatically extracted from the corpus with the application of the AntConc concordancer and then manually mapped to the corresponding structural patterns selected for the study to see how IS affects the use of particular marked constructions, namely cleft constructions (including three main types: *it*-clefts, pseudo-clefts, ordinary WH clefts (WH)/reverse WH clefts (RWH), existential *there* constructions and NP heaviness (prenominal/postnominal modifier = @>N / @N<). Table 1 shows the inventory of syntactic features/constructions and corresponding VISL tags selected for the study.

Table 1: Inventory of syntactic features/constructions and corresponding VISL tags selected for the study

Type of construction	POS	Functional Category	Definition
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Existential there constructions / + NP heaviness	N ADV	@>N / @N< ADV @F-SUBJ>	prenominal/postnominal modifier adverbial argument / formal subject
IT-/ WH-Cleft constructions	PERS NEU <rel>	@SUBJ @F<SUBJ> INDP S/P @ACC> \$TH \$\$THEME	Formal subject Independent pronoun, Sing./Pl., accusative/direct object, theme
Constituent order (Heavy NP-shifted)	<rel>	INDP @SUBJ	Independent pronoun

- 31 Once the number of occurrences for each feature and subcorpus were identified, the results were also matched/compared for text type and time span under study to test the actual saliency of IS.

2.2.2. Preliminary genre analysis and text-external factors

- 32 This analytical portion of the study, which aimed at beginning to scratch the surface of our preliminary review of the text-external factors, involved structure, tag, keyword, and deictic analysis. Our rationale for this approach was that these analyses illuminate how sociopragmatic, institutional, and disciplinary considerations shape the content and communicative strategies of the genre. These methods reveal thematic priorities, audience positioning, and interdiscursive dynamics, offering insights into how the genre appropriates and integrates resources to meet the needs of the magazine's diverse stakeholders in a multidisciplinary context.
- 33 In order to identify the general structure of the two genres contained in the EHN corpus, two subcorpora of editorials and articles were manually coded using NVivo 15. Next, we considered tags, seeing as they offer insights regarding the editorial priorities and thematic focus areas of the editions of the *EuroHealthNet* magazine under study.
- 34 Subsequently, keyness analysis was performed to extract keywords, or words that occur with unusual frequency that aid in "the understanding of the main concepts, topics or attitudes discussed in

a text or corpus” (Gabrielatos, 2018). This method involves comparing the frequency lists of a larger, more general reference corpus and a smaller, more specialized target corpus (in this case, the EHN corpus). The reference corpus used for this study was English Web 2021 (enTenTen21), which is readily available in Sketch Engine (www.sketchengine.eu), a corpus manager and text analysis software tool. EnTenTen21, constituted by texts collected from the internet between 2021 and 2022, was used as a reference corpus for the keyness analysis. A list of 20 single-word keywords was generated. Then, enTenTen21 also includes two preloaded subcorpora useful for our analysis: a subcorpora comprised by EU domain .eu texts (178,200,834 tokens) – which aligns with the geographical context of the material under study, and a subcorpora comprised by texts that fall within the topic Health (480,090,118 tokens). These were also used as reference corpora for keyness analysis.

35 To complement the IS pre/post-Covid analyses, this analytical phase also analyzed the two subcorpora of editorials and articles differentiated by time (pre- and post-Covid-19 period). First, keyness analysis was performed on the pre-Covid subcorpus using Sketch Engine, with the post-Covid subcorpus as the reference. Next, NVivo’s word-frequency query with synonyms was used to identify the main themes of each subcorpora. Since several of the most frequent words generated numerous synonyms, or “similar words”, for presentation purposes (Table 6) each synonym set was reduced to its most salient examples.

36 Lastly, as Bhatia (2017) holds,

[...] there are several identities that a professional may be required to negotiate and give expression to simultaneously in the same piece of discourse: his professional identity as a member of a particular disciplinary community; organizational identity as a member of a specific organization or institution; his social identity as a valued member of one or more social groups; and of course his individual identity as indication of his self-expression.

37 He thus emphasizes how crucial it is to examine the ways in which discursive practices in professional organizations determine and redefine professional, disciplinary and organizational identities. To

this end, we also completed a deictic analysis focused on the analysis of pronoun use. Due to space constraints, this analysis was limited to a focus on the first-person plural pronoun ‘we’. The concordance function of Sketch Engine was used to generate a random sample of 10 concordance lines in which ‘we’ is the key word in context (KWIC). A close analysis of the output followed to investigate context-based deictic positioning within *EuroHealthNet* magazine.

3. Results

3.1. Information Structuring Results

- 38 Example 1 shows a sample of the annotation process and corresponding tags mapped onto existential *there*-constructions extracted from the ARTICLES_2017 parsed subcorpus.
- (1) There [-There] <heur> <DL:med> <idf> <DL:med> <nhead> N S NOM @SUBJ> #4->5
 is [be] <DL:med> <DL:med> <mv> V PR 3S @FS-<ACC #5->2
 a [a] <indef> ART S @>N #6->7
 need [need] <percep-f> <DL:med> <idf> <DL:med> <nhead> N S NOM @<SC #7->5
 for [for] <np-close> PRP @N< #8->7
 a [a] <indef> ART S @>N #9->10
 system [system] <cli> <system> <DL:med> <idf> <DL:med> <nhead> N S NOM @P< #10->8
 which [which] <clb> <rel> INDP S @SUBJ> #11->12
 gives [give] <v.contact> <DL:med> <DL:med> <mv> <np-close> V PR 3S @FS-N
- 39 Figure 1 shows a sample of existential *there*-constructions as the formal, existential subject of the clause extracted from the AntConc KWIC list for *there* (n=120).

Figure 1: KWIC list for the node *there*

File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	ead> NUM S S @P< #5->4 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #6->7 are [be] <DLbio> <mv>	
2 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	d> N S NOM @SUBJ> #1->3 There [	there] <*> < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #2->3 is [be] <gt-head> <DL:	
3 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	at] <db> KS @SUB #12->14 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #13->14 would [will] <real-subj> <DL:	
4 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	P< #4->1, [] PU @PU #5->0 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #6->7 has [have] <DLmed> <aux>	
5 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	] PU @PU #19->0 </s> There [	there] <*> < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #1->2 is [be] <DLbio> <mv>	
6 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	re] <*> ADV @ADVL> #1->3 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #2->3 is [be] <mv> V PR 3	
7 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	ad> N S NOM @P< #28->26 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #29->30 is [be] <mv> V PR 3	
8 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	L> #1->4, [] PU @PU #2->0 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #3->4 is [be] <DLmed> <vch> <	
9 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	head> N S NOM @P< #2->1 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #3->4 has [have] <DLbio> <DL:	
10 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	CC #8->4, [] PU @PU #9->0 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #10->11 are [be] <gt-head> <DL:	
11 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	TA #4->0, [] PU @PU #5->0 there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #6->7 is [be] <gt-head> <DLmed> <	
12 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	] PU @PU #19->0 </s> There [	there] <*> < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #1->2 is [be] <mv> V PR 3	
13 PARSED_ARTICLES_2017...	] PU @PU #11->0 </s> there [	there] < aloc> ADV @F-SUBJ> #1->2 is [be] <predco> <gt-head> <	

40 WH-Cleft constructions are exemplified in Figure 2 below, extracted from the AntConc KWIC list for *what* ($n=127$) along with the corresponding VISL tags.

Figure 2: Different annotations for the node *what* as an independent pronoun (non-inflecting INDP) and as a determiner pronoun (inflecting DET)

File	Left Context	Hit	Right Context
1 PARSED...	are [be] <mv> V PR -1/3S @FS-<ACC #12->9, [] PU @PU #13->0	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SC> [what] <clb> <	
2 PARSED...	are [be] <mv> V PR -1/3S @FS-<SC #17->12, [] PU @PU #18->0	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SC> #19->20 are [be] <	
3 PARSED...	SC #4->3 -map [map] <heur> <idf> <thead> N S NOM @P< #5->4	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SUBJ> #6->7 is [be] <	
4 PARSED...	clarify [clarify] <vq> <DLmus> <mv> V INF @ICL-<ADVL #10->4	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SUBJ> #11->12 counted [count] <	
5 PARSED...	I #1->5 if so [if=so] <complex> ADV @ADVL> #2->0, [] PU @PU #3->0	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SC> #4->6 would [will] <	
6 PARSED...	N P NOM @P< #14->12 and [and] <co-fin> KC @CO #15->6	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SUBJ> #16->17 can [can] <	
7 PARSED...	possible [responsible] <cl> ADJ POS @<SC #12->8, [] PU @PU #13->0	what [what] <clb> <interr> DET S @>N #14->15 kind [kind] <idf> <	
8 PARSED...	describes [describe] <v> <contact> <mv> V PR 3S @FS-STA #2->0	what [what] <clb> <interr> DET S @>N #3->4 kind [kind] <idf> <	
9 PARSED...	N S NOM @<DAT #28->26 and [and] <co-fin> KC @CO #29->4	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SUBJ> #30->31 can [can] <	
10 PARSED...	rhead> N S NOM @<SC #22->20 online [online] ADV @<ADVL #23->20	what [what] <clb> <interr> DET S @>N #24->25 kind [kind] <idf> <	
11 PARSED...	PR -3S @FS-N< #25->19 or [or] <co-fin> KC @CO #26->25	what [what] <clb> <interr> DET S @>N #27->28 organisation [organisation] <a	
12 PARSED...	DLmed> <idf> <DLmed> <nhead> N P NOM @P< #13->11	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SUBJ> #14->15 will [will] <	
13 PARSED...	understand] <vq> <DLmed> <mv> V PR -3S @FS-<ADVL #24->13	what [what] <clb> <interr> INDP S/P @SC> #25->28 the [the] <	

- 41
- Finally, raw (Rf) and normalised frequencies (Nf) of the features under study were calculated to determine the actual saliency they have in each subcorpus. Indeed, the significance test proves to be particularly useful when comparing two or more corpora and observing trends of specific linguistic features/structures along a given timeline since it can tell us whether the results can be treated as significant. The higher the LL is, the less likely it is that the result is a random coincidence/occurrence. The LL must be above 3.84 for the difference to be significant at the $p < 0.05$ level (also called the 95% level or probability value).
- 42
- Table 2 shows the overall results from the normalization and log-likelihood calculations.

Table 2: Overall results of normalization and log-likelihood calculations

SOURCE	there constructions + heavy NP		IT-/WH- Cleft constructions		Constituent order (THAT+Heavy NP- shifted)		Log - likelihood score
	Rf	Nf	Rf	Nf	Rf	Nf	
SUBC_ARTICLES 2017	120	2.47	3	0.06	0	0	214.3
			5	0.10			
SUBC_ART2019ON	3	0.03	2	0.02	2	0.02	
SUBC_EDITOR- IALS 2017	4	0.68	0	0	8	1.36	10.89
SUBC_EDITOR- IALS 2019ON	1	0.10	0	0	2	0.21	

- 43
- The analysis reports that existential *there*-constructions in the ‘prepandemic’ articles were more widely attested as recurrent explanatory speech-like strategy than in the contemporary and later articles. The same can be said for the editorials dating back to both periods under consideration and this observation is counterintuitive given the increasing need for more accessible and sustained information from both professional and lay audiences as the pandemic crisis has definitely revealed. IT/WH-cleft constructions are confirmed as the less preferred form of left dislocation of the theme-rheme dichotomy in professional/EuroHealthNet communication.

3.2. Results: Editorial strategies and themes

3.2.1. Editorial and article structure

- 44 Two separate structural analyses were performed for the editorials and the articles. The fourteen *EuroHealthNet* editorials exhibit a highly regularized eight-move structure: (1) an opening situational hook that orients readers to a timely event or policy frame; (2) problematization that presents trends, statistics, and concrete harms; (3) attribution or causal framing that locates responsibility in structural, political, or commercial forces; (4) an explicit evaluative authorial position; (5) evidence and illustration, typically mobilizing short case studies, projects, and referenced reports drawn from the issue's contents; (6) prescriptions or calls to action addressed to policymakers, practitioners, or readers; (7) broader implications linking the specific problem to cross-sectoral agendas (e.g. SDGs, economy-of-wellbeing); and (8) a closing signpost that introduces the issue's articles and invites engagement. Across the corpus the editorials display recurrent linguistic cues that realize moves, including policy and time markers and evaluative lexis for openings and positions; numerical references and contrastives for problematization; agentive phrasing for attribution; project and/or report names for evidence; and deontic modals for prescriptions.
- 45 By contrast, articles display a related but distinctive structure overall. Two separate genre families were identified that characterized the articles, or policy strategy reports and reports on public health issues. While the former are typically framed in terms of case studies that described and promoted a policy or program enacted in a specific European context, the latter generally involves syntheses of research publications or accounts of experts' insights into a given public health matter. Notwithstanding these differences, the two subgenres shared a common sequence of moves: an opening summary that either hooks the reader with a provocative question or provides a brief abstract of the article; a presentation of the context and/or the problem; and a description of the project, intervention, or research publication. Some articles include a description the

methodology used to monitor the outcomes of the project or study, but most prioritize the results and outputs, mainly suggesting the advantages of the project (and therefore exhibiting a promotional and practice-oriented slant). Closings of the articles vary: some endend with practical implementation guidance, while others closed with future directions or description of funders and partners. Overall, the articles mirror the editorials’ emphasis on evidence and prescription, while foregrounding empirical description and program implementation.

3.2.2. Tag analysis

46 Within the 596 tags that were applied to the articles, 140 were the editions of the articles and 456 were thematic. Table 3 displays the distribution of thematic tags, which reflect the content focus of the articles.

Table 3: Thematic tag distribution

Tag	Applications	Percentage
Practice	69	49.3%
Health Inequalities	58	41.4%
Health & Social Systems	55	39.3%
Policy	40	28.6%
Childhood & Adolescence	32	22.9%
Research	29	20.7%
NCDs	28	20.0%
Behaviour & Addiction	26	18.6%
European & International Affairs	26	18.6%
Environment & Sustainability	24	17.1%
Mental Health	24	17.1%
Working Life & Social Protection	19	13.6%
EuroHealthNet Editorials	12	8.6%
Ageing	11	7.9%
CHAIN	2	1.4%
Look who's talking	1	0.7%

- 47 The high prevalence of the most frequently assigned tag “Practice,” which indicates emphasis on practical applications, actionable insights, and real-world implications of health topics, suggests that the magazine targets practitioners and policymakers seeking practical solutions. The next most common tags are “Health Inequalities” (58 articles) and “Health & Social Systems” (55 articles), which underscore a sustained editorial commitment to understanding disparities in health outcomes, the functioning of health systems, and social determinants of health. Together, these emphases align the magazine with broader public-health discourses that prioritize equity and structural reform, and position EuroHealthNet as a critical voice advocating for systemic change.
- 48 While the relatively high frequency of articles tagged under “Policy” (28.6%) reflects the magazine’s interest in the regulatory and legislative aspects of health systems and public health, the presence of tags such as “Childhood & Adolescence” (22.9%), “Behaviour & Addiction” (18.6%), “Mental Health” (17.1%), and “Ageing” (7.9%) reflects the magazine’s broad coverage across life stages and behavioral and clinical concerns. Although tags like “Environment & Sustainability,” “Mental Health,” and “Ageing,” are less frequently assigned, they accentuate the magazine’s attention to emerging health challenges and the evolving landscape of public health. The inclusion of the tags “CHAIN” and “Look who’s talking,” albeit minimally applied with 1.4% (2 articles) and 0.7% (1 article) respectively, indicates specialized or niche topics that receive occasional coverage.
- 49 Thus, these data suggest EuroHealthNet magazine’s broad yet focused approach to public health, with a marked emphasis on practical solutions, health inequalities, and systemic issues. The editorial strategy appears designed to both inform and influence practitioners and policymakers, while also addressing a wide range of complex health challenges relevant to professionals and the broader public in a nuanced and comprehensive manner. The high score in the type-token ratio of the corpus corroborates this interpretation: the observed lexical density reflects considerable lexical diversity in the magazine, which is consistent with the breadth of issues revealed by tag distribution.

3.2.3. Keywords

Table 4: Keywords

	Item	Freq. (focus)	Freq. (reference)	Score
1	eurohealthnet	112	211	658.62
2	ncds	44	17153	203.54
3	wellbeing	320	555817	188.16
4	bcis	30	3448	168.33
5	determinant	115	229641	143.49
6	whp	26	6305	139.87
7	inequality	300	770225	130.94
8	nijz	21	189	124.34
9	best-remap	20	1	118.83
10	bci	28	26229	116.4
11	intersectoral	21	4921	115.5
12	riga	42	72183	114.39
13	noknok	19	76	112.8
14	diatrofi	18	25	107.01
15	nutri-score	18	636	105.96
16	prolepsis	18	829	105.63
17	bzga	17	106	100.99
18	non-communicable	22	19401	99.327
19	periodontitis	21	16710	98.107
20	fari	17	2545	97.145

50 With respect to the single-word keywords, shown in the table above, the keyword analysis indicates that the EHN corpus is highly specialized in discussing health-related topics, particularly in areas like non-communicable diseases (NCDs – 44 occurrences; non-communicable – 22 occurrences), and wellbeing (320 occurrences), socioeconomic determinants of health (e.g. inequality; cost-of-living; workplace health promotion), and specific public health initiatives or programs. Examples of the latter include the Best-ReMaP (20 occurrences) Joint Action led by the National Institute of Public Health of Slovenia, NokNok (19 occurrences), the FARI (17 occurrences) project developed by the Taranto Local Health

Authority, and the Greek school-based food aid and healthy nutrition program DIATROFI (18 occurrences) developed by the Prolepsis (18 occurrences) institute. BCIs also present an interesting instance because it stands for the Behavioural and Cultural Insights (BCI) Unit of the World Health Organization, when the acronym is also widely used in other sectors (such as to stand for brain–computer interface). The high keyness scores of specific terms reflect the corpus’s focus on topics that are less commonly discussed in general English but are central to the discourse within the *EuroHealthNet* articles. Moreover, specialized terminology includes determinant (115 occurrences) to refer to causal factors of health outcomes, intersectoral (21 occurrences) to refer to collaboration across different sectors, nutri-score (18 occurrences) related to food labeling and health, and periodontitis (21 occurrences), which is the medical term for gum disease. These findings underscore the specialized nature of the language used in the *EuroHealthNet* publications, reflecting their niche in public health promotion and policy discussions. Also of note are those terms that refer to specific geographical locations and organizations in the European realm, such as the capital of Latvia, Riga (42 occurrences), the Slovenian National Institute of Public Health Nijz (21 occurrences), and the German Federal Centre for Health Education BZgA (17 occurrences). Their appearance indicates that the corpus focuses on the European territory in particular.

Table 5: Keywords: Reference subcorpora

			EU domain		Health Topic	
Item		Freq. (focus)	Freq. (ref)	Score	Freq. (ref)	Score
1	EuroHealthNet	112	72	470.7	0	660.9
2	Riga	42	-	-	9	243.9
3	NCDs	44	35	217.5	473	131.1
4	WHP	26	34	129.5	80	132.2
5	BCI	28	69	119.6	-	-
6	diplomacy	27	-	-	146	122.7
7	Best-ReMaP	20	0	118.8	0	118.8
8	periodontitis	21	9	118.7	-	-
9	wellbeing	320	2671	118.0	6583	128.2

10	Roma	38	-	-	380	125.5
11	HPV	38	166	116.4	-	-
12	café	34	-	-	378	115.9
13	NokNok	19	0	112.9	0	112.9
14	DIATROFI	18	0	107.1	0	107.1
15	Nijz	21	30	106.8	0	124.7
16	cost-of-living	19	21	101.0	41	104.1
17	FARI	17	5	98.4	4	100.3
18	nutri-score	18	16	98.2	30	100.8
19	prolepsis	18	19	96.7	2	106.6
20	BZgA	17	9	96.3	7	99.7

51 Compared to the broader analysis with the full enTenTen21 corpus, this targeted analysis reveals stronger alignment with terms specific to public health and European initiatives. For instance, terms like Best-ReMaP, NokNok, and DIATROFI consistently rank highly across all reference corpora, reinforcing the *EuroHealthNet* corpus's unique focus on European health projects and terminology. The inclusion of geographically specific terms such as Riga and institution names like Nijz and BZgA further underscores the European-centric discourse. Additionally, the comparison highlights how certain terms like WHP (workplace health promotion), cost-of-living, and nutri-score maintain their prominence when contextualized within health topics, suggesting their relevance to both specialized and broader public health discourses. This refined keyness analysis validates the earlier findings while offering greater specificity about the *EuroHealthNet* corpus's alignment with regional and thematic domains of health communication.

3.2.4. Pre/post-Covid comparison

52 The keyword analysis comparing the pre-Covid subcorpus to the post-Covid subcorpus revealed, predictably, the emergence of pandemic lexis in the latter period (i.e., pandemic, Covid-19, lockdown). The top ten most frequent words with synonyms, generated by NVivo's word-frequency query, revealed commonalities in the two subcorpora. 'Health' is in the top spot in both subcorpora, and practice-oriented lemmas such as support (from the top 3rd spot pre-Covid to the top 2nd after the onset of the pandemic) and work

(from the 4th to the 3rd) retain prominent positions, indicating editorial continuity around support measures and continuing efforts to address public health issues.

Table 6: NVivo word-frequency query (synonym-expanded): ranks of shared top-10 items in the pre- and post-Covid-19 subcorpora

Word	Similar Words (NVivo)	pre-Covid rank	post-Covid rank
health	e.g., health, sanitary, well, wellness	1	1
support	e.g., accompany, assistance, back, champion, defend, endorses, fund, sustain	3	2
work	e.g., act, exercise, function, influence, operate, play, run, shape	4	3
social	e.g., socialise, socially, societal	8	4
people	e.g., mass, peoples	10	6

53 At the same time, several terms show notable upward moves: people rises markedly (+4 positions), and new practical, material vocabulary, or ‘food’, ‘living’, ‘need’, ‘use’, ‘make’, enters the post-Covid top 10, signaling an increased emphasis on material conditions, needs, service use/implementation and food-system concerns. Conversely, institutional and promotional terms (‘education’, ‘national’, ‘issues’, ‘activity’, ‘promotion’) drop out of the top 10, suggesting a relative decline in formal educational framing, national-level positioning, and generic promotion language. Taken together, these shifts suggest that while the magazine sustained its practice-oriented core, its postpandemic discourse pivoted toward social-support and lived-experience frames and toward implementation-focused topics.

3.2.5. Identities

54 In line with the aforementioned results, a critical identity aspect that emerges in the *EuroHealthNet* magazine refers to European identity. One way in which this identity was enacted was by means of specific location-specific terms. The ninth edition of the magazine was particularly dense with specific location-specific terms in its titles, which are one of the first pieces of information that attract readers’ attention and whose word selection can influence readers’

understandings of events and participants involved. In the following table, we see reference to Europe in the first article, which is the editorial, and European in the third article, and reference to different locations across Europe in all but one article.

Table 7: Titles of the ninth edition of *EuroHealthNet*

Title	Date
A more pro-health Europe on the horizon?	Jun 22, 2017
Monitoring the Dutch National Prevention Program	Jun 20, 2017
HiNEWS project: Health Inequalities in European Welfare States.	Jun 20, 2017
Smoke-Free Sports Stadia: A case study in implementing protective measures in the absence of legislation.	Jun 20, 2017
The Swedish Experience of developing and Implementing a national mental health strategy, and efforts to prevent suicide.	Jun 20, 2017
Spanish strategy on health promotion and prevention and its local implementation.	Jun 20, 2017
Combating food insecurity & Promoting Healthy Nutrition in schools in disadvantaged areas across Greece: The DIATROFI Program	Jun 20, 2017
Senior volunteering – Social inclusion of older people through volunteering	Jun 16, 2017

55 The first-person plural can be used to induce interpreters to conceptualize group identity, either as insiders or as outsiders. We were interested in examining how the organization portrayed itself so we analyzed the use of pronouns in the editorials. The concordance function of Sketch Engine was used to generate a random sample of 10 concordance lines of editorials in which “we” is the KWIC, reproduced in the table below.

Table 8: Random sample of 10 concordance lines of editorials where “we” is the key word in context

Query:[lempos_lc=="we-d"];Random sample:10		
Left	KWIC	Right
It became clear that we, as health promoters, need to “sit at the table”, because	we	are “on the menu”.

For this reason I am delighted to present you with a diverse selection of articles in this 10th edition of the magazine, all of which reflect a proactive approach to working across sectors and adopting new solutions to long-term problems.	We	look at a new initiative in Sweden to help public services become more results-oriented and at how social impact bonds can help fund public health interventions.
From Finland	we	learn about the significance of art and culture in promoting health and well-being.
In our two articles on healthy diets for children, [...]	We	also learn about what makes food aid and nutrition programmes in schools successful, with new results from the DIATROFI programme in Greece.
From Pharos (expert centre on health inequalities),	we	hear about resources and methods to give migrant children the best possible start in their new homes by collaborating with schools, parents, and the children themselves.
Working in the health silo is no longer feasible.	We	can no longer ignore action on the so called “SEEDs” (social, economic, environmental determinants) of health.
Colleagues from the Egas Moniz Higher Education Cooperative explain the issue, and what	we	can do to move forward.
How do such cuts threaten the health and wellbeing of those most vulnerable in our societies particularly children and young people?	We	hear from Dr Sumina Azam’s (Policy Lead and Deputy Director in Policy and International Health at Public Health Wales and Vice-President of EuroHealthNet) team, Dr Louisa Petchey and Manon Roberts, who reflect on how generally the cost-of-living crisis impacts public health.
As Belgium is a country that appreciates a wide variety of beer brands, you can imagine what an enormous amount of beer options it now offers.	We	seem to be surrounded and “seduced” by very unhealthy food environments, a situation that continues to worsen. We need to design and ensure healthy food environments are affordable for all.
In our EuroHealth article,	we	consider the drawbacks of relying too much on the “business as usual” approach.

56 The use of the pronoun ‘we’ across editorials is a strategic linguistic choice that serves to construct a strong professional, organizational, and social identity for the magazine. Professionally, it underscores the collective expertise and responsibility of the magazine’s contributors. For instance, in “It became clear that we, as health promoters, need to ‘sit at the table,’” the pronoun ‘we’ is used to express a shared professional responsibility and the need for active involvement in decision-making processes. In addition to emphasizing their role as proactive agents in the health sector, it defines the identity of the group as ‘health promoters’. Furthermore,

in lines like “We also learn about what makes food aid and nutrition programmes in schools successful,” the use of ‘we’ indicates a collective engagement in learning and professional development. It suggests that the magazine’s editorial team, along with its readers, are part of an ongoing process of acquiring and sharing knowledge, thus reinforcing a professional identity rooted in continuous improvement and adaptation.

- 57 Organizationally, ‘we’ presents the magazine as a unified entity with a collaborative mission. Although oftentimes the author of the editorial uses ‘I’, the singular is often combined with the plural to speak with a unified voice, representing the magazine as a cohesive entity. This is evident in lines such as “We look at a new initiative in Sweden” and “We hear from Dr Sumina Azam’s team”. In these instances, ‘we’ conveys that the magazine’s content and viewpoints are collectively endorsed by the organization, rather than being the opinion of a single author. This collective voice helps establish the magazine’s authority and credibility as an organization committed to public health.
- 58 Socially, it cultivates a sense of community and shared purpose among the readers, the author and the editorial team, positioning the magazine as a partner in addressing public health challenges. The use of ‘we’ fosters a sense of inclusion and solidarity with the readers, creating a shared identity between the magazine’s team and its audience. For instance, in the concordance line “We seem to be surrounded and ‘seduced’ by very unhealthy food environments”, the use of ‘we’ includes both the author and readers in a common social experience. This inclusive language builds a sense of community around shared challenges and goals, particularly in relation to public health issues. Then, in lines such as “We need to design and ensure healthy food environments are affordable for all,” ‘we’ serves to unite the readers and the magazine’s team in a common goal. It frames the discussion of health issues as a collective challenge, suggesting that everyone – authors, readers, members and stakeholders – has a role in finding and implementing solutions.

4. Discussion and future directions

- 59 This preliminary study aimed at investigating EuroHealthNet magazine's approach to addressing diverse audiences, its prominent linguistic features in health communication, and the potential impact of the Covid-19 pandemic on its IS strategies. Regarding the first research question, *EuroHealthNet* magazine addresses the diverse backgrounds of its European readership by maintaining a high level of specialization through its focus on health-related topics anchored in the European context. Additionally, it ensures cultural relevance by spotlighting localized programs across Europe and catering to a professional community of stakeholders with content that resonates with the varied cultural settings of its audience.
- 60 For the second question, the analysis of linguistic features highlights distinctive strategies in health communication and emerging science popularization genres. Referential constructions, such as there-constructions, were more prevalent in prepandemic editorials, suggesting a shift in style over time. Cleft constructions, which are typically associated with spoken or conversational genres, were notably absent, underscoring their limited role in written formats like editorials and articles. Variations in constituent order were observed more frequently in dialogic or conversationally oriented genres. Regarding the third research question, the saliency tests comparing pre- and postpandemic subcorpora revealed a decline in unmarked there-constructions and marked constituent orders, such as that-clause with heavy NP-shifting, in the postpandemic period. These shifts may reflect evolving communication strategies in response to the pandemic's influence on health discourse. As for the fourth research question, while the study identified trends and variations in IS features, the current data sample is insufficient to draw definitive conclusions about the most recurrent IS strategies in postpandemic health communication.
- 61 With respect to the fifth question, the preliminary analysis of editorial structure, tag distribution, keyword profiles, and deictic patterns indicates a coherent, audience-oriented rhetorical strategy. Editorials follow a highly regularized eight-move sequence that

systematically frames issues for policy-minded readers, while articles fall into two related subgenres (policy strategy reports and public health issue reports) that foreground empirical description, evidence, and practical implementation. Thematically, tag distribution privileges Practice, Health Inequalities, and Health & Social Systems, signaling an explicit orientation toward practitioners and policymakers and a sustained commitment to equity and systemic reform. Keyword analysis corroborates this specialized focus: high-scoring items such as wellbeing, NCDs, Best-ReMaP, DIATROFI, and institutional acronyms (e.g. Nijz, BZgA) index European projects, programs, and technical discourse rather than generalist health talk. A pre/post-Covid comparison shows the expected rise of pandemic lexis but, more importantly, a shift toward material-and-support vocabulary (e.g., food, living, need, use) and lived-experience frames, suggesting a postpandemic tilt toward implementation and social-support concerns. Finally, deictic and pronominal patterns, notably the strategic use of we and frequent location-specific references, work to construct a professional, organizational, and European identity that both inclines readers toward collective engagement and reinforces the magazine's credibility as a practitioner-oriented, policy-engaged forum.

- 62 Future research will expand the dataset and deepen the investigation to determine whether these text-internal and text-external features are consistent elements of ELF health communication texts. Indeed, this study marks an initial, preliminary step in understanding the linguistic and structural strategies employed in *EuroHealthNet* magazine and their evolution over time. By focusing on information structuring features, tags, keywords, and deictic markers, we have begun to scratch the surface of emerging genres in health communication and the interplay between text-internal and text-external factors. This ongoing exploration aims to provide more robust insights into the evolving nature of medical and health communication in the European context.

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NOTES

- 1 Due to space constraints, we will skip here the typology of knowledge like *declarative* vs. *procedural*, *personal* vs. *social knowledge*, etc.
- 2 According to Halliday (1967), the formal domain of information structure (functional sentence perspective, theme, pragmatic function) is the sentence or the clause. Thus, for these linguists, information structure belongs to sentence grammar, it is not concerned with the organization of discourse, but with the organization of the sentence within a discourse.
- 3 In VISL inventory, POS categories (word classes) are blue, syntactic function tags are green and preceded by '@', with arrow heads (>,<) added as dependency markers. The remaining upper case tags describe morphology/inflection, while lower case tags in sharp parentheses (<...>) provide secondary information that may be used to create POS subclasses (e.g. <rel>, <interr>) or added syntactic distinctions (e.g. <pass>, <aux>, <aci-subj>).

RÉSUMÉS

English

This study intends to build on burgeoning research strands dedicated to the study of health communication and emerging genres of science popularization and dissemination by exploring the not-for-profit organization EuroHealthNet, resulting from an inter-European partnership, whose mission is to “help build a sustainable, fair, and inclusive Europe through healthier communities and to tackle health inequalities within and between European States” (<https://eurohealthnet.eu/>). In light of its mission and the heterogeneous nature of its target audience – including but not limited to European health institutions, health professionals, and the general public – a primary premise of this study is that, for it to be effective, EuroHealthNet’s communication must take heed of, be sensitive to, and be receptive of the diverse linguacultural backgrounds and levels of knowledge of specialized discourses of its audience. Thus, this study, which draws on a larger project funded by the European Union – Next Generation EU – explores fourteen editions of EuroHealthNet’s magazine, available on its official website, with particular attention to how this discourse community constructs, interprets, and uses different (sub-)genres to achieve its communicative goals. We draw on the multiperspective and multidimensional framework provided by critical genre analysis (Bhatia, 2017) to explore both the text-internal factors via information structure and the text-external factors via tag, keyness and deictic analysis that characterize *EuroHealthNet* magazine articles.

Français

La présente étude entend approfondir les domaines de recherche en plein développement concernant la communication en matière de santé et les nouveaux genres de vulgarisation et de diffusion scientifiques en explorant la communication de l’organisation non lucrative EuroHealthNet, un partenariat dont la mission est de « contribuer à la construction d’une Europe durable, juste et inclusive à travers des communautés plus saines et de réduire les inégalités en matière de santé dans les pays européens et entre ces États » (<https://eurohealthnet.eu/>). En raison de sa mission et de la nature hétérogène de son public potentiel – y compris, mais sans s’y limiter, les institutions européennes de santé, les professionnels du monde médical et le grand public – cette étude suppose que, pour être efficace, la communication d’EuroHealthNet doit tenir compte des divers contextes linguistiques et culturels et des niveaux de connaissance des discours spécialisés de son public, y être sensible et y être réceptive. Ainsi, cette étude, qui fait partie d’un projet plus large financé par l’Union européenne – Next Generation EU – explore quatorze éditions du magazine d’EuroHealthNet, disponible sur son site officiel, en examinant notamment les modalités de construction, d’interprétation et d’utilisation de différents

(sous-)genres par cette communauté discursive afin d'atteindre ses objectifs. Les auteurs utilisent le système multiperspectif et multidimensionnel de l'analyse critique des genres (Bhatia, 2017) pour explorer les facteurs internes au texte (structure de l'information) et les facteurs externes au texte (tags, saillance lexicale et analyse déictique) qui caractérisent les articles de la revue *EuroHealthNet*.

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Mots-clés

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Varia

Être un genre ou ne pas être : le cas des sites web d'agences de voyages

To be or not to be a genre: The case of travel agency websites

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TEXTE

Introduction

- 1 Avec l'accroissement du nombre de voyages internationaux et de l'utilisation d'internet pour l'organisation des voyages, la communication par le biais de sites web à visée touristique – souvent mise en œuvre par des agences de voyages – est devenue cruciale.

Les caractéristiques de ces sites web d'agences touristiques sont non seulement étroitement liées aux stratégies commerciales de ces agences, mais influencent aussi les choix des touristes et leur satisfaction globale (Buhalis et Law, 2008 ; Constantinides *et al.*, 2010 ; Gémard, 2014). Par conséquent, les agences désireuses de développer le commerce électronique doivent surmonter les barrières culturelles et linguistiques afin de mettre en œuvre des stratégies de communication adaptées sur leurs sites web (Violino, 2001). Selon Irimiea (2018), pour ce faire, il ne suffit pas d'examiner les résultats de recherche en marketing, mais il faut aussi prendre en considération les contributions d'autres domaines de recherche, parmi lesquels la sociolinguistique et la linguistique.

- 2 Dans les études du discours touristique sur les sites web, seule une petite partie d'entre elles font appel à la notion de genre de discours (Malenkina et Ivanov, 2018). L'analyse de genre se définit comme un cadre pour l'étude du discours spécialisé (Adam, 2001 ; Bhatia, 1993, 2004 ; Maingueneau, 2007 ; Swales, 1990 ; Richer, 2011). Le genre est « une classe d'événements communicatifs : le critère principal qui fait d'une collection d'événements communicatifs un genre est un ensemble partagé de buts communicatifs » (Swales, 1990 : 45). L'approche par le genre permet tout d'abord de systématiser la description des discours spécialisés en mettant en évidence leurs caractéristiques linguistiques. En ce qui concerne plus particulièrement le domaine du tourisme numérique, une compréhension du genre et de ses éléments clés permet aux agences de voyages de 1) rédiger des textes efficaces grâce à une mise en scène de la communication avec des ressources verbales et numériques variées et 2) assurer les trois fonctions de communication typiques des textes touristiques promotionnels : attirer l'attention, informer et persuader (Bhatia, 1993, 2004).
- 3 En réalité, si les chercheurs ont abordé divers genres de discours touristique en ligne, les sites web touristiques des agences de voyages ne sont que peu analysés. Les analyses portent souvent sur des sites web des offices de tourisme (Cheong, 2013), des destinations touristiques spécifiques (Huang, 2015 ; Hui *et al.*, 2020 ; Nguyen et Modehira, 2023), des guides touristiques en ligne (Alali *et al.*, 2019), ou des brochures en ligne (Öztürk et Şafak, 2014). En outre, les caractéristiques linguistiques analysées dans des études précédentes

sont généralement limitées (tantôt ce sont les étiquettes morphosyntaxiques, tantôt des dimensions syntaxiques ou lexicales). Elles ne représentent donc qu'une partie des caractéristiques pertinentes pour l'analyse du discours et, de plus, les caractéristiques numériques typiques des genres en ligne semblent être négligées. Seuls deux articles (Askehave et Nielsen, 2005 ; Santini *et al.*, 2010) semblent analyser les hyperliens, bien que cette caractéristique joue un rôle significatif dans l'analyse du discours numérique, apportant une dimension supplémentaire à la compréhension de la structure et du contenu des textes en ligne.

- 4 L'objectif de la recherche est dès lors double. Tout d'abord, montrer que les sites web des agences de voyages constituent un genre de discours en soi, dont les caractéristiques linguistiques diffèrent d'autres discours touristiques numériques. Une double étude quantitative et comparative est réalisée au moyen d'un jeu de caractéristiques pertinentes pour définir un genre de discours. Elle vise à contraster les sites web des agences avec 1) un corpus numérique général, frWac (Baroni *et al.*, 2009), pour faire ressortir les traits typiques des discours touristiques, et avec 2) un corpus de trois discours touristiques numériques proches, afin d'affiner la détection des caractéristiques propres au discours web des agences de voyages.
- 5 Dans un deuxième temps, pour mettre en évidence l'articulation entre les caractéristiques et les fonctions communicatives visées par les sites web des agences de voyages, l'analyse prend en compte la structure rhétorique du discours, par la notion de « tours » (*move* en anglais) de Swales (1990). Une analyse comparative – cette fois quantitative et qualitative – est menée sur quatre genres touristiques numériques. L'objectif est de faire ressortir les expressions linguistiques et les pratiques numériques propres à certains « tours ».
- 6 Les contributions de cette étude sont multiples. La première contribution consiste à éclairer la problématique de la catégorisation d'un genre, en l'occurrence les sites web d'agences de voyages, à l'aide d'une approche empirique et à large spectre (au niveau des caractéristiques textuelles considérées). En effet, cette étude se base sur un jeu étendu de caractéristiques linguistiques, grâce à des outils de traitement automatique du langage (TAL), qui permettent de

dépasser les « classiques » étiquettes morphosyntaxiques. Une seconde contribution concerne la prise en compte de caractéristiques typiques des pratiques numériques sur le web, au travers d'une analyse des hyperliens. Troisièmement, l'analyse dépasse le niveau textuel et exploite également la notion de « tours » pour mieux caractériser l'association entre les fonctions communicatives et la structure rhétorique des discours étudiés. Cette tentative d'appliquer une approche fréquemment utilisée pour examiner le langage en anglais, à l'analyse du genre de discours promotionnel en français, représente une ultime contribution.

- 7 Le plan de l'article est organisé comme suit : les travaux existants pour l'analyse du genre des discours touristiques sont discutés dans la section 1. La méthodologie de l'étude est présentée en détail dans la section 2. Les résultats sont détaillés et commentés dans la section 3. La section 4 propose une discussion des résultats et des pistes pour de futurs travaux possibles.

1. Analyse du genre

1.1. L'analyse du genre du discours numérique

- 8 Dans le domaine de l'anglais sur objectifs spécifiques (AOS)¹, les genres sont considérés comme des outils de communication situés dans un contexte social. Grâce à ce contexte, on peut 1) examiner les objectifs de la communauté de discours et 2) étudier comment les caractéristiques du genre aident les membres de la communauté de discours à atteindre leurs objectifs de communication.
- 9 Swales (1990) et Bhatia (1993) – deux auteurs s'inscrivant dans le domaine de l'AOS – ont été les premiers à axer l'analyse de genre à l'aide des concepts de « tours » et « pas »² (*move* et *step* en anglais). Les tours sont des « unités discursives ou rhétoriques remplissant des fonctions communicatives cohérentes dans les textes », dont les réalisations linguistiques peuvent varier considérablement en termes de longueur et autres caractéristiques (Swales, 2004 : 228-229). Par exemple, pour l'analyse de l'introduction des articles scientifiques, Swales (1990) définit trois types de tours, tels que 1) « établir un

territoire », 2) « établir une niche » et 3) « occuper la niche ». Chaque tour remplit une fonction communicative particulière et contribue à la structuration globale du texte. L'un des résultats les plus intéressants de ce type d'analyse est l'exploration du « répertoire commun » des stratégies rhétoriques, c'est-à-dire les différentes possibilités de réalisation langagière d'un même tour, et ainsi d'un même objectif communicatif. En particulier, on peut déterminer si certaines expressions sont préférées et donc plus spécifiques à un genre qu'à d'autres. L'analyse des tours est souvent réalisée selon une approche ascendante (recherche de caractéristiques lexicales, grammaticales ou syntaxiques pour caractériser le tour) ou une approche descendante (lecture attentive du texte pour repérer les ruptures de sujet ou les changements de contenu) (Moreno et Swales, 2018). Cependant, cette théorie de structure des tours n'est guère répandue dans le courant francophone d'analyse du genre. Seul Richer (2011) dans le domaine du français sur objectifs spécifiques et quelques auteurs francophones étudiant les discours anglophones (Resche, 2010 ; De Cock et Hanegreefs, 2013 ; Gaillard, 2015 ; etc.) semblent reprendre cette théorie.

- 10 Le concept de genre numérique est perçu de diverses manières parmi les analystes de genre. Tout d'abord, la dénomination du concept n'est pas stable (Pleau, 2017). Caballero (2008) parle de « cybergenres », Bonhomme (2015) de « genres du web » ou de « genres informatiques », pour désigner un nouveau type de genre qui se distingue du genre traditionnel non numérique, ou des « genres pré-numériques ». Toujours selon Bonhomme (2015), le fait d'avoir le nouveau genre numérique est à l'origine d'un genre traditionnel adapté en format numérique par « l'intégration du maillage hypertextuel, la dynamisation des entrées ou des documents sonores et iconographiques » (Bonhomme, 2015 : 39). D'ailleurs, parmi les chercheurs anglophones, les termes souvent utilisés sont « *digital genre* » ou « *virtual discourse genre* » (Suciu, 2019).
- 11 Quoi qu'il en soit, plusieurs chercheurs en linguistique appliquée ont proposé des raisons convaincantes pour orienter notre regard vers les genres numériques, dont la plus fréquemment mentionnée est peut-être leur « prééminence dans la communication contemporaine³ » (Hafner et Pun, 2020 : 4). Il y a plus d'une décennie, Giltrow et Stein (2009) ont observé qu'internet nous

a donné un nouveau cadre de communication qui reconfigure les conditions rencontrées par les caractéristiques pragmatiques du langage. Le résultat de cette reconfiguration a été une prolifération si régulière et rapide des genres – ou des formes de communication qui sont candidates à être un genre – que nous sommes mis au défi de repenser notre compréhension théorique du genre. Plus récemment, Hafner a noté que, malgré le potentiel des médias numériques pour favoriser l'innovation et le changement de genre dans la communication savante, la linguistique appliquée vient seulement de commencer à étudier « l'innovation dans les genres de recherche médiatisés numériquement ⁴ » (Hafner, 2018 : 15).

- 12 Parlant plus spécifiquement de « l'explosion des genres numériques » dans la communication scientifique, Luzón et Pérez-Llantada soulignent la nécessité de prendre en compte le contexte sociopolitique large, dans lequel il y a maintenant une « poussée vers la démocratisation de la science et le partage de la recherche ⁵ » (Luzón et Pérez-Llantada, 2019 : 2-3), un contexte dans lequel l'intérêt des chercheurs pour la compréhension des genres utilisés pour communiquer de nouvelles connaissances en ligne s'est considérablement accru. En conséquence, Hafner et Pun ont proposé une définition des genres numériques comme suit :

Lorsque nous parlons de genres et de pratiques numériques, nous nous référons aux événements communicatifs récurrents, orientés vers un but (Swales, 1990) médiatisés par des outils numériques de cette manière, ainsi qu'à la constellation d'activités qui entourent ces événements. (Hafner et Pun, 2020 : 4) ⁶

- 13 La première évolution majeure identifiée dans les études de genre est l'internalisation de la numérisation. Selon Giltrow et Stein, les technologies numériques créent « un nouveau cadre de communication qui reconfigure les conditions auxquelles les caractéristiques pragmatiques du langage répondent ⁷ » (Giltrow et Stein, 2009 : 9). Cette nouveauté dans les contextes de communication peut, par exemple, se manifester à travers la diversité des utilisateurs rendue possible par internet ainsi que par l'interaction croissante entre l'utilisateur et l'auteur dans le processus de construction de certains types de textes. Ces nouveautés doivent être prises en compte par les chercheurs lorsqu'ils analysent le

contexte dans lequel un genre est construit. Ces changements induits par la numérisation justifient des innovations théoriques dans les théories des genres pour s'adapter aux nouvelles situations. Par exemple, Heyd (2008) présente un cadre à quatre paramètres pour l'analyse des genres numériques. Tout d'abord, (1) le paramètre vertical demande aux analystes de considérer le niveau de généralité dans la catégorisation des genres, et de distinguer des notions telles que les supergenres, les sous-genres et les types de textes. Les genres peuvent également être étudiés (2) horizontalement, de manière que les chercheurs puissent observer comment un genre est lié à d'autres genres. Par exemple, une publicité contextuelle sur l'internet peut mener à un site web touristique, qui à son tour peut mener à une lettre de confirmation. Les notions pertinentes à cet égard comprennent le répertoire de genres (Orlikowski et Yates, 1994), qui se concentre sur les genres utilisés pour réaliser des activités dans des contextes organisationnels, ou l'écologie des genres (Heyd, 2008), qui se réfère à une constellation générique qui se forme naturellement. Le troisième paramètre est (3) la perspective ontologique qui aide les chercheurs à identifier un genre dans une perspective descendante ou ascendante. Une approche descendante de l'identification des genres suppose que la classification des genres dépend d'une liste préfabriquée de caractéristiques saillantes, tandis qu'une approche ascendante (également connue sous le nom de taxonomie populaire) s'appuie sur la perception de la communauté discursive concernée pour identifier les genres. Le dernier paramètre (4) guide les chercheurs pour qu'ils considèrent les genres dans une perspective dynamique et diachronique afin de comprendre comment les facteurs sociotechniques, tels que le développement des plates-formes numériques, influencent le processus d'évolution des genres. Ce faisant, le genre n'est plus considéré comme une entité isolée et statique, mais plutôt comme un phénomène social interconnecté, dynamique et résilient. Plus précisément, un genre n'existe pas dans le vide, mais plutôt dans une relation verticale ou horizontale avec d'autres genres. Il réagit également aux progrès technologiques constants et en bénéficie. Ces caractéristiques interconnectées et dynamiques permettent aux genres d'atteindre différents objectifs de communication dans différentes circonstances sociales.

- 14 Santini *et al.*, (2010) ont développé un cadre analytique à trois niveaux pour analyser les documents web. Compte tenu de la structure multiniveaux permise par les liens hypertextes sur les sites web, ce cadre demande aux analystes d'étudier les genres web aux niveaux micro, méso et macro. L'étude au niveau micro se concentre sur les unités au niveau de la page et leurs constituants. Bien que ce cadre ne précise pas les ressources à étudier à ce niveau, il est raisonnable de supposer qu'il inclut les caractéristiques sémiotiques d'une page web spécifique, telles que l'utilisation du texte, de l'image et de la mise en page. Au niveau méso, l'attention se porte sur la structure interne du site web, c'est-à-dire le plan du site. Enfin, au niveau macro, les analystes sont chargés d'étudier le référencement intertextuel impliqué dans un site web.
- 15 Une autre tentative de prendre en compte la numérisation dans l'analyse des genres a été faite par Askehave et Nielsen (2005), qui ont construit un modèle bidimensionnel pour décrire les genres numériques en tant que texte et, plus important encore, en tant que support. Dans ce modèle, les utilisateurs de genres numériques sont dotés de deux identités en fonction de la manière dont ils utilisent le genre cible. Si l'utilisateur ne s'intéresse qu'au texte, il assume le rôle conventionnel d'un lecteur qui « zoome sur le texte » (Askehave et Nielsen, 2005) ; en revanche, si l'utilisateur se sert du genre numérique comme d'un portail vers d'autres sources d'information, son identité passe de celle d'un lecteur à celle d'un navigateur, et le texte devient un médium (un support). Ce modèle est applicable à la description des caractéristiques de certains genres numériques dominés par les hyperliens, comme la page d'accueil. Il combine le modèle de genre de Swales (1990) avec le concept de mode de navigation de Finnemann (1999).
- 16 À l'heure actuelle, avec le développement de la technologie, d'autres éléments alimentent le discours, par exemple des éléments numériques (hyperliens, boutons cliquables, barre de navigation, outil de recherche, etc.) ou des éléments graphiques (photos/images, vidéos, symboles, émoticônes). L'émergence de ces éléments discursifs fait naître l'analyse multimodale du discours, une analyse combinant diverses sémiotiques de communication. Kress et van Leeuwen (2021) affirment que la multimodalité est l'une des caractéristiques de la société moderne. Les auteurs développent la

grammaire visuelle, qui considère que la langue est une forme sémiotique sociale. Le modèle se compose de trois dimensions pour l'analyse des images : signification représentationnelle, signification interactionnelle et signification compositionnelle. Tout d'abord, la signification représentationnelle fait référence à la reproduction fidèle du monde objectif des personnes, des activités humaines, des lieux et même du monde intérieur des personnes. Elle se compose de deux processus : le processus narratif et le processus conceptuel. Le processus narratif comprend le processus d'action, le processus de réaction, le processus verbal et mental, tandis que le processus conceptuel comprend le processus relationnel et le processus existentiel. Ensuite, la signification interactionnelle est la description de la relation entre le marqueur d'image, la représentation de l'image et les lecteurs. Les éléments inclus dans le sens interactif sont le contact, l'attitude, la distance et la modalité. Dans la grammaire visuelle, la modalité est classée en trois catégories : la modalité élevée, la modalité moyenne et la modalité faible, qui peut être démontrée par la couleur, l'éclairage, etc. Enfin, la signification compositionnelle désigne l'ensemble de la présentation du discours multimodal. Les éléments qui composent le sens compositionnel sont la valeur informative, le cadrage et la saillance. La valeur informative correspond à l'emplacement d'informations particulières, telles que des informations nouvelles ou anciennes. Le cadrage signifie qu'il existe ou non des dispositifs permettant de relier les éléments du discours. La saillance fait référence aux différents degrés d'importance des éléments pour les lecteurs, tels que l'arrière-plan et le premier plan. Kress et van Leeuwen considèrent que le modèle des trois dimensions fonctionne bien non seulement pour le langage, mais aussi pour « la réflexion sur tous les modes de représentation, donc les images » (Kress et van Leeuwen, 2021 : 20).

1.2. L'analyse du genre de discours numérique touristique

- 17 La structure des tours et la caractérisation du genre sont appliquées à différents types de genres écrits. Divers chercheurs ont appliqué la théorie de la structure des tours afin d'analyser le discours touristique numérique, démontrant ainsi son utilité dans leurs

travaux respectifs. Les objectifs communs des études existantes consistent à 1) identifier les tours et éventuellement les pas – des subdivisions plus fines au sein des tours (Swales, 1990) –, 2) définir les caractéristiques linguistiques (ou visuelles) associées au tour. Cependant, il n'existe pas d'étude portant spécifiquement sur les sites web des agences de voyages, et, de façon générale, seul un nombre limité de caractéristiques linguistiques a été analysé. Le tableau ci-dessous présente quelques exemples d'études représentatives, avec le type de corpus et les caractéristiques analysées :

Tableau 1 : Des études sur l'analyse du genre de discours touristique en ligne

Auteur(s)	Corpus	Caractéristiques analysées
Henry et Roseberry (1996)	44 exemples typiques de « Brèves informations touristiques » en ligne	• Les tours • Caractéristiques linguistiques : longueur, termes d'adresse, modalité, expressions idiomatiques, phrases lexicales et expressions lexicales communes.
Ip (2008)	Brochure de voyage disponible au centre d'accueil de l'office du tourisme de Hong Kong.	• Caractéristiques linguistiques : le choix des mots, les figures de style, les structures grammaticales • Les caractéristiques visuelles
Cheong (2013)	16 pages d'accueil des offices de tourisme malaisiens 49 publiereportages	• Les tours • Les contenus discursifs apparus dans chaque tour (ex. : slogan, logo, informations diverses)
Öztürk et Şafak (2014)	Brochure Kemer en ligne	• Les tours • Éléments linguistiques : utilisation d'autoréférences (référence personnelle, impersonnelle et interactive) ; d'adjectifs, de verbes et de temps • Les caractéristiques visuelles (images)
Huang (2015)	30 textes de « Brèves informations touristiques » des sites web des destinations touristiques	• Les tours • Les pas

Yaemwan-nang (2017)	24 pages d'accueil d'hôtels, 24 pages d'accueil de restaurants et 24 pages d'accueil de destinations touristiques de 8 pays différents	• Les tours • Caractéristiques linguistiques : phrases nominales, adjectifs, superlatifs et phrases ciblant l'ego • Caractéristiques visuelles
Alali et al. (2019)	Guides touristiques en ligne de trois pays asiatiques.	• Les tours • Les degrés de tours (tour périphérique/central)
Hui et al. (2020)	63 textes de promotion d'attractions touristiques	• Les tours • Les caractéristiques linguistiques : des adjectifs
Nguyen et Modhiran (2023)	24 brochures de 24 attractions publiées sur les sites web officiels vietnamiens	• Les tours et les stratégies de communication pour réaliser les tours

18 Ces analyses de genre tendent à négliger les caractéristiques numériques typiques des sites web. En effet, seuls deux articles semblent aborder le rôle des hyperliens – une caractéristique numérique importante pour le genre web. Il s’agit des études de Askehave et Nielsen (2005) et de Santini *et al.* (2010), abordées dans la section précédente.

2. Méthodologie

19 En vue de déterminer la spécificité du genre des sites web des agences de voyages francophones et de caractériser ce genre sur les plans linguistique et numérique, les corpus utilisés pour les analyses comparatives sont présentés dans la section 2.1. Ensuite, les caractéristiques linguistiques et numériques sont détaillées dans la section 2.2. Les sections 2.3 et 2.4 exposent les analyses ainsi que les tests statistiques utilisés pour l’étude.

2.1. Présentation des corpus

20 Le principal corpus de l’étude comprend 80 sites web touristiques d’agences de voyages francophones. Afin d’établir ce corpus, nous

avons limité l'espace géographique étudié aux pays dont le français est l'une des langues officielles et qui, selon l'Organisation mondiale du tourisme (2010, cité par Viallon et Henneke-Lange, 2011), ont en commun d'avoir des PIB élevés, une forte activité – et donc une forte professionnalisation –, aussi bien dans le tourisme émetteur que récepteur. Ces pays sont la France, le Canada, la Belgique et la Suisse. Pour réaliser l'échantillonnage d'agences de ces quatre pays, nous nous sommes concentrés sur leurs capitales ou métropoles (Paris, Montréal, Bruxelles, Genève). Ces villes, selon Viallon et Henneke-Lange (2011), sont non seulement celles qui ont le plus de concurrence au niveau mondial, mais aussi les premières à avoir ainsi la possibilité d'améliorer leur offre existante. Ensuite, les agences de ces métropoles possédant un site web francophone ont été sélectionnées. Afin d'établir la liste des sites web d'agences de voyages, nous avons recouru aux listes officielles émises entre 2021 et 2022 par les institutions nationales de chaque pays : le Registre national des opérateurs de voyages et de séjours de France, la liste des agences de voyages du Gouvernement du Québec, la liste complète des agences certifiées au label Certa de Belgique et la liste des agences de la Fédération suisse du voyage. Sur la base de ces listes, nous avons effectué un échantillonnage aléatoire et vérifié si les sites web retenus étaient bien fonctionnels. Seules les pages d'accueil de ces sites ont été prises en considération, pour un total de 80 pages d'accueil, dont 21 de Paris, 11 de Montréal, 26 de Bruxelles et 22 de Genève. En effet, la page d'accueil peut être définie comme un genre distinctif (Askehave et Nielsen, 2005), elle est la première page d'information que voit un internaute, lorsque ce dernier accède à un site web. La page d'accueil représente un élément très important dans la création de la première impression chez le lecteur ; elle est soigneusement conçue pour non seulement stimuler l'attention du visiteur et l'encourager à explorer davantage le site web, mais aussi pour établir un contact avec le visiteur de la page.

- 21 Par ailleurs, nous avons collecté trois autres corpus représentant trois genres de discours proches de celui des agences de voyages : 30 pages d'accueil de blogs de voyage, 30 pages d'accueil de sites d'offices de tourisme et 30 pages d'accueil des sites de destinations touristiques (par ex. : musées, châteaux, parcs naturels, etc.). La sélection de ces pages est aléatoire ; il s'agit de pages d'accueil en

français, créées par des émetteurs francophones des quatre pays (France, Canada, Belgique et Suisse). Il est nécessaire de souligner à la fois la similitude et la spécificité du corpus des agences de voyages avec ces trois corpus. Tout d'abord, en termes de contenu, les thèmes abordés dans ces corpus sont semblables (présentation et promotion de la/des destination(s), événements touristiques, etc.). Cependant, le corpus des agences de voyages relève du type de discours promotionnel/commercial, l'émetteur relevant du secteur commercial, dont l'objectif est de vendre des produits/services touristiques. Le corpus des offices de tourisme, quant à lui, relève davantage du discours institutionnel, fournissant des informations sur un lieu géographique spécifique (par exemple, la Wallonie en Belgique ou Montréal au Canada), dans le but de rendre le lieu attrayant. Le corpus de destinations spécifiques aborde des lieux touristiques uniques, afin d'informer sur l'endroit et aussi d'inciter des visiteurs à venir. Finalement, le corpus des blogs de voyage est un discours personnel et combine deux objectifs des deux autres genres : fournir des informations et/ou faire de la publicité pour des services.

- 22 Le dernier corpus utilisé est frWac (Baroni *et al.*, 2009) – un corpus de 1,6 milliard de mots construit à partir du web en limitant l'exploration au domaine .fr. Le corpus frWac aborde des thèmes très variés, que ce soit la politique, l'économie ou la vie en général (des blogs personnels, forums divers, etc.). Sur la base du corpus original de 8000 sites web, nous avons filtré (1) les pages d'accueil qui (2) sont toujours en ligne, ce qui revient à un total de 152 pages d'accueil. Le fait de ne conserver que des pages d'accueil assure une cohérence dans la comparaison avec notre corpus de tourisme. FrWac sert de corpus de comparaison avec les corpus touristiques. Le tableau suivant résume nos différents corpus. Une abréviation a été associée à chaque corpus pour faciliter leur référencement futur.

Tableau 2 : Présentation des corpus de l'étude

Corpus	Abréviation	Nombre de pages d'accueil	Nombre de mots totaux
Français général numérique	frWac	152	64332
Blogs de voyage	BLOG	30	27862

Offices de tourisme	OFF	30	23271
Destinations touristiques spécifiques	DEST	30	14336
Agences de voyages	AGENCE	80	46041

2.2. Les caractéristiques du genre pour les analyses

- 23 Tout d'abord, nous établissons une série de caractéristiques linguistiques et numériques pertinentes pour caractériser les discours touristiques numériques promotionnels, en nous basant sur les résultats des études précédentes ainsi que sur des théories liées au langage du tourisme. Nous utilisons FABRA (Wilkins *et al.*, 2022), une API web qui permet de calculer automatiquement 509 caractéristiques linguistiques, parmi lesquelles nous avons repris les suivantes :
- 24 La structure des tours. En identifiant les tours pour chaque page d'accueil, on trouve les objectifs communicatifs liés au genre. Cette caractéristique est la seule pour laquelle nous n'avons pas recours à FABRA. Nous avons réalisé, lors d'une étude antérieure (Cardon *et al.*, 2024), une campagne d'annotation pour l'identification des tours dans les quatre corpus BLOG, OFF, DEST, AGENCE du domaine touristique. Pour ce faire, deux annotateurs (1) ont tout d'abord identifié chaque bloc de texte de la page d'accueil, en suivant l'ordre de lecture (de gauche à droite, de haut en bas) et ensuite, (2) ils ont associé un tour à chaque bloc de texte, en se basant sur le modèle rhétorique des tours proposé par Askehave et Nielsen (2005). Cependant, nous avons modifié et adapté les définitions de certains tours, en accord avec notre objectif d'annotation. Un guide d'annotation a été développé sur cette base, qui, en plus de la définition, inclut des informations complémentaires pour chaque tour telles que des exemples et un bref organigramme. Le taux d'accord entre les annotateurs, mesuré à l'aide du κ de Cohen (Cohen, 1960) est de 0,73, ce qui suggère que le guide d'annotation produit une annotation fiable. Voici une brève description de chaque tour :
- Tour 1 : Attirer l'attention. Attirer l'attention du lecteur lorsqu'il entre sur la page d'accueil.

- Tour 2 : Saluer. Souhaiter la bienvenue aux internautes.
- Tour 3 : Identifier l'expéditeur. Identifier le propriétaire du site web et est souvent réalisé à l'aide d'un logo.
- Tour 4 : Indiquer la structure du contenu. Fournir un aperçu clair de la structure du contenu, souvent appelé le menu principal.
- Tour 5 : Détailler le contenu (sélectionné). Détailler les sujets énumérés dans le menu principal. Outre les informations détaillées, ce tour fonctionne également comme un outil de présentation de nouvelles et de création d'une image publique.
- Tour 6 : Asseoir la crédibilité. Établir une image de confiance du propriétaire du site web.
- Tour 7 : Établir le contact. Donner au visiteur les moyens de contacter l'expéditeur.
- Tour 8 : Établir une communauté (de discours). Permettre aux utilisateurs fidèles ou fréquents d'établir des communautés au sein du site web (ex. par le biais de réseaux sociaux externes ou de compte d'utilisateur sur le site).
- Tour 9 : Promouvoir une organisation externe. Faire la promotion d'une autre entreprise, produit, etc. Cela prend généralement la forme d'une bannière publicitaire.

25 La longueur du texte (4 variables). La longueur des phrases est une variable traditionnelle de la lisibilité, ce qui constitue une caractéristique désirable des textes promotionnels. Sa justification est essentiellement empirique (François, 2011). Concernant la lisibilité sur le web, la longueur des phrases a beaucoup été étudiée, car elle constitue une ligne directrice simple pour les rédacteurs (Kadayat et Eika, 2020). Pour des textes promotionnels, les phrases courtes et simples augmentent le degré de lisibilité et sont préférées (Teodorescu, 2015).

26 La diversité lexicale (118 variables). La diversité lexicale évalue dans quelle mesure le vocabulaire d'un texte est varié. Dans un texte à grande diversité lexicale, l'auteur utilise de nombreux mots différents, avec peu de répétitions (Johansson, 2008). Ces variables

prennent en compte soit tous les mots du texte, soit uniquement certaines catégories du discours (ex. adjectifs, noms, verbes, etc.).

- 27 La fréquence lexicale (28 variables). La fréquence lexicale est un puissant prédicteur de la complexité lexicale et de la lisibilité d'un texte (Rayner et Duffy, 1986). Cette caractéristique lexicale est calculée sur la base des fréquences de la ressource Lexique3 (New *et al.*, 2007). La fréquence lexicale est calculée pour chacune des catégories suivantes : tous les mots, les mots de contenu, les mots fonctionnels, les noms (à l'exception des noms propres), les verbes et les adjectifs.

- 28 La sophistication lexicale (18 variables). La sophistication lexicale renvoie à l'utilisation de mots difficiles ou rares dans un texte (Bonvin et Lambelet, 2019). Dans FABRA, les 9000 mots les plus fréquents dans Lexique3 sont répartis en 9 « tranches » égales de 1000 mots. Ainsi, la 1^{re} tranche englobe les 1000 mots les plus fréquents, la 2^e contient les 1000 mots situés entre le rang 1001 et 2000, etc. Un texte comportant plus de mots dans des bandes de fréquence plus avancées peut être considéré comme ayant un lexique plus sophistiqué.

- 29 Autres propriétés lexicales (34 variables). Les autres propriétés lexicales que nous essayons de mesurer sont la familiarité lexicale, l'imageabilité de chaque mot, le caractère concret/abstrait et le degré de polysémie lexicale. Ces variables correspondent à des normes lexicales typiquement utilisées en psycholinguistique. La familiarité est une mesure de la capacité de reconnaissance d'un mot par une personne. L'imageabilité fait référence à la facilité avec laquelle on peut former une image mentale ou une représentation mentale du concept auquel ce mot se réfère. De même, le caractère concret d'un mot indique dans quelle mesure il se réfère à une entité réelle, tangible, décrivant des objets et des comportements d'une manière qui semble plus spécifique, familière et perceptible pour l'individu ou l'esprit (Brysbaert *et al.*, 2014).

- 30 Les marqueurs de développement du langage (27 variables). Les marqueurs de développement du langage peuvent (1) indiquer la structure syntaxique, et aussi (2) évaluer si la structure syntaxique est complexe. Les mesures comme l'index Yngve (voir François, 2011) ou la profondeur moyenne des constituants sont souvent utilisées pour

évaluer la complexité de la structure des phrases en lien avec le nombre de constituants syntaxiques.

- 31 Les caractéristiques des phrases (5 variables). Nous calculons leur longueur, la proportion de phrases simples, complexes et composées dans les textes.
- 32 Les caractéristiques morphologiques (84 variables). Les variables liées aux caractéristiques morphologiques des mots du texte sont également révélatrices du genre de texte. Nous avons ainsi identifié divers types de propriétés, par exemple la proportion de mots d'un genre ou d'un nombre donné, la proportion de définis, etc. Plus particulièrement, les propriétés verbales (temps, mode, et voix) ont été prises en compte, car étudiées par plusieurs chercheurs dans le domaine du genre touristique promotionnel (section 1).
- 33 16 variables calculant la proportion de chacune des catégories de discours définies dans le jeu d'étiquettes universel du projet UD (de Marneffe, 2021), sont également identifiées. Cependant, nous accordons une attention particulière aux cas des adjectifs et des pronoms personnels, qui sont décrits dans les sections suivantes.
- 34 Les adjectifs. Les adjectifs sont particulièrement fréquents dans le registre écrit. Les adjectifs sont essentiels pour « présenter la beauté, l'attrait et le caractère unique des destinations ou des attractions » dans le tourisme (Manca, 2016). L'usage des adjectifs renforce également la persuasion dans les discours touristiques (Pierini, 2009) et les adjectifs évaluatifs, en particulier, peuvent exprimer le point de vue de l'auteur ou du locuteur (Edo-Marzá, 2017) et provoquer chez le lecteur une sorte de sentiment esthétique (Muñoz, 2019). Afin d'aller au-delà d'un simple décompte des adjectifs, nous avons décidé de distinguer (1) les adjectifs objectifs, (2) les adjectifs évaluatifs et (3) les adjectifs émotionnels. Une autre campagne d'annotation a été réalisée dans le cadre de cette étude ; pour rédiger le guide d'annotation, nous nous sommes basés sur la classification psychopragmatique des adjectifs de Kerbrat-Orecchioni (1980). Le κ de Cohen (Cohen, 1960) obtenu pour cette campagne est de 0.87, ce qui représente un excellent accord.
- 35 Les pronoms personnels. Selon Callaway et Lester (2001), sans pronoms, les textes deviennent rapidement confus, car les lecteurs

commencent à prêter plus d'attention au style d'écriture qu'au contenu. Dans les textes promotionnels, l'utilisation des pronoms peut néanmoins être l'une des caractéristiques les plus distinctives. Selon Cook (2001), la caractéristique la plus frappante et la plus fréquente qui distingue les textes promotionnels des autres types de discours est l'utilisation omniprésente des pronoms personnels de la 2^e personne (*vous* et *tu*).

- 36 Les mesures de cohérence du texte (8 variables). Ce sont des mesures pour calculer la cohérence textuelle. Ces variables permettent de mesurer la cohérence au niveau des champs lexicaux et/ou du lexique entre une phrase et toutes les autres phrases, mais aussi entre chaque phrase et la phrase suivante, en se basant sur la forme fléchie des mots et leur lemme.
- 37 Les expressions référentielles (6 variables). Ces mesures sont la proportion de pronoms entre tous les noms et tous les mots, le ratio des possessifs, le ratio des pronoms personnels et la proportion des pronoms personnels dans le texte.
- 38 Les hyperliens. Il s'agit d'une caractéristique numérique du genre numérique. Les hyperliens sont stratégiques pour la communication touristique numérique, dans la mesure où ils reflètent un choix communicatif des expéditeurs (Maci, 2007). Dimitrova *et al.* (2005) notent que les liens peuvent rendre le texte plus compréhensible. Nous décrivons ici la méthode de récupération des hyperliens. Nous récupérons d'abord la source HTML de chaque page d'accueil du corpus. Pour chacune de ces pages, nous repérons et extrayons toutes les balises <a>. Pour chacune de ces balises, nous effectuons une recherche de son contenu textuel s'il existe (le texte entre la balise ouvrante et la balise fermante) dans chacun des tours identifiés pour le site en question. Cela nous permet d'établir la correspondance entre les tours et les liens automatiquement. Nous traitons manuellement les cas où le texte est présent dans plusieurs tours, ce qui ne permet pas d'établir la correspondance automatiquement.

2.3. Identification des caractéristiques de genre

39 La méthode utilisée pour identifier les caractéristiques des sites web des agences de voyages francophones s’inspire des techniques statistiques classiquement utilisées pour extraire les termes de spécialité dans un corpus. Les caractéristiques sont calculées à l’aide de FABRA. Pour faire ressortir les caractéristiques typiques des genres considérés, chaque caractéristique est comparée en fonction de sa distribution dans le corpus d’intérêt (ex. AGENCE) et de sa distribution dans un corpus représentatif des discours numériques (ex. frWac). L’utilisation d’un corpus de contraste est une approche courante dans des travaux tels que l’identification de mots-clés (Rehm *et al.*, 2008), et au niveau des caractéristiques, elle a été utilisée dans des travaux comme Wong et Dras (2009) et Hai *et al.* (2014). Les distributions sont comparées à l’aide d’un test U de Mann-Whitney, qui permet de déterminer si le suremploi ou le sous-emploi d’une caractéristique dans le corpus d’intérêt est significatif. Une fois une différence significative identifiée, nous utilisons la médiane des distributions comme outil diagnostic pour identifier s’il s’agit d’un suremploi ou d’un sous-emploi. Si la médiane est plus élevée dans le corpus d’intérêt, cette caractéristique linguistique est suremployée dans le genre étudié ; à l’inverse, la caractéristique y est sous-employée. Pour certaines distributions atypiques où la médiane ne permet pas de clarifier suffisamment la nature de l’emploi, nous avons alors recours à la moyenne. Au vu du nombre élevé de caractéristiques considérées et donc de comparaisons statistiques réalisées, nous avons opté pour une p-valeur plus élevée (0,01) afin de limiter les erreurs de type I (identifier à tort une caractéristique comme typique du genre). Le tableau suivant résume les trois comparaisons que nous avons réalisées à partir de la méthodologie décrite ci-dessus :

Tableau 3 : Présentation des analyses

Analyse	Comparaison (corpus)	Objectif
1 ^{re}	(AGENCE, BLOG, OFF, DEST) vs frWac	Faire ressortir les caractéristiques des discours touristiques

2 ^e	AGENCE vs frWac	Faire ressortir les caractéristiques des sites web des agences de voyages
3 ^e	AGENCE vs (BLOG, OFF, DEST)	Identifier les spécificités de ces sites web par rapport aux autres discours touristiques

- 40 Dans la première analyse, nous comparons les quatre genres touristiques avec le corpus frWac, à l'aide des caractéristiques linguistiques décrites à la section 2.2 (sauf les hyperliens et la structure des tours). Le but est de confirmer les spécificités des discours touristiques numériques promotionnels, mais aussi d'enrichir cette description à l'aide de nos nouvelles variables.
- 41 Ensuite, nous cherchons à caractériser plus finement le discours des agences (corpus AGENCE) en le comparant à une diversité de discours numériques en français (frWac), toujours à l'aide des variables de la section 2.2 (sauf les hyperliens et la structure des tours). Cette analyse vise à vérifier si le mélange des quatre discours touristiques numériques n'a pas occulté certaines caractéristiques typiques des sites web des agences.
- 42 Enfin, notre troisième analyse consiste à caractériser le genre des agences de voyages (corpus AGENCE) par rapport aux trois autres genres du même domaine (corpus BLOG, OFF et DEST). Nous comparons plusieurs niveaux : corpus AGENCE avec l'ensemble des corpus BLOG, OFF et DEST, et corpus AGENCE avec chacun des corpus BLOG, OFF et DEST. Ici, le jeu de caractéristiques analysées est plus riche : toutes les caractéristiques linguistiques et numériques présentées à la section 2.2.
- 43 Pour l'analyse, les caractéristiques ont été identifiées et comparées, dans un premier temps, au niveau de l'ensemble des textes (sur chaque page d'accueil). Cette comparaison se distingue de la comparaison qui prend en compte les tours. Pour chaque page d'accueil, nous calculons les variables sur chaque fragment de texte associé à un tour. Pour les analyses 1 et 2, la comparaison se fait au niveau Genre ; l'analyse 3 implique une comparaison à la fois au niveau Genre avec et sans la présence des tours. Le fait de mener une comparaison au niveau du genre (sans tour) aide à déterminer les phénomènes linguistiques spécifiques du genre. Cependant, ces phénomènes doivent être mis en relation avec les tours, afin de clarifier leur contribution à chaque objectif communicatif.

3. Résultats

44 Dans cette section, nous présentons les résultats de nos expériences décrites à la section 2. À la section 3.1, nous rapportons nos observations sur les caractéristiques qui distinguent le discours touristique numérique des discours numériques en général (l'analyse 1), avant de présenter celles qui distinguent le discours des sites d'agences de voyages des autres genres de discours touristique numérique (analyses 2 et 3) à la section 3.2.

3.1. Traits spécifiques des discours touristiques numériques

45 Les organisations touristiques doivent vendre le même produit sur différents marchés et à différents clients, et donc fournir différents types d'informations (Osti et Pechlaner, 2001). En effet, nos résultats montrent que le texte touristique a un vocabulaire plus riche que les textes numériques en général. Par exemple, une des variables statistiques souvent utilisées pour illustrer la diversité lexicale est le type-token ratio au carré (Squared TTR), soit le nombre de vocables divisé par le nombre d'occurrences (*token* en anglais) au carré. La médiane est ≈ 873 dans le corpus touristique, contre ≈ 564 dans le corpus frWac. La sophistication se traduit également par un plus grand nombre de mots polysyllabiques des textes touristiques.

46 En sus de cette diversité lexicale, les textes touristiques numériques semblent moins accessibles, lexicalement parlant, à un public large que celui des textes numériques de français général. Les résultats de fréquence et sophistication lexicale montrent que les formes du lemme des noms, noms propres, verbes, adjectifs et adverbes tendent à être moins fréquentes dans le corpus touristique (médiane ≈ 296 occurrences par million) que dans celui frWac (médiane ≈ 410).

47 Sur le plan syntaxique, les textes touristiques se distinguent par une syntaxe plus complexe que celle des textes numériques issus de frWac, ce qui peut en réduire l'accessibilité. En effet, l'indice Yngve – qui mesure la profondeur moyenne des syntagmes dans un texte – met en évidence une syntaxe plus élaborée dans les textes

touristiques (médiane $\approx 3,28$) par rapport aux textes numériques (médiane $\approx 2,77$).

- 48 Dans la communication touristique numérique, nous remarquons une relation plus dynamique entre les interlocuteurs (les rédacteurs et les internautes). En effet, les pronoms personnels et possessifs sont beaucoup plus présents dans le corpus touristique que dans le corpus frWac. On peut par exemple observer un emploi plus marqué du pronom personnel à la première personne du pluriel (*nous*) dans le corpus touristique (médiane $\approx 0,33$) que dans frWac (médiane $\approx 0,09$). Cette présence montre une volonté d'identifier l'émetteur dans la communication touristique (Askehave et Nielsen, 2005). Les textes touristiques visent à inclure explicitement le public visé dans la communication. Ainsi, le pronom personnel à la deuxième personne au pluriel (*vous*) est aussi davantage employé dans le corpus touristique. La stratégie adoptée repose sur la technique de ciblage de l'ego (*ego-targeting*), visant à offrir aux touristes une expérience personnalisée et exclusive (Williamson, 1983 ; Boyer et Viallon, 1994). L'utilisation de ces pronoms personnels rend le message chaleureux, réduit le fossé entre l'émetteur et le destinataire, jouant ainsi sur un marketing de proximité (Gahlot Sarkar et Sarkar, 2016). Cela fait en sorte que le public perçoit le message comme étant conçu pour l'aider (Teodorescu, 2015). Voici quelques exemples de l'usage davantage des pronoms personnels :

- (1) Voyages exceptionnels : Nous vous faisons découvrir le monde comme vous ne l'avez jamais vu.
- (2) Nous nous occupons de tout : vol, hôtel & expérience et vous aidons en cas de besoin.
- (3) Laissez-nous travailler pour vous. Nous sommes ravis de vous conseiller.
- (4) Les voyages d'affaires conçus pour vous, avec vous partout où vous devez être.

- 49 En complément de l'usage des pronoms personnels, l'élément qui signale le plus la relation dynamique entre les interlocuteurs est le souci d'une communication interactive sur les sites web touristiques. Nous trouvons qu'il s'agit d'une évolution du discours touristique, souvent considéré comme une forme d'un monologue (Dann, 1996). Cette interaction dynamique, grâce au web actuel, se traduit par une série de propositions communicatives de la part des propriétaires de sites web aux internautes : contacter l'expéditeur, s'abonner au site

web, se connecter en tant qu'utilisateur du site, commenter et aimer des articles présentés sur la page, etc. Nous avons trouvé plusieurs formules impératives ou formules de phrases infinitives (médiane $\approx 1,72$, contre celle à $\approx 0,71$ de frWac), qui sont plus fréquentes pour le genre du discours touristique promotionnel. Voici quelques exemples :

- (1) Nous contacter !
- (2) Réservez votre voyage dès aujourd'hui !
- (3) Abonnez-vous à notre newsletter !
- (4) Discutons, rêvez, construisons... découvrez !
- (5) Partagez cet article !

- 50 À partir des constats sur les caractéristiques linguistiques citées ci-dessus, nous pouvons affirmer que le genre de discours touristique numérique possède bien des particularités linguistiques par rapport à l'ensemble des discours numériques français à plusieurs niveaux. Nous allons, dans la section suivante, caractériser le genre de discours des agences de voyages.

3.2. Traits spécifiques du discours touristique numérique des agences de voyages

3.2.1. Niveau Genre, sans prise en compte des tours (avec frWac, et trois autres genres)

- 51 Il est intéressant de noter que la comparaison du corpus AGENCE avec le corpus frWac (analyse 2) fait ressortir les mêmes variables qu'à la section 3.1. Concernant la comparaison entre le genre des sites web des agences (AGENCE) avec l'ensemble des trois autres genres (BLOG, OFF et DEST) ainsi que les sites web (AGENCE) avec chaque genre séparément (BLOG), (OFF) et (DEST), les résultats sont les suivants :
- 52 Tout d'abord, les sites web des agences de voyages utilisent un vocabulaire riche, diversifié et sophistiqué ; leurs textes semblent moins accessibles, en raison d'un lexique moins fréquent et une syntaxe plus complexe. En effet, le corpus AGENCE a des mots plus

longs, contenant plus d'affixes, préfixes et suffixes que des mots dans les trois autres genres. La complexité syntaxique se traduit par un usage de plus de phrases composées (moyenne $\approx 6,67$ contre $\approx 0,06$).

- 53 Les discours des agences de voyages soulignent le temps présent et projettent les lecteurs dans l'avenir. En effet, le corpus AGENCE utilise plus de temps au présent de l'indicatif et au futur. Ce sont des formes verbales qui orientent la lecture des internautes et qui influencent leur perception du voyage (Dann, 1996). Les internautes sont amenés à se projeter dans le temps présent, via des présentations de produits touristiques ou de l'agence et dans le temps futur, avec des propositions précises de voyages ou d'actions. Les exemples ci-dessous, tirés du corpus AGENCE, illustrent bien cette tendance. Le futur proche peut également apporter une nuance dans le temps court, selon laquelle l'agence veut se montrer disponible dans l'interaction avec l'internaute.

- (1) Si vous souhaitez savoir comment (*nom de l'agence*) peut vous aider et recevoir des communications sur nos produits et services, veuillez remplir ce formulaire. Nous vous contacterons pour prendre un rendez-vous et échanger ensemble.
- (2) EXCLUSIF. De la préparation à la réalisation de votre voyage, vous serez encadrés par une équipe professionnelle forte d'une longue expérience.
- (3) Depuis plus de 40 ans, cette entreprise indépendante propose un service sur mesure et personnalisé. Ses conseillers expérimentés et proactifs seront à votre écoute et vous feront bénéficier de leur savoir-faire, de leur connaissance des destinations...

- 54 Les agences de voyages ont tendance à ajouter une touche émotionnelle et esthétique, en utilisant plus d'adjectifs évaluatifs que les autres genres. Il s'agit d'une stratégie de communication qui vise à convaincre de la crédibilité de l'agence. Cette stratégie implique également le lecteur dans la communication et augmente la valeur perçue d'une destination touristique (Mocini, 2013). Voici quelques exemples de l'usage des adjectifs évaluatifs :

- (1) Un service complet, des conseils personnalisés et compétents en temps de crise.
- (2) Des paysages très variés, les destinations extraordinaires du monde.
- (3) De magnifiques villes et villages vous attendent pour vous faire découvrir des régions inestimables.

- 55 Une autre remarque importante concernant les sites des agences de voyages est la volonté d'engager le public, d'encourager l'action et de

rendre le texte plus accessible. Cette stratégie de communication des agences de voyages est illustrée par une fréquence importante des hyperliens dans le corpus AGENCE. En effet, la moyenne d'hyperliens par site web du genre AGENCE est à 8,2, tandis que celle des blogs est à 4,5, des offices de tourisme à 2,5 et des destinations touristiques à 1,6. Le fait de présenter un hyperlien dans le texte montre un effort des agences de voyages dans l'implication communicative des internautes. Le lecteur, en cliquant sur l'hyperlien, devient le locuteur, qui décide de son schéma de communication. Il s'agit d'une des fonctions communicatives des hyperliens : donner de la crédibilité à l'auteur du lien en offrant aux lecteurs un moyen transparent de diriger eux-mêmes la communication (Coddington, 2012). Dans le texte touristique des agences de voyages, cette fonction se manifeste notamment à travers les menus qui indiquent le chemin de navigations, ainsi que les boutons d'appel à l'action (en anglais : *call to action*) : « réserver un voyage », « télécharger la brochure », « lire la suite », « s'inscrire à la newsletter », etc.

3.2.2. Niveau Genre, avec des tours (avec trois autres genres)

- 56 Concernant les fonctions communicatives de l'ensemble des quatre catégories (AGENCE, BLOG, OFF et DEST), nous remarquons que les émetteurs de discours touristiques numériques font attention à 1) l'identification et à la construction de l'image de soi (ethos) et 2) à la communication claire des informations. Ces stratégies se traduisent par un emploi récurrent des tours 3 (identifier l'expéditeur), 4 (indiquer la structure du contenu) et 5 (détailler le contenu), selon notre résultat statistique. En effet, quand l'internaute va sur une page web, pour ne pas se perdre, il doit connaître le propriétaire du site, ainsi que la structure globale du site et recevoir des informations détaillées sur le contenu. Il existe cependant une grande différence dans l'usage du tour 5 dans le genre des blogs par rapport aux autres genres : les auteurs des blogs présentent plus d'informations détaillées sur leur page d'accueil. Afin d'indiquer la structure du contenu des pages d'accueil, les sites des agences utilisent des menus plus riches en noms (médiane $\approx 0,92$, plus que celle $\approx 0,20$ des autres catégories). Nous remarquons également le même résultat concernant l'usage des noms et de noms propres des agences de

voyages, afin de détailler des informations. Le fait d'utiliser plus de noms et de noms propres montre une dimension plus informative et explicative dans le discours des agences de voyages.

- 57 Les agences de voyages ont plus tendance à attirer l'attention des lecteurs à leur arrivée sur la page. Cela se traduit par un usage plus fréquent du tour 1 (attirer l'attention). En effet, beaucoup de phrases sous forme de slogans apparaissent à la première instance de l'ouverture du site, et les caractéristiques linguistiques utilisées pour former ce tour sont souvent des phrases nominales ou des formules de phrase impérative. Voici quelques exemples :

- (1) L'art de voyager.
- (2) Soyez prêts à voyager.
- (3) Voyager léger.
- (4) Ouvrez les portes du monde – Circuit francophone
- (5) Découvrez l'Iran – Aux milles et un visages

- 58 Les agences de voyages n'ont pas tendance à souhaiter la bienvenue aux internautes. En effet, seuls sept sites web d'agences de voyages de notre corpus suivent cette pratique, et tous les sept utilisent le mot « bienvenue ». Cet acte de parole se retrouve le plus dans des blogs de voyage, par exemple :

- (1) Bienvenue sur (*nom du blog*).
- (2) Je m'appelle (*nom de la personne*) et je suis très heureuse de t'accueillir sur mon blog de voyage !

- 59 De même, les agences ne cherchent pas particulièrement à créer des communautés de discours, ce qui se traduit par une présence moyenne moins élevée (0,95) du tour 8 (établir une communauté de discours). À l'inverse, les agences semblent très soucieuses d'asseoir leur crédibilité. Cette pratique se traduit par l'usage très fréquent du tour 6 dans le corpus AGENCE. La présence moyenne de ce tour dans le corpus AGENCE est à 1,23, alors qu'elle se situe entre 0,16 et 0,33 dans les trois autres corpus. Les agences de voyages utilisent un discours à la fois informatif et persuasif, impliquant activement les internautes. Cela se traduit par l'usage de noms (médiane $\approx$ 0,93 contre 0,1), d'adjectifs émotionnels (médiane $\approx$ 0,5 contre 0,02),

d'adjectifs évaluatifs (médiane $\approx 0,8$ contre 0,25) et une grande proportion de possessifs dans le texte (médiane $\approx 0,3$ contre 0,01). En voici un exemple :

- (1) Pourquoi (*nom de l'agence*) ? Des conseils personnalisés et compétents en temps de crise. Un service complet avant, pendant et après votre voyage. Les meilleures offres de vacances à des prix raisonnables. Une permanence téléphonique 24 h/24 et 7 j/7.

- 60 Ce sont les agences de voyages qui essaient le plus d'établir le contact avec les internautes. Cela s'observe par une proportion plus élevée du tour 7 (établir le contact) dans le genre des agences, tandis que le genre des blogs ne comporte pratiquement pas ce tour. Souvent, le tour 7 est formé par des formules impératives ou infinitives (« Contactez-nous ! », « Parlons-nous ! » ou « Nous contacter »), sous la forme d'un formulaire de contact que le lecteur doit remplir ou encore sous la forme de texte reprenant les coordonnées de l'agence.
- 61 Finalement, la caractéristique numérique au sein du genre AGENCE se présente de la même manière que celle dans tout le corpus tourisme, c'est-à-dire une concentration des hyperliens pour indiquer la structure de la page (tour 4 – 10,32 en moyenne) et détailler des informations (tour 5 – 4,4 en moyenne). Les hyperliens sont également plus fréquents en vue d'établir un contact entre le visiteur du site web avec les agences. On y trouve des boutons *call-to-action*.

4. Discussion

- 62 Les résultats de notre recherche montrent que les sites web des agences de voyages constituent un genre de discours en soi, dont les caractéristiques linguistiques et numériques diffèrent bien d'autres discours touristiques numériques.
- 63 Tout d'abord, les agences de voyages se démarquent par l'usage d'un langage riche, diversifié et sophistiqué, qui semble moins accessible au grand public. Les caractéristiques tant lexicales que syntaxiques du corpus des textes touristiques en général et celui des agences de voyages en particulier, s'avèrent moins lisibles et pourraient nuire au traitement de l'information présentée dans un texte promotionnel (Lowrey, 1998). Toutefois, il est à noter que les textes promotionnels

sont conçus pour être compréhensibles par le plus grand public possible (Lowrey, 1998) ; il est donc nécessaire de regarder d'autres facteurs qui participent à l'accessibilité d'un texte. Cela est d'autant plus important que, selon Chamblee *et al.* (1993), les textes promotionnels complexes sur le plan lexical ont un effet positif sur la lecture des lecteurs, car ces derniers sont amenés à réfléchir davantage aux contenus et à traiter le message de manière plus profonde. En d'autres termes, cette complexité lexicale stimule la rétention et la mémorisation des informations, renforçant ainsi l'impact du message sur le lecteur.

- 64 Ensuite, les agences de voyages accordent une grande importance à leur image. L'emploi fréquent d'une touche émotionnelle et esthétique – avec l'utilisation abondante d'adjectifs émotionnels et évaluatifs, de noms et de possessifs – représente une stratégie de communication visant à convaincre les lecteurs de la fiabilité et du professionnalisme de l'agence. La dimension temporelle dans le discours des agences de voyages participe également à l'exercice de séduction des internautes, en leur montrant un temps présent, mais aussi une vision tournée vers l'avenir, grâce à l'usage des temps du présent et du futur proche.
- 65 Les agences de voyages cherchent également à impliquer activement les internautes dans la communication. Les éléments notables sont l'inclusion d'hyperliens – qui aident à indiquer la structure web et à détailler les informations – et des embrayeurs de l'énonciation. Bien que les agences de voyages cherchent à capter l'attention des lecteurs dès leur arrivée, elles ne souhaitent pas nécessairement la bienvenue aux internautes. De plus, il semble qu'elles ne cherchent pas spécifiquement à créer des communautés de discours.
- 66 Une limite de notre étude est que nous avons considéré les 156 pages d'accueil de frWac comme un ensemble représentatif du discours numérique en général. Il est possible que cet échantillon ne soit pas suffisamment représentatif, ce qui pourrait altérer certaines de nos conclusions. Cependant, le fait de nous concentrer sur les pages d'accueil avait pour but d'assurer une cohérence au niveau des types de documents comparés.
- 67 Notre travail bénéficierait idéalement d'une analyse multidimensionnelle. En effet, face à l'émergence d'un nouveau type

de discours numérique complexe – en l'occurrence le discours touristique dans ce cas – nous devons (1) réexaminer ou revisiter les modèles de genre traditionnels, et (2) adopter une approche multidimensionnelle. Dans cette perspective, nous portons notre attention non seulement sur le texte lui-même, mais également sur d'autres éléments associés (tels que les éléments graphiques visuels, ainsi que d'autres éléments non textuels, discursifs et commerciaux). Nous prévoyons d'effectuer cette analyse lors d'une étape ultérieure de notre travail.

Conclusion

- 68 Dans cette étude, nous avons caractérisé le genre de discours touristique numérique des agences de voyages. Pour ce faire, nous avons comparé ce genre à d'autres genres de discours, grâce à des approches mixtes quantitatives, qualitatives et comparatives, afin de faire ressortir les caractéristiques linguistiques et numériques typiques de ce genre. Les résultats montrent que les sites web des agences de voyages constituent un genre de discours spécifique, non seulement au niveau des fonctions communicatives du discours, mais aussi au niveau des stratégies linguistiques utilisées. Ces résultats contribuent à l'établissement d'un modèle de genre pour les discours publiés sur les sites web touristiques francophones, en tenant compte des stratégies linguistiques, communicationnelles et numériques, ainsi que de leur efficacité. Ce modèle pourrait servir de référence pour les professionnels du tourisme souhaitant améliorer leur communication sur les pages d'accueil. Enfin, il serait intéressant d'analyser en amont la mise en scène culturelle dans les discours touristiques, afin de comprendre comment le genre est conçu en fonction des différentes cultures et communautés de discours. En effet, Jin, Park et Kim (2008) ont montré que les différences culturelles peuvent expliquer certaines stratégies appliquées par les entreprises touristiques à l'échelle mondiale, mais également pourquoi leurs produits touristiques rencontrent le succès dans certaines communautés et pas dans d'autres.

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NOTES

- 1 En anglais : English for Specific Purpose (ESP).
- 2 Les termes « tours » et « pas » sont abordés dans Banks (2001).
- 3 « prominence in contemporary communication ». Nous traduisons, sauf mention du contraire.
- 4 « innovation in digitally mediated research genres ».
- 5 « a push towards the democratization of science and the sharing of research ».
- 6 « When we talk about digital genres and practices we are referring to the recurrent, goal-directed, communicative events (Swales, 1990) mediated by digital tools in this way, along with the constellation of activities that surround such events. »
- 7 « a new communication setting which reconfigures the conditions to which pragmatic features of language respond ».

RÉSUMÉS

Français

L'étude présentée vise à analyser les pages d'accueil des sites web d'agences de voyages francophones afin de déterminer s'il s'agit d'un genre de discours distinct et d'en caractériser les spécificités. Une série d'expériences a été conduite à cette fin. Un corpus de français numérique bien connu, frWac, ainsi qu'un corpus de sites web touristiques collecté pour cette étude ont été utilisés. Les analyses effectuées consistent, d'une part, en une comparaison des discours touristiques numériques à un échantillon de discours numériques variés, et, d'autre part, en une comparaison des discours des sites d'agences de voyages avec d'autres discours numériques touristiques, tels que les blogs, les sites d'offices de tourisme et les sites de points d'intérêt touristiques. Pour ces comparaisons, des outils de traitement automatique des langues ont été mobilisés pour extraire une série de caractéristiques linguistiques, complétée par une analyse rhétorique basée sur la structure des tours (moves en anglais). Il est démontré que le discours des agences de voyages

constitue un genre distinct, dont les caractéristiques spécifiques sont décrites.

English

The aim of this study was to analyze the homepages of French-language travel agency websites in order to determine whether they constitute a distinct discourse genre and to characterize their specific features. To this end, a series of experiments were carried out. A well-known French digital corpus, frWac, and a corpus of tourism websites collected for this study were used. The analyses carried out consist, on the one hand of a comparison of digital tourism discourses with a sample of different digital discourses and, on the other hand, of a comparison of the discourses of travel agency websites with other digital tourism discourses such as blogs, tourist office websites and tourist attraction websites. For these comparisons, automatic language processing tools were used to extract several linguistic features, complemented by a rhetorical analysis based on the moves structure. It is shown that travel agency discourse constitutes a distinct genre, the specific characteristics of which are described.

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Mots-clés

genre de discours, discours numérique touristique, structure des tours, traitement automatique du langage

Keywords

discourse genre, tourist digital discourse, move structure, natural language processing

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