

**Evidentiality in the “Diálogos de Paz”: Quotations and Presuppositions in Colombia’s  
Peace Talks**

By

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THESIS

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This thesis is dedicated to my husband Rob, and my children Liam and Maya Kamila, who were my main motivation to achieve this goal.

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## **I. INTRODUCTION**

In moments of conflict, a peace dialogue can be the beacon of hope, that miracle that can bring a better environment to a country. Each conversation is another progressive step toward a night without worries for so many of the families who have loved ones closely involved in the conflict. As a consequence, every communiqué that comes from the *mesa de diálogo* (dialogue table), whether it is from the militia or the government, can be a voice of hope or a reason for sorrow in a country that awaits a political change. What most people don't realize is that every communiqué offered during a political conflict, such as a peace dialogue, carries within it more than the mere words that construct it. Each media statement or communiqué has the capacity to transmit a particular ideology and a hidden agenda within its words. Knowing the power that a media statement can have, and the elements involved, each political side of the conflict strives to use the most appropriate set of words to achieve its final communicative goal of recruiting the audience to its side.

### **1.1. Summary of the Problem**

Colombia is going through a period of peace dialogues after more than 60 years of armed conflict. In this conflict there are two main factions: the Colombian government and the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia – ejército del pueblo (FARC e.p.)*. According to the Stanford Center for International Security and Cooperation (CISAC), the FARC, “a Marxist-Leninist guerrilla group, was founded by Manuel Marulanda and Jacobo Arenas in 1964. The

group was formed to represent the rural population's interests following the Colombian civil war from 1948 to 1958. The FARC originally aimed to overthrow the government, and it financed its operations through the drug trade, kidnapping, extortion, and illegal gold mining” ([https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc#text\\_block\\_17686](https://cisac.fsi.stanford.edu/mappingmilitants/profiles/revolutionary-armed-forces-colombia-farc#text_block_17686)).

Unfortunately, out of that desire for protection, the FARC has been presented as one of the militia groups who has caused over two hundred thousand deaths in the past six decades. For this reason, now that the FARC wants to be part of mainstream society and put an end to this period of war, the first thing they must do is to convince not only the Colombian government but the entire Colombian population of their honest desire to make peace. As such, the FARC needs to show the Colombian populace that they have always had the best interests of the country at its core, and any act that may have been seen as violent, has been done in an effort to protect the Colombian population from the government. In other words, the guerrillas<sup>1</sup> group need to find the acceptance not only of the government, but of the citizens in general. On the other hand, the government needs to show itself as the entity that has always been taking care of its citizens.

While every communiqué<sup>2</sup> offered by the government and the FARC at the beginning and end of each session of these peace dialogues may have had as its original purpose to inform the Colombian society and the general audience about the progress and development of these processes, these communiqués seem to be serving multiple purposes at the same time. Both parties

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<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this study, the term “guerrillas” is not being used with any type of negative connotation to refer to this militia group. Such term is used considering this is the way they use to talk about themselves in this peace dialogue process.

<sup>2</sup> In this study I analyzed the public available communiqués offered by both the FARC and the Colombian Government. I do not analyze either their spoken interactions or the official peace agreement document resulting from the talks.

seem to be constantly in a battle to show who the protagonist and the antagonist is. Van Dijk (1992) talks about the self-presentation of the dominant group in a positive way, which aligns with Goffman's 1967 idea of face work, where each political side in a conversation is going to try to portray and maintain its "face". In a case where the counterpart in the conversation has more prestige, its opponent will try to deface it or show it out of face, in an attempt to show the counterpart's negative side.

At the same time, another aspect that can be seen in each of the communiqués offered is a ratification of each member's political ideologies. For this reason, one strategy that might be used by each party, the government or the FARC, is to try to show its counterpart as the one to blame for all the conflicts that have afflicted this country at war and for all the massacres and deaths that have occurred in the past years. The analysis of these media statements will show the relations and dynamics of power present in this peace dialogue by the guerrillas and the Colombian government.

In Goffman's words, each part of the dialogue is going to present the face which each political side to the peace dialogue wants the country at large to accept. It is possible that the FARC movement has the hardest mission, due to the fact that they have been said to be responsible for so many violent acts, and, as a consequence, the Colombians may hold a sense of resentment against them. On the other hand, the Colombian government may need to hold their posture and their face, in order to keep transmitting their message of protection and concern for the Colombian population, without letting the message presented by the guerrilla affect their power position.

In order to transmit the desired information to the Colombian citizens, the guerrillas and the Colombian government may need to use a particular framework for their linguistic productions. The main objective in the selection of these frameworks is, according to Olave (2013:341), "*Influir*

*o controlar para nuestro interés, la interpretación de enunciados* (to influence or control for our interest, the interpretation of statements).” At the same time, what each political side attempts to do when intending for the audience to understand only a particular set of information, is to change the context or “subjective mental mode of a situation” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.23) possibly in this case the Colombians’ perspective about the political and peace situation of the country. By doing so, each member of the dialogue, the guerrillas and the government, strives to make the population hear and understand what they need them to. Each member of this dialogue, by having the power to control their communiqué, is able to select not only the information they are transmitting but also the way they want that information to be understood. As Olave points out :

*“los modelos de contexto son objetos cognitivos o representaciones mentales de episodios comunicativos, en cuyo proceso de construcción los participantes – de diferentes modos–seleccionan aquellas propiedades visibles y no visibles que son discursivamente relevantes para definir la situación comunicativa.”* (The models of context are cognitive objects or mental representations about communicative episodes, in which the participants – in different ways–select those discursively relevant properties, visible and invisible, in order to define the communicative situation) (Olave, 2013, p.341).

As the main topic dealt with here is related to social power and the way different political views are being presented to the Colombian population, the most appropriate way of analyzing the resulting communicative interactions from the Colombian peace dialogues is with a Critical Discourse Analysis; according to Van Dijk (1999):

“A Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit positions and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality” (p.352).

CDA is a multidisciplinary field which focuses on social and political issues as expressed via multiple types of discourse. In so doing, a CDA seeks to explain the structuring of those discourses and the ways in which they “enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce, or challenge relations of power and dominance in society” (Van Dijk, 1999, p. 353).

Moreover, there are two important aspects that Van Dijk talks about: levels of order and context. In this way, he explains how there are micro and macro levels of social order, and their everyday combination results in people’s daily interactions. In so doing, he proposes four ways to analyze these levels (Van Dijk, 1999):

- a. Members – group
- b. Action – process
- c. Context – social structure
- d. Personal and social cognition.

This idea of analyzing discourse according to different levels has also been adopted in Berlin’s (2007, 2011) Multilayered Model of Context (henceforth MMC). In short, the MMC is a framework with the capacity to integrate the various levels of analysis in a more profound and rich way. By considering the influence, meaning and relevance that every cultural and historic success, recent or previous, can have when analyzing a communicative interaction, the analysis obtains the

necessary elements to move from a micro to a macro analysis of an event contextualized in a particular time and space. As a consequence, the analysis of the peace dialogue communiqués using a Critical Discourse Analysis within the Multilayered Model of Context is a useful way to observe the relations and dynamics of power present in this 2012 peace dialogue between FARC and the Colombian government.

Additionally, this study intends to investigate how the presence of control- and power-related structures, such evidentiality markers, can be present in presuppositions and direct quotations during a political discourse. The MMC will consequently be used as a framework for the analysis of these types of pragmatic devices. Moreover, when analyzing the impact that the above-mentioned linguistic elements have when being present in a political discourse, it is necessary to observe the level of control present in the speech. The control a speaker has on the discourse can be observed in the influence that not only the context, but also every linguistic structure has. Consequently, knowing the importance that not only context but linguistic structures have on the speech, and observing how these three elements have the ability to transmit certainty to the audience with the message they give, I decided to study them in more detail. In addition, these elements are useful and valid for the analysis of these peace dialogue's communiqués due to the close relation and mutual control that context and speech categories have (Van Dijk, 2009), and how presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers have the capacity to “frame” the information the speaker wants, in order to only be understood as he intended (Goffman, 1974).



## **1.2. Importance of the Study**

This study aims to present a Critical Discourse Analysis that will observe if there are any type of relations and dynamics of power present in the communiqués offered during the Colombian peace dialogue process, and how, if present, such type of language manipulation may contribute to the reproduction of inequality. In other words, this dissertation intends to observe if there is any ideological message or a particular social action agenda that either the FARC or the Colombian government present in their communiqués and that could potentially trigger in the Colombian audience a process of reconstruction of their point of view.

Language manipulation and covert ideological dissemination is a topic that can be analyzed through different lenses and has been studied by different authors. According to Bateson (1955), context and culture are elements by which language can be manipulated to fulfill a particular communicative goal. He says that in a communicative model where information is transferred from a speaker to a listener, it is necessary for the listener to reconstruct the information in order to achieve comprehension. To reconstruct or to do a reflection process about a topic requires looking back on the listener's inside knowledge in order to match the newly received information with the information that he already knows. There are three important points here: a) the fact that the information does not always match the knowledge the listener has; b) sometimes the listener doesn't have enough knowledge to understand the information he just received; and c) sometimes the listener doesn't have enough knowledge to be able to discern if the received information is truthful. It is here where presuppositions and direct quotations become crucial discursive strategies, because they can introduce to the listener the necessary information the speaker wants his audience to have as common ground, in order to understand the new information in the desired

and needed way. As a result, the audience's point of view suffers a process of reconstruction that may lead to new agreement with the speaker's ideology.

Moving on, Van Dijk talks about language manipulation from the perspective of power and its manifestations. As Van Dijk explains, the one with power is the one who will be in control. In this way, a group will be considered to have power in the way they have ability to control, based on their own interests and the actions and thoughts of people (1999, p.26). This power is supposed to be a skill based on a privileged access to limited social resources such as money, social status, knowledge, and information among others. In this way, the use of the direct quotations can be understood, for instance, as a manifestation of knowledge and information by the speakers who make use of it, as a way to show they have access to power, and they have some level of discourse control. Van Dijk also talks about the discursive control of the mind, and how for example, receptors often don't have any other alternative from which to get the necessary information about how the dialogues are going, but by hearing what each member of the dialogues has to say. In this way, the lack of more alternatives to find out about the development of this dialogue is a way to limit Colombians' freedom, which can be translated in the dominion of the two groups over the general population.

The importance of the current study lies in the fact that, even though a media statement of this kind may have a considerable influence on the political future of a country at war, the type of analysis I propose has not been found yet in the literature. Previous peace dialogue situations have certainly been analyzed from different academic angles (Bolívar, 2005; Burkhardt, 1986; Charteris-Black, 2012; Filardo-Llamas, 2013; Friedrich, 2007; Gavriely-Nuri, 2010; Majstorovič, 2007; Parry, 2008; Romero-Trillo, 2011; Valdeón, 2009), but no study has done a Critical

Discourse Analysis of a particular set of linguistic elements (such as presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers) present in political communiqués during a peace dialogue situation. For this reason, this study considers this topic is a gap in the literature that deserves some attention.

In summary, the study of the construction or reconstruction of point of view is important in the field of critical discourse analysis because it contributes to our understanding of the ways, the strategies and the methods a speaker may use in order to a) transmit his own ideology to an audience; b) change the audience's point of view; and c) persuade the audience to accept the speaker's ideology as their own. More specifically, the proposed analysis will contribute to the study of the construction of point of view during a peace dialogue event, because it will show the strategies that each side used to attempt to transmit their own ideology. Finally, this type of investigation is also important because it can be seen how the relations of power may get played during a peace dialogue situation by 'each side of the negotiation table.'

### **1.3. History of the Peace Dialogues in Colombia (1945 to the present)**

The following is a short recompilation of the reasons that marked the beginning of the violence in Colombia, the different efforts that have been attempted in order to achieve a peace agreement, some of the reasons why these attempts succeeded or failed and the series of events happening after every attempt at peace. The main purpose of this review is to acquire a historic contextualization of the dynamics present before, during and after every previous peace dialogue attempt in Colombia, in order to continue with the proposed study which is the analysis of presuppositions and quotations present in the Colombian peace dialogue communiqués, and the

possible way these linguistic elements may facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of political ideology in moments of crisis.

According to Sanchez and Peñaranda (1991), the armed conflict in Colombia and the initiatives to find peace have been around since the second half of the twentieth century. Since then, there were a series of violent events that marked the beginning of a hard period for Colombia, known as “*La Época de la Violencia*” (La Violencia), from 1948-1957.

The Colombian newspaper *El Tiempo* in its article “*Los Guerrilleros Liberales aún Viven*” (The liberal guerrillas are still alive) says this period started even before 1948, when the conservative member Mariano Ospina became president of Colombia in 1945. During the political fight between liberals and conservatives (Colombia’s two main political parties), on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1948, the liberal leader Jorge Eliecer Gaitán was killed, which opened in Colombia a strong period of terror along all the cities and towns of the country. Sanchez Gomez (2002) in his essay about La Violencia says that it was especially in those cities with the more violent acts where the “*autodefensas campesinas*” (peasant self-defense groups) had their beginning, together with the liberal and communists’ guerrillas.

Isaza and Lozano (1994) say that in 1953 army military general Gustavo Rojas Pinilla took the presidency of Colombia after a coup d’état. During his administration was the first amnesty in the country. This process helped hundreds of liberal guerrilla members from the “*guerrillas del Llano*” (guerrilla from the eastern plains) to give up their weapons. This guerrilla group was located on the east side of the country called “*Los Llanos Orientales*” (the eastern plains). *El Tiempo* newspaper describes this guerrilla group as:

*“Una serie de grupos de campesinos que se crearon a raíz de la violencia partidista generada en el país tras el ascenso a la presidencia del conservador Mariano Ospina Pérez, en 1945. En ese momento, incluso, se habló de una ‘guerra santa’ contra los liberales, que se recrudeció con el asesinato de Jorge Eliécer Gaitán, el 9 de abril de 1948.”* (A series of farmer groups that were created because of the political party violence developed when conservative Mariano Ospina Perez took the presidency in 1945. At this time, the possibility of a “holy war” against liberals was mentioned. This war got worse after the killing of Jorge Eliecer Gaitán, on April 9<sup>th</sup>, 1948.)

The “*guerrillas del Llano*” dismantling was done under the command of Guadalupe Salcedo. Silvia Aponte de Torres (1996) in her book “*Capitán Guadalupe Salcedo*” describes Salcedo as the most famous commandant of one of the liberal guerrilla groups located at “*los Llanos*” (the eastern plains).

1958 was the year when the *Frente Nacional* was born, having as a main goal to finish the dictatorship and looking for new strategies to finish this type of government ruling. Cesar Augusto Ayala (1999) explains the *Frente Nacional* as a political coalition between the liberals and the conservatives. According to the author, this coalition had as main goal the permanence of the presidency among the same group of people during the ten years that followed. The fact that *Frente Nacional* wanted to govern only among themselves and, at the same time, the illegal appropriation of land were triggers that made the guerrilla groups rise again, this time under the name of *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC), *Ejército de Liberación Nacional* (ELN), *Ejército Popular de liberación* (EPL), and the *Movimiento 19 de Abril* (M-19). Narvaes Jaimes (2012) says

this last group was born when ex-president Misael Pastrana Borrero committed electoral fraud in the April 19<sup>th</sup>, 1970, presidential elections, allowing him to win against the General Rojas Pinilla.

Socorro Ramirez (2003) says that in 1982 Belisario Betancur became president, and this fact promoted an amnesty project that became the “*Ley 35 de 1982*” (35<sup>th</sup> law of 1982). This amnesty, according to the authors, “*Es Desde 1982, durante el gobierno del presidente Belisario Betancur, que se propuso por primera vez en Colombia, adelantar discusiones pluralistas sobre la reforma política y la paz, así como diálogos con la guerrilla para buscar una solución negociada al conflicto armado. Aunque estos esfuerzos no dieron resultados esperados, sí marcaron la nueva etapa de búsqueda de paz.*” (It is since 1982, during the term of President Belisario Betancur that was proposed for the first time in Colombia, to have pluralist discussions about the political reform and about peace, as well as dialogues with the guerrillas in order to find a negotiable solution to the armed conflict. Although these efforts didn’t give the expected outcome, they left a point of reference for the new stage towards finding peace.) (As cited in Medina y Sánchez, 2003, p. 275). This amnesty, according to several scholars, offered a pardon to all the political crimes perpetrated by the guerrillas. This law, according to Medina and Sanchez (2003), had as a main purpose to demobilize all the insurgent groups of that time. Simultaneously, President Betancur decided to create a peace commission, in charge of opening any possible doors between the Colombian government and the guerrillas in order to talk about a peace agreement. These authors point out that the assigned peace commission was able to show fast results, when on March 28<sup>th</sup> of the same year, they facilitated the signing of the first agreement to cease fire with the FARC. Medina and Sanchez explain that this amnesty law had three amnesty projects, which had as objectives to a) promote the modernization of institutions, b) fortify of democracy and c)

present the guerrillas with the necessary warranties for them to participate in the political life of the country.

It was under this presidency, Belisario Betancourt's, that the *Unión Patriótica* gained recognition as an opposition movement. According to the *Unión Patriótica* website (<http://unionpatrioticacolombia.com/>), this was a political group created by the FARC and was born after the first attempt at having a peace dialogue process with the government. At that point the *Unión Patriótica* has as members not only the guerrilla group participants but students and indigenous communities among others. Nevertheless, this political group was finished by several radical sectors of Colombia (Cepeda, 2006).

During the same time, the *Movimiento 19 de Mayo* (movement of May 19<sup>th</sup>) or M-19 allied themselves with the *Ejército popular de Liberación* (Popular army of liberation) or EPL in order to negotiate together with the Colombian government. These dialogues took place at El Corinto and El Hobo, two small towns located in the states of Cauca and Huila respectively. According to Chernick (1996), these negotiations had as result an agreement signed on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 1984, which brought the beginning of a ceasefire in the country. Nevertheless, after three years of dialogues, ceasefires and agreements, the peace process between the Colombian government and the guerrillas ended in 1985, due to failure to comply with what had been agreed on by the guerrillas and the government.

Acosta Nuñez (2014) talks in her book how in Betancur's term, he opened the road to his predecessor Cesar Gaviria Trujillo (1990-1994). Upon his arrival, Gaviria created the *Asamblea Nacional Constituyente* (National Constituent Assembly), a project that facilitated again the possibility for peace dialogues with the guerrillas, despite the bombarding to "*Casa Verde*," which

was the birthplace for the FARC. This bombarding was the ignition that intensified the armed conflict in the years to come.

Between April and June 1992, the Colombian government began to talk about peace with the *Coordinadora Guerrillera Simon Bolivar*. Cadavid (2010) says that the *Coordinadora Guerrillera* was an organization created by the FARC, ELN and EPL in Tlaxcala, Mexico. According to the author, the agenda created during these government-guerrilla approximations had ten points that were never developed due to the kidnapping and killing of Argelino Duran, who was at that time, ex-minister of public works, action perpetuated by the EPL. This attempt at peace ended on May 4<sup>th</sup>, 1992. Cadavid (2010) says that during his presidential term, Cesar Gaviria was able to arrive at some peace agreements with the *Partido Revolucionario de los Trabajadores* (revolutionary workers party) (PTR), the indigenous movement Quintin Lame, and one section of the ELN and the EPL. During that time, the FARC continued with their armed fight.

Andres Pastrana was elected president during 1998 and 2002. Gonzalez (2002) says that during that time, the president had a series of informal conversations with the FARC in order to arrive at some peace agreement. Pastrana's political agenda and his desire to create a peace agreement had as result the *proceso de paz del Caguán* (Caguan peace process).

According to Gonzalez (2002), in order to continue with President Pastrana's initiative to make peace, a "*zona de despeje*" (demilitarized zone) was created at the center east side of Colombia. This zone had 42.000 square kilometers, which is the equivalent to five municipalities from the states of Meta and Caquetá (San Vicente del Caguán, La Macarena, Uribe, Mesetas and Vista Hermosa). The author mentions that this peace process, called "*Política de paz para el cambio*" (Policy of peace for change), had ten points on its agenda that encompassed topics such



as a) human rights, b) political and agricultural reforms, c) paramilitaries and international humanitarian law, among others. Some of the negative characteristics of this peace process according to Gonzalez, were a) its lack of organization, b) the irregularities occurring in the emilitarized zone, c) the lack of goodwill by the FARC and d) the improvisation presented by the government. At the same time, there was during that period a significant increase in paramilitary activity, kidnappings, extortions, murders and attacks on civilians.

February 20<sup>th</sup>, 2002, was the end of Pastrana's attempt at peace, after the guerrillas kidnapped the ex-congressman Luis Eduardo Gechem during a commercial flight. In August that same year, Alvaro Uribe Velez became president, implementing immediately his "*Política de seguridad democrática*" (democratic security policy). During his term there were possible some peace negotiations and agreements with the paramilitary groups in Colombia. According to Gomez Azuero (2014), after the announcement of the "*ley de Justicia y paz*" (justice and peace law) in 2005, started a period of demobilization of somewhere around 30.000 members of the *Autodefensas Unidas de Colombia* (AUC) and some of the main paramilitary heads. Gomez Azuero mentions that the only attempts to talk about peace between the FARC and the Colombian government during that time were between human agreements to release some of the kidnapped people. On the other hand, there were some initial attempts to dialogue with the ELN guerrilla members, but the lack of agreement from both sides didn't allow them to go any further.

At that point, the presidency of Juan Manuel Santos has opened once again the opportunities to talk about peace in Colombia. This peace dialogue between the Colombian government and the *Fuerzas Armadas Revolucionarias de Colombia* (FARC), started on September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2012, and was current at the time this piece was written.

As it can be seen, in Colombia there have been several attempts to end the period of violence that has affected the country for the past 60 years. Despite the few successful attempts that helped with the disarming of some of the militia groups, there has almost always been an event or series of events that have truncated the dialogues, causing more acts of violence and reasons for sorrow for the Colombian families and the Colombian population in general. As it can be seen, the present peace dialogue is another attempt to bring peace to the country, this peace that has been waited for for so long. Consequently, an analysis of the peace dialogue communiqués presented by each one of the members of the dialogue table will potentially have the capacity to allow the analysis of the real agenda intended to be transmitted to the Colombian population and the possible understanding of the reasons behind the transmission of such agenda.

After having a historical review of the previous attempt for peace negotiations, I will present now a table that shows all the different events related to this actual peace dialogue process, that have taken place since the beginning of this dialogue initiative (see Table I).

<b>2010</b>	
<b>June</b>	<p>7 - The “Ley de Restitución de Tierras” (land restitution project) is filled</p> <p>11 - Tentative dialogues with the FARC: Alfonso Cano opens the possibility to dialogue about peace in Colombia thanks to the support from progressive and democratic sectors</p>
<b>November</b>	<p>2 - The first paper is written to be presented in the first debate about the “Ley de Victimas” (law to defend the victims) project together with the Land Restitution project: this document is the beginning to the formulation of the way the victims of the human rights violations and the international humanitarian rights infractions are going to be amended.</p> <p>25 - The “Ley de Restitución de Tierras” is accepted and in the first debate: In Bogota, Colombia, the “Ley de Restitución de Tierras” and the “Ley de Victimas” are approved. Under this law, it is created a “Comisión de la Verdad” (commission of truth) that has a mission, and with a timeline of three years, the creation of a report that summarizes the violence present in the country for the past 20 years.</p>
<b>December</b>	<p>7 - The Colombian president Juan Manuel Santos made the first attempt to contact the militia group FARC. This initial attempt is mediated by business from the states of “El Valle del Cauca.”</p> <p>- The “Ley de Victimas” is accepted in the second debate in Bogota.</p>
<b>2011</b>	
<b>February</b>	<p>9 - It is celebrated at the first meeting of the Government-FARC in Rio de Oro, a city located in the province of Cesar. Alejandro Eder plus a member from the movement “Accion Social” assist in representation of the Government, while “Rodrigo Granada” and “Andres Paris” were representing the FARC-EP.</p>
<b>April</b>	<p>12 - Alias Alfonso Cano, who was the maxim head of the FARC-EP, approved the possibility to achieve secret approaches with the government.</p> <p>- The “Ley de Victimas” is accepted in the third debate.</p>
<b>May</b>	<p>4 - Colombian president, Juan Manuel Santos, officially accepts that Colombia is going through an armed conflict.</p> <p>- The “Ley de Victimas” is accepted in the fourth debate.</p>
<b>June</b>	<p>1 - A conciliation about the “Ley de Victimas y Restitucion de Tierras” is approved between the Senate and the House of Representatives.</p> <p>10 - Juan Manuel Santos officially approved and instituted the “Ley de Victimas y Restitucion de Tierras.”</p>

TABLE I. SAMPLE OF CHRONOLOGY OF THE PEACE DIALOGUE PROCESS  
(ADAPTED AND TRANSLATED FROM CORPORACIÓN HUMANAS COLOMBIA,  
[HTTP://WWW.HUMANAS.ORG.CO](http://www.humanas.org.co))

## **II.ORGANIZATION OF THE DISSERTATION**

After the above presented introduction, this study will move on to present the review of the most relevant literature for the purposes of the proposed study (III). First of all, a theoretical account of ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis is offered, followed by an account for the history of the political and social development of Colombia, in relation to previous attempts at peace dialogues through the present. Followed by the literature review, this study will continue by presenting its methodology (IV), followed by the findings (V) and finally chapter six (VI) will present the conclusions and further research.

### **III.LITERATURE REVIEW**

The present dissertation has as an objective the analysis of the way the presence of presuppositions, quotations and evidential markers in a political communiqué, such as a peace dialogue, may facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. Even though peace dialogues around the world have been studied from different angles and fields (Bolívar, 2005; Burkhardt, 1986; Charteris-Black, 2012; Filardo-Llamas, 2013; Friedrich, 2007; Gavriely-Nuri, 2010; Majstorović, 2007; Parry, 2008; Romero-Trillo, 2011; Valdeón, 2009), a Critical Discourse Analysis of the kind proposed in this study is not found yet in the literature and therefore deserves attention. Consequently, the following literature review has two main objectives: 1) to present the most relevant information and theories regarding presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers; and 2) to explain how each of those characteristics can play an important role when analyzing and identifying political ideology presented in a media statement during a peace dialogue (e.g. the importance, implications and consequences of using presuppositions in the peace dialogue communiqués) because of their ability to facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. Having these objectives in mind, the first part is a theoretical account of ideology and Critical Discourse Analysis. In the second part, I present an account for the political and social development of Colombia in relation to previous attempts at peace dialogues, from its origins to the present; and finally, in the third part, I present an account of the most relevant theories and studies in the fields of presupposition, direct quotations and evidentiality.

### **3.1. Ideology**

What is ideology? In what follows, some general definitions of ideology are presented followed by Van Dijk's 2006 "Ideology and Discourse" which is the definition selected for this study. Although the following definitions are well elaborated, Van Dijk's definition has been chosen because it adopts a more general and pragmatic meaning of the term relevant to the purposes of this investigation.

In general terms, ideology can be defined as the particular set of values, ideals or visions that a group of people share when being part of the same "community of practice" (Eckert, 1998). Also, Jost, Federico and Napier (2009) define ideology as a multi-function set of belief systems with relational, epistemic and /or existential needs or motives. Moreover, for a group member to be considered ideological, they have to share the same type of needs or motives for the same type of functions. Finally, these authors believe that any given ideology "can reflect both genuine (and even highly accurate) attempts to understand, interpret, and organize information about the political world as well as conscious or unconscious tendencies to rationalize the way things are or, alternatively, the desire for them to be different" (Jost et al., 2003).

Based on this knowledge we can see how each political party during a peace dialogue would ideally try to gain as many believers in their community of practice as possible. Consequently, when each side of the peace dialogue structures their communiqués with an ideological strategy, it can be said they are giving their audience a set of relational, epistemic and existential needs or motives to believe or understand their comuniques in their desired way.

In addition, in his work "Ideology and Discourse Analysis" (2006), Van Dijk describes ideology as a system of beliefs created by the sharing of ideas upon which a group of people agree

and have four main cognitive and social functions: grounding (organization), finality (ultimate goal), organizational (coordination) and liaison (socio-cognitive link between social structures and social practices) (2006, p.117). Once a set of shared ideas (ideology) become a set of societal beliefs, it gets established as part of the society's identity and has the capability to be shared and acquired by discourse, whether spoken or written, because they are installed on the people, not on any organization per se.

Once they share beliefs, ideologies become powerful not because people believe in them, but because they have the power to control and set ground for other ideologies as well. According to Van Dijk: "ideologies are not any kind of socially shared beliefs, such as sociocultural knowledge or social attitudes, but they are more fundamental or axiomatic because they have the capacity to control and organize other socially shared beliefs" (2006, p.116). Moreover, once ideas get assumed as common knowledge, they are easily spreadable: "ideologies become shared so widely that they seem to have become part of the generally accepted attitudes of an entire community, as obvious beliefs or opinion, or common sense, as a consequence they lose their ideological nature as soon as they become part of the common ground" (2006, p. 117).

Moreover, Van Dijk explains that ideologies are made of a series of cognitive and societal elements: Context and Models. For this author, context is a specific group of properties that can make the community understand a communicative situation in a particular way, and its meaning can be subjective and ideologically biased (2006, p.121).

Further, a model is the way or the point of view that a community creates in order to understand the main goal of a given discourse. Additionally, Van Dijk says that models are also made of three components: Knowledge, Groups' Beliefs, and Strategic Processing. Knowledge is

a set of beliefs that people presuppose and take for granted. Such context is assumed to be commonly shared. “This knowledge (...) makes discourse and communication and mutual understanding possible, also across ideological group boundaries” (2006, p.122). This last point is very important for ideological analysis, as oftentimes it is assumed that because a community shares the same type of knowledge, they also shared the same type of beliefs or ideologies, which may not be true. Groups’ beliefs are the number of ideological ideas that a community uses to model and regulate the context of a discourse. As a consequence, every social function can have a different set of ideological group beliefs. Finally, Strategic Processing is the particular way in which a person decides to produce or receive information and the way to select the type of information. This means it is the way that people decide to use or receive every word, sentence or turn during a communicative event. In Van Dijk’s words: “intonation, pronouns, nominalizations, topic choice and change, level of specificity or precision of action or actor description, implicitness, turn taking, interruptions, politeness, arguments and fallacies, narrative structures, style or rhetorical figures, among a host of other discourse structures may thus strategically ‘index’ the ideology of the speaker or writer” (2006, p.124).

Moreover, Van Dijk says that ideology can be expressed in three particular ways in discourse: Forms, Meanings and Actions. This author continues, explaining that meaning is the most important expression of ideology in discourse as: “meanings are more prone to ideological marking than syntactic structures, because ideologies are belief systems and beliefs characteristically tend to be formulated as meanings of discourse.” Consequently, meaning has the capacity to emphasize or de-emphasize the meaning of any given ideology, and the way that



reinforcement is emphasized when a member starts disagreeing to the proposed ideology (2006, p.126). (See Table II.)

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Context:</b> Speaker speaks as a member of a social group; and/or addresses recipient group member, ideologically biased context models: subj, representations of communicative event and its participants as members of categories or groups.</li> <li>• <b>Text, discourse conversation:</b> Overall strategy: positive presentation/ action of Us, Negative presentation/action of Them <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Emphasize OUR good things, and THEIR bad things and, De-emphasize OUR bad things, THEIR good things</li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Meaning</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Topic:</b> Semantic Macrostructures <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Select/change positive/negative topics about us/Them</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Local Meaning and Coherence</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Positive/Negative meaning for Us/Them <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manifestations: Explicit versus Implicit</li> <li>• Precision: Precise versus vague</li> <li>• Granularity: Detailed/fine versus Broad, rough</li> <li>• Level: General versus Specific. Detailed</li> <li>• Modality: We/They Must/Should</li> <li>• Evidentiality: We have the truth versus They are misguided</li> <li>• Local coherence: based on biased models</li> <li>• Disclaimers: (Denying Our bad things): "We are not racists, but"</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Lexicon:</b> Selective Positive/ Negative terms for Us/Them</li> </ul>
<b>Form</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Syntax:</b> (De) emphasize Positive/Negative agency of Us/Them <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Cleft versus non-cleft sentences ("it is X who")</li> <li>◦ Active versus passives: ("USA invades Iraq" versus "Iraq invaded by USA")</li> <li>◦ Full clauses/ propositions versus nominalizations ("The invasion of Iraq")</li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Sound Structures:</b> Intonation, etc. (de-emphasizing Our/Their Good/Bad things)</li> <li>• <b>Format (Schema, superstructure: overall form)</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Positive/Negative meanings for Us/Them in: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• First dominant categories (e.g. headlines, titles, summaries, conclusions) versus last, non-dominant categories</li> <li>• Argumentation structures, topoi (stereotypical arguments, "For their own good")</li> <li>• Fallacies that falsely conclude Our/Their Good/Bad things, e.g. overgeneralizations, authority, etc.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> <li>• <b>Rhetorical structures</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Emphasizing or de-emphasizing Our/Their good/bad things by: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Forms: Repetition</li> <li>• Meaning: Comparisons, metaphors, metonymies, irony, euphemisms, hyperboles, number games, etc.</li> </ul> </li> </ul> </li> </ul>
<b>Action</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Speech acts, communicative acts, and interaction</b> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>◦ Speech acts that presuppose Our/Their Good/Bad things: promises, accusations, etc.</li> <li>◦ Interaction strategies that imply Our/Their Good/Bad things: cooperation agreement</li> </ul> </li> </ul>

TABLE II. EXPRESSIONS OF IDEOLOGY IN DISCOURSE, TAKEN FROM VAN DIJK (1996:195)

Taking into consideration how meaning is a key component in discourse, Van Dijk suggests that: “In ideological discourse analysis, one may want to examine texts with propositions that are asserted or presupposed (to be true, to be shared, or to be taken for granted), and hence presented as knowledge”. This type of analysis is necessary as it could show the way speakers may assert or presuppose knowledge as group members. (Van Dijk 2006, p.131). Having this information as a base, this study believes that in a process of communication such as the Colombian peace dialogues, the speaker’s (Colombian Government or militia group FARC) intention is to achieve a communicative goal, which is the transmission of their political ideology as a ‘hidden agenda.’ In other words, the speaker wants to convince the audience (the Colombian population) of the veracity present in the general knowledge they are sharing with their community, and they want this audience to consider it as true. In order to achieve his goal, each speaker needs to look for tools and/or strategies that will help him in the achievement of his objective without the audience being aware of it. As a result, presuppositions and quotations are powerful tools with the capacity to transmit unconsciously a political group’s ideology to an audience by making the audience incorporate and believe as truth any new piece of information. The study of the way political ideology can be transmitted and manipulated in moments of conflict via linguistic elements is a topic that deserves attention.

By having set up the particular definition of ideology to be used in this study, it is possible to continue the analysis of linguistic elements such as presuppositions and quotations present in the peace dialogue communiqués. Such analysis will collaborate to fill a gap in the literature by helping in the understanding of how the linguistic strategies used in the communiqués are able to construct or modify the knowledge a person already has. In addition, it will allow this investigation

to study the background assumptions given to the Colombian population to take for granted and, in turn, will help in the recognition and understanding of the transmitted ideology and agenda present beneath every analyzed communiqué.

### **3.2. Critical Discourse Analysis**

The second part of this literature review that has as its objective the understanding of how the presence of presuppositions and quotations in a political communiqué such as a peace dialogue may facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of political ideology in moments of crisis is Critical Discourse Analysis. Although there have been several CDA studies of the different peace dialogues around the world (Bolívar, 2005; Burkhardt, 1986; Charteris-Black, 2012; Filardo-Llamas, 2013; Friedrich, 2007; Gavriely-Nuri, 2010; Majstoroviń, 2007; Parry, 2008; Romero-Trillo, 2011; Valdeón, 2009;), it seems that none of those have had a CDA focused on the way that presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers may facilitate or hinder the reproduction of an ideological speech. This part of the review will be developed as follows: first there will be a short explanation of Discourse Analysis, followed by its definition and origins. The next part will review the most relevant frameworks used on Critical Discourse Analysis and finally, there will be a compilation of studies to observe how Critical Discourse Analysis is used in the actual analysis of discourse.

#### **a. Discourse Analysis (DA)**

In order to talk about Critical Discourse Analysis, it is necessary to firstly address the concept of Discourse Analysis (DA). Halliday (1978) and his Systemic-Functional Linguistics

has been one of the most important figures in this discipline. According to this author, “texts are a process and a product which are created, embedded, and interpreted in a specific social context” (Halliday 1978, p.265). This particular way of looking at texts consequently makes disciplines such as sociolinguistics change the way they analyze how people use language in a social context (e.g. how a person or a group’s mind may be encoded, processed and represented in a text). In this regard, Rahimi and Riasati (2011) explain that “discourse is a form of language use, and Discourse Analysis (DA) is the analytical framework which was created for studying actual text and talk in the communicative context” (2011, p.107).

Moreover, Fitch (2005) believes that early DA lacked a structured framework and was mainly interested in the internal structure of texts. In his view: “DA is often considered as a general methodology, theory or merely critique tied to social constructionism or social power and oppression” (Fitch 2005, p.257). For Chilton and Shaufer (2006), DA is a more interdisciplinary approach with macro and micro levels. Those levels facilitate the analysis of beliefs, ideologies, identities and politics from a linguistic and a social perspective. Explaining the need for interdisciplinarity, Wodak and Cilla (2006) argue for communication as being something more than the transference of a message: “discourse analysts frequently speak of interpretative work, when sometimes the textualized or verbalized statements of people aim more than conveying what they say at the surface level directly and explicitly” (Wodak & Cilla 2006, p.709), forgetting about the information that can be inexplicitly offered, as is the case in social information.

Moreover, Rahimi and Riasati (2011) point out that DA methods mark differences based on their methods of analysis. In this regard, the authors point out that some discourse

analysts are linguists or applied linguists, and for this reason each person tries to analyze texts according to their discipline. As a result, it is common to find texts (textual and verbal) analyzed in terms of their grammatical structures or based on conversational analysis (CA) and speech act theory depending on which scholar is doing the work. These authors state that Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) began to develop itself when scholars incorporated in their analysis knowledge and theories from different fields such as linguistics and psychology and started to look for language patterns in discourse that seemed to be connected with the types of ideologies, visions or values shared by a community.

**b. Origins and Theories of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)**

CDA is a discipline that has attracted many scholars since the 1970s, such as Bimbaum, 1971; Calhoun, 1995; Fray, 1987; Fox and Prilleltensky, 1997; Hymes, 1972; Ibañez Rodriguez and Iñiguez, 1997; Singh, 1996; Thomas, 1993 and Turkel, 1996 to name a few.

More recently, Fairclough, Van Dijk, Chilton and Wodak's ideas are the most commonly referenced. For instance, Fairclough focuses his research on social conflict and its linguistic manifestations in discourses of dominance, difference and resistance. According to Fairclough (1995):

“CDA is the type of discourse analysis with the purpose of exploring in a systematic way, the often opaque relationships of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts, and (b) wider social and cultural structures, relations, and processes; to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power

and struggles over power; and to explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society is itself a factor securing power and hegemony”

(Fairclough, 1995 p. 32-3).

Moreover, Fairclough and Wodak (1994, p. 241-270) talk about the principles of CDA and explain that discourse is a way of social action about social problems, where the relations are discursive and where discourse constitutes society and culture, which makes it an ideological work that becomes historic. Wodak’s (1989) contribution to this field has been the investigation of how language is used to talk about topics such as gender discrimination or the way different nations or groups address topics such as the definitions of territory. Furthermore, Chilton’s (2004) contribution is the creation of an approach that analyzes topics such as credibility and political texts. In doing so, he incorporates several theories such as the theories of Habermas (Validity Claims) and Grice (Cooperative Principle).

Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2001) believe that language has the power to disseminate discourses that promote dominance, discrimination and manipulation in a covert way and therefore propose CDA to be in charge of analyzing such discourses. In their own words, “CDA aims to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signaled, constituted, and legitimized, and so on by language use (or in discourse)” (2001, p. 2). Likewise, Scollon (2001) focuses his study on the principles and functions of CDA. He believes that CDA is “a program of social analysis that critically analyzes discourse – that is to say language in use – as a means of addressing social change” (Scollon, 2001 p. 140).

Similarly, Van Dijk explains CDA is “an amalgamation of a variety of micro-sociological theories and also theories on society and power-based Michel Foucault’s

definition of power, and its study aims at providing a thorough description, explanation and critique of the textual strategies writers use to naturalize discourses” (2001, p. 45). As a consequence, Van Dijk is recognized for the creation of an approach able to help in the understanding of how ideological structures can be unconsciously introduced in the minds of people. Similarly, he believes that discourses that seem to be common-sense and apolitical are strategically elaborated in order to input ideologies in the minds of people.

In terms of concepts, Van Dijk (2008) believes that CDA is a type of analytical investigation about discourse that focuses primarily on the way language (written or oral) is used to exercise or modify or address social practices and issues such as power abuse, dominance and inequality in a community. The author explains that this is a type of speech implemented against social inequality. He says that CDA focuses its concern on social problems and political issues, considering that in the real world, the use of language, speeches and communication among people carry cognitive, emotional, social, political, cultural and historic dimensions that relate to one another.

The CDA perspective, according to Van Dijk, requires a functional approximation able to go beyond the general action and interaction as well as the sentence level, trying in this way to explain the use of language and speech. This explanation evaluates the structure, process and limitations present at a social, political, cultural and historic level. Van Dijk also states that CDA often contributes to people’s understanding of the discourse and society’s relation in general and social power reproduction and inequality at a particular level.

Moreover, Van Dijk and some other scholars (Caldas-Courthard and Courthard, 1996; Fairclough, 1995; Fairclough and Wodak, 1997; Van Dijk, 1993) explain that CDA provides

a systematic and detailed analysis of the structures and strategies used in text and speech as well as their relation with the social and political contexts. They agree that one of the characteristics of CDA is its capacity to be multidisciplinary, constantly questioning the way some specific aspects of the discourse get displayed in the reproduction of social dominance, either as a journalistic article or any other genre. In the end, according to these authors, the main objective is to understand how discourse is related to the reproduction of social power. Rahimi and Riasati (2011) state that for CDA “language is a powerful tool for society and culture domination, a tool able to introduce in people, different types of ideologies and identities, ... the choice of language interlocutors make reflects their intentions, ideology, and thought, which is an effective means for polarizing power in the society” (2011, p. 107).

When talking about discourse components, and ways of studying CDA, Fairclough (1999) and Van Dijk (1997) consider the same topics, although with different names, to be the most important elements when analyzing a text: language use, communication and interaction. (These topics are studied by Van Dijk in terms of the function they perform: description, interpretation and explanation.) Rahimi and Riasati (2011) say that CDA has now become one of the most widely used DA models: “Its aim is to uncover ideological and power relations and it has mainly been applied for the analysis of political discourse. (Although) ...some scholars believe that there is no typical CDA method for collecting data and for that reason there are authors who do not even mention data collection methods” (2011, p. 108). For these authors, the raw material for the analysis within CDA is the naturally occurring text and talk in their original contexts, and CDA provides some approaches to research focused on uncovering the relationship between language, society, power, ideology, values and opinions.



### **c. Critical Discourse Analysis Frameworks**

There are four frameworks that so far have been considered the most relevant for a Critical Discourse Analysis, which were outlined by Fairclough (1995) and his concept of language and power and discourse and social life, Van Leeuwen (2008) and the recontextualization as a social practice and Van Dijk (1997,1999, 2008) and the importance of concept and concept relations. Berlin (2007, 2011) created the Multilayered Model of Context Framework (MMC) in order to provide a more inclusive analysis that allows a more understandable and meaningful study of texts. Even though all these frameworks have provided significant value that have helped in the development of the CDA field, in what follows there will be a review of Berlin's MMC framework in order to present the characteristics that make it the most appropriate framework for this study.

### **d. Berlin (2007)**

Berlin's 2007, 2011 Multilayered Model of Context is a framework that studies discourse by providing special importance to context and analysing it from four different perspectives or levels (the linguistic context or cotext, the interactional context, the situational context and finally the extrasituational context). Based on several linguistic related fields, the MMC has its foundations on several theories (Goodwin & Duranti 1992; Halliday 2002; Sbisà 2002; Janney 2002; Widdowson 2004; Janney's 2002).

1. **The linguistic context or cotext:** The analysis of every linguistic structure to be studied. The focus of this is selected by the researcher and it can address topics such as structures' relevance or relation among themselves. In the words of its creator, "this level of analysis represents the most objective and uncontroversial inside the discourse;

these are the tangible elements that Halliday (1984) refers to as language in code, the semiotic difference that significance may assume a new meaning in the level of interaction” (author’s translation).

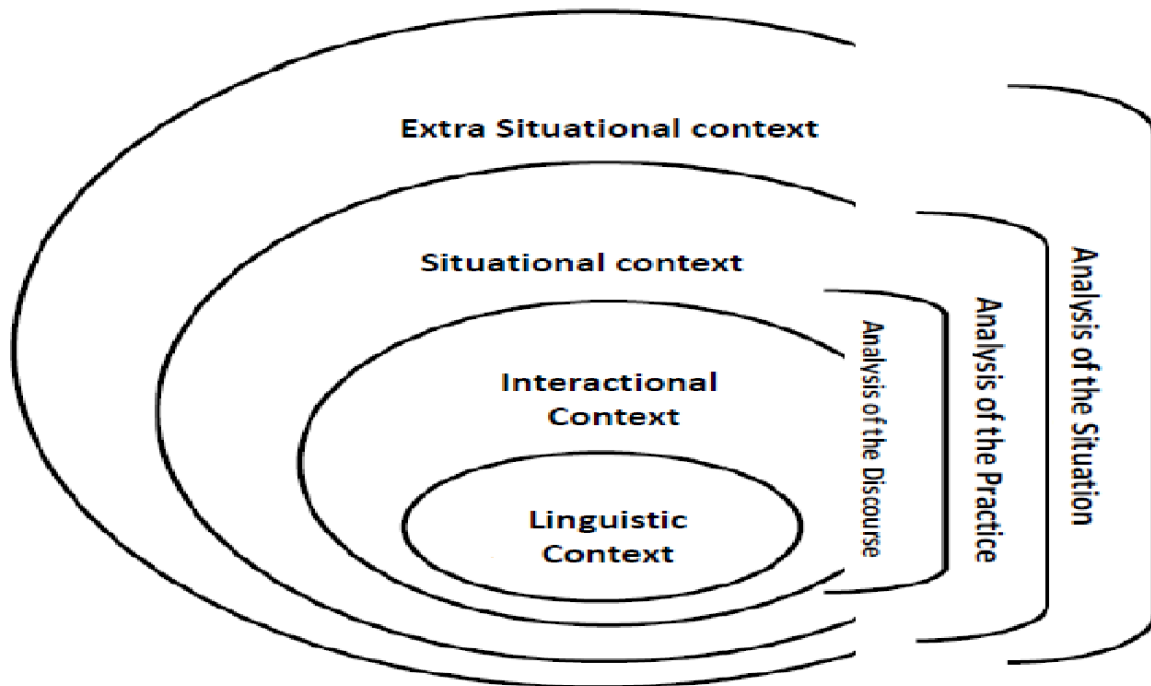


Figure 1. The Multilayered Model of Context framework graphic (Berlin 2007).

2. **The interactional context:** The effect the speaker intends when using a particular word choice. Berlin draws this level from different scholars’ theories such as Hymes’ (1972) “how to use language among others,” or Halliday’s (1984) “language as behavior,” among others. Taken from Halliday, Berlin divides this interactional context into two sublevels: what is indexed and what is accomplished, the former referring to Halliday’s

internal, speaker-oriented interactional context and the latter referring to the external, hearer-oriented interactional context.

According to Berlin what is indexed or the internal speaker-oriented part, “refers to the elements the speaker decides to bring when arriving into a communicative interaction but need to be interpreted in a pragmatic situation because they are not easy to observe” (2007:170). Some of these elements are intent, presupposition, entailment, implicature, etc. The external hearer-oriented context, on the other hand, is described by Berlin as the apparent choices that “emerge from the successful or unsuccessful accomplishment of language aims” (2007:170). This includes the types of tactics and strategies, such as circumlocution, the speaker may use in order to achieve his original communicative goal, and its effectiveness is measured by the audience’s reaction.

Moreover, Berlin emphasizes that it is in this connection between linguistic context and interactional context where CDA occurs. This level is the most important one linguistically because it is here where it can be observed not only how much language knowledge the speaker has but all the things language can help him to achieve.

3. **The Situational Context:** The third component in Berlin’s MMC framework. This context refers to the spatial location where the communicative situation takes place, which can propitiate or cancel a communicative interaction. For its construction, Berlin follows Spradley (1980) and Sbisà (2002). The former talks about the Participant Observation concept, where social situations have the capacity to be delimited by the actors, the activities and the places that create them. Similarly, the latter considers the situational context as limited, objective and given. This perspective allows a

communicative practice to have its own set of participants, the particular position they want to assume during the interaction and its own location.

This situational context level has great relevance when analyzing speech because most of the time it guides the tone of the participants and the conversation. In this regard, Berlin states: “the importance of this level of analysis is the fact that most CDA studies focus on the study of a particular practice or practices. As consequence, the situational context can be considered the link between the linguistic and the interactional context, where the researcher has the possibility to recognize and to give a place to the discourse” (2007, p. 172).

4. **The extrasituational context:** This is the last level of Berlin’s framework, the one with the capacity to take all the other levels of context and make sense of all of them at the same time. In this level it is possible to find Kumaravadivelu’s (1999) three level hierarchical structure of a critical classroom discourse with three particular levels: (socio)linguistic, sociocultural, and sociopolitical. According to Berlin, the first level talks about the identification of the type and style present in the discourse; the second explains the synchronic references that help in the time and space location of the discourse and its relationship with any other simultaneous and relevant ongoing events. The diachronic reference is studied on the sociopolitical level, in charge of giving a historic meaning and background, in time and space, to any event. This historic knowledge must be common ground among the participants. As Berlin (2011, p. 18) states: “the extrasituational context is the most difficult to understand, because it exists

in an unconscious level for the participants and the listeners that share common historic and cultural norms” (author’s translation).

Berlin incorporates concepts such as the material activity, the social relations and processes, and the mental phenomena from Chouliaraki and Fairclough’s (1999) framework. In this way, Chouliaraki and Fairclough describe the first one of these moments as “non-semiotic in that semiosis also has a material aspect, for example voices or marks on paper” (1999, p. 61). The second moment refers to the institutions as well as the relations of power involved, while the mental phenomena is focused more on the sets of values, beliefs and desires expressed in the communicative interaction. Lastly, the discourse can be considered the “tool” used in a communication process. Berlin moves on and associates material activity with elements of the situational context, social relations and processes with elements in the external interactional context and mental phenomena with elements in the internal interactional context. In this way according to Berlin, discourse is an entity that emerges not only as code but also as behavior and concurs with elements in the linguistic as well as the interactional context within CDA as analysis of discourse.

Finally, the fact that every level of the MMC can either work separately or in conjunction to multiple levels gives this framework the possibility to be considered appropriate for a Critical Discourse Analysis. Having a framework such as the MMC allows this study to observe the different internal, external, public, historical and current elements which give the peace dialogues between the Colombian government and the FARC the relevance they have. When analyzing the situation, the practice and the discourse by considering not only the

linguistic context but also the interactional, situational and extrasituational, it is possible to understand in a clearer way not only the speech presented but also the intention behind it.

**e. Critical Discourse Analysis on Discourse**

The previous sections have shown the definition, origins and main frameworks used in CDA. What follows is a series of articles that will show the way some of the above-mentioned frameworks are used when doing a critical discourse analysis. This compilation of articles will help in understanding the importance that a CDA analysis has on the understanding of any discourse's hidden agenda and ideology transmission, which in turn will help in the understanding of the need to do a CDA of the speeches resulting from the peace dialogue negotiations between the Colombian government and the militia group FARC. The first two articles are Berlin (2007, 2011), followed by Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013).

Berlin (2007) analyzes the hearings conducted by the 9-11 Commission to many high-ranking officials of the United States Government from previous and current administrations in charge of the United States intelligence services at the time of the September 11<sup>th</sup> event. Berlin observed how some of the exchanges between some of the officials (Secretary of State) and their interlocutors (interrogators) presented a series of discursive tactics which produce nonlinear patternings between adjacent pairs. Berlin observed the way members of the same political party collaborate in complicity to make use of indirect, evasive language, and the construction of evasion within the exchanges appeared to be co-constructed.

Using the Multilayered Model Context of analysis in his study, the author found three main strategies used by the interrogators and conflicting agents in order to maintain an appearance of cooperation. The first strategy was answering questions by changing the

direction of the question. The second strategy was the mitigation of the force of imposition, and the last one was deflecting responsibility from an action that could prove politically embarrassing or damaging. In addition, Berlin observed that, by means of description, evasive language during a hearing is comprised of a variety of evasive response tactics—both answers and non-answers—given to questions posed, often coupled with varying degrees of evidentiality to remove the level of claimed culpability of the witness.

This author also found that in terms of interpretation of multiple levels of context and their interface, the conflictive nature of the hearings notwithstanding, the appearance of cooperation is achieved through strict adherence to the rules of the general hearing and specific interrogation process, and a tactic of agreement that opting out, violating, clashing or even flouting maxims of the Cooperative Principle, such as uncooperative behavior, can be deemed appropriate language use.

Also, Berlin states that participants have knowledge and make full use of various levels of context to manipulate language. This author explains that every participant skillfully used language in the linguistic context relative to interactional (internal and external), situational and extrasituational contexts, as well as the various influences both local and global with which the interlocutors and overhearers are aware in varying degrees and will use to interpret meaning. Finally, Berlin states that effective evasion in use can in fact construct an effective, persuasive and appropriate discourse.

In a similar way, Berlin (2011) explores the manipulation of language in the media by the government in the furtherance of domination and control with consequences to both the public ideology and external reality. For his study, Berlin uses the data drawn from the weekly

program, *Aló, Presidente*, a broadcast hosted by the Venezuelan president Hugo Chávez, as an exemplar which blurs the lines between media and political discourses through its inclusion of both overt and covert political messages.

Berlin reviewed transcripts of ten broadcasts from late 2007 to early 2008, culminating in the Andean political crisis wherein the Bolivarian leader sent troops to his country's border with neighboring Colombia. This author makes a Critical Discourse Analysis using the Multilayered Model of Context framework or MMC (Berlin 2007, 2011). In his study, Berlin firstly makes use of a choice analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) in order to observe and present the main characteristics of those discourses. Based on this choice analysis he demonstrates how those broadcasts are also hybrid discourses that, while exhibiting both media and political discourse features, are a particular and unique type of discourse that contains a special set of features, such as markers of manipulation.

Moreover, Berlin makes a chain analysis (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999) to reveal how the manipulation can produce effects beyond the immediate contexts of the discourse and become especially evident when examined over time rather than in a single episode of the program. Having the MMC as framework, Berlin observes how Hugo Chavez, president and presenter of the show, repositions and resituates himself as friend or enemy of Colombia. For instance, on episode number 297, Chavez positions himself as a friend and offers himself as a volunteer to collaborate with the peace dialogues between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC. At this point he makes use of words like "*nosotros*" (us/we) or even "*compadre*" (pal) when referring to the president of Colombia.



Contrarily, on episode 301, Hugo Chavez begins to talk about Colombia's president with pejoratives such as "*peon de Bush*" (Bush's pawn) and even "*mafia*" to the Colombian government. By analyzing the MMC's situational context, it is possible to observe that Chavez' change is related to the political disagreement and rivalry that was taking place at that point. (Chavez had tried to work as an intermediary on the liberation of some people; when this liberation didn't happen, plus the fact that at that point Condoleezza Rice had arrived in Colombia, Chavez was upset and therefore repositioned his relations with Colombia).

Berlin concludes by pointing out how through CDA it is possible to "*explorar el lugar del poder y la hegemonía en el discurso, así como su capacidad para producir manipulación en el lenguaje*" (explore the place of power and hegemony in discourse, as well as their capacity to manipulate language) (Berlin, 2011, p. 34).

Finally, Shojaei, Youssefi and Hosseini (2013) investigated the way ideologically conflicting ideas, such as the Iran Nuclear Program, the Iran Sanctions and the Syria Crisis, were interpreted and represented in western printed media. For this study, the authors made use of Van Dijk's (1998) socio-cognitive approach and Fairclough's (1995) approach of intertextual analysis of news discourse to do a Critical Discourse Analysis. The authors' main goal was to present and clarify power that linguistic tools have on discourses, in particular when the intention is to transmit ideological traits. The result of using these linguistic tools, according to the authors, is the misrepresentation and manipulation of information about sensitive topics like the ones previously mentioned.

In their study, Shojaei et al found five types of linguistic features that were more commonly used by the media in order to talk about the three political issues: lexicalization and

collocational patterns, presupposition, intertextuality and modality. For instance, the sentence: *“Iran urged to “come to its senses” and drop its nuclear program as the EU imposes an oil embargo”* (Daily Mirror, 24 January 2012). Shojaei et al observed how this headline implies that Iran will behave wisely and stop its nuclear program when the European Union (EU) starts to levy an oil embargo on the country’s oil industry. At the same time, after making a lexical analysis and observing the presupposition triggers used, the authors conclude that the choice of the verb *“urge”* (to make a person or an animal [etc.] move more quickly and in a particular direction, especially by pushing or forcing them) not only degrades Iran’s position and prestige to irrational entities, but it also takes for granted that the country can be convinced to behave in the right manner just by and only through the use of force – and not conversation.

Shojaei et al conclude their study by pointing out the fact that linguistic tools – or the ways of using these tools – have an incredible discursual capability to misrepresent news stories. They highlight how it was also observed that such ideological representations and biased languages in news media can result in legitimization of one side and suppression of the other side by pointing that the mass media simply cannot provide a perspective that is totally free from subjective interpretation of events, taking into account that “media institutions tend to construct reality in a manner congruent with their underlying ideological and political functions” (Kuo & Nakamura, 2005, p. 411).

As it can be seen from the properties, characteristics and frameworks used in CDA, this is an appropriate type of analysis when the principal objective is understanding the power of language manipulation in discourse. Moreover, a CDA using the Multilayered Model of Context framework for instance shows the capacity to facilitate a more comprehensive and

broad analysis. As a result, it will be possible to understand how the entire discourse works, not only the words but their relation to the context around it (political, social and historical) in order to transmit a particular agenda or ideology. Consequently, a CDA analysis by using the MMC framework is suggested in this Investigation in order to understand how the presence of presuppositions and quotations in a political communiqué such as a peace dialogue may facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of political ideology in moments of crisis.

### **3.3. Presuppositions**

At this point, we shall review the following literature in order to understand how the presence of presuppositions in a political communiqué such as a peace dialogue may propitiate or block the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. This study will contribute by filling a gap that seems to be present in the literature, as no study seems to have previously analyzed the presence and power of this linguistic element in the communiqués produced as a result of a peace dialogue. For this particular study, the presupposition triggers that will have the main focus are the existential or definite descriptions (e.g. Zimbabwe's brutalized citizens >> Zimbabwe's citizens were brutalized). This decision is based on the high frequency of these types of presupposition triggers in previous research as will be seen in the last part of this section. In what follows, you will find the definition, origins, properties, characteristics and types of presuppositions. Finally, you will find an explanation about presupposition triggers and a series of studies that show how presuppositions work in discourse.

**a. Definition**

Presupposition is a concept that has been studied by several experts. According to Bublitz and Norrick (2011, p. 400) for instance, a presupposition is a type of inference, as entailment and implications. Moreover, Huang defines presuppositions: “As one of the basic forms of reasoning, inference can in general be defined as a process of accepting a statement or proposition (called the conclusion) on the basis of the (possibly provisional) acceptance of one or more other statements or propositions (called the premises)” (2011, p. 397). Bublitz and Norrick also talk about deduction, induction and abduction, as well as entailment, presupposition and implicatures as types of inferences. Moreover, when trying to find the most accurate definition of presuppositions, a great number of scholars (Kong, 1988; Heim, 1983; Simmons, 2006; Van Dijk, 1976; Cummins et al, 2012) agree on Huang’s (2007, p. 65) description: “a presupposition is an inference or proposition whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a sentence. The main function is to act as a precondition of some sort for the appropriate use of that sentence. This background assumption has the capacity to remain in force when the sentence is negated” (Huang 2009, p. 65). Huang also points out that one of the main characteristics that presupposition has is the capacity to “survive” when negated. Cummins explains this fact as the ability for presuppositions to ‘project’ from under the scope of negation because, even though it is present in a negative sentence, the presupposition is still true (Cummins et al, 2008, p. 8). Van Dijk also explains how a presupposed sentence or proposition represents some unit of information “which is already ‘given’ in this case by preceding sentences in the text” (Van Dijk, 1976, p. 75).

## **b. Origins of Presupposition**

Van Dijk explains that the notion of presupposition was firstly introduced in philosophy, in order to account “for certain properties of texts and contexts which could not be solved in terms of traditional sentence grammars alone” (Van Dijk, 1976, p. 74). As a consequence, a presupposition is considered as a simple coherence condition for grammatical texts, being compared with the coherence conditions determining the identity of individuals or the terms manifested by elements such as definite articles or pronouns, to name a few. Along the same lines of context importance for presuppositions, Kong (1988) cites the work of Saeed and says that presuppositions seem free of contextual effects and sensitive to facts about the context of utterance (Saeed, 2000, p. 93).

Mamaridou (2000) treats them primarily as a figure-ground distinction where the presupposed knowledge surfaces in the text as ‘setting the background’ with the foregrounded knowledge being presented as new or significant. Mamaridou also points that presuppositions thus may be more difficult (but not impossible) to refute because this would require a shift in focus-bridging the backgrounded information material to the foregrounded (2000, chapter 4). Also Cabeza 1996, when talking about presuppositions in Spanish says that “*de acuerdo con la definición lógico-semántica, la presuposición es una relación entre enunciados definable en términos de valores de verdad: según la perspectiva pragmática, las presuposiciones resultan de la <<actitud>> del hablante*” (according to the logic-semantic definition, a presupposition is the relation between utterances which can be explained by truth values: according to the grammatical perspective, presuppositions are the result of the speaker’s <<attitude>> [original emphasis given by the author]) (Cabeza, 1996, p. 131). In addition, this

same author points out that presuppositions appear in discourse “*como consecuencia de la elección por parte del hablante de una determinada estrategia comunicativa*” (as a consequence of the speaker’s choice to use a particular communicative strategy) (pg.132). Cabeza explains this process as the speaking decision to treat part of the given message as if it had previously been shared by speaker/listener, as if there already exists some information prior to the actual communicative situation, and the speaker at this time only wants to give a comment about it (p. 132).

### **c. Properties of Presuppositions**

Presuppositions have two main properties that the majority of scholars accept as valid:

1) constancy under negation and 2) defeasibility.

#### **1. Constancy Under Negation**

Huang (2011) talks about the key topics in pragmatic description. According to him, researchers agree that constancy under negation is the characteristic of presuppositions to remain felicitous in a negative sentence. Huang says this property occurs when “a presupposition generated by the use of a lexical item or a syntactic structure remains the same when the sentence containing that lexical item or syntactic structure is negated (e.g. Strawson, 1952)” (Bublitz and Norrick, 2001, p. 406). Levinson (1983) also talks about this issue and suggests that negation occurs with a wide scope, as in presupposition-denying interpretation. Moreover, Grice (1981) says that the presupposition-preserving interpretation is more preferred on negative sentences containing definitive descriptions: “without waiting for disambiguation, people understand an utterance of the “the King of France is bald / the King of France is not bald” as implying

(in some fashion) the unique existence of a King of France” (Grice, 1981, p. 89). This “resilience to negation, denial and disagreement” (Ehrlich, 2006) characteristic of presuppositions has been the central reason to study this property of presuppositions. In fact, Ehrlich discovered that, for instance, questions that have presuppositions have a high level of controllability, even more than yes/no questions due to the fact that they contain a pseudo-proposition (Ehrlich, 2006, p. 658). Also, according to Abbot (2000), this constancy under negation happens because it is real world knowledge that allows the interpreter to identify the main point (the surviving presupposition) which is ‘concealed’ by the grammatical form (the negation form).

Huang (2009) moves on and formally explains constancy under negation in the following way:

An utterance of a sentence  $S$  presupposes a proposition  $p$  if and only if

- a. if  $S$  is true, then  $p$  is true;
- b. if  $S$  is false, then  $p$  is (still) true.

In other words: for  $S$  to presuppose  $p$ , whenever  $S$  is true,  $p$  is also true, and whenever  $S$  is false,  $p$  is still true.

Nevertheless, there are some sentences that are hard to negate, such as “long live the King of France” (Huang, 2009), becoming a problem for this property. The fact that, even though it cannot be negated, this sentence stills holds a presupposition makes Huang point how constancy under negation may not be sufficient.

Moreover, the author talks about another type of sentence. In this case Huang explains how in the sentence “do/don’t open the window,” even though the constancy

under negation is satisfied, the inference is standardly analyzed as a felicity condition on performing the speech act of requesting (e.g. Levinson, 1983).

## 2. Defeasibility

To say that presuppositions are defeasible means that they can be cancelled if there are inconsistencies in the utterance. Huang (2009) says that this property is considered the second most important property of presupposition and then talks about four reasons for defeasibility:

- i. Background Assumptions: In sentences like “John got an assistant professorship before he finished his Ph.D.” and “John died before he finished his Ph.D.,” Huang explains that when considering background assumptions or real world knowledge only the first sentence allows the audience to think that John finished his Ph.D. This fact happens considering that the putative presupposition conflicts with our real world knowledge (it is real world knowledge that if you die before finishing an action, you won’t be able to finish it) (2009, p. 404).
- ii. Conversational Implicatures: In a sentence like “If Susan has danced on the table, her mother will be unhappy that she has done so,” Huang explains that the use of the factive predicate *unhappy* allows the listener to presuppose that Susan in fact did not dance on the table. In addition, Huang explains the presence of a Q-clausal conversational implicature created by the use of the conditional and the knowing that Susan did not dance on the table. In this way, if there were a contradictory conversational implicature, the presupposition will be defeated (2009, p. 405).



iii. Certain Discourse Contexts: Huang explains this third point by saying that presuppositions can evaporate if they run contrary to what the immediate discourse context talks about, which makes them contextually cancellable. According to the author, in the sentence, “There is no king of France. Therefore, the king of France isn’t bald,” the presupposition (that there is a king of France) is defeated by the inconsistent information that has been presented in the immediate discourse background, and the unwanted presupposition fails to survive. According to Huang: “at this point how presuppositions can be suspended by so-called reduction arguments – arguments that proceed by eliminating each of the possibilities – in a discourse, and how presuppositions can disappear in a discourse where evidence for their truth is being weighed and rejected” (Huang 2009, p.405).

iv. Blockage in Certain Intrasentential Contexts: The author explains this process as a defeat that happens by using other clauses in the same complex sentence with the purpose of increasing the local, intrasentential context. In addition, Huang talks about four special sub-cases:

1) When a presupposition of a sentence can be overtly denied in a coordinate clause without any apparent contradiction, as in ‘John doesn’t regret snoring atrociously because in fact he never did so!’ (He never snored.)

2) Denial of presupposition with positive sentences as in ‘John regrets snoring atrociously because in fact he never did so!’ According to the author: “these cases present an asymmetry between negative and positive sentences with regard to defeasibility, consequently, the argument that what

is allegedly presupposed in these sentences is actually what is entailed (e.g. Atlas 2005) .... Moreover, because semantic entailments cannot be overtly denied without producing semantic anomaly, the anomaly displayed in the second case is entirely expected” (2009, p. 405).

3) When a presupposition of a sentence can be explicitly suspended in an ‘*if*’ clause that follows. Huang exemplifies this point by presenting the following sentence: ‘Mary doesn’t regret being a pet sitter, if she actually ever was one.’

4) The presence of certain verbs of saying, such as *say*, *mention*, *tell*, *ask* and *announce*, and certain verbs of propositional attitude, such as *believe*, *think*, *imagine*, *dream* and *want* (see e.g. Huang 2007, p. 72–73), is the final case of blockage.

As it can be seen, presuppositions have fuzzy boundaries that can be seen by observing cleft constructions in sentences like ‘It is not me the one who had the meeting’ versus ‘I didn’t have the meeting.’ Moreover, the constancy under negation test seems also problematic, especially in cases such as Huang’s ‘the king of France is bald,’ taking into account the fact that it is not common for people to go around imagining the opposite of what somebody just told them. Despite these fuzzy boundaries, presuppositions continue to be a constant pragmatic topic for analysis of its characteristics and language discourse manipulation.

#### **d. Types of Presupposition**

As to where do presuppositions come from, Simmons states: “presuppositions are particular items that have postpositional properties as part of their conventional content, ... a sequence of the way speakers use sentences, and presupposition can be explained in terms of general properties of conversation.” (Simmons, 2006). In addition, Kong and some other scholars (e.g. Leech, 1981) think there are two or even three ways to divide presuppositions:

1. Semantic presuppositions: analyzing the logic, semantics and the truth-relations approach.
2. Pragmatic presuppositions: analyzing the interactional description. Some linguists believe that presuppositions are essentially a pragmatic phenomenon where part of the set of assumptions are made by participants in a conversation (Stalnaker, 1974; Sperber and Wilson, 1995; Levinson, 1983).
3. Semantic-pragmatic presuppositions: According to this vision, presuppositions involve both linguistic forms (i.e. sentences) and language users (i.e. speakers) (see Karttunen, 1973, 1974; Soames, 1982).

Nevertheless, in her 1996 book, Green argues that the question of whether presupposition is pragmatic or semantic in nature seemed no longer to be a live one. “There seems to be an agreement on the one hand, that by convention, all other things being equal, and the use of certain expressions of a language implies a state of knowledge or justified through belief on the part of the referents of noun phrases that are introduced by certain articles” (Green, 1996). Supporting this statement, Gazdar (1979) and McCawley (1978, 1979)

explain how the projection of the presupposition in a sentence only happens if there is consistency with entitlements of the sentence and implicatures of its utterance in its context.

So far there has been a recompilation of literature about the definition, origins, properties and types of presuppositions. It is time now to move on and talk about how they can be found in an utterance.

#### **e. Presupposition Triggers**

Research shows that presuppositions are usually generated by the use of a particular lexical item and/or linguistic construction called presupposition triggers. Bublitz and Norrick (2011) explain that it was Karttunen (1973) who firstly attempted to come up with some sort of organization system. According to Ehrlich and some scholars (Ehrlich 2006; Borutti 1984; Harris 1995; Sbisá 1999; Talbot 1965; Chilton 2004; Wodak 2007; Mills 2008; Khaleel 2010), this type of construction can be described as a linguistic expression or construction that seems to carry with it presuppositions about either the existence or the truth of something. Levinson (1983) and Fraser (2008) describe these elements as “a heterogeneous collection of quite distinct and different phenomena that don’t seem to form a natural class.” These authors agree that, regardless of whether it is shared knowledge or not, presupposition triggers make a proposition more difficult to refute.

Stalnaker (1974) explains that presupposition triggers need to be studied in order to understand the relations between linguistic items, or between a linguistic expression and a proposition. Moreover, in 1983, Levinson talked about the fact that presupposition triggers exist in definite expressions (existential presuppositions) as well as temporal clauses and offered a list of 13 major types of triggers; he also proposes other triggers of presupposition

which seem to receive less attention (Levinson 1983, p.181-184). On this same matter, Schmidt (2001) talks about some types of nouns such as “relational nouns” as in *difference*, a second group made up by linguistic nouns and a third group that, according to him, “consist of mental nouns such as ‘*idea*’, ‘*theory*’ and ‘*position*’ that tend to be used to presuppose and topicalize pieces of information” (Schmidt 2001:1540). Finally, Bublitz and Norrick (2011) offer in their book a series of examples and categories of presupposition triggers in order to present a list of the most representative examples. (See Table III.)

#### **f. Classification of Presupposition Triggers**

There are some scholars that have found interesting the study of the different kinds of presupposition triggers. Kiparsky & Kiparski (1971); Simmons (2006); Cabeza (1996); Ehrlich et al. (2006) have looked at factive verbs, while Cummins et al. (2012) have looked at their location in the sentence (foregrounded-backgrounded), Del Monte (1977) has talked about factive verbs; Van Dijk (1976) talks about non-factive predicates, and Schmid (2001) has focused on the N-be-that- construction.

(For better understanding, they use the symbol '>>' to stand for 'presuppose.' The positive and negative version of the examples are separated by '/' and the lexical presupposition triggers are italicized.)

(1) Definite descriptions

*The King of France* is/isn't bald. >> There is a king of France.

(2) Factive predicates

a. Epistemic or cognitive factives

*John knows/doesn't know* that smoking is a dangerous pastime. >> Smoking is a dangerous pastime.

b. Emotive factives

*John regrets/doesn't regret* that he has gone on the stage.

(3) Aspectual/change of state predicates

Mary has/hasn't *stopped* beating her boyfriend. >> Mary has been beating her boyfriend.

(4) Iteratives

John returned/didn't *return* to Berlin. >> John was in Berlin before.

(5) Implicative predicates

John *managed/didn't manage* to give up drinking. >> John tried to give up binge drinking.

(6) Temporal clauses

After she left school, Jane worked/didn't work as a secretary. >> Jane left school.

(7) Cleft sentences

a. Cleft: It was/wasn't the porter who called a taxi for John.

>> Someone called a taxi for John.

b. Pseudo-cleft: What the porter called/didn't call was a taxi.

>> The porter called something.

(8) Counterfactual conditionals

If an ant was as big as a human being, it could/couldn't run five times faster than an Olympic sprinter.

>> An ant is not as big as a human.

TABLE III. EXAMPLES OF PRESUPPOSITION TRIGGERS TAKEN FROM BUBLITZ AND NORRICK (2011:406)

Kiparsky and Kiparsky, for instance, in 1970 observed that factive sentences in the sense just defined usually indicated that the speaker was presupposing the truth of the complement clause. In 1971, these authors categorized verbs such as BE, AWARE, REALIZE, KNOW and REGRET as “factive” because, according to them, these verbs have the capacity to presuppose the truth of their complement. In that way, “John realizes that Mary is seriously ill” presupposes the truth of the presupposition “Mary is terribly ill.” Simmons, in 2006, continues talking about factives but introduces the term presuppositional factive or p-factive for these sentences, where he calls the implication that the speaker presupposes the

complement “the factive presupposition.” In his study, Simmons explains how p-factive predicates can be used evidentially and, when so used, are not presuppositional because factive presuppositions do not arise due to lexical properties of particular predicates. Moreover, this author says that evidential uses of embedding predicates are not the consequence of either syntactic or semantic ambiguity (Simmons, 2006, p. 1044-1046).

Cabeza (1996) explains that factive predicates, also called presuppositional actualizers (to lament, to worry, to be sorry, etc.), receive this name because the clause depending on them can be introduced by the phrase ‘the fact.’ In addition, they have the property of introducing subordinate clauses with a meaning which is presupposed to be true. Cabeza also mentions the possibility of the embedded clause being presupposed and, in Spanish, the presence of the subjunctive mode in this subordinate as another property of this type of predicate (p. 123).

Cabeza mentions that in Spanish, for instance, one of the sub-groups present in the presupposition triggers are the ones that refer to a process with its origin in a cause and that affects an animate entity with mental capacities (*preocupar, extrañar, sorprender, divertir, encantar, doler, asombrar, agradar, avergonzar, alegrar, chocar, complacer, entusiasmar, molestar, apenar, afectar, etc*) (to worry, to amaze, to surprise, to amuse, to delight, to hurt, to astonish, to like, to shame, to make happy, to annoy, to please, to excite, to bother, to sadden/feel shame, to concern, etc), called factive predicates of psychic affection. According to the author, “with these psychic affection verbs, the speaker makes the audience understand or believe as true the content stated in the subordinate clause, content that that is supposed to be causing a mental state (shame, amazement, happiness, sadness, etc.)” (Cabeza 1996, p.128).

Moreover, the author talks about the syntactic scheme SUJ-PRED-CIND (subject-predicate-indirect object) in active voice as the most favorable position to transmit presuppositions because this scheme allows the creation of two parts: one that is presupposed and another one that is asserted, as it can be seen in the following example:

*A mi mamá le preocupa que Isabel no haya llegado todavía.*

(My mother is worried that Isabel has not arrived yet) (Cabeza 1996, p.132).

According to the author, the presupposed part here is that ‘Isabel has not arrived yet,’ and the part that is asserted is that ‘my mother is worried.’ Cabeza explains how in this sentence it is possible for the audience to believe the content in the subordinate clause as true, information that makes the speaker have a particular mental state (worries, excitement, happiness, etc).

Moreover, Cabeza presents the main syntactic characteristics of factive verbs:

1. The Subordinate Mode – The subjunctive with affective predicates and the indicative with knowledge predicates as in: I was happy/surprised/pleased that he would come early (affection); I knew/noticed/realized that he would come early (knowledge).
2. Possibility to introduce a subordinate completive with the phrase ‘the fact’ or the definite ‘the’ as in: a. <i>Me alegró/sorprendió/complacio el que/ el hecho de que viniera temprano [afección]</i> (I was happy/ surprised/pleased with the fact that he would come early); <i>Ignoré/me di cuenta de *el que / el hecho de que venia temprano [conocimiento]</i> (I ignored/realized that *the fact that he would come early).  b. <i>Supe/noté *el que/ *el hecho de que venia temprano* [conocimiento]</i> (I knew/noticed *the fact that he would come early).
3. The possibility to place the clause before the subject: a. <i>Que viniera de forma imprevista nos sorprendió</i> (that he would come in an unexpected was surprised to us); <i>Que lleve a un amigo en el pescante, a quien le interesa?</i> (that he brings a friend on his boat, who cares?).
With the verbs of knowledge, Cabeza explains that this type of placing before the subject is a little more unnatural but not impossible: a. <i>(De) que viniera temprano supe/note/me di cuenta</i> (that he was coming early I knew/ noticed/ realized).

TABLE IV. SYNTACTIC CHARACTERISTICS OF FACTIVE VERBS (CABEZA 1996:133)



Then she explains how the subject can be syntactically found in three different places, as a Subject (SUJ), as a direct complement (CDIR) and as a supplement (SUPL). She says that it is possible to find examples of factive verbs with a subordinate clause in either one of the previous mentioned positions (SUJ, CDIR, SUPL) when the verb of that subordinated is subjunctive. In addition, Cabeza says that, when the subordinate clause works as subject (SUJ-PRED-CIND), almost all factive verbs respond in a positive way to the three syntactic properties she has mentioned (presence of subjunctive, placing before the subject and admission of ‘the’ and ‘the fact that’).

Cabeza moves on to talk about the syntactic function of the subject: “*el sujeto es una función sintáctica, esto es, una relación grammatical de carácter formal que se materializa por medio de ciertos procedimientos de marcación*” (the subject is a syntactic function, which means, it is a formal grammatical relation that gets materialized through a series of marking procedures) (pg.134). Those marking procedures that Cabeza talks about are: 1) number agreement with subject and predicate, 2) lack of “*marcas prepositivas*” (placing the subject before the clause) which also brings the presence of the “nominative” form on the personal pronouns and 3) pre-verbal position. In addition, the author explains that the conjunction of all these marks create prototypical examples of the type ‘*los niños abrieron los paquetes*’ (the kids opened the presents) but that these three rules do not occur together all the time.

In order to connect all the information together, Cabeza explains that the situation when the highest number of markings happen is when the referent of the subject has a series of characteristics of these prototypical agents, which allows a subject and agent correlation. In

this regard, the author talks about Autonomy as one of those characteristics which states that *“tiene más posibilidades de ser agente (y también de gramaticalizarse como sujeto) aquella entidad que exista con independencia del proceso en que interviene y que sea previo a él”* (the one who has the highest probability of being an agent (and being grammaticalized a subject) is this entity with the capacity to exist independently of the process where it works and of the one before it). It is this independence which gives it (the subject) the capacity to initiate the process. Nevertheless, Cabeza explains that the possibilities of being conceived as the origin of the process increase in the moment that the content of the subordinated is presented by the speaker as something prior to the process. In addition, the fact that a propositional referent be presupposed can be related also to its possibility to be conceived as the origin of the affection process.

In 2006, Ehrlich and Sidnell decided to investigate the way that a witness resisted and challenged incriminating evidence that had the form of presuppositions and the way negation works in such a context. For them, presupposition triggers are linguistic expressions or constructions that seem to carry with them presuppositions about either the existence or the truth of something. Moreover, when presupposition triggers like factive verbs are present in a conversation, it is not common for them to be explicit in the talk; rather they are part of the previously given information. In regards to the way negation works, Ehrlich et al. cite Levinson (1983:171), who suggests that negation occurs with wide scope as in presupposition-denying interpretation (the chief constable didn't arrest three men), as well as Grice (1981: 89), who says that the presupposition-preserving interpretation is more preferred in negative sentences containing definitive descriptions: “without waiting for disambiguation, people understand an

utterance of the “the King of France is not bald” as implying (in some fashion) the unique existence of a King of France.”

For their study, Ehrlich et al. examined data resulting from a question-answer sequence of a trial in Ontario, Canada, in 2001. This trial was an inquiry into the deaths of seven people as a result of water contamination in a small Ontario town. The premier of Ontario, Michael Harris, attempted to resist lawyers’ attempts to control and restrict his responses. The authors focused their study on the presence of Kiparsky and Kiparsky’s 1971 factive verbs (*be*, *aware*, *realize*, *know* and *regret*) “that supposed to presuppose the truth of their complement. (“John realizes that Mary is seriously ill” presupposes the truth of the presupposition “Mary is terribly ill.”)” (Ehrlich and Sidnell 2006, p. 659).

These authors observed how Harris made use of four discourse strategies in order to negate his responsibility and justify his actions:

1. Control of the yes/no questions and the questions with presuppositions: Ehrlich et al. explain how beneficial it was for Harris to control these types of questions because they have the characteristic of containing pseudo-propositions (Ehrlich and Sidnell 2006, p. 658). Additionally, the authors refer to Raymond (2003) who argues that “in ordinary conversation speakers are accountable for designing their utterances, including their yes/no questions, in such a way as to reflect what common knowledge exists among interlocutors, what has or hasn’t been established in prior talk, what is an appropriate action for an interlocutor, and so on, in other words, so that their yes/no question statement permits a type-conforming responses” (Raymond, 2003, p. 349). In regard to the questions with

presuppositions, the authors base the importance of manipulation of these types of questions on the fact that they cannot be denied with the same effectiveness or success.

2. Challenge of presuppositions: The authors pointed out how Harris, instead of ignoring the presuppositions when found in a question, he actually made them explicit and challenged them.

3. Direct address of the presupposition in the questions: According to the authors, “by addressing the presupposition directly-and problematizing its status as a presupposition, or by explicitly denying the presupposition itself, Harris was not addressing the main thrust of the question, but he was actually resisting the presupposition in the question” (Ehrlich and Sidnell 2006, p.667).

4. Damage of the presuppositions’ transformation in order to make them sound less dramatic: In order to achieve this goal, Harris would repeat the factive predicate and add information to the question, which allowed him to rework the question and transform the presuppositional material present in the question. Ehrlich and Sidnell, by making use of theories from Clayman & Heritage 2002 as well as Button 1992, explain that “one of the ways that a stretch of talk becomes recognizable as an “answer” is by preserving some of the exact wording of the question in the response to that question” Clayman & Heritage (2002, p. 247) (Button, 1992).

Ehrlich and Sidnell concluded by pointing how the answers of the witness suggest how likely can be for participants, in certain contexts, to resist the questions asked and even

challenge them in order to resist presuppositions and presupposition-preserving interpretations, which may allow them to modify their final statements.

Cummins et al (2012) have studied presupposition triggers based on their location within the sentence (foregrounded versus backgrounded). Based on their acceptability studies, the authors have shown that speakers tend to retrieve foreground information faster than they can retrieve background information. Cummins et al support their theory in the psychological reality of the distinction between resolution and lexical triggers: “this study illustrated the difficulty in isolating presuppositions from other content in actual interpretation, and the individual variability among presuppositions triggers that seem to elude neat theoretical groupings” (Cummins et al, 2012). To conclude, the authors highlight the advantage of empirical work for this field in order to properly place them for study purposes and they finally point to the status of presupposition phenomena as a potential semantic universal (cf. Von Stechow & Matthewson, 2008) as a further question to be concerned about.

Moreover, Delmonte in 1977 talks about the factive verbs as presupposition triggers with three properties:

1. Possibility to introduce a subordinate clause with the phrase ‘*el hecho ó el artículo el*’ (the fact or the determinate article *the*), as in ‘*Es triste que/el hecho de que el loro tenga gripa.*’
2. Mobility inside the clause. Delmonte explains that only factives allow a completive in the initial position, as in ‘*Que a mi madre le duela la cabeza me preocupa.*’

3. Impossibility of a raising movement that can happen with other predicates, as in

*Imagino que él viaja a Bruselas* → *Lo imagino viajando hacia Bruselas* (with a factive predicate);

*Lamenté que el médico no viniera* → \**lo lamenté no venir* (raising impossible with a factive predicate).

Delmonte continues, saying that for him, the following verbs are “*predicados factivos*” (factives) in Spanish: *lamentar, ser sorprendente, preocupar, descubrir, advertir, ser raro, ser interesante, ser trágico* (to regret, to be surprising, to worry, to find, to warn, to be strange, to be interesting, to be tragic).

Finally, Polyzou (2009) summarizes several types of presupposition triggers by talking about three main levels of presuppositions.

1. Word/phrase level with semantic frames: more related to referential and predication strategies.
2. Clause/sentence structure one: in this level, elements can be found such as framing, interaction with word level, certain presupposition triggers and secondary clauses set the background.
3. Text and discourse: contains the position of information in the text and how the text fits with overall knowledge.
4. Pragmatic knowledge of how discourse works and how this interacts with participant’s knowledge about the world: according to the author, this level has involved the work of scholars from different areas such as Goffman’s (1997)

footing theory, Austin's (1975) felicitous conditions, Grice's (2013) Co-operative principle, Fairclough's (1992) intertextuality, Ducrot's (1980) appropriacy conventions and Borutti's (1984) speech responsibility theory.

#### **g. Presuppositions in Discourse**

Up to this point I have shown the definition, origins, properties and types of presupposition and presupposition triggers. The studies that will be presented in this next section show the way that presuppositions may influence the reconstruction of a person's knowledge and ideology and how existential or definite descriptions are the type of presupposition triggers that occur with a higher frequency in the media. We will first observe the study made by Ge (2011), followed by Khaleel (2010), Schmid (2001), Ehrlich and Sidnell (2006) and finally Boyandi and Samuel (2011), Zare, Abbaspour & Nia (2012) and Amaral and Cummins (2015).

First of all, Ge (2011) studied the pragmatic functions of presuppositions in advertisement and how, according to the author, the functions of advertisement always give rise to the fact that trust and cooperation between the interlocutors are limited or lacking. Ge states that advertisers are concerned about the way in which advertising language serves the function of advertisement effectively without causing the recipients' repulsion and resistance. He explains that presupposition is frequently employed in order to enhance the function of advertising language implicitly because of its own special properties and characteristics. For this reason, he investigated the pragmatic functions of presupposition in advertising English, and found that, in English, presuppositions have the following functions when present in advertisements: conciseness, interest, enlargement, emphasis, euphemism, concealment,

persuasion and finally self-protection. Ge concludes by say that presuppositions are “...a useful way of creating the largest contextual effect in recipients with minimum processing effort to achieve the maximum function of advertisement” (p. 157).

Khaleel (2010) examines the semantic and pragmatic presupposition triggers present in English journalist texts. This author analyzed six random English journalist texts and observed the way they primarily rely on existential presuppositions (57.7% of the studied sample). The most common triggers were existential or definite descriptions, followed by non-restrictive clauses and comparative expressions. Moreover, Khaleel points out that the conventional items, iteratives, change of state verbs and factive items presented with significant less frequency of occurrence, and no verbs of judging and counterfactual were found. Finally, Khaleel explains that “wh” questions scored only one occurrence.

Schmid (2001) was interested in the way people use presuppositions in their everyday life and how those can behave trickily, changing the meaning of a conversation. He was concerned with ‘N-be-that-constructions.’ For his study, he used the British section of COBUILD’s Bank of English corpus (225-million word) and found that presupposition can be very tricky:

“Using the N-be-that-construction, speakers can – whether consciously or not – trick their hearers into the unfounded belief that certain pieces of information do not require particular attention or even reflection, since they represent mutually shared, familiar ground anyway. Depending on the kinds of nouns that are used and on the linguistic context, the information conveyed through the



nouns and the information conveyed in the clause can be purported to be shared” (Schmid 2001, p. 1548).

Bonyadi and Samuel (2011) studied the editorials of two sets of newspapers, one American and one Persian, both written in English, in order to see the type of linguistic structures used for triggering presupposed information. As a result, the authors could observe some similarities and differences in their use of presupposition triggers. They found, for instance, a common use of non-factive verbs and nominalization by both of the editorial writers. Boyandi and Samuel observe how these newspapers tried to persuade their readers by trying to embed implicit claims within the explicit statements of the editorial texts, creating “the impression that their views disguised as truths represent given knowledge apparently shared by all discourse participants” (Schmid, 2001, p. 1545).

In addition, Bonyadi and Samuel state that the most noticeable difference found between the two papers was that the editorial writers in the USA newspaper *The New York Times* (NYT) made use of parenthetical information for triggering the presupposition while those in The UK newspaper *The Times* (TT) made use of relative clauses. In addition, this last one used existential presupposition twice as much as those in NYT. They conclude their research by explaining how editorial writers made use of presuppositions as a way to manipulate their readers’ point of view by presenting information in an embedded way.

Zare, Abbaspour and Nia (2012) studied the role of presupposition in mass media’s use of language due to its capacity to influence (consciously or unconsciously) the audience’s understanding of news events. They investigated the presence of presupposition triggers (existential, factive, lexical, non-factive, structural, counter-factual, adverbial and relative) on

broadcast news discourse in order to observe the oral discourse structure of two English news channels (one from Iran and one from the United States) and their capacity to share non-asserted meaning.

Among their findings, the authors observed that both varieties of oral English made use of presupposition triggers, especially existential presuppositions. Using these linguistic constructions, the editorial writers could manipulate their listeners' interpretation of facts and events. As the authors point out, "with its simple structure composed of possessive constructions or definite noun phrases, existential presupposition is considered the most readily credited for presupposition, because it is stronger or more difficult to detect in comparison to other categories, which they ascribed to its ability in diverting attention to other parts of the sentence" (Zare et al 2012, p.742).

Amaral and Cummins (2015) investigated the empirical validity of the distinction between lexical and resolution presupposition triggers. For this purpose, the authors emulated in Spanish a cross-linguistic study on information background and presupposition projection originally done in English. Amaral and Cummins made use of eight presupposition triggers in Spanish: *lamentar* (to regret), *seguir* (to continue), *dejar de* (to stop), *todavía* (still), *otra vez* (again), *también* (too), *tampoco* (which they translate as either) and the comparative *mejor que* (which can be translated by the presuppositional comparative 'better...than'). In this study, the authors found similar types of results, showing that native speakers in both languages seem to be sensitive to the distinction between the lexical and resolution triggers.

In addition, the authors did not find a preference for either of these conditions with resolution triggers, although they found that participants were more relaxed in answering when

they faced a resolution trigger than when they faced a presupposition failure. Finally, Amaral and Cummins explain: “we can introduce a presupposition that was not previously part of the common ground, and exploit accommodation in order to have it admitted to the common ground; or we can reintroduce some content that was already in the common ground but which we wish to make salient again for some reason” (Amaral and Cummins 2015, p. 170).

As it can be seen from the previous review of the definition, origins, properties, characteristics and types of presuppositions, these are powerful linguistic elements with the capacity to transmit information according to the intentions of the speaker. In Van Dijk’s own words: “in ideological discourse analysis, one may want to examine texts with propositions that are asserted or presupposed (to be true, to be shared, or to be taken for granted), and hence presented as knowledge. Context analysis in that case may reveal that speakers assert or presuppose such knowledge as group members, in which case the knowledge may well be ideological, and judged to be ‘mere belief’ or prejudice by members of other groups” (Van Dijk 2006, p.122). It is for this reason that the present study suggests the analysis of the presuppositions present in the peace dialogue discourses, a topic that doesn’t seem to have been studied before. This study will investigate the type of information that is being presented to the Colombian population to be taken for granted as knowledge, and how it probably will be understood and taken in this time of political conflict.

### **3.4. Direct Quotations**

The second linguistic element proposed for analysis in this study are direct quotations in relation to their presence in the communiqués offered by both sides of the peace dialogues and

their capacity to facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. This type of analysis has not been found yet in the literature and therefore will be able to fill this gap with knowledge that can be relevant to the understanding of ideology transmission and manipulation during moments of political conflict. For this reason, the following literature review will provide some theoretical background in regard to direct quotations. The first part of this section will offer some definitions of direct quotations, followed by the origin and theories related to this topic. Lastly, there will be a compilation of studies that will show the role and implications that direct quotations play on discourse and the way some scholars have analyzed them.

**a. Definition**

There are several definitions of direct quotations according to the scholars and the field in which this topic gets investigated. One of the most accurate definitions of direct quotations is the one given by Cameron (1998) when he describes them as the “reporting of speech, gestures, or sound effects of people, animals, or things in the natural world, real or imagined, faithfully or not” (Cameron 2000, p.50). Similarly, we have Clark and Gerrig (1990) who proposed in their study the Demonstration Theory that “quotations are demonstrations that are component parts of language use. The prototypical quotation is a demonstration of what a person did in saying something” (Clark and Gerrig 1990, p.769). In addition, Wade and Clark (1993) make use of the Demonstration Theory to say that a quotation is not the depiction of the speaker’s exact words, but instead the demonstration of the question, assertion or request as the person performed, how that person spoke (high voice, with a drawl, sarcastic tone, etc) or other aspects. Moreover, Holt and D’arcy talk about direct speech as rhetorical strategies.

Holt (1996) describes direct speech as “an effective and economical” device for providing evidence in conversation. D’arcy (2015) explains quotation as:

“A rhetorical strategy with motivations in interpersonal relations and online discourse management, regardless of genre. Quotation is a fundamentally interactive discursive strategy (“talk in talk”) that serves as a potent reminder that an asocial linguistics, devoted to introspective pursuit of idiolects, is inadequate for addressing the rich and diverse syntactic, semantic, and pragmatic interfaces that govern language in action” (D’arcy 2015, p. 58).

**b. Origins and Theories about Direct Quotations**

One of the linguistic elements analyzed in this study is the use of direct quotations in the media statements offered by both sides of the peace dialogues and their relevance in transmitting information. Early work on direct quotations began by studying the grammaticalization patterns found in them. For instance, Li (1986) says there are five syntactical differences between the direct and indirect quotation: (1) pronominalization, (2) place and time deixis, (3) verb tense, (4) presence of the complementizer ‘that’ and (5) intonation.

Similarly, different types of quotations have been studied. Obiedat (2006) also identified two secondary modes related to direct and indirect quotations, which he calls “free direct” and “free indirect” quotations (FDQs & FIQs, respectively). According to this author: “in both sub-modes, there is no reporting clause, but the act of communication is signaled by the absence of the reporting clause. In the case of FDQs, either the reporting clauses or the

quotation marks, or both, are dropped, but the potentialities of direct speech sentence structure, deixis, and verb tenses are retained” (Obiedat 2006, p. 279).

The author explains FDQ as identified by its grammatically and semantically independence; while FIQ are identified: “by the absence of a reporting clause, by a change in deixis, by a backshift in the reported verb tense, and by the fact that the major options of Halliday’s (1985) mood structure of the clause are also retained” (2006, p. 279). Furthermore, Obiedat says that like direct and indirect quotations, FDQs & FIQs may also report a representation of a mental or physical activity of the speaker, where the former can be unspoken by nature while the latter will be the spoken one.

At the same time, some scholars have focused more on different aspects present in quotations, such as the speaker’s intention when quoting, and they have seen direct quotations from other perspectives. For example, Coulmas (1985) focuses his analysis on the speaker’s perception and talks about the way direct reports are committed to the originality of their statements while indirect reports are not.

Similarly, Reyes (1994) talks about the importance of the speaker’s communicative intention on the fidelity of the quotation. In this regard, Reyes states :

*“La cita es una representación de un objeto lingüístico : Otro texto. Esta representación puede ser total o parcial, fiel o aproximada : el grado de semejanza entre los dos textos, el reproducido y el que lo reproduce, depende de muchos factores, determinados por la intención comunicativa del hablante. No es necesario, al citar, reconstruir otro enunciado al pie de la letra : habrá cita siempre que el oyente reconozca la intención del hablante de evocar un*

*enunciado o un pensamiento ajenos*” (Quoting is the representation of a linguistic object : another text. This representation can be total or partial, exact or approximated: the degree of resemblance among both texts, the one being reproduced and the one that is reproducing it, depends on several factors, all of them determined by the communicative intention of the speaker. It is not necessary, when quoting, to rebuild another statement exactly: there will be a quote as long as the audience recognize the speaker’s intention to evoke someone else’s statement or thoughts) (1994, p. 9).

Moreover, Reyes explains citation as the construction of the representation of someone else’s words but in a different place. At the same time, the author says that every citation is like an image of a speech or part of a speech, such as its vocabulary or content. Nevertheless, the author clarifies the fact that, although a citation is supposed to be an impeccable representation of the original text, it is not always the case: *“un texto citado es, pues, una imagen de otro: lo representa como si fuera una fotografía, un dibujo, o una grabación, pero esa imagen, como veremos, no es nunca completa, y rara vez es fiel”* (a cited text is then, the image of another one: it represents the original as if it was a picture, a drawing, or a recording, but that image, as we will see, is never complete, and it rarely is faithful) (my translation) (Reyes 1993, p. 12).

Reyes also talks about context as an important aspect of quotations, highlighting the importance that context has on direct quotations in order to be properly understood. She explains that a direct quotation has a deictic point which is retained and remains present every time the quotation is mentioned, which makes this deictic point a very important characteristic.

In addition and taking into account that the deictic referents are external from the text, Reyes said it is required from the audience to know the extralinguistic situation in order to interpret the quotation.

Moreover, Reyes also points out how a direct quotation is the reproduction process of a series of words taken away from their original context. It only reproduces the words, leaving aside the utterances' implicatures, intentions and context, and consequently it is only the reproduction of one aspect of a speech act, not the entire communicative interaction: "*repetir lo que alguien dice no entraña reproducir la intención con que lo dice. Además, las palabras citadas quedan siempre amputadas de su contexto, que les daba sentido, y el contexto no puede citarse. Un texto () es solo una parte del acto de comunicación verbal, y este es, por naturaleza, irrepetible*" (to repeat what someone says doesn't imply reproducing the intention with which it was said) (1993, p. 14).

As regards different perspectives, we have different scholastic work, such as the one from Labov, Brown and Levinson and Chafe, among others. Labov (1972), for instance, observes direct quotations from another perspective and describes the use of direct quotations as an evaluative device in storytelling. This author points out that evaluative devices can be divided into external and internal evaluation, where the former happens when the narrator takes dominion of the story and presents his viewpoint on different aspects, while the latter keeps the story intact. At the same time, Brown and Levinson (1987) discuss reported speech by taking politeness as their perspective. As a consequence, these authors believe direct quotes to be a positive politeness strategy that intensifies the hearer's interest and makes a good story. Similarly, Chafe (1982) and Tannen (1989) talk about direct quotations but from the



perspective of involvement. For Chafe, direct quotes express the reporter–speaker’s involvement in the events she or he is reporting, while Tannen talks about conversational involvement as “an internal, even emotional connection individuals feel which binds them to other people as well as to places, things, activities, ideas, memories and words” (p. 12). Tannen moves further and says that, like repetition and imagery, quoted dialogue is an involvement strategy that helps to create ‘an emotional experience of insight (understanding of the text) and connectedness (to other participants, to the language, to the world)’ (p. 13). Moving to an evidentiality perspective, Li (1986) looks at direct quotes and indirect quotes and describes them as ‘forms of evidentiality,’ where direct quotes communicate a more authentic piece of information taking into account that they imply a greater fidelity to the source of information.

### **c. Direct Quotations as Demonstrations**

In regards to the way direct quotations behave in a text, Clark and Gerrig’s (1990) study “Quotations as Demonstrations” proposes that direct quotations are:

1. non-serious actions that,
2. depict rather than describe from a particular vantage point.

When these authors talk about quotations as non-serious actions (p.766), they are referring to Goffman’s 1974 (p. 43-44) concept of non-serious actions as those ones modeled on the original activity, but seen as something else or from a different angle. In addition, when Clark and Gerrig say that quotations depict rather than describe, they show how depictions require a perceptual experience while descriptions do not. Finally, the fact that quotations make use of

a particular vantage point shows the speaker as the entity with the power to manipulate the quotation and present only the specific information in the desired way. This becomes an advantage to the speaker as he is able to shape information so his audience hears what he wants them to hear.

In other words, quotations are, like demonstrations, non-serious actions that depict from a specific vantage point. Consequently, the quotations used during the political communiqués presented at the Colombian peace dialogue process should also be considered demonstrations, as they follow the same pattern.

1. Quotations/Demonstrations as a non-serious action: Clark and Gerrig's (1990) belief that quotations, as demonstrations, are non-serious actions is based on Goffman's 1974 study. Goffman believed that human actions can be divided in two types, serious and non-serious. For this author, a non-serious action occurs when a serious action, which already has some established meaning, gets transformed into an action "patterned on" itself. The result of this pattern, according to Goffman, is that this non-serious action has the power now to be perceived by the audience as something else, something real (p.43-44). Consequently, Clark and Gerrig explain that quotations, as demonstrations:
  - i. fall into the same non-serious category of actions, similar to practicing, playing, acting and pretending.
  - ii. are performed as part of a serious action or serious activity.
  - iii. must have a distinguishable beginning and end that separates it from the serious action.

iv. can be either a component part (the action happens as only one part of the discourse) or a concurrent part (the action happens at the same time of the discourse).

2. Quotations/Demonstrations as selective depictions: Clark and Gerrig's proposal (1990, p. 767) is that quotations depict (demonstrate) rather than describe. In order for this proposal to be true, every quotation should fulfill the Markedness Principle (nothing in the quotation is incidental) with its three elements: Decoupling, Partiality and Selectivity principles.

In other words, every quotation's Demonstration Proper should have: specific parts where the intentions are clearly for the audience to understand them as depictive, supportive and annotative (Decoupling); any selected part to be depicted on the quotation should be the quotation proper (Partiality); depict only some selective parts of the referent (Selectivity). Also, Clark and Gerrig (1990) explain that quotations and demonstrations are selective in that they depict of their referents and that there can be more than one vantage point: "In demonstrations of a person's actions, the speaker usually takes that person's role, and the recipients experience them as if they were observing that person" (pg.768).

Moreover, when applying the selectivity principle, there are several elements that can be depicted. One very important aspect to consider here is that, according to Clark & Gerrig (1990), whatever aspect the speaker chooses to depict depends on the experience the speaker wants his audience to have. Some of those aspects can be a

person's voice, emotional state, language register, linguistic act, etc. Even though this study presents the quoting of both documents and people, the data analysis will focus only on one single aspect depicted in the quotations, which is people as sources of quotes.

#### **d. Direct Quotations in Discourse**

After having an insight on the definition, origin and theories of direct quotations, let us move now into some of the investigations that have studied direct quotations in discourse.

Sai-Hua Kuo (2001) studies the reported speech in Chinese political discourse in order to observe how reported speech is used and analyze its discourse functions from a pragmatic and sociolinguistic perspective. She analyzed the video-taped data from five televised 1998 Taipei mayoral debates and found that a direct quotation, instead of being the representation of the source, is the creation of the present speaker. In this way, "speakers may report something they or some other speaker might have said, but which they actually did not say" (Kuo, 2001). Kuo also points that direct quotes are more effective than indirect quotes because they present the moment with more reality and allow the audience to be more participative.

Kuo found, in addition, direct quotation plays an important role in political debates, because it helps to present evidence in favor of the debaters' claims, making what they say more believable. In the author's view, "with the help of quotations, debaters succeed in dramatizing the event, acting out the words of the characters, and more importantly, characterizing themselves and their opponents. Also, from the perspective of face and politeness, compressing their valuations in quotations is less direct and less threatening for the debaters than using evaluative attributes about their opponent(s)" (Kuo, 2001). Moreover, this

author says that debaters also use quotations as an evasion strategy, which allows them to distance themselves from the source of knowledge of the information. In addition, the use of quotes provides their speech with more validity, considering there is an extra support for their words. Finally, the author presents citations as a personal mark from every debater, having some of them producing quotes in a more casual way than the others (while some cite figures from newspapers or magazines, others will cite fewer common elements).

In 1990, Clark and Gerrig proposed the Demonstration Theory, based on the idea that quotations have the same characteristics as demonstrations. The authors consider that a quotation has the purpose of expressing “what a person did in saying something” (p. 764).

According to Clark and Gerrig, a quotation as a demonstration is a non-serious action that is recursive and is also understood as if it were a direct experience. This action can depict selected aspects of a referent from a vantage point, and this referent can be generic or specific. In addition, each one of these two domains can be studied under six parameters: speaker, addressees, place, time, vantage point and actions. These are like the ‘what, where, when, why, how’ in the quotation. For the speaker, we will need to identify both speakers involved: the current and the source. Clark and Gerrig made use of Walton’s (1973) concept to explain that, as well as in depictions, vantage point is the perceptual experience or criteria by which a person analyzes or talks about a speech act.

The authors said that a quotation is a type of depiction because a depiction is a representation, and quotations depict instead of describe a referent. According to the authors, quotations follow the Decoupling, Partiality and Selective principles of depictions. In this way, one always wants the audience to first know if the quotation is depictive (only some aspects

represented), supportive (some acts that, although not represented, give support to the entire performance) or annotative (extra commentary that accompany the demonstration). The Partiality principle states that, in order to create a proper quotation, only certain aspects can be depicted. The authors explain the Selectivity principle takes only some aspects to be depicted. In addition, quotations as depiction also follow the Markedness Principle. This principle is used to coordinate and give place to each aspect of the quotation as well as the particular emphasis the speaker gives to a marked aspect. This emphasis talks about the recognizable purpose to the speech, which makes it incidental.

Finally, the authors mention there are three types of depictions: spontaneous spoken quotations, written quotations and mixed depictions and descriptions. According to Clark and Gerrig, spontaneous spoken quotations have the capacity to depict many things, and one of the most common ones is the depiction of a speech event. The authors point out there are three aspects to recognize in a spontaneous spoken quotation: the delivery, the language and the linguistic acts.

- Delivery: refers to the way the statement is presented in order to add more emphasis, such as changes in voice because of speed, voice quality or pitch.
- Language: according to Clark and Garrig, “speakers have a choice of language, dialect and register to use in each quotation” (p. 777), and these choices can be used as non-incidental, incidental, or descriptive.
- Linguistic acts: This point refers to the illocutionary, propositional, locutionary, utterance and collaborative acts.

Moreover, the authors mention we can talk about the quotations without a propositional content and non- linguistic quotations. The first, such as ‘blah, blah, blah,’ ‘this and that,’ ‘such and such,’ are used in order to avoid repetition; the second refers to any noise or movement that takes the place of the object in the sentence.

In addition, the authors point to the fact that non-linguistic quotations are the biggest proof for their Demonstration Theory because this type of quotation “shows that a speaker can quote anything he can recognizably demonstrate, from intonation and dialect to nonlinguistic actions of all sorts. They show how speakers decouple aspects of their quotations and treat each aspect as depictive, supportive, annotative or incidental” (pg. 782). Finally, based on their study, the authors conclude that when presenting some information, the speaker has three elements at hand: description, indication or pointing, and demonstration.

Wade and Clark (1993) collaborated with a group of students in order to observe validity of the Demonstration Theory (Clark and Gerrig, 1990). In their study, the group of students were asked to recount what happened in videotaped dialogues—under instructions either to be accurate or to entertain—after one viewing or after memorizing the dialogue. The main goal of this investigation was to observe the way these participants would reproduce the direct quotations presented in the videos. Wade and Clark could observe that after one viewing, narrators were no more accurate in direct than in indirect quotation, regardless of instruction, and after memorization they produced inaccurate verbatim quotations when asked to be accurate in the dialogue. According to these authors, these results show that speakers use quotations to depict selected aspects of what the original speaker did, not necessarily the original speaker’s exact words. The authors conclude by pointing out: “as demonstrations,

direct quotations have the capacity to enable listeners to experience what it would be like to hear, see, or feel what the original speaker did, and to depict only some aspects of the original speaker's utterance (which usually doesn't include its exact wording), while indirect quotations, which are descriptions, lack this same capacity" (Wade and Clark, 1993).

Obiedat (2006) did a corpus discourse analysis of news stories, the news reporters' purposes and intentions of using direct and/or indirect quotations (henceforth DQs & IQs) in news reporting. He randomly selected and analyzed a number of news stories taken from two leading American and two leading British newspapers, reporting the same two incidents of killing resulting from the al-Aqsa Intifada.

In this study, Obiedat shows how, "in reporting any event, there is involved a process of selection, manipulation, bias and prejudice, on the part of the news reporter, not only with regard to the 'facts' themselves, but also with respect to the words used to express or describe these facts, which can result in the same event being presented from completely different perspectives" (Obiedat, 2006).

At the same time, this author found two main ways that reporters manipulate news: through the use of reported speech and by strategically selecting the reporting verbs to use. Moreover, the author explains how, without any problem, the news reporter him-/herself changes and simply presents what people want to present through him/her. For Obiedat, "this takes place when the news reporter manipulates what has been uttered by the newsmaker, either by directly quoting selected parts of what he/she has said and representing it, or convert it to an IQ or a FIQ, where the news reporter's voice takes the lead or gets mixed with that of the newsmakers" (Obiedat, 2006).



Moving on, the author explains how the type of verb used in the reporting of events may change the way the event is understood. For instance, “the choice of a neutral type verb like “say” to describe a certain news event, a performative verb such as “explain” connotes that what happened conveys a “factual” element and not only an opinion, or a performative verb like “claim”, which connotes an opinion with no commitment to factuality” (Obiedat, 2006).

This author concludes by restating that every time a reporter adapts (cut/paste) or changes any aspect of the text, they make decisions that can totally change the original meaning of the statement.

Cameron (1998) does a variationist analysis of the way direct quotations are framed in spoken Spanish. Cameron makes use of 62 socially stratified speakers of Spanish from San Juan, Puerto Rico, in order to observe the conditions (the stylistic, linguistic and social constraints) under which they will make use of this linguistic element. For his study, Cameron makes use of three strategies in order to report “the speech, gestures, or sound effects of people, animals, or things in the natural world, real or imagined, faithfully or not” (Cameron 1998, p. 75). These strategies are: VDR (verbs of direct report), Y NP (the bare NP framer), and freestanding quotations. This author explains that because each of these strategies may be used to frame a direct quotation they are defined as members of a single sociolinguistic variable. Moreover, He points how in this study the sociolinguistic variable of direct quotation strategies in Spanish shows both stylistic and social patterning. Among his findings, Cameron observed that the variants of VDR, Y NP, and freestanding quotations were constrained by social factors such as age, class and sex, which can be considered as evidence of age grading or a change in

progress in the community. At the same time, Cameron also identified constraints operating both within the sentence and at the level of discourse. He explains that these constraints include clause type, person and number, animacy of quoted speaker and content of the quotation. Cameron concludes his study by pointing out that, at the level of discourse, the clearest findings emerge in switch reference and a “birds of a feather” effect (Pereira Scherre & Naro, 1991, 1992).

Another issue that has been observed is the importance not only of what is quoted but, most pertinent, who is quoted. The fact of quoting an important person, like a leader, may give a sense of more trustworthiness to the speech, because it can be seen as the incorporation of a more sense of ‘historicity,’ as Berlin (2011) found when analyzing the program “*Alo, presidente.*” Berlin did a Critical Discourse Analysis of the televised program “*Alo, Presidente,*” where Hugo Chavez, president at that moment of Venezuela, was at the same time the presenter of the show.

By using the Multilayered Model of Context framework, he analyzed this televised program in order to explore the manipulation of language in the media by the government and the consequences of this manipulation to public ideology and external reality. In addition, Berlin observed the use of direct quotations by President Chavez. In this regards he points out : “*El uso de la historicidad (citas directas evocando a próceres de la patria), aunque abreviada y recontextualizada para los propósitos específicos del líder bolivariano, significa intentos de torcer la manera en la que los espectadores dan sentido a los textos y contextos elegidos con objetivos representacionales...Creando un reacondicionamiento ideológico*” (The use of historicity (direct quotations said by famous political or historical people) although abbreviated

and recontextualized for the specific purposes of the Bolivarian leader, is his intent to twist the way the audience give meaning to the selected texts and contexts with representational objectives... creating an ideological reconditioning.) (Berlin, 2011 P. 35). Thus it becomes an attempt to manipulate how the audience will receive the information. These are the specific type of choices that Johnstone (2008) has also mentioned when talking about discourse, because “they represent a way of viewing the world that is valued by the discourse producer” (Johnstone, 2008 p. 54).

After observing the main characteristics, the role played and the implications that direct quotations have when present in discourse, it is possible to understand the need to study this type of linguistic element when present in a political discourse such as a peace dialogue communiqué. In other words, when in political conflict and during a peace dialogue moment, every linguistic element used by the speaker in his discourse must be strategically planned and loaded with the type of information that he wants to be absorbed by the audience, so there must be a particular message the speakers want to transmit by using those quotations.

According to Johnstone (2008): “discourse can be viewed as a collection of linguistic choices, choices about how to produce a particular utterance or text and choices about how to interpret what was spoken or written... Each of these choices is strategic in that it represents a way of viewing the world that is valued by the discourse producer” (Johnstone 2008 pg. 54). Consequently, this study suggests to examine the reason why the Colombian government and the FARC may have decided to make use of direct quotations and how it represents, in Johnstone’s words, their way of depicting the world.

e. **Direct Quotations as Existential Presuppositions**

My interest in observing if there are any features that both direct quotations and existential presuppositions share began when looking at the data. When reading the communiqués delivered by the FARC and the Colombian government, direct quotations seemed to have been added to provide a distinctive tone to what was being said. Furthermore, every direct quotation used seemed to have a reminder tone, as if this information and/or the people who have uttered those words should be familiar to the audience.

In order to talk about the features that direct quotations and existential presuppositions share, it is necessary to quickly review some relevant aspects to keep in mind about these two linguistic elements.

Regarding presuppositions:

- “A presupposition is an inference or proposition whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a sentence. The main function is to act as a precondition of some sort for the appropriate use of that sentence. This background assumption has the capacity to remain in force when the sentence is negated” (Kong, 1988; Heim, 1983; Simmons, 2006; Huang, 2007; Van Dijk, 1976; Cummins et al, 2012).
- One of the main characteristics that presuppositions have is the capacity to “survive” when negated (Huang 2007, p.65).
- Van Dijk also explains how a presupposed sentence or proposition represents some unit of information “which is already ‘given’ in this case by preceding sentences in the text” (Van Dijk 1976, p. 75).

Also, in specific relation to existential presuppositions, Abbaspour et al (2012) describe existential presuppositions as the most common type of presupposition used in media and political communiqués as they are the hardest to deny:

- Existential presupposition triggers are the most commonly used in political communiqués, because they are one of the more difficult triggers to detect (Abbaspour et al 2012, p. 742).

Aside from the theory presented at the beginning of this chapter, Berlin (2011) also found the use of direct quotations as a strategy in political communiqués:

- Direct quotations were used during unidirectional political communiqués as a way to *“torcer la manera en la que los expectadores dan sentido a los textos elegidos con objetos representacionales...creando un reacondicionamiento ideológico”* (twist how spectators make sense to selected texts with a representational purpose... creating an ideological reconditioning) (Berlin 2011, p. 35).

In what follows, I will present the aspects that the above-mentioned scholastic studies cite as crucial characteristics of presuppositions and how the quotations found in the public broadcasts from both parties share these same characteristics. Also, I will present how the quotations that could be considered existential presuppositions are creating an “ideological reconditioning” (Berlin 2011, p. 35).

At this point, in order to observe if in fact the direct quotations present during a political communiqué share some features with presuppositions, this study will analyze quotations with

regards to the two main characteristics for presuppositions: capacity of being taken for granted and capacity to survive under negation.

5. Capacity of being taken for granted: According to Huang, when using presuppositions, the speaker intends his audience to assume some information as common knowledge or already known.

Russel's 1905 famous example "the king of France is bald:"

- intends for the audience to assume the existence of a king,
- and presents this information (there is a king in France) as common knowledge.

Another type of assumption specifically relevant for this study is the type of information this quote is also making the audience assume on a deeper level (ideologically, for our purposes). This sentence can also be said to presuppose that France has/had a type of government where the king was someone important.

### **3.5. Evidentiality**

The fifth part of this literature review has the purpose of understanding how evidentiality and the presence of evidential markers in a political communiqué such as a peace dialogue may facilitate the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. This study proposes the analysis of the evidentiality present in the presuppositions and the direct quotations, present as well in the peace dialogue discourses produced by the Colombian government and the militia group FARC during the present peace dialogue process. This study will contribute to filling a gap present in the

literature that lacks an investigation of this kind, as this investigation intends to closely observe the way a communiqué can be transmitted and manipulated in order to make an audience sympathize with a particular ideology in moments of political conflict. This part of the review will be divided as follows: first there will be the definition and origins of evidentiality, followed by the types and characteristics of evidential markers. Finally, there will be a summary of studies that show the way evidentiality may contribute to ideology transmission and manipulation.

**a. Definition**

In general terms, evidentiality is “*el dominio semántico relacionado con la de la información expresada en un enunciado,*” (the semantic dominium related to the information source expressed in an utterance) as Bermudez states in his studies (2005, p. 5). Also, Anderson in 1982 said that “evidentials expressed the kinds of evidence a person has for making factual claims” (1982, p. 273). Nevertheless, there have been many scholars who have worked towards achieving the meaning of evidentiality.

Chafe (1986), for instance, talked about this topic by stating that in English, evidentiality encompasses “a range of epistemological considerations that are linguistically coded [and involve] attitudes toward knowledge” (p. 262). In his work, he used the term evidentiality to account for any linguistic expression of attitudes towards knowledge. Chafe explains that, at least in English, mostly all knowledge is considered factual much of the time, but it does not use any evidential qualification. Consequently, he proposes a taxonomy for classifying evidentials where, according to the author, adverbs such as ‘maybe,’ ‘probably’ or ‘certainly’ or modals such as ‘might’ and ‘may’ need to take place.

Moving on, Aikhenvald in 2004 talked about the importance of evidentiality and explained that it “plays an important part in speaker’s understanding of other people and the world as each evidential is associated with a certain form of knowledge” (2004, p. 360). On the other hand, DeLancey (2001) had a different approach and defined evidentiality in terms of form and function. According to the author, form is “the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition,” while function is the language explanation of the way the speaker got to know what he is expressing. Lastly, Fetzer and Oishi (2014) described evidentiality as the coding of the source of information, also mentioning that, from a typological perspective, languages can be classified into a group of evidentiality 1 (E1) languages, which are mostly non-Indo-European languages; the overcoding of evidentiality is obligatory, and it is generally administered by a closed set of morpho-syntactic markers. The second group is evidentiality 2 (E2) languages which have the overcoding as optional; there is no close set of evidential markers but instead an open set of linguistic devices which may code evidentiality.

#### **b. Origin**

Evidentiality is a topic that has received the attention of several scholars throughout the years. Hugo Rojas (2011) says that since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Domingo Santo Thomas started studying this topic in his “*Gramática o arte de la lengua general de los indios de los reynos del Perú*,” wherein he studied evidential particles together with some other morphemes and describes them as “*de suyo nada significan: pero adornan, o ayudan a la significación de los nombres, o verbos que se añaden*” (they don’t have any meaning, but they decorate, or help in getting the meaning of nouns, or the verbs to which they are attached) (1951, p. 14), as cited



by Hugo Rojas (2011). Boas (1974) became the first person to mention the word evidentiality in a study about Kwakiutl. According to Boas, “while for us definiteness, number and time, are obligatory aspects, we find in another language location near the speaker or somewhere else, and source of information – whether seen, heard, or inferred – as obligatory aspects” (1938, p. 133). Jakobson is another of the pioneers on this topic, together with scholars such as Chafe & Nichols (1986) with their publication “Evidentiality: The linguistic coding of epistemology.”

Anderson (1982) decided to study the historical form of evidentials. For the author, these elements appear in different surface forms but show patterns of historical development and grammatical function which are similar in language after language. As a consequence, he constructed a map of evidential meanings that show which of those meanings are more closely related or more distant from each other in order to make an easier comparison of languages.

### **c. The Evidential Domain**

The evidential domain is the linguistic environment in which evidentiality takes place. In order to have a better understanding of this topic, it is necessary to divide it into two parts: source and epistemic modality and deixis.

1. Source and epistemic modality: Bermudez explains that evidentiality is the semantic domain related to the source of information expressed in an utterance. For Chafe, this is the narrow sense of evidentiality (1986, p. 262). In regards to the source of information and the way to divide it and classify it, different scholars have come out with different possibilities. For instance, Chafe in 1986 started by classifying the

concept of knowledge, due to the fact that knowledge is “the basic information whose status is qualified in one way or another by markers of evidentiality” (1986, p. 262). (See Figure 2.)

Willett (1988, p. 57) talked about direct and indirect types of evidential. The direct type has the sensorial and endophoric direct evidence while the indirect has the referred and inferred evidence. The sensorial type of evidentiality has the visual, auditive and ‘other senses’ subdivision, while on the indirect part, the referred part counts with the second hand, third hand and folklore types, while the inferred has the inference and the reasoning. (See Figure 3.)

<i>Source of Knowledge</i>		<i>Mode of Knowing</i>	<i>Knowledge Matched Against</i>	
			<i>Reliable</i>	
			k	
			n	
			o	
???	→	belief →	w →	verbal resources
Evidence	→	induction →	l →	Expectations
Language	→	hearsay →		
hypothesis	→	deduction →		
			e	
			d	
			g	
			e	
			<i>Unreliable</i>	

Figure 2. Chafe’s evidential encoding of knowledge (1986:263)

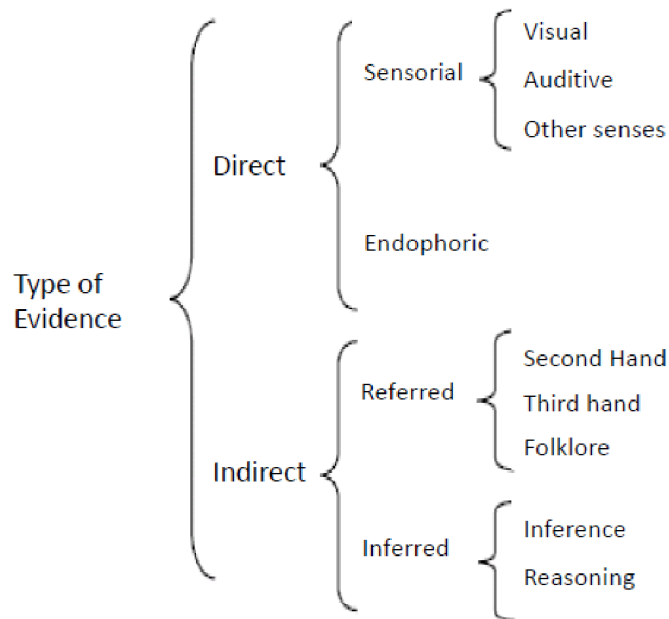


Figure 3. Classification of Willett's evidential domain (1988:57)

Moreover, Plungian (2001) proposes another type of typology, as he believes that both primary and indirect evidence can have the same source of information, even though the former can often be considered the main option. (See Figure 4.)

Direct Evidence	Indirect Evidence	
	Reasoned Evidence (inferential and presumptive markers)	Mediated Evidence (citation markers)
Personal Evidence		

Figure 4. Plungian's (2001) English version of types of evidential oppositions (based on Plungian 2001)

Aikhenvald (2003, 2004) classifies evidentiality in a different way. For her, there are two types of evidentiality: the ones that show the source of information and the ones that don't. This division generated several disagreements (for instance, Bermudez, 2005) due to the improper way that languages have to be grouped. (See Table V.)

Bermudez in 2005 talked about a new way to divide and group the source of information where all the aspects mentioned before can be included without arguments. He proposes a mode of access to information, a source of information and an access to the information. "The first one including the cognitive and sensorial sources, the second including personal and external sources and the third one including universal or privative sources" (2005, p. 17). (See Figure 5.)

	Tipo	Visual	Sensorial	Inferencia	Supuesta	Transmitida	Cita
2 valores	A1	primera mano		no primera mano			
	A1	primera mano	no primera mano				
	A1	primera mano		no primera mano		<sin marca>	
	A4	<sin marca>	no visual	<sin marca>		transmitida	
3 valores	B1	directa		inferida		transmitida	
	B2	visual	no visual	inferida		<sin marca>	
	B2	visual	no visual	inferida			
	B3	visual	no visual	<sin marca>		transmitida	
	B4		no visual	inferida		transmitida	
4 valores	C1	visual	no visual	inferida		transmitida	
	C2			inferida	supuesta	transmitida	
	C3			inferida		transmitida	cita
5 valores	D1	visual	no visual	inferida	supuesta	transmitida	

TABLE V. AIKHENVALD'S (2004) CLASSIFICATION SYSTEM (BASED ON AIKHENVALD 2004)

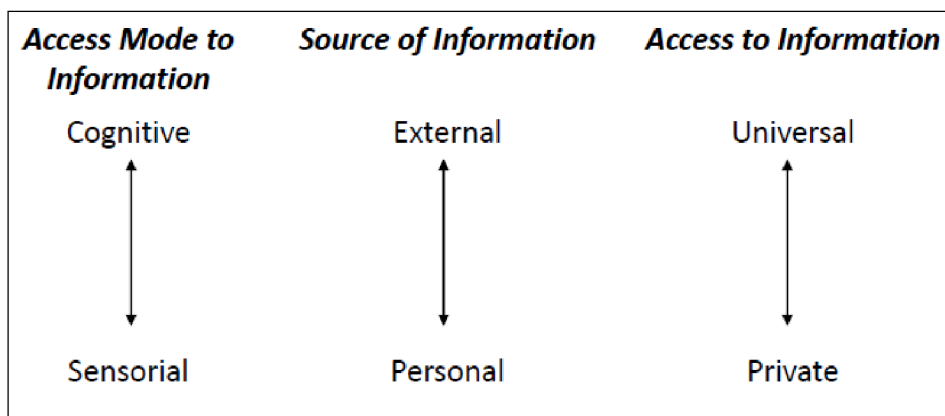


Figure 5. Bermudez (2005) domain of evidentiality (based on Bermudez 2005)

Finally, Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2014) take Chafe's 1986 evidential encoding of knowledge chart and adapt it by organizing a table of lexical indices of evidential markers in English for their study about evidentiality and political campaigns. (See Table VI.)

<b>Reliability</b>	<i>evidentemente, al parecer</i>
Modes of Knowing:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Markers of Belief</li> <li>• Markers of Induction</li> <li>• Markers of Hearsay</li> <li>• Markers of Deduction</li> </ul>	<i>creer, imaginar, suponer</i> (semi-auxiliaries) <i>parecer, resultar</i> , [present perfect] <i>Dizque, dicen que, de que</i> , (reportative) <i>que</i> (modal auxiliaries) <i>deber, poder, tener que</i> , [conditional], [future indicative], [imperfect]
Source of Knowledge:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Markers of Sensory Evidence</li> <li>• Matching against Verbal Resources</li> <li>• Matching against Expectations</li> </ul>	<i>se ve (que), sentir, ver</i> <i>oir</i>  [cognitive and perceptual verbs] <i>concebir, concluir,</i> <i>confirmar, conocer, considerar, demostrar, saber,</i> <i>sugerir</i>

TABLE VI. BERLIN AND PRIETO-MENDOZA (2014) LEXICAL INDICES OF EVIDENTIAL MARKERS IN ENGLISH (BASED ON CHAFE’S 1986)

#### **d. Evidentiality and Deixis**

In 1992, Frawley proposed a classification for evidentiality deictic terms with four subcategories, where directionality becomes an extra factor. This addition gave motivation to the author to create a table where source of information and directionality were taken into consideration (see Table VII).

Later on, Bermudez (2005) talked about evidentiality as a deictic phenomenon, considering that: “the evidential markers are indexes that point to elements from an extralinguistic context, which are the source of information and the participant or person who has access to that source of information” (205, p. 25).

Source of Knowledge		Force of Knowledge
I	From	<i>Scalar Categories of Inference</i> Necessary > Possible
	To	<i>Scalar Categories of Sensation</i> Visual > Auditive > other senses > feelings
Other		
	From	<i>Scalar Categories of External Information</i> Cite > Report > Rumor > Other
	To	<i>Scalar Categories of Participants</i> Other > Others

TABLE VII. FRAWLEY'S (1992) DEICTIC CATEGORIZATION (BASED ON FRAWLEY 1992)

To conclude, when talking about the evidential domain it can be said that evidentiality is not only a reference to the source of information an utterance has, but as Bermudez states, it is a deictic phenomenon that refers to the speaker and its complex relation with information and its sources. In other words, the essence of evidentiality is the “link” between what is said and the “source” from whence one can make such a claim.

#### e. Evidentials or Evidential Markers

An evidential or evidential marker is a linguistic form which refers to the source of information of a proposition (Bybee 1985, p.184). Bermudez (2002) defines it as the linguistic element that marks or refers to the source of information (2002, p. 4). Anderson (1982), concerned with the properties of evidentials, decided to create mental maps and started considering evidentials a “special grammatical phenomenon” (1982, p. 274). Chafe (1986)

talks about the several elements used in English as evidential markers (modal auxiliaries, adverbs and miscellaneous idiomatic phrases). Moreover, he explains that the difference among evidentials between different languages entails the way evidentiality is expressed.

The dilemma starts with Aikhenvald and some other scholars (Barnes, 1984; Hopper & Traugott, 1993; Lazard, 2001) and their vision about evidentials. Aikhenvald and some other traditional studies focused on the analysis of “reflexive paradigms with evidential meaning” as in the case Tuyuca, which made the evidential domain become a grammatical category only for a small group of languages, the majority of which were Indo-European (Bermudez, 2004 p. 3). Moreover, according to Aikhenvald & Dixon (2003), languages that lack evidentiality only have ‘evidential strategies’ or ‘grammatical categories able to acquire an evidential meaning as a collateral effect, without having source of information as its primary meaning (2003, p. 19).

This ‘grammatical evidentiality’ dilemma becomes the concern of several scholars. Consequently, Bermudez and some other scholars decided to study the ways that different languages, Spanish included, were used in order to show evidentiality.

For instance, Bermudez (2002) studied subject raising and gramaticalization in Spanish and claims that Spanish can mark evidentiality with grammatical strategies as other languages do. Additionally, this author in 2003 focuses his study not only on raising but also on metonymy. For this issue he talks about preterit, imperfect, future and conditional and explains how these three verbal morphemes have special evidential characteristics. Up to this point,



Bermudez considers Spanish a language that has (partially) grammaticalized the evidential domain.

Moving on, Bermudez (2005) studies the meaning of verbal tenses as evidential and modal markers in the Spanish from Rio del Plata (Argentina). Bermudez takes the present perfect, for instance, and explains that, “even though it normally denotes an event that has not occurred yet or that is going to occur in the moment of the utterance, this tense will no longer be problematic because it has been shown that in the cases the speaker is presenting the event from an external structure, he presents it as closed to the exterior influence” (2005, p. 320).

Also in 2005, there are three studies interested in evidential markers in Spanish: Gonzalez Ramos with her study of “*por lo visto*” (because of...) and “*al parecer*” (it seems); Olbertz and her study of “*dizque*” (someone says that) in the Ecuadorian Andean Spanish; and Demonte and Fernandez Soriano with their study on the ‘(de) *queísmo*’ (someone says that).

For starters, Gonzalez Ramos (2005) studied ‘*por lo visto*’ and ‘*al parecer*,’ which are two adverbial phrases that, according to the author, belong to the group of the modal disjunct (entities that don’t integrate into the structure of the sentence). According to the author both of these expressions share similar behavior but both have their own particular meaning, which makes every speech understood in a particular way. For the author, ‘*por lo visto*’ and ‘*al parecer*’ can be considered synonyms semantically but not pragmatically. The former is used as a caution mechanism in case of erroneous, excessively pretentious and highly offensive formulations. It is frequently combined with the above type of content in order to question that content’s truth when used by the speaker in oral and written statements. It is used to

problematize and make fun of the interlocutor, and it's even used as a censure for an illocutionary act; it even co-appears with irony.

On the other hand, Gonzalez Ramos explains that “*al parecer*” is used as a resource to avoid responsibilities towards something that has been said, which means that it has a weaker expressive force. In addition, this adverbial phrase modifies narrative statements, and it is used more frequently in written communication media because it is more appropriate and neutral in meaning. The author finally showed that “*al parecer*” is more used in presenting news than opinion articles, which totally differs from “*por lo visto*” which is mostly used when presenting the speaker's opinion in an article.

Around the same time, Olbertz (2005) studied the use of ‘*dizque*’ around the rural areas of Ecuador. She defines this expression as inherited from old Spanish but that characterizes low class Spanish of bilingual Quichua/Spanish speakers. Olbertz describes it as semantic innovative when it precedes a verb in third person because it expresses reportative evidence. On the other hand, it has an innovative semantical character as well as a quotations' marker when it precedes the verb ‘*decir*’ (to say) or another verb of communication in third person. The author explains how ‘*dizque*’ is more frequently used in narrative texts because of its secondhand information characteristic, which prompts the use of quoting information. The author concludes her study by pointing the way ‘*dizque*’ has been grammaticalized through time, starting in the 16th century.

Thirdly, Demonte and Fernandez Soriano (2005) investigated features in the complementizer and syntactic variation of ‘(de) *queísmo*.’ They analyze the alternation, which

holds between '*que*' (that) and '*de que*' (of that) in the head position of embedded tensed clauses in Spanish. These authors claimed that this variation leads to a new and alternative analysis of COMP in Spanish which can be seen as a split constituent made up of two successive heads. In addition, they explained that the articulation of the hypothesis of a split CP relies crucially on the theory of feature distribution and checking proposed by Chomsky (1999).

**f. Evidentiality and Discourse**

After looking into the different studies dedicated to the analyses of the different evidentials and evidential markers, let's move now into observing the effect these evidentials may have when appearing in discourse. For this purpose, we will observe the studies made by DuBois (1986); Berlin (2007); Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2014); Reber (2014); and Oishi (2014).

DuBois in 1986 decided to investigate how evidence and authority could be reflected in a religious utterance. According to the author, "evidential resources which draw on in the two spheres must be very different, in that special form of the language reserved for rituals and similar uses." In order to study this topic, DuBois talked about the nature of the rituals, how evidence and authority play a role in the general theory of speech event and finally the relation between ritual speech form and the social constitution of the speech event. As a result, the author found that: "the speaker's ethos is central to perceived utterance reliability and how paralinguistic indexing marking contributes crucially to the perception of speaker reliability, as well as of message source" (1986, p. 43).

In addition, DuBois stated beliefs that the need for marking of sensory evidence or quotation happens because of asserted knowledge from the speaker. He also says that, “in the utterance of the ritual practitioner, the prescribed form of speech tends to obliterate the indexing of individual personality, and the ethical voice of ritual is not that of a second mimicked individual, but of an idealized form, a form that has no personal origin.” (Du-Bois 1986). The author concludes by explaining that the basis of the authority of ritual speech is in the end quite simple. The manticist listener, through the structure of ritual speech and of the ritual event, is put directly in touch with a sourceless message whose authority he can observe in its very form: it is self-evident.

Berlin (2007) analyzed the type of commitment and evidentiality present on the discourse delivered by a high-level political official during testimony at the 9-11 Commission Hearings. Berlin found three types of commitment: to a course of action, to an assertion and to truth value. He observed how ‘I think’ varied its meaning depending on the type of commitment the expression is accompanying: “when used by opposing political party or non-allies, *I think* had a tendency to be used more as an evidential. On the other hand, when the same expression appeared on the side of the witness, this same *I think* signaled a change to the course of action and occasionally an attenuation to the commitment of an assertion” (2007, p. 238). This type of change, according to the author, allows the witness to appear more tentative, which makes it so the information and the level of commitment cannot be verifiable.

Similarly, Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2014) examined the strategic use of evidentiality by politicians in their verbal attacks when discrediting their counterparts during the US political midterm campaigns of 2010. The authors made use of Chafe’s 1986 work on

evidential analysis and used the Multilayered Model of Context (Berlin 2007, 2011) as a framework for the Critical Discourse Analysis. The authors found markers of deduction as the most present forms of evidential in debates, followed by evidentials matching knowledge against expectations second. Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza compare the results from the politicians' performance in the 2010 midterm debates and Chafe's spoken data (1986), and found that "politicos tend to indicate reliability about half as much as the average speaker...this reaction may have more to do with their awareness of presenting a public persona than anything else, not wanting to appear too sure or unsure in the event that their facts may later be found to be flawed" (2014, p. 120). The authors also state that, conversely, politicians use hearsay markers nearly 8½ times more on average than Chafe's average speaker. Another remark made by the authors is the candidates' ability to cite their sources (being familiar with facts) and how this skill can be particularly powerful when used in a verbal attack to launch an opponent's words back at him or her.

In the same way, Elizabeth Reber (2014) analyzed the use of the verb 'see' as an evidential marker used in constructive evidence and to establish the speaker's authority at the Prime Minister's Question Time (PMQT), which is a weekly half-hour session in the British House of Commons. Reber explains how, in those sessions, the verb 'see' is continuously used by both the questioning Leader of the Opposition (LO) and the Members of the Parliament (MP), as well as in the responses given by the Prime Minister (PM). In order to investigate this topic, Reber takes an integrated approach by combining analysis of the grammatical formatting, semantics and pragmatics of the verb *see* in the context of evidential moves at PMQT.

The author found that “*see* was used as a first-hand perceptual experience marker, which contrast with other sources of knowledge claimed (such as quotations), where the political opponent is also reconstructed in order to provide basis of an evidential move or a finding” (2014, p. 382). According to Reber, this result creates the question as to what kind of evidence is considered more reliable and gives more power to the speaker.

Reber finally states that the positioning of evidential moves was further tightly connected with their local functions; they generally use evidence claims or declarations of intent in responding turns, while justifying the relevance of a request in question turns.

Lastly, Etsuko Oishi (2014), in her study “Evidentials in Entextualization,” examines the discursive functions of evidentials present in a newspaper article within the framework of Austinian speech act theory. In her study, the author describes how evidentials and modals work on the discourse level and explains their functions in the discourse as contribution to illocutionary acts. For Oishi:

When using an evidential or modal, the speaker (or writer) indicates what illocutionary act she is performing such as asserting, reporting, and conjecturing about a situation, and postulating and deducting a thought. As the illocutionary and perlocutionary effects, the hearer (or reader) is invited to take the act as such, and adopt a particular epistemic attitude toward it, such as believing or doubting it (2014, p. 420).

As a consequence, Oishi explains that a successful act has the content of the utterance added to the discourse, becoming the content of the act and the basis of the shared cognitive configuration of actual or possible situations/events/things in the world.

In the analysis of the newspaper articles, Oishi found that various expositive acts import situations, events or things to the discourse in various ways. The author says, for instance, that when indicating the information source, the writers straightforwardly perform the act of reporting. At the same time, the original utterance becomes the report, and “they can also import the illocutionary act and assign the content of the original utterance the discursive status of being affirmed or credited; and finally, they import the perlocutionary act of the original utterance and assign a discursive status to it accordingly” (2014, p. 422). Oishi concludes by highlighting the writer’s audacity to control the situations, events or things, place them into a discourse, assign them a particular value or status and finally keep it or change it depending in the writer’s intentions.

By observing the way evidentiality is structured, the way it works and the information it can convey, the importance of studying the presence of evidentiality markers in the peace dialogue communiqués presented by both parts of the Colombian peace dialogue process can be understood. This study suggests that, by doing this type of analysis, it will be possible to understand the uncovered information offered to the Colombian population through a series of communiqués that at first may look only like simple reports about the status of a peace dialogue process.

#### **IV. METHODOLOGY**

In the previous sections, I have presented a review of the most relevant theoretical accounts of ideology, Critical Discourse Analysis, direct quotations, presuppositions and evidentiality. At the same time, I provided a brief description of the history of war and peace dialogues in Colombia. This investigation focuses on the analysis of the relations and dynamics of power present in the communiqués presented during the peace dialogue talks between the FARC and the Colombian government, and how this presence may collaborate in the reconstruction process involved in the audience's point of view during a political event. In other words, how the presence of presuppositions and direct quotations in a political communiqué such as a peace dialogue and the evidential markers present in these two linguistic elements may facilitate or hinder the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. As mentioned before, this type of study will contribute to filling a gap in the literature by presenting information that may help in the understanding of language manipulation and ideology dissemination in times of political conflict. I present the hypotheses for this study.

##### **4.1. Summary of the Hypotheses**

Taking into account the findings on ideology, critical discourse analysis, presuppositions, direct quotations and evidentiality when present in political and media statements, I hypothesize that:



**4.1.1.**

Each of the parts of the present peace dialogue process, the Colombian government and the militia group FARC, are transmitting their own ideological agenda, hidden inside the communiqués or media statements they have been presenting during this peace dialogue process. Their agenda is intended to be accepted by the Colombian population.

**4.1.2.**

Every communiqué presented has a number of presuppositions designed to persuade the Colombian population to agree and sympathize with their ideology.

**4.1.3**

Existential presuppositions will be the most common presupposition triggers found in the communiqués.

**4.1.4.**

Direct quotations are going to be present in order to build support, camaraderie and credibility for the political side providing the quotation.

**4.1.5.**

The evidential markers present in the presuppositions and direct quotations will indicate the way each part of the dialogue looks at the information present (firsthand, secondhand, etc) which in turn will indicate the vision they have towards this peace dialogue process.

**4.1.6.**

A CDA of the communiqués resulting from this peace dialogue process will show how each side of the '*mesa de dialogo*,' with their intention to win the agreement of their audience, are presenting communiqués that will continue reproducing in their minds ideas of inequality, power and dominance.

**4.1.5.1** Using the MMC framework will show that the communiqués presented at different times during this peace process are not only linguistically contextualized, but they have a social and historical contextualization that will consciously or unconsciously manipulate the vision of the transmitted communiqué.

## **4.2. Data and Stimuli**

The data for this study is the transcripts from the comunicués that both the Colombian government and the FARC presented during the peace process between 2012 and 2016. These

communiqués or media statements have been offered publicly and can be found on the internet, in text and video and on their private sites (<http://wp.presidencia.gov.co>; <http://farc-ep.co>) as well as on sites from public organizations (<http://colombiapeace.org>; <http://www.verdadabierta.com>). In total, this study analyzed 88 media statements, composed of communiqués presented by the Colombian government and by the FARC-ep. The first communiqué was delivered during the inaugural ceremony on November 18<sup>th</sup>, 2012, and the last one was the media statement delivered during the closing ceremony, on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

#### **4.3. Method of Analysis**

The research will be done by using the Naturalistic Inquiry and the Multilayered Model of Context as the framework for the analysis of the presuppositions and direct quotations, as well as for the evidentiality present in these two linguistic elements. The methodology and framework will allow this study to observe and analyze the transmitted messages after the information offered to the audience gets a social, historical and political context. As Lincoln and Guba state: “realities are wholes that cannot be understood in isolation from their contexts, nor can they be fragmented for separate study of the parts” (Lincoln & Guba 1985, p. 39). Nevertheless, it is necessary to keep in mind that this study does not have the intention to generalize and assume that all peace dialogue communiqués present the same qualities, considering that the “reality” found here is only true because of the particular characteristics that “construct” the situation (Lincoln and Guba Chapter 3).

Even though this study analyzes written communiqués, which may not be considered a “natural” element but more of a constructed one, which in consequence would invalidate the use

of the naturalistic approach for this study, I believe the naturalistic approach is an appropriate methodology to use, as I want to let every communiqué ‘talk by itself’ and in that way explore any elements that contribute to making sure each part achieved their intended communicative goal: to convince the listener about their statement. As Van Dijk states: “when in a communicative situation, every person strategically produces and understand talk and text, on line, word by word, sentence by sentence, and turn by turn” (Van Dijk 2006, p. 123). For this reason, it is the position of this study to believe that, in writing the media statements offered by each part of the dialogue, they are fulfilling the natural process of thought and organization in order to transmit their ideas in such a way that allows the speakers to convey and convince their audience with their words. As a consequence, these communiqués can be treated as material created following a natural human process and therefore can be analyzed by making use of the naturalistic approach.

#### **4.4. Procedure**

##### **a. Creation of the Tables**

The first step in this study is the selection and determination of the communiqués to analyze. The communiqués were divided chronologically and by cycles, in the order they were presented, and it was made certain that each communiqué from each political side was presented at the same time during the cycle (either both at the beginning or both at the end). Then I looked for an equal number of communiqués from the parties involved because, although most communiqués were accessible to the public, there were a few cycles that couldn’t be found (e.g. Cycle 23) or had different nomenclature depending on the site that they were found on (Cycles 45 & up). At the end, I had a pool of 88 communiqués that became the

basis for this investigation. After having targeted the communiqués to be analyzed, I proceeded to transcribe the communiqués that needed to be recorded and subsequently placed them in tables for analysis.

In order to select the amount of communiqués that would go on each line of the table, this study used the speaker’s acoustic pause as a segmentation tool. This decision was made based on the fact that “pauses often indicate prosodic phrase boundaries which highlight the organization of a message” (Gustafson & Beáta, 2002) and after observing that pauses as discourse boundaries is a topic that has received significant scholarly attention. Table VIII presents an example of the communiqué table division.

Table VIII shows how each table presents the cycle number, political side that presented the communiqué, date of the communiqué, number of words and time of the communiqué. Moreover, this study counted the number of prosodic segments (acoustic pauses that made the line called “segment” on the table), and added columns for the presupposition analysis, called “presupposition,” for the tokens or amount of presuppositions found, called “T.”



- ii. It was structured according to the characteristics stated by Khaleel (2010).
- iii. It was an inference or proposition whose truth is taken for granted in the utterance of a sentence (Huang 2009).
- iv. It was able to remain in force when the sentence was negated (Huang 2009, Cummins et al. 2008).
- v. It was able to be cancelled if any inconsistencies were found in the utterance (defeasibility) (Huang 2011).
- vi. It was analyzing the logic, semantics and/or truth-relation in the sentence (Simmons 2006).
- vii. It was a pragmatic phenomenon where part of the set of assumptions are made by participants in a conversation (Stalnaker, 1974; Sperber and Wilson, 1995; Levinson, 1983).

Once the entire selection criteria were in place for the search of presuppositions in the communiqués presented by both the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC, this study proceeded to look at every table's segments. Every time an utterance that contained the characteristics of a presupposition was found, that sentence would go through the constant under negation and/or defeasibility tests. If it passed the tests, I proceeded to write in front of it a sentence that would describe the truth that was intended to be taken for granted, as shown on Table IX.

Table IX shows, for instance, segment number 2, which says: “we receive with pleasure the wish of raising the voice of the Colombian people all the way to the Havana stage.” In the column called “presupposition,” I wrote two sentences describing the truth that was intended

to be taken for granted there: 1) “someone is asking us (FARC) to raise their voices and that’s why we do it” and 2) “there is a desire to raise his voice/someone has the desire to raise his voice.” The same process was done for all of the 88 communiqués studied, getting a total of 1,889 presuppositions in the government communiqués and 2,530 presuppositions in the FARC communiqués.

Ciclo 1			
FARC			
Fecha 28 de Noviembre 2012			
309 words			
Speech duration 1.43 min			
#	Segment	Presupposition	T
1	"La soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones"	El pueblo es soberano	1
2	Recibimos con beneplácito el deseo de levantar las voces del pueblo colombiano hasta el escenario de La Habana,	Alguien les encomendo levantar las voces y por eso ellos lo hacen	2
		hay un deseo de levantar las voces	3
3	donde se desenvuelven las conversaciones por la paz de Colombia, que sin las bases que ustedes cimientan, no tendrían la trascendencia que merece.	Hay unas conversaciones para la paz	4
		ustedes (los compatriotas) son los que han puesto las bases para este dialogo	5
		sin los compatriotas (el pueblo) los dialogos no tendrían trascendencia.	6
4	La participación popular, hemos insistido con vehemencia, es la protagonista principal de un proceso como el que decidimos emprender.	el pueblo es el que debe actuar el proceso	7
5	Por ello nuestra valoración de las Mesas Regionales de Paz		8
6	-como una de las tantas iniciativas del pueblo de Colombia para participar y decidir sobre la paz con justicia social para la nación comunera-,	el pueblo colombiano ha intentado varias veces hacer una paz justa para todos	9
		la paz justa sera para las personas que apoyan el comunismo, la revolucion	10
7	no puede tener sino las puertas abiertas del corazón de quienes verdaderamente anhelan la reconciliación y la culminación de la guerra.	solo el corazon de las personas que quieren que haya reconciliacion y se acabe la guerra esta abierto	11
		hay corazones cerrados, que no quieren que la guerra acabe.	12
6	Independientemente de cualquier restricción,	Alguien tiene restricciones sobre las FARC	13
8	las FARC, Ejército del pueblo, ponderan el trabajo que ustedes han desarrollado para hacer llegar las voces del común a nuestras manos	El pueblo ha implementado estrategias para decirle a las FARC como se sienten (con las deciciones del gobierno)	14
		Es el pueblo quien los ha buscado, ellos no han buscado al pueblo	15
7	Con seguridad la construcción de ustedes será insumo fundamental para elaborar las conclusiones que traen el camino hacia la reconciliación que anhela el pueblo colombiano.	la voz del pueblo es construida por su gente y lo que ellos digan es lo que se hara para lograr la paz.	16
8	De nuestra parte queda abierta la invitación para que presencialmente expongan ante nosotros el universo de aspiraciones que con tanta dedicación han recogido con propósitos altruistas	Nosotros estamos dispuestos a escucharlos	17
		ustedees tienen muchas ideas para hacer el bien sin interes particular. Hay otras ideas que si tienen intereses particulares	18

TABLE IX. SAMPLE TABLE WITH PRESUPPOSITION'S COLLECTION 10

### c. Collection of Quotations

After finding the presuppositions existent on the communiqués delivered by the Colombian government and the guerilla group FARC, I moved on to look for the presence of direct quotations. This study took each one of the tables and looked for the presence of direct quotations. Sentences qualified as direct quotation based on Clark and Gerrig (1990), Wade



and Clark (1993), Holt (1996), Cameron (1998, 2000), Berlin (2011) and Darcy (2015). In other words, each sentence that qualified as a direct quotation was:

- demonstrating what a person did in saying something;
- demonstrating the question, assertion, request, performance, way of talking or any other aspect made by an individual;
- providing evidence in conversation;
- reporting speech, gestures, or sound effects of real or imaginary elements, faithfully or not (presented in either a VDR, Y NP or freestanding strategy);
- using recontextualized direct quotations said by famous political or historic people with the intent to twist the way the audience gives meaning to the selected texts and contexts in order to create an ideological reconditioning; or
- being an interactive discursive strategy.

In order to find this first linguistic element, this study read all the segments on each one of the tables from both parties. Once a direct quotation was found, it was moved to a separate table. I created one for each political side. Figure 2 shows that every table was organized in a way that shows the cycle number in which the quotation was found, the segment and the number of quotations found in that segment. In the column called “quote,” the quotation can be seen in red, highlighted from the segment. As a result, this study found a total of 1,889 presuppositions in the government communiqués and 2,530 presuppositions in the FARC communiqués.

Government			FARC		
Cycle	Quote	#	Cycle	Quote	#
	y quiero <b>recalcar</b> esta última idea que lejos de ser una frase de cajón se refiere algo fundamental, <b>la construcción de una paz estable y duradera</b> toca a cada colombiano, a cada sector social, a cada organización empresarial o popular, se refiere a un anhelo nacional que trasciende los intereses particulares aún legítimos intereses particulares	1	1	<b>"La soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones"</b> Simon Bolivar	1
3	<b>como lo ha dicho el presidente santos esta no será una paz a cualquier precio será una paz dentro de la constitución,</b>	1	2	el esfuerzo consiste en <b>poner a prueba el arte de ensartar perlas, como definía Jhonathan de los ríos</b> , al oficio de acercar posiciones flexibilizar y construir salidas satisfactorias para las 2 partes	1
3	el camino que tenemos adelante es largo y ciertamente <b>como lo ha dicho el presidente Juan Manuel Santos hay una oportunidad para que esa esperanza de paz se concrete en acuerdos que permitan ponerle fin al conflicto y avanzar hacia una paz estable</b>	1	4	Entonces nos preguntamos, <b>con quien dialoga, porque y para que dialoga su gobierno en la Habana, Es este un gobierno que realmente está buscando la paz? O es un gobierno que tomó el camino de profundizar la guerra?</b>	1
4	<b>como el presidente lo dijo desde el comienzo, aquí sólo habrá cese al fuego cuando lleguemos a un acuerdo para terminar el conflicto</b>	1	9	tenemos que volver la mirada hacia nuestros orígenes para encontrarnos <b>con la enseñanza del libertador que nos dice "la soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones"</b> .	1
5	<b>pero quiero decir desde ya lo siguiente si las FARC no le ponen la cara a sus víctimas este proceso no tiene ninguna posibilidad</b>	1	10	lo cierto es que hoy <b>como lo hemos manifestado reiteradamente</b> sin olvidar el contexto histórico <b>nuestra meta es la paz con justicia social</b>	1
6	<b>como lo han dicho el presidente Juan Manuel Santos y el ministro de agricultura Juan Camilo Restrepo la construcción de una paz estable y duradera pasa necesariamente por la transformación del campo</b>	1	12	La inaplazable reforma agraria ligada al anhelo de paz no puede quedar reducida a una burla de poderosos grupos económicos, banqueros y propietarios de emporios azucareros que gozan de <b>"nuevos llaneros" entre comillas con "repentinidad" entre comillas, con repentinidad ansias de tierra</b> que avanzan poniendo por delante abogados tramposos y mafiosos, que operan bajo el manto de la mas descarada impunidad y protección gubernamental	2
6	<b>lo dije al salir la vez pasada a la Habana y lo repito hoy, el gobierno no contempla la posibilidad de ampliar los temas de discusión con la guerrilla y las propuestas que las FARC tengan sobre los distintos aspectos del acontecer nacional, podrán tramitar las en democracia una vez se hayan desmovilizado y con vertido en organización legal</b>	1		Vamos a permitir que por atajos y con triquiñuelas, empresarios apátridas y transnacionales representados ante el peligro, cementos Argos, mónica semillas e inversiones manuelita, <b>montados en la llamada comillas, "locomotora de la prosperidad"</b> violen todas las prohibiciones que existen para acumular baldíos, y atropieen impunemente las pocas normas decentes de la legislación colombiana, haciéndose a propiedades situadas en zonas donde se produjeron masacres y desplazamientos forzados, como si no pasara nada?	1
6	<b>como lo ha dicho el presidente de la república este es un diálogo serio digno, realista y eficaz, qué además tiene plazos y fases que hoy quiero recordar</b>	1	12	El país necesita saber quienes son esos <b>"campesinos" entre comillas</b> , sospechosos que vendieron su (wak) de mil cien hectáreas a las transnacionales a mil millones de pesos cada una	1
8	<b>como ya varias veces lo ha dicho el presidente esta no será una paz a cualquier costo</b>	1	12	El gobierno, en vez de inventarse trucos para pelear la altiplanura y legalizar los acaparamientos producidos antes de 1994 a los posteriores o los posteriores, en vez de reeditar su intento de tomar las (swab) <b>con el cuento de la "flexibilización necesaria" entre comillas, y el argumento de que requieren los "favores" entre comillas, de la inversión extranjera o del músculo financiero de "inocentes empresarios" comillas que no sabían que violaban la ley</b> , debiera quitar el antifaz a estos negociantes, a sus testaferros, y a sus notarios y jueces de bolsillo, para demostrar con hechos que no está dispuesto a permitir que	3
8	<b>estas conversaciones requieren como lo ha dicho el presidente santos determinación celeridad seriedad claridad de propósito</b>	1			
9	el comunicado conjunto <b> Menciona</b> que un principio que orienta estas conversaciones, <b>nada está acordado hasta que todo este acordado</b> , qué significa esto que los acuerdos que hemos construido hasta ahora y a los que lleguemos alrededor de los siguientes puntos de la agenda de discusión solamente se aplicarán, solamente cristalizarán una vez tengamos el acuerdo completo para el fin del conflicto, osea, <b>como lo dijimos en el comunicado nada está acordado mientras lo esté todo acordado</b>	2			
9	ésta es la mas democrática garantía de que <b>como lo ha dicho el presidente santos este es un proceso de cara al país transparente ordenado y serio</b>	1			

TABLE X. QUOTATIONS' DATA TABLES FOR BOTH POLITICAL PARTIES

#### d. Collection of Evidential Markers

After having accounted for direct quotations and presuppositions, this study moved onto the collection of evidential markers. In order to find this pragmatic element, I looked for sentences that:

- were “epistemological considerations, linguistically coded and that involve attitudes toward knowledge” (Chafe, 1986);
- presented “a certain form of knowledge” (Aikhenvald, 2004);
- were “the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition” (DeLancey, 2001);

- contained one of the markers presented in the table created by Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2015), adapted from Chafe's 1986 work (See Figure 4).

• Reliability	<i>evidentemente, al parecer</i>
Modes of Knowing:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Markers of Belief</li> <li>• Markers of Induction</li> <li>• Markers of Hearsay</li> <li>• Markers of Deduction</li> </ul>	<i>creer, imaginar, suponer</i> (semi-auxiliaries) <i>parecer, resultar, [present perfect]</i> <i>dizque, dicen que, de que, (reportative) que</i> (modal auxiliaries) <i>deber, poder, tener que,</i> <i>[conditional], [future indicative], [imperfect]</i>
Source of Knowledge:	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Markers of Sensory Evidence</li> <li>• Matching against Verbal Resources</li> <li>• Matching against Expectations</li> </ul>	<i>se ve (que), sentir, ver</i> <i>oir</i>  <i>[cognitive &amp; perceptual verbs] concebir, concluir, confirmar, conocer, considerar, demostrar, saber, sugerir</i>

TABLE XI. BERLIN AND PRIETO-MENDOZA (2015) TABLE OF LEXICAL INDICES OF EVIDENTIAL MARKERS IN ENGLISH (BASED ON CHAFE'S 1986)

This evidential marker collection process was done by looking at the segments in which presuppositions have been found. For example, Figure 5 shows the evidential markers found in the communiqués presented by both parties during Cycle 1. In this table, the number at the left of each table represents the segment number in the entire communiqué. Then, the presupposition is underlined red, and the evidential markers are the elements bolded and in a different color. Each color represents a different type of marker. (See Figure 4 for color coding interpretation.)

Figure 5: Evidential Markers found in the Communiqués presented by the Colombian Government and the FARC during Cycle 1

	FARC.e.p.		Colombian Government
8	<p>De nuestra parte queda abierta la invitación para <u>que</u> presencialmente expongan ante nosotros <u>el universo de aspiraciones que con tanta dedicación han recogido</u> con propósitos altruistas</p> <p>'On our part it remains open the invitation for you to present in person in front of us the universe of aspirations that you have collected with so much dedication and with altruist purposes'</p>	14	<p>sobre estos temas de participación quiero resaltar lo siguiente, se trata de buscar que ciudadanos y organizaciones de todos los sectores puedan hacer <u>propuestas relevantes y útiles para la discusión de la agenda pactada en el acuerdo general.</u></p> <p>'about these participation topics I want to highlight the following, this is so that every citizens and organizations from every sector can be able to present relevant and useful proposals in order to discuss the agreed agenda in this general agreement.'</p>
9	<p>Este no es un foro concluyente, sino <u>un catalizador de nuevas iniciativas, de nuevos emprendimientos, que deben aportar a la configuración de insumos para la edificación de la paz.</u></p> <p>'This is not a conclusive forum, but a catalytic of new initiatives, of new endeavors, that should provide the configuration of supplies for the construction of peace.'</p>	15	<p>con estos insumos y las conversaciones directas <u>que estamos teniendo, esperamos alcanzar acuerdos que lleven al fin del conflicto.</u></p> <p>'With this supplies and the direct conversations that we are having, we hope to reach agreements that will bring us to the end of the conflict.'</p>

Each evidential marker was accounted for on the table presented in Figure 6. As can be seen, this table presented the cycle number and total markers found in each one of the parties' communiqués (FARC and government). The data that gave the final numbers found in those columns came from a group of subsequent columns, each one representing one of the lexical indices of evidential markers studied by Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2015). In this way, this table presents a set of columns that collected: 1) Reliability, 2) Modes of Knowing (Markers of Belief, Induction, Hearsay and Deduction), 3) Sources of Knowledge (Markers of Sensory Evidence), 4) Matching Knowledge against Verbal Resources and 5) Matching Knowledge against Expectations. As observed in Figure 6, this evidentiality table collected a total amount of 4,149 evidential markers.

Figure 6: Sample version evidentiality table

Cycle	Totals		Reliability				Markers of Belief		Markers of Induction		Markers of Hearsay		Markers of Deduction (modal Auxiliaries) d eber, poder,		Markers of Sensory		Matching against verbal resources				Matching against expectation	
	TOTAL Gov	TOTAL FARC	Total Gov	%	Total FARC	%	Total Gov	Total FARC	Total Gov	Total FARC	Total Gov	Total FARC	Total Gov	Total FARC	Total Gov	Total FARC	Oir				Total Gov	Total FARC
				%		%											Gov	%	Farc	%		
1	4	0	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	4	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
2	10	17	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	6	14	4	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1
3	8	18	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	4	18	3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
4	4	34	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	4	34	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
5	9	12	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	8	12	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6	5	12	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	5	11	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1
7	1	30	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	1	30	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
8	14	25	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	14	24	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
9	8	41	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	8	38	0	1	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0
10	5	50	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	5	50	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
11	9	9	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	9	7	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0
12	22	27	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	1	0	21	24	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3
13	11	33	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	1	0	10	33	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	4	15	0	0%	0	0%	0	0	0	0	4	14	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1

Having collected all the necessary data, this study proceeded to analyze it in order to see if and how the studied linguistic and pragmatic elements can be considered to collaborate in the reconstruction of ideology and point of view in the Colombians. Considering that, in the end, they are the audience of the media statements and the ones that will be more directly affected by any decision taken in this time of political conflict.

## **V. FINDINGS**

After having completed the data collection, this study continued in the exploration of such data to create an analysis that, in the words of Van Dijk:

- presents the way language (written or oral) is used to exercise or modify or address social practices and issues such as power abuse, dominance, and inequality in a community;
- presents the required functional approximation able to go beyond the general action and interaction, as well as the sentence level, trying in this way to explain the use of language and communiqués;
- has as its main purpose the creation of an analysis that evaluates the structure, process and limitations present at a social, political, cultural and historic level;
- and finally intends to contribute to people's understanding of the communiqués, society's relation in general and social power reproduction and inequality at a particular level.

The first step taken was the framework analysis (Berlin's 2011 Multilayered Model of Context), starting with the Analysis of the Conjuncture, followed by the Analysis of the Practice and ending on the Analysis of the Discourse. It is in this last one where this investigation's linguistic context will be studied in detail.

### 5.1. **The Conjuncture: Historical and Political Background**

October 18th, 2012, marks the beginning of a new era in Colombia, when the Colombian government was under the Presidency of Juan Manuel Santos and, after several attempts to talk about peace, was able to begin the last steps of a conflict that had taken too long to be resolved. The conflict between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC was able to see its end thanks to a group effort, where both parties together with the collaboration of civilians that had volunteered as intermediaries, established a '*mesa de diálogo*' (dialogue table). It was only then, in October 2012, when the president released to the public the notice that this dialogue had started and will be divided into four phases.

- i. ***The Acercamientos Secretos*** (“**Secret Approaches**”) were the conversations originated before the official process started. At this point the intermediaries played a crucial role in the organization of every private meeting (timing, neutral location, etc.). This was a crucial collaboration that helped give shape to this process moving forward.
- ii. ***The Concreción de los Acuerdos*** (“**Formalization of the Agreements**”) was the part where all the official conversations occurred. This was a phase divided into cycles by the periods of talk that revolve around a particular topic, previously established by both parts. In order to inform the Colombian population of the development of this peace process, both political parties, the FARC and the Colombian government, began to offer a series of public statements.

- iii. **The Refrendación (“Countersignature”)** was the phase when, having agreed on every discussed aspect, both parties signed the peace agreement. This countersignature happened on August 25<sup>th</sup>, 2016.
- iv. **The Implementación de Acuerdos (“Implementation of the Agreements”)** is the moment Colombia is living in right now—where all the agreed aspects have started take effect—hoping to move towards peace.

During this period of time, there have been multiple websites and entities that documented every step of this process from many different angles. The site this study is using is *Humanas Colombia* (<http://www.humanas.org.co>), which created an interactive chronology of the peace dialogues (See Figure 1) where people can go and look at all the different events that were happening in Colombia while the peace dialogues were taking place. This organization documented and continues to document every event related to the peace dialogues by dividing the information on the following topics:

- i. *Tema Agrario* (topic related to Agriculture development);
- ii. *Dialogos* (everytime the parties were together to talk about the peace process);
- iii. *Sociedad Civil* (different activities that civilians organized or were participants);
- iv. *Hechos* (any sociopolitical event that was happening in Colombia while the peace process has been taken place);
- v. *Implementación* (different laws, activities and events that are being implemented regarding the six main agenda topics)<sup>3</sup>.

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<sup>3</sup> The peace agenda topics were: *política de desarrollo agrario integral, participación política, fin del conflicto, solución al problema de las drogas, víctimas and implementación, verificación y refrendación*.



Figure 1: Humanas Colombia Chronology of the peace dialogues (<http://www.humanas.org.co>)



## 5.2. The Practice: Individual's Performance

When talking about individuals' performance, there are two aspects of discussion. On one side we have the Colombian government and the guerrillas FARC and on the other side we have the Colombian population.

- The Colombian government and the FARC: in terms of practice, it is possible to see these two political parties involved in a dialogue process and performing a unidirectional way to transmit a report of events to the Colombian population. These two parties seemed to have shared an equal amount of power at the moment they presented their communiqués to the Colombian population. This means that both parties seemed to have shared the same conditions for communiqué creation and delivery: same time to prepare and same time to deliver in a televised way and in a close conference, having to sporadically answer to a few questions, only presented by reporters, no civilians present.

- **The Colombian Population:** This second perspective shows how the Colombian population have been given the opportunity to attempt to give closure to their wounds during each phase of the talks and later during every event that has followed, in a process called memory, forgiveness and reconciliation. It can be said that every time there was a manifestation, a walk or workshop, it allowed people to talk about the experiences they had gone through, and at the same time, it offered them the opportunity to honor the loved ones they lost. This has been a very important and necessary step because it has given the victims real time and space to mourn their loved ones and hopefully find a way to heal their wounds and finally see the war and its struggles as an event of the past.

### 5.3. **The Discourse: Analysis of the Linguistic Context—The Dialogues**

The following is the analysis of presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers, the elements that serve as the focus of this research.

In general terms, the analyzed dialogues presented the following characteristics (Table XII presents a detailed table of characteristics):

Characteristics	Government	FARC
Number of Communiqués	44	44
Average number of words	1005	939
Average duration in minutes	7	9

TABLE XII. PEACE DIALOGUES' GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

In order to talk about the analysis done to the speeches presented by the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC during Colombia's peace process, it is necessary to divide it according to each one of the topics that were studied:

1. Presuppositions
2. Direct Quotations
3. Evidential Markers

### **5.3.1. Presuppositions**

#### **a. Theory**

The following is the presentation of the data and data analysis of the presuppositions found in the communiqués presented by the Colombian government and the FARC during the peace dialogue process. The analysis of such data will be analyzed having previously mentioned scholastic studies as a base: Bublitiz and Norrick, 2011, p.400; Kong, 1988; Heim, 1983; Simmons, 2006; Van Dijk, 1976; Cummins et al, 2012; Huang, 2007, p.65; Huang, 2009, p. 65; Van Dijk (1976, p. 75); Abbaspour et al (2012 p. 742).

#### **b. Predictions**

Based on the above-mentioned theory, this study predicts the following findings in the presuppositions found in the communiqués presented by the Colombian government and the guerilla group FARC during their peace agreement:

- Each of the parties of the present peace dialogue process, the Colombian government and the militia group FARC, will be transmitting their own ideological

agenda, hidden inside the communiqués or media statements they have been presenting during this peace dialogue process. Agenda intended to be accepted by the Colombian population.

- Every communiqué presented will have a number of presuppositions that intend the audience, the Colombian population, to agree and sympathize with their ideological view (the government's or the guerrilla's).

### **c. Data Analysis and Interpretation**

During the data collection and analysis, several themes emerged along with the cycles. These trends accounted for the creation of “groups” or “topics,” like a repetition strategy. Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2015) have also observed that both political parties’ communiqués shared some characteristics<sup>4</sup> as well.

Next, this study will present themes found within each political parties’ speeches, followed by similarities found between both groups’ set of communiqués. Finally, I will discuss the ways in which the use of presuppositions promoted or hindered language manipulation and the dissemination of elements of ideology.

### **d. Presuppositions on the Government’s Communiqués**

Eight categories emerged during the analysis of the communiqués from the Colombian government with a total of 1,889 tokens (see Table XIII).

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<sup>4</sup> 1) Inclusion of people’s voices; 2) defining the terms of peace and participation; 3) open vs. closed talks; 4) restrictions. While doing the final analysis of all the presuppositions, these categories were regrouped and adopted as the name for the second category.

	Trend of Talk	Code	Tokens	%
1	Qualities of the Government	CG	499	26.41%
2	Determining the Terms of Peace and Participation	DTP	449	23.76%
3	The president is the Boss	PRES	404	21.38%
4	Bad Things about the FARC	MF	323	17.09%
5	Power (who has it, who doesn't)	P	70	3.70%
6	Positive Results <sup>5</sup>	RES	69	3.65%
7	True Colombian	D	61	3.22%
8	Good things about the FARC <sup>6</sup>	BFARC	14	0.74%
	Total		1,889	

TABLE XIII. TRENDS OF TALK PRESENT ON THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT COMMUNIQUÉS

As Table XIII shows, the theme which demonstrated the highest number of tokens was “Qualities of the Government” (CG) = 499, which constituted 26.41% of the entire set of presuppositions found. This trend was followed by “Determining the Terms of Peace and Participation” (DTP) = 449, “The President is the Boss” (PRES) = 404 and the “Bad Things about the FARC” (MF) = 323. Taking into account that these were government communiqués, the number of tokens found in these three categories was expected. In other words, when the government spoke, it was not surprising when they praised themselves, the president, and how they managed the country’s affairs. Conversely, it is reasonable to expect some animosity towards the FARC guerillas. This is demonstrated by the number of tokens found for “Bad Things about the FARC” (MF).

Moreover, the themes that had the least number of tokens were “True Colombian” (D) = 61, which constituted 3.22% of the data accounted, followed by “Power” (P) = 70 with

<sup>5</sup> The trend or topic Positive Results (RES) started to appear on Cycle 25.

<sup>6</sup> The topic Good Things about the FARC (BFARC) also started to appear on Cycle 25.

3.70%. Even though the themes or topics “Positive Results” (RES) = 69 and “Good Things about the FARC” (BFARC) = 14 are similar to and less than the topic “The Colombian” (D) respectively, these two trends were not taken into consideration when accounting for the highest and lowest number of tokens, as they only began to appear during Cycle 25.

As previously mentioned, both parties made use of repetition of information through presuppositions as a way to disseminate their agenda. In the case of the government, for example, the category “Defining the Terms of Peace and Participation” (DTP) depicts all of the statements that presuppose the bases and terms that rule the peace process (e.g. the type of restrictions, the conditions for FARC to participate, who permits who to do something, how the dialogues need to be developed, etc). Excerpts (1), (2) and (3) demonstrate how the Colombian government made use of this category at the beginning, in the middle and virtually to the end of their communiqués to inform their audience about which ones are the bases and rules to arrive at a peace agreement. (Existential Triggers are shown in bold and >> show the presupposed statement):

(1) “*Se trata de buscar que todos los ciudadanos y organizaciones de todos **los sectores puedan hacer propuestas relevantes y útiles para la discusión de la agenda pactada en el acuerdo general***” (The point is to find the way for all the people and organizations from everywhere **to present ideas that are relevant and useful for the agenda that was agreed upon in the general agreement**) (Cycle 1).

>> we are going to value only the proposals that are relevant and useful, and only the ones that go with our planned agenda.

(2) “... *el Gobierno ha insistido en la importancia de preservar la **confidencialidad** tanto de las discusiones en la mesa como de los acuerdos*” (...the government has insisted on **the importance to keep confidential**, not only the discussions but also the agreements proposed at the table) (Cycle 29).

>> We (the government) tell you what is essential or not.

(3) “... *el Gobierno está comprometido a crear condiciones para que su participación (FARC) política esté rodeada de todas las garantías, **pero también con la voluntad de ingresar al ejercicio de la democracia (...)** con la plena conciencia de que no hay espacio ni aceptación para la combination de formas de lucha tal como lo han hecho en el pasado*” (...**the government is committed** to create the necessary conditions so your political participation [FARC’s] could be surrounded by warranties, **but also with the willingness to enter in to world of democracy (...)** being totally aware that there is neither room, nor acceptance for any combination of fighting strategies, like the ones you have used in the past) (Cycle 43).

>>There is a compromise on our (the government’s) part only if the FARC are willing to work under our rules (because we are the ones in charge).

As quote (1) above shows, the government is letting the Colombian people know what can be used for the dialogues: only the present ideas that are relevant and useful for their agenda will be considered. On the other hand, quote (2) above shows the government informing the people as to the importance of confidentiality. Finally, quote (3) above shows the way the

government tells the FARC guerillas the rules of the game: only if they are willing to enter the world of democracy is the government eager to provide them with guarantees.

When trying to explain why those themes emerged in the data, it was important to consider that all the communiqués were analyzed in hindsight, simultaneously, even though they had originally been presented about every month or month and a half. This consideration is important when attempting to understand the motives behind the use of presuppositions in these political communiqués. It became apparent that the themes which emerged during my analysis of the peace talks were used by the parties to remind their audience of their ideologies and their ongoing agendas. In other words, because the audience was only receiving this information orally and in a non-continuous way (not every day but with some time intervals), each political side needed to make use of repetition, like advertising, to make sure their audience would remember each group's main points.

Thus, I began looking for the main points that the Colombian government wanted to keep alive with their audience. Table XIV shows that the most important things for the Colombian government's audience to believe and remember was that the Colombian government is the good political side, that they are the ones who know and direct this process, that the president is the only person who makes decisions and finally that the FARC guerillas are the bad political side.



	Trend of Talk	Topic to Remember or Assumed True	%
1	CG	We are the good ones	26.41%
2	DTP	We tell you how this process works	23.76%
3	PRES	Only the president says what to do	21.38%
4	MF	They are the bad ones	17.09%
5	P	We have the power the FARC doesn't	3.70%
6	RES	Good things are raising	3.65%
7	D	Only a "true" Colombian...	3.22%
8	BFARC	The FARC has some good things	0.74%

TABLE XIV. GOVERNMENT'S MAIN TOPICS TO REMEMBER OR ASSUMED TRUE

Presented in Table XIV, the Colombian government's agenda and ideological points that they wanted to keep alive with the Colombian population were:

- We are the good ones;
- We know how to guide our people;
- Our president is the one with the maximum power;
- The FARC guerillas are the bad ones.

e. **Presuppositions on the FARC's Communiqués**

During the analysis of the presuppositions found in the communiqués presented by the FARC during the Colombian peace dialogues, eight themes emerged with a total of 2,530 tokens on the FARC Communiqués (see Table XV).

	Trend of Talk	Code	Tokens	%
1	Bad Things about the Government	MG	748	29.56%
2	Consequences of the War	CONS	581	22.96%
3	Determining the Terms of Peace and Participation	DTP	555	21.93%
4	The Colombian People ( <i>pueblo</i> )	PBLO	389	15.37%
5	Qualities of the FARC	CF	170	6.71%
6	The Army and their Bad Things	EJ	65	2.56%
7	“Against Us”	A	14	0.55%
8	True Colombian	D	8	0.31%
Total			2,530	

TABLE XV. TRENDS OF TALK PRESENT ON THE FARC COMMUNIQUÉS

As Table XV shows, the theme within the talks with the highest number of tokens was “Bad Things about the Government” (MG) = 748, which constituted 29.56% of the presuppositions found, followed by the “Consequences of the War” (CONS) = 581, with 22.96%, “Determining the Terms of Peace and Participation” (DTP) = 555 with 21.93% and finally “The Colombian *Pueblo*” (PBLO) = 389, with 15.37% of the tokens studied. A similar number of tokens were expected to be found in the communiqués presented by the FARC, as their goal was to appeal to the Colombian population. Thus, the FARC guerillas needed to portray the Colombian government as the bad ones and to show how the government’s bad choices had put Colombia at war. The FARC guerillas then ultimately attempted to portray themselves as the good ones, the ones who have always been on the side of the people and consequently the ones who can tell the people the proper way that the talks should proceed. The theme that had the least number of tokens was “True Colombian” (D) = 8 which made up for only 0.31% of the tokens, followed by “Against us” (A) = 14 which made 0.55%; “The Army and their Bad Things” (EJ) = 65 with 2.56% and finally the “Qualities of the FARC” (CF) = 170 which constituted 6.71%

of the entire FARC data. The fact that the FARC did not intend to show themselves as the good ones (CF) or as the victims (A) was also expected, as its primary goal was to portray the Colombian government in a bad light.

Like the government, the FARC also made use of repetition of information through presuppositions as a way to disseminate their agenda. Quotes (4), (5) and (6) show, for instance, the way the FARC made use of the presupposition category PBLO. This theme was used to remind the Colombian government that they were not really in charge of the country, but rather it is the Colombian people who are really in charge of the country and the ones who have to make the necessary decisions.

(4) *“La soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones”*

**(People’s sovereignty is the only real authority of the nations)** (Cycle 1).

>> You (the Colombian government) are not the sovereigns; it is the people.

(5) *“...dotar dicho acuerdo con la mayor participación social y popular y legitimidad posible, se apelará a la voluntad del pueblo soberano, al poder intrínseco del constituyente primario y soberano.”* (...to fulfill such agreement with the highest amount of social and popular legitimacy possible, **we will appeal to the will of the sovereign country, to the intrinsic power of the primary and sovereign constituency**) (Cycle 24).

>> The Colombian people are the only ones who can decide, not the government.

(6) *“... solo así se garantiza la vinculación, participación y decisión **del soberano, el pueblo colombiano.**”* (...only this way could be guaranteed the

inclusion, participation, and decision of **the sovereign, the Colombian people**)

(Cycle 40).

>> The Colombian people are the ones in charge, not you (the government).

Like the Colombian government, the FARC had a series of main points they wanted its audience to believe and remember (see Table XVI).

	Trend of Talk	Topic to Remember or Assumed True	%
1	MG	They are the bad ones	29.56%
2	CONS	All what the war has brought upon us	22.96%
3	DTP	We tell you how this process works	21.93%
4	PBLO	We are the pueblo	15.37%
5	CF	We are the good ones	6.71%
6	EJ	The Army is bad	2.56%
7	A	“Against Us”	0.55%
8	D	Only a “true” Colombian...	0.31%

TABLE XVI. FARC’S MAIN TOPICS TO REMEMBER

Table XVI shows how for the FARC guerillas, the most important things for its audience to believe and remember were that the Colombian government is the bad one and how the war has harmed the country. Furthermore, they also wanted their audience to know that they (FARC) are the good ones, and because they are the good ones, they can determine the rules that the talks should follow. The FARC guerillas wanted the people to remember that they are part of the pueblo, part of the Colombians. This final point was made on several occasions by the FARC as a way to present themselves as the ones who are with the people and act as the ‘voice of the people.’

Finally, based on the information presented in Table XVI, it can be said that the guerrilla group FARC's agenda and ideological points that wanted to keep alive on the Colombian population were:

- The government are the bad ones;
- Because of their wrong actions, Colombia has been at war, and look at the results;
- Also, because of the improper actions of the government, we feel we have the right to rule the way the talks should be managed;
- We are like you (Colombian people) we are one with you;
- We are the good ones.

**f. Commonalities Presented in Both Political Parties' Communiqués**

In addition to the themes within the communiqués by the FARC and the Colombian government found by Berlin and Prieto-Mendoza (2015), other themes emerged in this study that seem to be common among both parties and were investigated further. As a result, this study found that both parties were mainly interested in reminding their audience about five main topics (see Table XVII).

Common Topic	Government	FARC
We are the good ones	26.41%	6.71%
They are the bad ones	17.09%	29.56%
We tell you how this process works <sup>7</sup>	23.76%	21.93%
Who has the power	25.08% <sup>8</sup>	22.08% <sup>9</sup>
Only a “true” Colombian	0.74%	0.31%

TABLE XVII. COMMON TOPICS FOUND IN BOTH PARTIES

Two themes emerged here and are presented in Table XVII: 1) the expectancy of the results and 2) the use of shame as a way to dishonor the other political side. These results were expected to be found since both parties needed to save face while attempting to make their opponent look bad. Likewise, the presence of presuppositions that remind their audience who is in charge and who has the power were also expected. For instance, from the Government’s perspective, officials are the ones who have traditionally been conceived as the good ones. Furthermore, the fact that the president is the supreme authority is a sign that he is the one with power.

On the other hand, the way the FARC guerillas present themselves as the ones in power is more strategic, as they have historically been portrayed by the government as the bad ones. To achieve their goal, the FARC guerillas portray the Colombian people as the sovereign themselves and as the ones with the ultimate and maximum power, as in Quotes (4), (5), and (6).

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<sup>7</sup> This is the same DTP originally found in Berlin and P.

<sup>8</sup> This percentage comes from the Government’s trends of talk PRES (19.35%) and P (5.89%).

<sup>9</sup> This percentage comes from the FARC’s trends of talk CF (21.24%) and PBLO (11.29%).

Both parties use the blame game to attempt to manipulate the Colombian people and make their counterpart look bad. This “true Colombian blame” is a technique both parties executed when they both presented statements in communiqués like the ones in excerpts (7) and (8) respectively.

(7) “...*esa es la base para la construcción de confianza, para la reconciliación, para la no repetición, para que **los colombianos podamos abrazarnos de nuevo***”

(...this is the base for building trust, for reconciliation, to avoid repeating the same mistakes, for **all the Colombians to be able to hug each other** once again)  
(Government Cycle 26).

>> Only a true Colombian would like to hug his fellow Colombians again (which means that you will abide by the bases to build trust and such).

(8) “...*seguramente **el país** está de acuerdo con el ex-ministro Leyva Duran, hay que parar el desangre nacional y más cuando se está en un diálogo de paz*”

(...**surely the country** agrees with former minister Leyva Duran, the national blood spilling has to come to an end, especially when there is a peace dialogue at stake)  
(FARC Cycle 6).

>> Only a true Colombian who considers himself part of the country would agree with former minister Leyva Duran.

When the Colombian government talks about the Colombians being able to hug each other once again, they are making the audience presuppose that, if you would not like that idea or do not want to work to achieve this dream, it is because you are not a Colombian. This is also

found in the FARC excerpt when they talk about “the country” (*el país*) agreeing with the ex-minister and the fact that the country needs to stop spilling blood. Only a person who does not consider himself from this country, someone who is not Colombian, would not agree with such a statement.

In summary, when analyzing the presence of presuppositions on the political communiqués delivered by the Colombian government and the FARC guerillas during the peace dialogues: (1) Both parties made use of repetition as a way to keep their agenda alive and their ideology on the minds of their audience, the Colombian population. Such a strategy was necessary when one takes into account that each political side had the opportunity to speak to the Colombian population every month or month and a half. This repetition strategy can be described as productive for language manipulation because within it there is some information the speaker would like its audience to assume as truth. Presenting it the first time may not have any lasting effect. However, when the audience gets presented with the same entertextualized information, this information will begin to sound familiar, creating in the mind of the listener the illusion that this information is already known and most likely, that it is true. (2) Also, the information that was presupposed and repeated coincides with the expected information each political side would need to deliver to disseminate their ideological values. Concepts of value and judgment, such as who is the good one and the bad one or who is in a position of power, is information that could potentially make a person change perspective. This type of language manipulation is an element for power and dominance in political discourses and conforms to what has been previously found in scholarly research (Goffman, 1955; Van Dijk, 1996). Finally, the data provide support for both hypotheses regarding for the use of presuppositions: “Every communiqué presented has a number of



presuppositions that intend for the audience,(the Colombian population) to agree and sympathize with their ideological view (the government's or the guerrillas')” and “every communiqué presented will have a number of presuppositions that intend the audience (the Colombian population) to agree and sympathize with their ideological view (the government's or the guerrillas').”

### 5.3.2. Existential Presuppositions

#### a. Theory

In the second part of the analysis, the presence of existential presupposition triggers on both parties' political communiqués was examined. As stated earlier, the study of existential presupposition triggers is pertinent, since some scholarstic work has reported that the presence of this type of trigger is commonly found in media statements and political speeches and because they are said to be one of the more difficult triggers to detect (Khaleel 2010; Boyandi and Samuel 2011; Zare, Abbaspour and Nia 2012; Fadhly and Kurnia 2015; Hasta and Marlina 2018).

Quotes (9) through (15) are examples of the existential trigger that was expected to be found (existential triggers are shown in bold and >> show the presupposed statement):

(9) “**Obama** leads the tribute: ‘He touched so many lives’” (Khaleel, 2010)

>> Obama exists.

(10) “**Authorities** say **Jaycee Lee**, a young woman who was abducted from her home in California...” (Khaleel, 2010)

>> Authorities exist, and there is someone named Jaycee Lee.

(11) “**Zimbabwe’s** brutalized citizens” (Boyandi and Samuel, 2011)

>> Zimbabwe’s citizens are brutalized.

(12) “**Brown’s** flattering speech” (Boyandi and Samuel, 2011)

>> Brown delivered a flattering speech.

(13) “**The deadline** for Iranians” (Zare, Abbaspour and Nia, 2012)

>> There is a deadline.

(14) “**Our** election **campaign theme** is ‘real work’” (Fadhly and Kurnia, 2015)

>> We (a group of people) have a theme for the campaign.

(15) “**The Israeli army** published a picture of the man's identity card” (Hasta and Marlina, 2018)

>> The Army was Israeli.

>> Israel has an army.

Similar to Khaleel’s findings (2010), frequently more than one existential trigger could be found in one single pragmatic presupposition. Examples (16) and (17) include several existential presuppositions in a single statement within both parties’ communiqués.

(16) “*Nada más trascendental para nosotros que (1) **la opinión del pueblo**, de (2) **sus organizaciones sociales en torno al problema moral del conflicto, el de la tierra y el territorio**, porque de (3) **su solución** depende (4) **el destino de Colombia***” (There is nothing more essential for us than **people’s opinions** and **their social organizations towards the moral problem of the conflict, the land, and the territory** because **Colombia’s destiny** depends on the solution of **these topics**) (FARC Cycle 3).

>> (1) The Colombian people have an opinion.

>> (2) There are social organizations that are working to solve those issues.

>> (3) There has to be a solution for those topics.

>> (4) Colombia's destiny is in the hands of the people.

(17) “...ese día **millones de Colombianos dentro del pluralismo de nuestra democracia** refrendamos **el mandato por la paz** que hoy lidera **el Presidente Santos**” (...that day, **millions of Colombians, inside the pluralism of our democracy**, countersigned **the law for peace** that **President Santos** leads today)

(Government Cycle 8).

>> Colombian people participate in decision-making events.

>> We have a democracy, and it is pluralistic.

>> There is a special peace law on place.

>> President Santos is our leader.

## **b. Predictions**

Based on the above-mentioned theory, this study predicts that existential presuppositions will be the most common presupposition triggers found in the communiqués presented by the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC during their peace agreement.

## **c. Data Analysis and Interpretation**

### **1. Existential Presuppositions on the Colombian Government Communiqués**

From the data obtained from Colombian government's communiqués, this study found the presence of 884 existential presupposition triggers (out of the total 1889), or

46.79 % of the entire number of presuppositions found. This portion of presupposition triggers is similar to the percentages found in previous studies (57.7% in Khaleel, 2010; 49% average in Zare, Abbaspour and Nia 2012; 78.59 % in Fadhly and Kurnia 2015; 41.5% in Hasta and Marlina 2018). Examples (18) - (22) present some of the existential triggers found within the 44 analyzed communiqués:

*“quisiera recordarles a (18) **los colombianos** que aquí en la Habana no estamos negociando (19) **el modelo económico** ni (20) **la doctrina militar**, entre otros de (21) **los muchos temas** planteados por las FARC fuera de (22) **la mesa**”*

(I want to remind to (18) **the Colombians** that we are not here at La Havana, to negotiate neither (19) **Colombia’s economic model** nor (20) **its military doctrine**, among (21) **many of the topics** the FARC has proposed outside (22) **the table**) (Cycle 8).

>> We are only talking to the people who believe themselves Colombians.

>>You (FARC) has not the power to come and put Colombia’s economic model up for discussion.

>> You (FARC) has not the power to come and put Colombia’s military doctrine up for discussion.

>>There are many topics the FARC wants to impose on the conversations.

>>There is a table of communications the FARC is not respecting.

Based on the data analyzed, the Colombian government’s use of existential triggers is similar to what has been previously observed in the literature. This similarity means that,

during the communiqués presented by the Colombian government, this political side made use of existential presupposition triggers to indoctrinate the audience by intending to tell them and their counterpart who is supposed to be in a position of higher power (Khaleel, 2010) and because they are one of the more difficult triggers to detect (Zare, Javad, Ehsan Abbaspour, and R. M. Nia, 2012, p. 734-743). Finally, these results could support Bekalu in Boyandi and Samuel's claim about the existence of "possible ideological reasons behind the use of fair or unfair presuppositions in media text" (2011, p.2).

## **2. Existential Presuppositions in the FARC Guerillas Communiqués**

In an analysis of the communiqués delivered by the FARC, this study found the presence of 118 existential presupposition triggers, or 4.66% of the entire number of presuppositions found. This amount is significantly lower, compared with the results presented by previous scholars (57.7% in Khaleel, 2010; 49% average in Zare, Abbaspour and Nia, 2012; 78.59 % in Fadhly & Kurnia, 2015; 41.5% in Hasta & Marlina, 2018). Examples (23)-(29) present some of the existential triggers found in the 44 analyzed communiqués:

*"...pero el gobierno tiene (23) **la responsabilidad** de no permitir que se nos escape (24) **esta esperanza**, porque posee en sus manos (25) **la decisión** de (26) **los cambios**, de abrir (27) **las puertas de la democracia**, y de atender (28) **al clamor del pueblo que exige (29) la paz con justicia social**"*

(...but the government has (23) **the responsibility** not to allow that escape from us (24) **this hope** because they have in their hands (25) **the decision** to make

(26) **the changes**, to (27) **open the doors of democracy** and to attend (28) **people's roar** that claims for (29) **peace with social justice**) (Cycle 28)

>> The government, as they are in a position of power, are the responsible political side.

>> The Colombian people have hope for change.

>> Any decision is the responsibility of the government.

>> There are some changes that need to take place.

>> At this moment, the doors to democracy are closed.

>> The Colombians are begging to be heard.

>> The peace that will work is the one with social justice, nothing else.

The percentage or portion of existential triggers found in the FARC communiqués does not support the previous findings by the scholars in this field. Further analysis of the data may identify the types of existential trigger most preferred by the government, as it was already shown that this political side was the one who made the highest use of presuppositions.

The statements presented by both the Colombian government and the FARC during the peace dialogues demonstrate that existential presupposition triggers were utilized as a means to indoctrinate their audience regarding who is in power, what the proper way is to view the situation and who is right or wrong. These findings are similar to those previously found in the literature. They are important because of the sociopolitical consequences that this type of language manipulation may have. Moreover, regarding the originally proposed hypothesis: “Existential

presuppositions will be the most common presupposition triggers found in the communiqués on both parties.” This hypothesis was only partially supported. Even though the Colombian government’s percentage of presuppositions is similar to the one that literature shows, the FARC’s communiqués presented a significantly lower percentage compared to previous scholars.

### 5.3.3. Direct Quotations

#### a. Theory

The purpose of the following data analysis is to present samples based on Clark and Gerrig’s (1990) study “Quotations as Demonstrations,” who propose that direct quotations:

1. can be considered demonstrations during a political communiqué;
2. share similar features with existential presuppositions.

For this reason, an utterance will be considered a direct quotation if it behaves like the following example from the FARC (30) : “*tenemos que volver la mirada hacia nuestros orígenes para encontrarnos con la enseñanza del libertador que nos dice ‘a soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones’*” (we need to look back at our origins to find ourselves with the teachings from our liberator who told us, ‘The sovereignty of the people is the only legitimate authority of the nations’” (FARC Cycle 9).

1. They are performing a non-serious action because they are pretending to sound or act like “our libertator,” Simon Bolivar, which is beneficial for the discourse as the speaker’s intention is for his ideology to be associated with the liberator’s.

2. The quote is a non-serious action performed during the serious actions which constitute a political communiqué.
3. The words “who told us” provide a clear beginning that separates it from the serious action, which is the larger discourse in which the quote is embedded.

Or if a quote behaves similarly, like the one from the Colombian government in Cycle 13 (31):

*“...como lo dijo Aristy Del Cavani el canciller venezolano “en el campo queremos que cada fusil sea reemplazado por un tractor”* (...as Venezuelan Chancellor Aristy Del Cavani said: “We want every every gun to be replaced by a tractor on the countryside):

1. They are performing a non-serious action because they are taking on the guise of the Venezuelan chancellor. This can be seen as beneficial for the Colombian government, because they are showing how other countries (Venezuela) agree with the vision of peace the Colombian government has, which can imply that people in the government should be trusted.
2. They (the Colombian government) use the expression “*como lo dijo*” (as it was said [by]) to clearly show the separation of the serious action from the non-serious one.
3. Finally, they use this quote as a component part, because they make particular use of the quote and then move on to continue with their communiqué.



## **b. Quotations/Demonstrations as Selective Depictions**

Clark and Gerrig's 1990 proposal is that quotations depict (demonstrate) rather than describe (p. 767). In order for this proposal to be true, every quotation should fulfill the Markedness Principle (nothing in the quotation is incidental) with its three elements: Decoupling, Partiality and Selectivity principles. For this reason, an utterance will be considered a direct quotation, for instance in (32) when the government says:

(32) “...como lo ha dicho el presidente Santos ‘esta no será una paz a cualquier precio, será una paz dentro de la constitución’” (...as president Santos said: “there will not be a priceless peace, there will be peace only under the constitutional rules”) (Cycle 3).

In this quotation we may find the following:

### **1. The Decoupling Principle:**

- a. The speaker uses the statement “President” as a depictive aspect, so the audience knows the government is the institution in charge.
- b. The speaker uses the president's last name “Santos” as a supportive aspect, so the audience knows the government is following the orders of President Santos and no other (as there has been many other former Colombian presidents giving their opinions about the peace process).

### **2. The Partiality Principle:**

- a. The speaker is using the words “President Santos” as the demonstration proper, so the audience recognizes the concept of ‘president’ as a key concept to remember about the quote.
- 3. The Selectivity Principle (the person who is being quoted):
  - a. The speaker (the Colombian government) is quoting President Santos in order to portray him as:
    - i. as a recognized figure by the Colombian population;
    - ii. as a wise man who is worthy of being quoted;
    - iii. as a reminder that it is the government (President Santos), not the guerrillas, that is in control of the country and the peace talks;
    - iv. as the person who is taking care of the Colombian people, the one who will drive them to live in a country in peace.

Also, in (33) the FARC says:

(33) “*Y como dice el Libertador ‘la verdad Pura y limpia es la mejor manera de persuadir’*” (“As the liberator says: “Pure and clean truth is the best way to persuade””) (Cycle 26).

In this quotation we may find the following:

- 1. The Decoupling Principle:

- a. The speaker uses the statement “liberator” as a depictive aspect, so the audience knows who they consider the person to follow, the type of ideals they claim to believe and follow.
  - b. The speaker uses the word “truth” as a supportive aspect, in order to let the audience know that, like Simon Bolivar, the FARC also uses truth as a way to persuade people of their ideals.
2. The Partiality Principle:
- a. The speaker is using the words “the liberator” as the demonstration proper, so the audience recognizes Bolivar’s main quality as a key concept to remember about the quote.
3. The Selectivity Principle (the person who is being quoted):
- a. The speaker (the guerrilla group FARC) is quoting Simon Bolivar in order to portray him as:
    - i. as a recognized figure by the Colombian population;
    - ii. as a wise man whose actions made him worthy of being quoted and set as an example;
    - iii. as a way to remind the audience of what Simon Bolivar did (liberate), implying their intentions (FARC’s) are the same, that they are following the liberator’s steps of freeing the people from the rulers’ oppression.
    - iv. The use of Bolivar’s words is also a strategic way of argumentation, as the FARC are appealing to Bolivar’s character and credentials. In addition,

quoting the liberator appeals to the audience's emotions, using these three types of language manipulations as a strategy to create a stronger argument.

### **c. Predictions**

Based on this information and taking into account the hypothesis presented in Chapter 3 (Section 3.1) regarding direct quotations, I predict the following will be present in the direct quotations found in the peace dialogue communiqués between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC:

1. Each political side will quote different types of individuals, specifically the ones that will help them reinforce and better promote their different types of ideologies.
2. Each quote will be presented to build support, camaraderie and credibility to the person offering it (Hypothesis 3.1.3).
3. Every quoted person or entity has been specially selected, so that when mentioned the audience recognizes them easily (either because he is someone famous or someone who has been constantly in the news at the time of the particular cycle when the quote is being used).
4. Based on Clark and Gerrig's 1990 theory, each political side will appeal to the character and credentials of the communicator as well as the audience's emotions as their argument tool (Selectivity Principle) as a way for the speakers to persuade their audience to believe in their ideals. The person or entity quoted will be used as a representation of the ideology and the reason why their words (either political side) should be believed.

5. Both parties will appeal with their quoted people's character, credentials and/or audience's emotions towards the quoted person in order to make their arguments more acceptable by their audience.

6. Direct quotations may share some features with existential presuppositions, which could give quotations an extra pragmatic level of relevance during political discourse analysis.

The following material will present the data found in this study. The first part will present the data about quoted documents, just as general information, as that is not the main point to be analyzed in this study. This data will be divided by political side in order to observe their particular aspects.

#### **d. Quoted Documents**

In regards to the quoted documents, this study presents the number of times that a document was quoted by both the government and the FARC (see Table XVII). Something interesting to remark is the fact that, even though both parties quote the peace agreement documents in an almost identical percentage (Colombian govt. = 21%, FARC = 20%), the guerrilla group made use of far more document resources, which could have been done as a way to prove the validity of their claims. While the government only quoted the peace agreement documents (10 times = 21%), the FARC quoted the peace agreement documents (8 times = 20%), the Joint Communication Documents<sup>10</sup> (2 times = 5%) and the Colombian

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<sup>10</sup> The joint communications were a series that both parties agreed to address either at the beginning or at the end of a dialogue cycle.

Constitution (1 time = 2.5%). This data presents the FARC quoting written documents 11 times (27.5%). Although the total quoted percentage of documents seems quite different (Colombian govt. = 21%, FARC = 27.5%), the actual number of times shows no relevant difference in the number of quotes (Colombian Govt. 10 times, FARC 11 times). These results can be considered expected on both parties, due to their sociopolitical and historical background. For instance, it was expected from the Colombian government to quote solely the peace agreements, as a way to show the audience that the FARC's words were incongruent with their actions. Also, as they are the ones who had historically been considered the good side, they do not need to prove themselves, but instead it was a good strategy to make the FARC lose their face (Goffman 1967, p.5-45). On the other hand, it was also expected from the FARC to make use of several sources to validate their ideals and argument points, as they are the ones who had traditionally been considered to be on the bad side. The use of official written documents, in order to create an argument against their counterpart, is a strategy used by the FARC to give support to their arguments with elements that are considered acceptable by its audience. As a result, an argument with such characteristics intends for the audience to pay more attention to the validity of the supporting source than to the FARC's message itself, a message that will be presented in a covert way.

**e. Direct Quotations from the Colombian Government**

As previously stated, this study found the presence of 48 direct quotations in the Government communiqués. Table XVIII shows the entities quoted by the Colombian government. As can be seen in this table, the Government's communiqués quoted President

Juan Manuel Santos twenty times (42%) (34), followed by the peace agreement documents ten times (21%) and the quoting of different people seven times (15%).

(34) ... *Como lo ha dicho el presidente santos: “esta no será una paz a cualquier precio, será una paz dentro de la constitución”* (As president Santos said: **“this will not be a peace (agreement) regardless of the price, this will be a peace (agreement) inside the constitution”**) (Cycle 3).

	Element Quoted	Quantity	Percentage
1	President	20	42%
2	Peace Agreement Documents	10	21%
3	People	7	15%
4	Us (exclusive we)	4	8%
5	Humberto de la Calle (himself)	4	8%
6	Pope Francis	1	2%
7	FARC	1	2%
8	Others (UNESCO)	1	2%
	Total	48	100%

TABLE XVIII. GOVERNMENT'S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY ENTITY QUOTED

This study additionally found quotes of the Colombian government positioning themselves and using an “exclusive us” quotation (government members only) as well as Humberto de la Calle quoting himself four times in each case (8%) (35). Finally, this study found the Colombian government quoting Pope Francis (47), the FARC, and other sources (UNESCO documents) one time each (2%).

(35) “...Ya lo dije: *‘las víctimas son la estrella polar de las conversaciones’*”

(...As I already said: *‘the victims as the polar star of the conversations’*)

(Cycle 42).

Table XIX presents only the people being quoted by the government, which is the main focus of this study. As indicated, the most quoted person was Colombia’s president (20 times), which represents fifty three percent (53%) of the quotes. The second person most quoted was Colombian government’s peace dialogue main delegate, Humberto de la Calle. De la Calle quoted himself four (4) times which makes up ten percent (10%) of the time. With the same number of quoted times (4 times = 10%) this study found the government quoted itself using “us” as an exclusive we. Finally, there were a series of people who were quoted only once, which makes for three percent of usage (3%). Among those people are Aristy del Cavani, Pope Francis, Cristina Plazas and Oscar Dominguez.



	Person Quoted	Number of Times	Percentage
1	President	20	54.1%
2	Humberto de la Calle (himself)	4	10.8%
3	Us (exclusive we) government	4	10.8%
4	Aristy Del Cavani	1	2.7%
5	Pope Francis	1	2.7%
6	Humberto de la Calle's "Friend"	1	2.7%
7	"Man" who talk to de la Calle in a	1	2.7%
8	FARC	1	2.7%
9	Christina Plazas	1	2.7%
10	Oscar Dominguez	1	2.7%
11	Angela Giraldo	1	2.7%
12	Women from the Llanos Orientales	1	2.7%
	Total	37	100%

TABLE XIX. GOVERNMENT'S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY QUOTED PERSON

After a close analysis, it was observed that the people quoted by the Colombian government could be grouped into two main categories and subcategories (see Table XX):

1. People in a position of political or social power: every person who has some sort of political (inside or outside of the Colombian government), social or religious influence, who is also well renowned by the Colombian people.
  - a. Political people from the Colombian government
  - b. Political people outside of the Colombian government
  - c. People with social power
  - d. People with religious power
2. People in a position of emotional power: This group is made up of people who may not be famous at all but possess a strategic value due to the information they are presenting (what they are being quoted for).

Main Category	Sub Category	Examples	# quoted	Percentage
Category 1: People in a position of Political or Social Power	Political people from the Colombian Government	Colombian President	20	76%
		Humberto de la Calle	4	
		Us (exclusive we) Colombian Government	4	
	Political people outside of the Colombian Government	Aristy Del Cavani (Venezuelan Chancellor) (cycle 13)	1	5%
		FARC	1	
	People with social power (media)	Cristina Plazas (Director of the Colombian Institute of Family Wellness) (Cycle 32)	1	5%
		Oscar Dominguez (renowned colombian journalist) (cycle 36)	1	
	People with Religious power	Pope Francis(Cycle 18)	1	3%
Category 2: People in a position of Emotional Power	Non famous people whose message appeals to the audience's emotions	Humberto de la Calle's "Friend" (cycle 19)	1	11%
		"Man" who talk to de la Calle in a meeting (cycle19)	1	
		"She" (Angela Giraldo) (Cycle 28)	1	
		Farmer Woman from Los Llanos (Cycle 37)	1	
		Total	37	100%

TABLE XX. GOVERNMENT'S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY CATEGORY

People in a position of Political or Social Power: In subcategory (a), this study found the president, his peace delegate (Humberto de la Calle) and the Colombian government (exclusive "we") made up for 76% of the quotes (28 quotes total). Subcategory (b) is made up of Aristy del Cavani (36), who was a Venezuelan chancellor at that point in time, and the government's counterpart, the guerrilla group FARC (37), who together made up 5% of the quotes (1 quote each). The purpose of quoting the FARC seems to be holding them accountable for the

commitment the guerrilla group had agreed to at that point in time (no more under-aged children in the militias).

(36) “*Como lo dijo Aristy Del Cavani el canciller venezolano ‘en el campo queremos que cada fusil sea reemplazado por un tractor’*” (*As Aristy Del Cavani, Venezuelan chancellor said: ‘we want in the countryside every rifle to be replaced by a truck’*) (Cycle 13).

(37) “*De manera unilateral las FARC han anunciado que han decidido entre comillas ‘no incorporar en adelante menores de 17 años a las filas guerrilleras’*” (In a unilateral way, the FARC has announced they have decided, and I quote, ‘**not to incorporate, from now on, any persons younger than 17 to the guerrillas’ ranks**’) (Cycle 32).

With a total of 5% of the quotes (1 quote each), this study also found subcategory (c), made up of Cristina Plazas (38), Director (at that time) of the *Instituto Colombiano de Bienestar Familiar* (Colombian Institute of Family Wellness), as well as Oscar Dominguez (39), who is a renowned Colombian journalist.

(38) “*Precisamente con ocasión de la celebración del día internacional contra el reclutamiento infantil la doctora Cristina Plazas dijo lo siguiente hace algunos minutos ‘para construir la paz necesitamos que no haya ni un solo niño o niña cargando un fusil, Colombia entera clama porque aquellos que están en las filas de grupos al margen de la ley sean devueltos inmediatamente a sus hogares puedan recuperar sus sueños y hacerlos realidad,’ acojo*

*plenamente en sus palabras."* (Exactly on the occasion of the international day against child recruitment, Dr. Cristina Plazas said a few moments ago: **‘in order to build peace, we need to have no child, boy or girl, holding a rifle; Colombia is clamoring for all those who are right now in the ranks of those groups outside the law, to be returned immediately to their homes, so they can retake their dreams and make them come true’**) (Cycle 32).

(39) *"Tomo prestada una frase citada por Óscar Domínguez un columnista Colombiano que sigue las incidencias del proceso, dijo Óscar: ‘en la paz los hijos entierran a los padres, en la guerra los padres entierran a sus hijos’"* (I’m borrowing a quote from Óscar Domínguez, a Colombian journalist who is following the events of the [peace] process; Oscar said: **‘in times of peace, the children bury their fathers, in times of war, the fathers bury their children’**) (Cycle 36).

The final subcategory (d) represents Pope Francis (40), who talked about the peace agreement during his visit to Colombia in September 2017. Pope Francis was quoted one time, which amounts to 3% of the time.

(40) *"Permítanme que cite las palabras que hace poco pronunció el papa francisco en una invocación por la paz él dijo ‘la búsqueda de la paz en la recta requiere paciencia y perseverancia’"* (Please allow me to quote those words that not long ago were pronounced by Pope Francis, during a calling for

peace: **‘the search for peace on the road requires patience and perseverance’**) (Cycle 18).

People in a position of emotional power: This category is made up of individuals who were quoted a total of 11% of the time (1 time each). For instance, this study found that in Cycle 19, Humberto de la Calle quoted a close friend of his (41), who asked him if he (de la Calle) was not tired with the peace dialogue process. The importance of this quote is that it allowed de la Calle to give his view as a Colombian about the peace dialogue process.

(41) *“En estos días de descanso familiar un amigo cercano me preguntó me dijo ‘Humberto usted no está aburrido ya de estas negociaciones no quisiera un día decir: “no voy más a cuba me quedo en mi casa?””* (In these days of family rest, a close friend of mine asked me: **“Humberto, aren’t you bored already with these negotiations? Wouldn’t you want one of these days to simply say: ‘I am not going to Cuba anymore, I’m simply going to stay home?’”**) (Cycle 19).

Moreover, there is a quote from Angela Giraldo (42), the sister of a killed deputy from the state of Valle del Cauca, discussing the way she was being revictimized after her meeting with the victims committee in Havana, reminding us of all the drama which people are living with due to a country at war.

(42) *“sigo convencido de que como ella lo dice ha sido ‘sometida a una información que desdibuja la integridad de la mujer y de la familia’ y que esta situación afecta además los derechos de su hijo.”* (I still believe that, as

she said, she has been ‘**subject to some information that blurs women and families’ integrity,**’ and that this situation is also affecting her son’s rights) (Cycle 28).

Finally, de la Calle quotes a man (43) who approached him when de la Calle was on his way to a conference. This falls in the category of a quote of emotional power, because the man tells de la Calle that his son was killed, and now he is raising his grandson without any desire for vengeance. This and the quote from the farmer woman from the *Llanos Orientales* (44), who talked to de la Calle about how she only wants to know what happened to her son. This serves as another potent quote that helps the government remind the Colombian people what the way of thinking should be during the peace dialogues.

(43) “*En un momento dado mientras entraba al salón donde daría una conferencia sobre el tema de justicia y paz se me acercó un hombre y me dijo ‘doctor de la calle a mi hijo se lo llevó la violencia lo mataron y yo estoy criando a mi nieto yo no quiero venganza quiero la paz con la guerrilla para que a mi nieto no le pase lo mismo que su papá’ ésta es lamentablemente la historia de muchas familias Colombianas*” (At some point, while I was entering a room where I was about to talk about justice and peace, a man approached me and told me: ‘**Dr. de la Calle, my son was taken away by the violence, he was killed, and now I am raising my grandson, and I do not want revenge, I want to make peace with the guerrillas so my grandson doesn’t have to go through the same things his father did;**’ this is the terrible story of so many Colombian families) (Cycle 19).

(44) *“Una humilde campesina de los Llanos me tomó del brazo y me dijo: ‘más que dinero, quiero saber qué pasó con mi hijo. Yo quiero sanar mi corazón. Yo cultivé el odio, pero vi que ese odio era estéril. El que odia termina siendo esclavo del criminal. Yo quiero saber. Puede que no para ser amiga del que se llevó a mi hijo, pero sí para curar mi alma. Para vivir en paz. Yo quiero una nueva vida.’”* (A humble farm woman from the *Llanos* took me by my arm and told me: ‘**more than money, I want to know what happened to my son. I want to heal my heart. I harvested anger, but I saw how that anger was barren. The one who hates ends up being a slave of the criminals. I want to know. Maybe not to become friends with the one who took my son, but to heal my soul. To live in peace. I want a new life**’) (Cycle 37).

#### **f. Interpretation of Government Data**

The results found in the Colombian government data were as expected and support the predictions made in this study. This political side made use of direct quotations to gain the favor of the Colombian people and to make their arguments more believable. Moreover, it could be said that every character was picked to represent prototypes of the Colombian conscience. Every quoted person was strategically selected and recognizable, so the audience could easily comprehend their character, credentials and/or audience’s emotions towards the quoted person and consequently believe what has been quoted on their behalf. For instance, it was expected that the government’s main strategy was to firstly quote the president and the peace agreement documents (*Acuerdo General para la terminación del conflicto y la construcción de una paz estable y duradera* [the General Agreement to the end of the conflict

and the building of a stable and long-lasting peace]). This was an expected move, as the government has always portrayed itself as the one who follows the rules, and consequently, they follow their supreme leader, the president. Also, quoting the president and appealing to his credentials was a good strategy to ‘lead by example;’ if the Colombian government follows and believes in its president, every Colombian should do it.

In addition, when the Colombian government appeals to the president’s character, they intend to show him as a father figure, a person whose job is to protect the country. The fact that he is portrayed as a father figure is intended to give him also a status of ‘wise man,’ someone who is doing good for his country and who only wants the best for his country, a person to emulate. Similarly, quoting the General Agreement documents is a good strategy, as those were considered documents available for everybody to read; it was a way to show this political side working on what was previously planned, as a way to say ‘we (the government) work by the book.’ Consequently, quoting both the president and the “*Acuerdo General*” (General Agreement) was an expected strategy whose main objective was to achieve reliability and credibility, which in turn provides support for the first prediction presented at the beginning of this chapter.

Furthermore, it was expected for this political side to quote entities in a position of power, either political, social or emotional, as an attempt to attain two main goals: 1) appeal to the person’s credentials, character and audience’s emotions towards the quoted person, in order to make their arguments more believable, and 2) by quoting people in power, the government may wish to persuade their audience to believe the government shares similar views with



people in positions of power. For instance, similar to quoting President Santos, it was predicted the government would quote themselves often, as together with the president, they have traditionally been the side that has been perceived as the ones who take care of the Colombian people. Furthermore, I predicted that the Colombian government would strategically select quotes that portray people's suffering and how tired people are of the FARC's actions and the war in general. This was an expected move, as well as quoting the FARC to hold them accountable for their actions. Quoting people in a position of emotional power was an anticipated and strategic move, as the government's main goal was to create convincing arguments using those sad and desperate voices to appeal to the audience's emotions. Thus, they could be seen as a reflection of the entire Colombian people's feelings. This can be considered a successful language manipulation technique, which was predicted in this study.

Similarly, taking advantage of Pope Francis's visit to Colombia during the peace dialogues was an expected move. Quoting the Pope gives support for the predictions presented in this study, as it was a good technique to gain trustworthiness, when viewed through the lens of Colombia as a traditionally Catholic country. Also, appealing to the character of 'his Holiness, the Pope,' was a proper attempt at building credibility; plus, if the Pope says Colombia needs to try to build peace, those are words that will potentially be heard and accepted by the Colombian people.

Thus, it can be said that the data found supports the predictions made in this study. As said earlier, it was expected that people in a position of power, emotional or sociopolitical, would be quoted because that was anticipated to be a way to give more power to the dissemination of the government's ideology. As indicated, quoting people in a position of

power allows the speaker to create a stronger argument by appealing not only to the character and the credentials of the communicator but also to the audience's emotions (Aristotle as discussed in Huckin and Olsen, 1983). In this particular case, for those who did not have a particular set of credentials, the speaker made sure to properly contextualize the qualities or special characteristics of the quoted person as well as the emotions the audience's could have towards the quoted person, in order to be able to strategically appeal to their character.

**g. Direct Quotations in the Guerrilla Group FARC**

Assessing the communiqué of the FARC, this study found a total of 40 direct quotations in their communiqués. Table XXI presents all the entities quoted by the guerrilla group FARC. As can be seen in the table, the FARC's communiqués quoted the peace agreement documents 8 times (20%) followed by quoting the media 7 times (17.5%); additionally, Simon Bolivar was quoted 6 times (15%) and President Santos 4 was quoted times (10%).

(45) *“La soberanía del pueblo es la única autoridad legítima de las naciones”* *Simón Bolívar*” (**‘The sovereignty of the people is the only legitimate authority of the nations,’** Simón Bolívar) (Cycle 1).

(46) *“El padre libertador nos enseñó que ‘la verdad pura y limpia es la mejor manera de persuadir’”* (Our liberating father taught us that **‘Pure and clean truth is the best way to persuade’**) (Cycle 24).

I found the guerrilla group also quoting the joint communications, Pope Francis, Timoleon Jimenez and Gabriel Garcia Marquez 2 times each (5%). Finally, there were a number of individuals, plus the Colombian constitution, that were quoted only one time (2.5%): Jonathan

de los Rios, Benjamin Franklin, Cicero, Colombian People, Jacobo Arenas, John Lennon, Pablo Neruda and the Colombian constitution.

(47) “*Permítanos iniciar estas palabras recordando la siguiente reflexiones de Gabo en la aceptación del premio nobel en 1982: ‘la violencia y el dolor desmesurado de nuestra historia son el resultado de injusticias seculares y amargura sin cuento’*” (Let us start this exchange of words remembering the following reflections made by Gabo when he accepted his Nobel Prize in 1982: **‘The violence and the excessive pain of our history are the result of secular injustices and bitterness without a story’**) (Cycle 44).

Entity Quoted	Number of Times	Percentage
Simon Bolivar	6	28%
President Santos	4	18%
Pope Francis	2	9%
Timoleón Jiménez	2	9%
Gabriel Garcia Marquez	2	9%
John Agudelo Rios	1	4.5%
Benjamin Franklin	1	4.5%
Cicero	1	4.5%
Jacobo Arenas	1	4.5%
John Lennon	1	4.5%
Pablo Neruda	1	4.5%
Total	22	100%

TABLE XXI. FARC'S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY ENTITY QUOTED

Entity Quoted	Number of Times	Percentage
Peace Agreement Documents	8	20%
Media	7	17.5%
Simon Bolivar	6	15%
President Santos	4	10%
Join Communications	2	5%
Pope Francis	2	5%
Timoleón Jiménez	2	5%
Gabriel Garcia Marquez	2	5%
John Agudelo Rios	1	2.5%
Benjamin Franklin	1	2.5%
Cicero	1	2.5%
Jacobo Arenas	1	2.5%
John Lennon	1	2.5%
Pablo Neruda	1	2.5%
Colombian Constitution	1	2.5%
Total	40	100%

When divided by categories (Table XXII), this analysis shows the FARC citing historic people 12 times (30%) followed by the citing of documents 11 times (27.5%) as their main strategy for reliability and trustworthiness. Table XXII also shows how the political party quoted the media 7 times (17.5%), their counterpart, President Santos, 4 times (10%) and themselves three times (7.5%). For the purpose of this analysis, the FARC and its representatives (Timoleón Jiménez and Jacobo Arenas) shall be counted as one single entity or group of people. Finally, the group quoted Pope Francis 2 times (5%) and other people 1 times (2.5%).

	Category	Examples	Times	Percentage
1	Historic, Cultured & Educated People	Simón Bolívar, Gabriel García Márquez, Benjamin Franklin, Cicero, John Lennon, Pablo Neruda	12	30%
2	Documents	Peace Agreement Docs, Joint communications, Colombian Constitution	11	27.5%
3	Media	Newspapers, Radio, TV, Web pages	7	17.5%
4	Counterpart	President Santos	4	10%
5	FARC People	Timoleón Jiménez, Jacobo Arenas	3	7.5%
6	Religious people	Pope Francis	2	5%
7	Others	John Rios	1	2.5%
		Total	40	100%

TABLE XXII. FARC'S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY CATEGORY QUOTED

These types of results were expected, taking into account that the political party has historically been portrayed as those who have harmed the country, so they needed to make sure to quote entities that had enough power to be believed. Moreover, the fact that the peace agreement documents, as stated previously, were written documents which technically could not be altered would ideally give more credibility to the statements made by the FARC when quoting them, versus quoting themselves for instance.

Also, in the same way as was done with the Colombian government, another aspect analyzed was the people being quoted. After a close analysis, I observed that the people quoted by the FARC created three main categories and some subsequent subcategories (see Table XXIII):

1. Political people considered revolutionaries
  - a. Historical

- b. Current
- 2. Iconic recognizable media people also considered activists and /or revolutionaries
  - a. Colombian writers
  - b. Foreign writers
  - c. Music artists
  - d. Head of the Catholic church
- 3. Political people who could be considered the opposition
  - a. Head of the Colombian government

Category	Sub-Category	People Quoted	Times	Percentage
Political people who has been considered revolutionaries	Historically	Simon Bolivar	6	55.00%
		Benjamin Franklin	1	
		Cicero	1	
		John Agudelo Rios	1	
	Current (FARC People)	Timoleon Jimenez	2	
		Jacobo Arenas	1	
Iconic Recognizable Media People also considered revolutionaries	Colombian Writers	Gabriel Garcia Marquez	2	27%
	Foreign writers	Pablo Neruda	1	
	Music artists	The Beatles	1	
	Head of the Catholic Religion	Pope Francis	2	
Political people who could be considers the opposition	Head of the Colombian Government	President Santos	4	18%
Total			22	100%

TABLE XXIII. FARC’S DIRECT QUOTATION DIVIDED BY CATEGORIES OF PEOPLE

Table XXIII shows the people quoted by guerrilla group FARC. The first thing that caught my attention was the fact that the FARC mainly quoted people who were considered revolutionaries, either historically or currently.

1. Political people who have been considered revolutionaries (Historical and Current): Among the historical figures, I found Simon Bolivar (48) is also considered a liberator, a historical political figure who, according to the FARC, has been the model to follow; consequently, his voice needed to be heard in this conversation. Next, I found Benjamin Franklin (49) and Cicero (50). The former is considered one of America's Founding Fathers, while the latter was a Roman politician; both statesmen were considered to have revolutionary ideologies, not only politically but socially as well. Finally, I found John Agudelo Rios (51), who was the first peace commissioner in Colombia.

(48) "*Con razón decía el libertador que ‘la insurrección se anuncia con el espíritu de paz, se resiste al despotismo porque éste destruye la paz, y no tomar las armas sino para obligar a sus enemigos a la paz’, y ya empieza a verse una luz al final del túnel.*" (The liberator was right in saying, **‘The insurrection is announced in the spirit of peace, resists despotism because it destroys peace, and does not take up arms but to force their enemies to peace’, and we can start seeing the light at the end of the tunnel.**) (Cycle 26).

(49) "*Con la paciencia y la tranquilidad se logra todo y algo más*" Benjamín Franklin" ("**He that can have patience can have what he will.**" Benjamin Franklin) (Cycle 16).

(50) "...y Cicerón dijo alguna vez que *‘los pueblos que olvidan su historia están condenados a repetirla’*" (...and as Cicero once said: **“The people who forget their history are condemned to repeat it”**) (Cycle 24).

(51) “...el esfuerzo consiste en poner a prueba ‘**el arte de ensartar perlas,**’ como definia John Agudelo Rios, al oficio de acercar posiciones, flexibilizar y construir salidas satisfactorias para las 2 partes” (...the effort is to try “**the art of threading pearls**” as John Agudelo Ríos used to call the job of bringing positions closer, making more flexible and building, satisfactory exits for both parties) (Cycle 2).

The second part, current political people who are considered revolutionaries, presents the FARC quoting some of the members of their own group 55% of the time (12 quotes). In this group, this study placed Timoleon Jimenez and Jacobo Arenas (52), both top leaders of the guerrilla group.

(52) *Como dijera nuestro comandante Jacobo Arenas, “el destino de Colombia no puede ser el de la guerra”* (As our commander Jacobo Arenas said, “Colombia’s destiny cannot be one of war”) (Cycle 28).

2. Iconic recognizable media people also considered revolutionaries (Colombian writers, foreign writers, music artists, head of the Catholic church): In this group, the FARC quoted Pope Francis (53), the head of the Catholic Church, who himself has been considered to have very revolutionary ideas for the church. We also find quotes from the renowned Colombian winner of the Nobel prize in literature, Gabriel Garcia Marquez (54), followed by Pablo Neruda (55), Chilean poet and Nobel Prize awardee in 1971, and John Lennon (56), the famed British singer and peace activist. This second category made up for 27% of the quoting time (6 quotes).



(53) Pope Francis: "*Aún resuenan en nosotros las palabras pronunciadas hace poco tiempo por el Papa Francisco: ‘¡La violencia y la guerra hablan el lenguaje de la muerte! ¡Que cese el ruido de las armas! ¡La guerra siempre es una derrota de la humanidad!’*” (We can still hear the words said not so long ago by Pope Francis: **‘Violence and war speak the language of death! Let the noise of weapons cease! War is always a defeat for humanity!’**) (Cycle 20).

(54) Gabriel García Márquez: "*Permítanos iniciar estas palabras recordando la siguiente reflexiones de Gabo en la aceptación del premio nobel en 1982 ‘la violencia y el dolor desmesurado de nuestra historia son el resultado de injusticias seculares y amargura sin cuento’*” (Please allow us to start this dialogue by remembering the following thought that Gabo said during his 1982 Nobel Prize acceptance, **‘The violence and the excessive pain of our history are the result of secular injustices and bitterness without a story’**)(Cycle 44).

(55) John Lennon: "*Hoy queremos decir para todos : ‘Imagina que no hay un paraíso ni ningún infierno debajo de nosotros ; arriba de nosotros, solamente el cielo (...) Tú puedes decir que soy un soñador, pero no soy el único.’* IMAGINA de John Lennon.” (Today we want to tell everybody: **‘Imagine there's no heaven, it's easy if you try, no hell below us, above us only sky...you may say that I'm a dreamer, but I'm not the only one, I hope**

**someday you'll join us, and the world will be as one.'** Imagine, by John Lennon) (Cycle 29).

(56) Pablo Neruda: "...*demonstrando que la voluntad de paz de la guerrilla es tan alta como nuestras cordilleras y alcanza a tocar como diría Pablo Neruda 'el mismo invisible pecho del cielo'*" (...demonstrating that the guerrillas' desire for peace is as high as our mountains and that it can touch, in Neruda's words, **'The same invisible chest of heaven'**) (Cycle 30).

3. Political people who could be considered the opposition: The last category, political people who could be considered the opposition, was populated by quotes of the Colombian President, Juan Manuel Santos, and head of the Colombian Government (57). This last category made up for 18% of the quoting time (4 quotes).

(57) "...*queremos reflexionar sobre las declaraciones del presidente Santos cuando ha dicho: 'Qué lindo poder trasladar eso a Colombia para que los Colombianos nos imaginemos a Colombia en paz. '*" (We want to reflect on the statement presented by president Santos when he said: **'How nice to be able to move that to Colombia so that Colombians can imagine Colombia in peace'**) (Cycle 29).

#### **h. Interpretation of FARC Data**

After analyzing the direct quotations found in the communiqués presented by the guerrilla group FARC, it can be said that, as in the case of the Colombian government, the results were expected, and the data found supports the predictions made in this study. This

political party also made use of direct quotations to gain the favor of the Colombian people and to make their arguments more believable. In addition, every person quoted by the FARC was strategically selected and recognizable, so the audience could easily relate to their character, credentials and/or the emotions the audience may have towards the quoted person's emotions as well as the emotions of the hearers, which in consequence made the audience believe what has been said on every quoted person's behalf.

In addition—and something that I considered a very smart strategy—is that all the people quoted by the FARC are or have been considered revolutionaries in one way or another. This strategy supports the predictions made in this study, as those quotations were used in order to achieve two main goals:

1. To show the Colombian population that the FARC “shares” a point of view with the people quoted, even the Colombian president (camaraderie).
2. To change the connotation of revolution or revolutionary, by showing different types of people who have been considered revolutionaries because of their ideas, opinions, views of life, etc. (appeal to the audience's emotions).

Also, as these guerrillas have historically been considered the ones who harm the country, it was expected they would have to make an extra effort and be more strategic in the people they chose to quote. As a result, it was expected the FARC would have to quote people to whom the Colombian population could relate to and trust more; in other words, the FARC

had to make an extra effort to not only convey their character and credentials, but also appeal to the audience's emotions, in order to achieve a subtler dissemination of ideology.

For instance, the fact that the FARC started their first communiqué by quoting Simon Bolivar, the liberator, imbues a specific tone on the conversation. It was intended to show the audience whose ideals the guerrilla group follows. It was intended to portray them not as the ones who harm the country but those who, like Bolivar, come to liberate the Colombian people from their oppressors. Quoting Simon Bolivar was a way for the FARC to assume the quoted person's character and credentials and also appeal to the Colombian population's emotions, which made a good strategy to argue in favor of the guerrilla group's ideological views.

Moreover, another strategy of the FARC was to quote the first peace commissioner in Colombia, John Agudelo Rios, in the second cycle. In 1984, during the presidency of Belisario Betancourt, Agudelo Rios signed the first ceasefire in Colombia, not only with the FARC, but also with other guerrilla groups such as the ELN, the M-19 and the EPL. Agudelo Rios, who died in 2002, decided to retire from the political arena because he felt that: "nunca coincidía lo que quería con lo que me convenía" (what I wanted never coincided with what was convenient for me). Quoting Agudelo Rios on the peace dialogues could be seen as a way for the FARC to remind the Colombian population that they, the FARC, have always had the desire to have peace in Colombia.

Quoting idealists such as Benjamin Franklin, Cicero and John Lennon was an expected move from the FARC, as in some fashion they intended to present themselves as idealists similar to the quoted people. This move, in turn, was a good argumentative strategy, as the

FARC was able to appeal to these idealists' characters and credentials, as well as the audience's emotions towards the quoted person. In addition, this was a way to show their audience that they are literate people who know about different cultural areas such as literature, poetry and music. Lastly, as all these people have also been considered to have revolutionary ideas, quoting them is a way to instill in people's minds that the idea that revolution should not be considered negative.

Another expected move was the quoting of Pope Francis, which is a good technique in trying to gain trustworthiness, appealing to people's emotions. As mentioned before, Colombia is a country that has been traditionally Catholic, and quoting the patriarch of the Catholic religion may imply that both entities, FARC and Pope Francis, share the same type of ideals. In addition, and similar to the Colombian government's data, it was also expected for the peace process documents to be quoted, as it is a way to show that every political side is working on what was previously planned, as a way to say "we (either the government or the FARC) work by the book."

A strategic move that I did not expect to see was the quoting of President Santos in a positive way by the FARC. To my surprise, the FARC decided to quote President Santos on the things both parties agreed on. Although this move gives support for my predictions (it is an attempt to show camaraderie), I was expecting the FARC to quote the Colombian president as a way to blame him for the country's situation. In other words, I was expecting the FARC to hold President Santos accountable for any actions occurring during the peace process, similar to what the Colombian government did in their communiqués. In my opinion, the fact

that the FARC decided to quote President Santos in a positive way can be seen from two angles:

1) by appealing to the President's character and credentials in a positive way, the FARC was able to create a larger action of persuasion, as nobody expected this move; 2) this positive quoting can be seen as an attempt to separate the Colombian government from President Santos. By quoting John Agudelo Rios and separating President Santos from the Colombian government, I believe the FARC wanted the Colombian people to assume that they have always wanted to make peace but that the government has not always had the proper people with whom to talk about agreements. Now that Colombia has a leader with whom the FARC share some points of view, they want to make peace as much as the nation's president, which can be considered an alignment tactic to show they were actually coming closer to an agreement for peace.

The FARC made use of people who were recognized, admired and respected by the Colombian people, so these quoted people had a better likelihood of being trusted, based on their character and credentials and the emotion the audience feels about the quoted person. By quoting people from their own political side (Timoleon Jimenez and Jacobo Arenas, both top leaders of this guerrilla group), together with all the above-mentioned quoted people, the FARC implemented a good strategy, as it appears they share common ideals, which by default is an attempt to not only share their revolutionary ideas, but their qualities. This action can be seen as an attempt to give more credibility to the political party's own words by presenting both entities, the FARC and the quoted people, as entities who share similar visions of the world.

### **5.3.3.1. Direct Quotations as Existential Presuppositions**

#### **a. Predictions**

Based on the scholastic information presented above, I hypothesize that in political communiqués similar to the ones presented during the peace dialogue process between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC:

- Direct quotations will share the same characteristics that existential presuppositions have:
  - Capacity to be taken for granted;
  - Capacity to survive under negation (Kong 1988, Heim 1983, Simmons 2006, Huang's 2007, Van Dijk 1976, Cummins et al, 2012).
- Direct quotations will behave as an existential presupposition trigger, which means that the presupposed information part will be difficult to detect (Abbaspour et al 2012 pg. 742).
- One of the main purposes of the use of direct quotations as existential presupposition triggers will be to create an “ideological reconditioning” (Berlin 2011 pg. 35). This means that every political side will attempt to convince the Colombian population that their ideology and way to do things is the best way to find peace in Colombia.

## **b. Data**

As it was presented at the beginning of this section, this study found a total of 88 direct quotations, 48 presented by the Colombian government and 40 by the FARC (see Page 6 Government's Direct Quotation Divided by Entity Quoted and Page 13 FARC's Direct Quotation Divided by Entity Quoted).

## **c. Data - Colombian Government**

In regards to the Colombian government, the following is the data found in terms of direct quotations that have the capacity to act as existential presuppositions:

- **Capacity to be taken for granted and survive under negation, and presupposed information difficult to detect:** All 48 quotes fulfilled the characteristics of a presupposition and an existential one, which means that 100% of the quotes had the capacity to be taken for granted, could survive under negation, and were difficult to detect. As shown on examples (59) and (60):

(59) “...como lo dijo Aristy Del Cavani el canciller venezolano **‘en el campo queremos que cada fusil sea reemplazado por un tractor’**” (...as Aristy Del Cavani, Venezuelan chancellor said: **“we want in the countryside every rifle to be replaced by a truck”**) (Cycle 13).

>> There is a Venezuelan chancellor who is talking about the Colombian peace agreement.

>> Someone has filled the countryside with rifles.



>> Even if there was not a desire to replace every rifle for a truck on the countryside, someone still filled it up with rifles

>> The ones who have filled up the countryside with rifles (FARC) did bad and now we want to do something good by replacing them with trucks.

>> The Colombian government is blaming the FARC for giving rifles to the farmers which have caused war in the countryside. Similarly, this government wants its people to start working on their lands as a way to achieve peace, BUT this information cannot be detected and consequently tried to be refuted by the FARC, for instance, because it is not directly pointed to anyone.

(60) “...*permítanme que cite las palabras que hace poco pronunció el papa francisco en una invocación por la paz él dijo ‘la búsqueda de la paz en la recta requiere paciencia y perseverancia’*” (Please allow me to quote those words that not long ago were pronounced by Pope Francis, during a calling for peace: **‘the search for peace on the road requires patience and perseverance’**) (Cycle 18).

>> Pope Francis is begging for Colombia to be a country at peace.

>> People need to be patient and persevering to obtain peace

>> Even if the speaker (de la Calle) would not be allowed to quote the Pope, he still called for peace.

>> Even if it wouldn't require patience and perseverance, there is still a need to keep the search for peace.

>> In the same way that the Pope is wise and begs for peace, we (the government) are wise and claim for peace as well.

>> If people do not want to be patient and persevering, is because they do not want peace, BUT nobody can actually say the government is directly blaming them, because this information is not easy to detect in order to refute it.

- **Ideological Reconditioning:** All 48 quotes were found to present information in a way that shows a Colombian government that is quite mindful of its people's expectations. This can be considered a government's strategy to make its people to agree more with the government's ideology. Examples of such reconditioning are presented in Examples (61) and (62):

(61) *"voy a repetir porque es esencial '**para cumplir con las expectativas de la sociedad sobre (un punto) un pronto acuerd'** es una copia textual."*

**(I'm going to repeat this because it is essential: “’o fulfill society’s expectations about an agreement to be achieved soon’ is a direct quote”**

(Cycle 14).

>> For those ones who still do not believe, we (the government) are only working to make the Colombian people's wishes come true soon.

>> The government wants to achieve an agreement soon.

>> I (Humberto de la Calle) am citing and emphasizing this idea because the Colombian people's expectations are very important for the government.

(62) *"quiero terminar recordando una declaración de la unesco que dice textualmente 'la guerra comienza en las mentes de los hombres y es que en ella donde se deben construir las bases de la paz'"* (I want to end by remembering a declaration made UNESCO which textually says: 'was starts on the minds of men and it is there where it is necessary to build the bases for peace') (Cycle 32).

>> For those who still do not believe the government, even UNESCO agrees that someone has filled people's minds with ideas of war.

>> The government is right to want to have ideas of peace, and the ideas it is planting on people's minds are those of peace.

>> All the government wants to do is to find peace and its ideas go towards that goal.

The data found in the Colombian government communiqués was expected, taking into account that this political side wanted to make sure the Colombian people see them as the ones who take care of the country and look out for its well being.

#### **d. Data - Guerrilla Group FARC**

- **Capacity to be taken for granted and survive under negation, and presupposed information difficult to detect:** Similar to the Colombian government's data, all 40 quotes

found in the FARC's data fulfilled the characteristics of a presupposition and an existential one. Once again, this means that 100% of the quotes had the capacity to be taken for granted, could survive under negation, and were difficult to detect:

(63) “*Porque como lo denunciaba Bolívar hace muchos años: ‘aquí las leyes están hechas para enredar a los débiles y dar ninguna traba a los fuertes.’*” (As Bolivar used to report long time ago: ‘here the law is made to confuse the weak, and to give no problem to the strong ones’) (Cycle 20).

>> Simon Bolivar used to think that the laws created by government are not good for the people (and so do we).

>> The only thing the government wants to do is to confuse the Colombian population.

>> The strong ones (the government) are the bad ones and that create laws only to favor themselves, and we (FARC) want to fight against that.

>> As the liberator believed, we also believe that the government is only trying to confuse the Colombian people.

>> The message FARC wants to give is that they are the ones who speak clearly and do not want to confuse Colombian people, as the government does, BUT this is a claim the government cannot argue because it is not easy to detect in order to refute it.

(64) “*¡Ya es la hora de opciones sabias y valientes ! La paz llegará pronto a los Colombianos’.* Así lo anhela el mundo entero, ‘alcanzarla es un signo

*de esperanza para todos, ' nos han dicho!* ('It is time for wise and brave options! Peace will soon arrive to the Colombian people'<sup>11</sup>. This is the wish of the entire world. 'to reach it (peace) is a sign of hope for everybody" we have been told'<sup>12</sup>) (Cycle 20).

>> The decisions that have been made up to this point (by someone) are neither wise nor brave.

>> The people who have been taken decisions are not wise or brave, therefore are bad, but we (FARC) are not like that.

>> Now that someone else (FARC) is working towards this goal, Colombia will have peace.

>> With this quote, the FARC is telling the Colombian government that they have not made wise decisions, and they are calling these government officials cowards; however, these claims can neither be refuted nor argued, because this information is not easy to detect at first sight.

- **Ideological Reconditioning:** In regards to ideological reconditioning, all 40 quotes presented information intended for the Colombian population to agree more with the guerrilla group than the Colombian government's ideology. Similar to the Colombian government's case, during this study it has been seen how the FARC have historically been considered the bad ones, and it is for this reason that the FARC is ideally making use of

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<sup>11</sup> Pope Francis

<sup>12</sup> In this example I am only analyzing the first quote.

these quotes in order to change the mind of any Colombian person who may think that way.

This ideological reconditioning can be observed in (65) and (66):

(65) “*con el fin de darnos todos en palabras de García Márquez: ‘una segunda oportunidad sobre la tierra’*” (In order for all of us to give ourselves, in the words of Garcia Marquez: “a second chance here on earth”) (Cycle 24).

>> For those ones who do not believe us, Garcia Marquez also thinks that we all deserve a second chance.

>> We (FARC) want to have a second chance, but someone does not want to give it to us.

>> We (FARC) believe in second chances, and we want to have one to do things differently.

>> We are quoting Gabo (Garcia Marquez) because we believe in his words (so, in theory, we share the same type of ideals).

>> Maybe you (the Colombian population) have always considered us the bad ones, but that is not true, and for that reason we want a second chance.

(66) “*‘el que siembra amor, cosecha amor y el que siembra amor, amor tendrá’* coincidiendo con el papa francisco debemos insistir en que no tenemos derecho a permitirnos otro fracaso más en este camino de paz y reconciliación.” (**‘The one who plants love, harvest love, and the one who plants love, will have love’** agreeing with Pope Francis we must insist

that we should not allow ourselves to fail once more in this road of peace and reconciliation” (Cycle 41).

>> For those ones who do not believe us, at least believe the Pope.

>> We believe in the Pope’s words, and we are doing what he says: we are planting love.

>> There might be some other ones (Colombian government) who are not planting love.

>> Maybe you (the Colombian population) have always considered us the bad ones, but that is not true, what we do is to ‘plant love,’ and for that reason we want to ‘have love.’

#### **e. Data Interpretation**

After observing how the direct quotations found in this study behave like existential presuppositions, it can be said that these data support the predictions made in this study and the results were as expected. When analyzing the direct quotations presented by both peace agreement parties, this study found the same characteristics embedded in both of them, regardless if the quoted person was someone known or unknown (a famous person versus a regular Colombian citizen); the way the quotations were presented intended the audience to take for granted the existence of the quoted person or to assume the existence of the quoted person as common knowledge. All the quotes found in the communiqués had the capacity to behave as existential presuppositions, as they were able to:

- survive under negation;

- information could be taken for granted;
- presupposed information was difficult to detect and refute;
- and it embeds information intended to do ideological reconditioning.

So, it is already known the way presuppositions work. In addition, we have already observed how the presuppositions found in these types of political communiqués intend to make each political side save face (Goffman, 1967, g. 5-45) while making their counterpart look bad. Also, it has been seen that both direct quotations as well as presuppositions are being used to disseminate each political side's ideology, in a covert way, to their audience. For this reason, this study believes that, when using direct quotations in political communiqués, what the speaker is trying to make its audience presuppose is not the person who is being quoted or the quote per se, but the ideological message. The use of direct quotations during political communiqués is a key successful strategy for the parties involved, as they use the quoted person's character and credentials and the emotions the audience may feel towards the quoted person to establish camaraderie with the audience, which in turn makes not only the quoted message believable, but the ideological message as well. It seems like the speaker influenced the listener to think in the following way:

"Well, I know that Simon Bolivar existed and I know how good he was. So, if this person is saying that Simon Bolivar said this, it must be true, and, if this person is quoting someone like Simon Bolivar in this positive way, it is because he agrees with the views of the liberator, which makes me assume that he shares similar ideas with the liberator, which makes me think that, knowing Simon



Bolivar's credentials, I'm going to assume that what he said is true, and if this is the case, and this political side is using him as a representative of their opinions, it means that this political side have the same positive characteristics of the person who they are quoting."

Needless to say, this is a path of thought this study is assuming to be present in the audience's mind, and it could explain the way that ideology can be transmitted by using a person's character and credentials and the emotions the audience may feel about the quoted person as a supportive background in order to disseminate an ideological message. Moreover, the part that makes the use of a direct quotation behave as an existential presupposition is the fact that the ideology or presupposed message is hard to be negated. This process becomes even harder if we take into consideration that this is a unidirectional type of communication.

In addition, there was also an ideological message embedded in each direct quotation, and even though this message varied depending on the political party using the quotes, it was constantly aligned with the general ideology presented by each political side throughout the entire set of communiqués. As it has been seen throughout this study, from presuppositions and direct quotations, and in the next section on evidential markers, the Colombian government's ideology has constantly implied this sense of the government being the one who is in power, the one who protects its people and knows what is good for them (therefore they tell its people what to do), the historically good ones. On the other hand, the FARC continued to be portrayed as the bad ones, as the ones who need to have harmed the country and this is the same ideological reconditioning observed on this data.

Moreover, in order to achieve this ideological reconditioning, it was observed how both parties used largely two main types of categories to appeal to the Colombian population: a) people in a position of political or social power, and b) people in a position of emotional power. This strategy can be considered a successful one in order to give strong support to their arguments, as the Colombian people care and/or respect the characters that were quoted, which in turn can facilitate them believing in the presented argument.

#### 5.4. Evidential Markers

The last element analyzed in the data found in the communiqués of the peace dialogue process were evidential markers. Similar to presuppositions and direct quotations, I wanted to analyze how the presence of evidential markers in the peace dialogue process may have facilitated or hindered the transmission and reconstruction of ideology. As a brief reminder, evidential markers present the audience with the “evidence for making factual claims” (Anderson 1982: 273), the “attitude the speaker has towards knowledge” (Chafe 1986: 268) and the “the grammatical marking of the source of evidence for a proposition” DeLancey (2001:372). Based on the knowledge found in the literature review, this study considered acceptable evidential markers the ones present on (67), (68), (69), (70) and (71) (evidential marker shown in bold):

(67) Reliability: “*Cerramos un año de trabajo intenso y productivo en la mesa de conversaciones de la Habana, **habríamos querido**, hay que confesarlo, presentar mayores resultados, pero en todo caso avanzamos*” (We are closing a very intense and productive year of conversations at the table in the Habana, we

**might** have liked, we have to be honest, to present higher results, but at least we advance) (Colombian government, Cycle 18).

(68) Modes of Knowing: “*Donde se desenvuelven las conversaciones por la paz de Colombia, **que** sin las bases **que** ustedes cimientan, no tendrían la trascendencia **que** merece*” (Where the peace agreements are being developed, **that** wouldn’t have the importance **that** it deserves, without the bases **that** you have placed” (FARC, Cycle 1).

(69) Source of Knowledge: “*Con este resultado concreto avanzamos y **sentimos** el apoyo de los Colombianos*” (With this concrete result we move on and we feel the Colombian people’s support) (Colombian government, Cycle 12).

(70) Matching Knowledge Against Verbal Resources: “*Recientemente **escuchamos** al jefe de la delegación del gobierno, Dr. Humberto de la Calle y al presidente Juan Manuel Santos referirse a la necesidad de reconocer la naturaleza del delito político y sus conexidades...*” (We have recently **heard** the head of the Colombian delegation, Dr. Humberto de la Calle and the president Juan Manuel Santos talking about the need to take responsibility about the reasons for the political crimes and their tights [to other things]) (FARC, Cycle 31).

(71) Matching Knowledge Against Expectations: “*...queremos por encima de todo que esa verdad, o esas verdades, no tenemos problema en eso, todas afloren y se **conozcan**...*” (...we want above all that this truth, or those truths, we have no

problem with that, come out to the surface and get be **known...**) (Colombian government, Cycle 22).

**a. Predictions**

Based on the scholastic information presented in this study, it is predicted that evidential markers present on the Colombina government and the guerrilla group FARC during the peace dialogues:

- will show the way each political side looks at the information present (first hand, second hand, etc.);
- will show the vision and the attitude each political side has towards what it is being said at the peace dialogue process, which means how responsible they want to be about the information they present on their communiqués.

**b. Data**

Having the above-mentioned examples as a base, this study found a total of 4,149 evidential markers, 1,963 in the government's and 2,187 in the FARC's communiqués. In what follows, I will present a more detailed evidential analysis divided by discursive political side.

**5.4.1. Evidential Markers in the Colombian Government**

The analysis of the communiqués presented by the Colombian government during the peace dialogue process showed the presence of a total of 1,956 evidential markers. Table XXIV shows the number of markers based on each one of the taxonomic categories:

Category	Quantity	Percentage
Hearsay	863	43.9%
Deduction	582	29.7%
Induction	353	17.9%
Matching against expectations	92	4.6%
Belief	34	1.7%
Sensory Evidence	26	1.5%
Matching against verbal	12	0.7%
Reliability	0	0%
Total	1963	100%

TABLE XXIV. EVIDENTIAL MARKERS FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT' COMMUNIQUÉS BASED ON BERLIN AND PRIETO-MENDOZA'S (2014) TAXONOMY CHART

As it can be seen, there were three evidential markers that have the highest number of tokens in the Colombian Communiqués: markers of hearsay with 863 instances (43.9%), markers of deduction with 582 instances (29.5%) and markers of induction with 353 times (17.9%). After these three main markers, this study found markers of matching against expectation 92 times (4.6%), markers of belief 35 times (1.7%), markers of sensory evidence 26 times (1.5%) and markers of matching against verbal resources 12 times (0.7%). Finally, this study did not find any markers of reliability used on the government's communiqués. In what follows, I will present in more detail the markers used by this political party according to every category.

#### **5.4.1.1. Markers of Hearsay Found in the Colombian Government**

According to this study, the Colombian government made use of 863 markers of hearsay, explained in detail in Table XXV. As it can be seen the marker of hearsay with the highest frequency was the reportative “*que*” (that) with 825 tokens. This study then found in a vastly different amount the marker “*de que*” with 32 tokens (3.7%), “*dicen que*” with only 6 tokens

(0.3%), and there were no instances found of the marker “*dizque*” used by the Colombian government. (72), (73), (74) are examples of the markers of hearsay found in the Colombian government data.

Marker of Hearsay	Token	Percentage
Reportative “que” (that)	825	96%
De que (that)	32	3.7%
Dicen que (people said that)	6	0.3%
Dizque <sup>13</sup>	0	0%
Total	863	100%

TABLE XXV. CATEGORY MARKER OF HEARSAY FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(72) “... *en unas FARC-ep desarmadas **que** tendrán la plenitud de las garantías democráticas*” (...on an unarmed FARC-ep **that** will have plenty of democratic warranties” (Cycle 2).

(73) “... *no tenemos plazos para cada punto, somos en cambio conscientes **de que** es necesario avanzar sin pausa...*” (...we do not have a deadline for every point [of discussion], on the other hand we are aware **that** it is necessary to continue moving forward without a pause...) (Cycle 4).

(74) “*En esta ocasión, y no es la primera vez que ocurre, **dicen que** el gobierno está negociando la reducción de las fuerzas armadas de Colombia y la desmilitarización de las zonas de reserva campesina...*” (This time, and it is not

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<sup>13</sup> Dialectical form of “de que” (that)

the first time this happens, it is been said **that** the government is negotiating the reduction of the Colombian army as well as the farmers protection zones' demilitarization...) (Cycle 24).

#### 5.4.1.2. Markers of Deduction Found in the Colombian Government

The second category most commonly used was Deduction with 582 instances. Table XXVI presents the markers found with their respective number of tokens. In this regard, the Colombian government used the future indicative tense 299 times (51.3%), followed by the use of “*tener que*” (to have to) 101 times (17.4%), the verb “*poder*” (may, might, can, could) 72 times (12.4%) and the verb “*deber*” (Should, shall) 71 times (12.2%). Finally, this study found the use of the conditional 31 times (5.4%) and the use of the imperfect tense only 7 times (1.3%). (75) through (80) provide examples of the way this party made use of the markers of deduction on their political communiqués.

Marker of Deduction	Tokens	Percentage
Future Indicative (will + verb)	299	51.3%
Tener que (To have to)	101	17.4%
Poder (may, might, can could)	72	12.4%
Deber (should, shall)	71	12.2%
Conditional (would + verb)	31	5.4%
Imperfect	7	1.3%
Total	582	

TABLE XXVI. CATEGORY MARKER OF DEDUCTION FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(75) “Sin embargo, **tenemos que** reconocer que estos esfuerzos de transparencia no han sido suficientes...” (Nevertheless, **we have to** admit that these clarity 's efforts have not been enough...) (Cycle 29).

(76) “Si las FARC quieren participar en el debate público, lo que **deben hacer** es avanzar rápidamente hacia un acuerdo para terminar el conflicto...” (If FARC want to participate in public debate, what they **must do** it to quickly advance towards an agreement that ends the conflict...) (Cycle 21).

(77) “Como hemos dicho en otras oportunidades, unos serán los esfuerzos que **podemos** poner en marcha antes de la terminación del conflicto armado...” (As we have previously said, there are some efforts that **we may** put to run before the end of the armed conflict...) (Cycle 42).

(78) “...y la señal que están mandando con este secuestro es todo lo contrario de lo que **deberían** estar haciendo.” (...and the message they are sending with this kidnapping is all the contrary to what they **should be doing**) (Cycle 5).

(79) “Durante la fase de conversaciones, la delegación del gobierno insistió en que la satisfacción de los derechos de las víctimas era una condición imprescindible para cualquier acuerdo de terminación del conflicto, y acordó con las FARC que **sería** uno de los puntos de la agenda” (During the conversations stage, the government’s delegation emphasized that a total satisfaction of the victims’ rights was an essential condition to end the conflict, and it [the government] agreed with FARC this one **would be** one of the agenda’s points) (Cycle 26).



(80) “...desde ese mismo momento **éramos** también conscientes de la necesidad de comunicar a los Colombianos los avances de la mesa que contribuyen a la transparencia del proceso” (...and from that same moment we were also aware of the need to let the Colombian people know about the development on the table that contribute to the clarity of the process) (Cycle 29).

#### 5.4.1.3. Markers of Induction Found in the Colombian Government

Markers of Induction was the third category most used by the Colombian government with 353 instances. Table XXVII presents the use of the present perfect as the marker with the highest frequency. This study then found the use of the verbs highlight (*resaltar*) and seem (*parecer*) as second and third markers and with a vast difference in number of tokens (*parecer* with 9 tokens, 2.6%, and *resaltar* 6 with tokens, 1.6%.) (81) and (82) are examples of the above-mentioned findings.

Marker of Induction	Tokens	Percentage
Present perfect	338	95.8%
Parecer “Seem”	9	2.6%
Resaltar “Highlight”	6	1.6%
Total	353	100%

TABLE XXVII. CATEGORY MARKER OF INDUCTION FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(81) “...para la delegación del gobierno es importante **resaltar** que esta circunstancia...corresponde exactamente al talante de tolerancia, dignidad y evaluación tranquila y razonada que constituye...el curso de las conversaciones...”  
 (...for the government's delegation it is important **to highlight** that this

circumstance...is an exact result of the kind of tolerance, dignity and relaxed and reasoned evaluation that constitutes...the way the conversations are going” (Cycle 32).

(82) “*Siempre hemos sostenido que la verdad es el tema central frente a las víctimas del conflicto...*” (We **have always said** that the truth is the main topic in regards to the conflict 's victims...” (Cycle 22).

#### **5.4.1.4. Markers of Matching Against Expectations Found in the Colombian Government**

The following marker found in terms of frequency of use by the Colombian government was Marker of Matching Against Expectations. There were only 92 instances where this type of marker was used, having the verb “*conocer*” (to know) as the most commonly used, with 37 tokens or 40.3% of the time, followed by the verb “*saber*” (to know as well), with 31 tokens or 33.7%. In addition, this political party made use of the verb “*considerar*” (to consider) 9 times (9.8%), and the verb “*concluir*” (to conclude) 7 times (7.6%). Then, this political party made use of the verbs “*demostrar*” (to demonstrate) and “*concebir*” (to conceive) only 4 times each (4.3%). Lastly, this study did not find any instances of the use of the verbs “*confirmar*” (to confirm) or “*sugerir*” (to suggest) on the communiqués delivered by the Colombian government. (83) through (88) are examples of the marker of matching against expectations data.

Matching Against	Tokens	Percentage
Conocer (to know)	37	40.3%
Saber “To know”	31	33.7%
Considerar (to consider)	9	9.8%
Concluir (To conclude)	7	7.6%
Demostrar (To prove)	4	4.3%
Concebir (To conceive)	4	4.3%
Confirmar (To confirm)	0	0%
Sugerir (To suggest)	0	0%
Total	92	100%

TABLE XXVIII. CATEGORY MARKER OF MATCHING AGAINST EXPECTATIONS FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(83) “*La mesa no fue un ejercicio de condescendencia, ni de intercambio de impunidades, pero sí significa para mí que he crecido espiritualmente, que hoy **conozco** mejor a Colombia...*” (The table (of conversations) was neither a complaisance exercise nor a impunities exchange, but for me it means that I have grown spiritually, that today **I know** Colombia better...) (Closing Communiqué).

(84) “*Los familiares de las personas que fueron dadas por desaparecidas tienen derecho a sanar las heridas a través de la ubicación de los restos y tienen derecho **a saber** que sucedió*” (The family of those people who was thought to have disappeared have the right to heal their wounds by finding their family member’s remainings and have the right **to know** about what happened ([o them]) (Cycle 42).

(85) “*...es un acuerdo que es necesario **considerar** en su integralidad como lo acabamos de decir*” (...it is an agreement that is necessary **to be considered** as a whole as we have just mentioned) (Cycle 44).

(86) “...verán que hemos informado lealmente y deberán **concluir** que no hay nada oculto” (...[they] will see that we have informed them honestly and should **conclude** that nothing has been hidden) (Cycle 29).

(87) “Agradecemos a los países garantes, Cuba y Noruega, a los acompañantes, Chile y Venezuela, que han **demostrado** enorme profesionalismo y dedicación...”  
(We thank the warrant countries, Cuba and Norway, and the companion ones, Chile and Venezuela, that have **proved** to have a great deal of professionalism and dedication...) (Closing Communiqué).

(88) “...porque? porque el gobierno **concibe** la verdad como un instrumento real para la paz y no como una herramienta táctica para las negociaciones...” (Why? because the government **conceives** truth as a real instrument for peace and not as a tactic tool for negotiations) (Cycle 22).

#### 5.4.1.5. Markers of Sensory Evidence Found in the Colombian Government

The next category of marker used by this political party were Markers of Sensory. This study found the use of the verb “*ver*” (to see) 70% of the time (18 tokens) followed by the use of the verb “*sentir*” (to feel) at 27% of the time (7 tokens). Lastly it was found the expression “*se ve*” (it can be seen) at 3% of the time (1 token). (89), (90) and (91) are examples of the markers of sensory present on this political party’s data.

Marker of Sensory	Tokens	Percentage
Ver (To see)	18	70%
Sentir	7	27%
Se ve (It can be seen)	1	3%
Total	26	100%

TABLE XXIX. CATEGORY MARKER OF SENSORY FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(89) “...para que las víctimas sean reconocidas como lo que son, ciudadanos como nosotros que **vieron** sus derechos vulnerados” (...so the victims can be recognized as what they are, citizens like ourselves, who **saw** their rights violated) (Cycle 37).

(90) “...así lo **siento**, creo que tenemos una oportunidad concreta para ponerle fin a 50 años de dolor y violencia de muertes absurdas” (...that is how I **feel** it, I believe we have a real opportunity to end these 50 years of pain, violence and absurd deaths) (Cycle 19).

(91) “Como **se ve**, se trata de una participación en forma de propuestas para la mesa de conversaciones sobre los puntos de la agenda pactada” (As **it can be seen**, this is about participation in the shape of proposals for the table of conversations about the topics already established on the agenda) (Cycle 3).

#### 5.4.1.6. Markers of Belief Found in the Colombian Government

This study then found 34 instances of the the use of the category Markers of Belief by the Colombian government. The verb “*creer*” (to believe) was used 67% of the time (2 tokens) and the use of the verb “*imaginar*” (to imagine) 33% of the time (1 token). (92), (93) and (94) provide

examples of the way this political side made use of the Markers of Belief on their political communiqués.

Marker of Belief	Tokens	Percentage
Creer (To believe)	27	77%
Imaginar (To imagine)	5	14%
Suponer (To suppose)	2	9%
Total	34	100%

TABLE XXX. CATEGORY MARKER OF BELIEF FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(92) “*No creo que la pretendida autoría remota de esa información desde las selvas de Colombia...desdibuje la grave circunstancia de que fue difundida por canales habituales de comunicación de ese grupo*” (**I do not believe** that the pretended information’s remote ownership from the Colombian forest...blur the fact that it was disseminated throughout the regular channels this group usually uses) (Cycle 28).

(93) “*Desde ese lugar tiene que contribuir también a los propósitos del sistema de justicia, el proceso en general de reparar a las víctimas y asegurar la no repetición de diferentes maneras que ustedes se pueden **imaginar***” (From that place they will have to contribute to the justice system’s purposes, the general process to repair the victims and to ensure this will not happen again in different ways that you can **imagine**) (Cycle 41).

(94) “...mis convicciones y valores siguen intactos, **supongo** que lo mismo ocurre con los miembros de la guerrilla” (...my beliefs and values are still intact, and **I suppose** the same thing happens with the guerrilla members) (Closing Communiqué).

#### 5.4.1.7. Matching Against Verbal Resources Found in the Colombian Government

The last category of evidential marker used by this political party was Matching Against Verbal Resources. In this regard, this study found twelve (12) instances where the verb “*oir*” (to listen) was used. (95) is an example of this evidential marker.

Marker of Matching against	Tokens	Percentage
Oir (To listen)	12	100%

TABLE XXXI. CATEGORY MATCHING AGAINST VERBAL RESOURCES FOUND IN THE COLOMBIAN GOVERNMENT

(95) “Queremos **oir** de su propia voz la forma que mejor nos conduzca a construir acuerdos que respondan a sus necesidades ...” (We want **to listen** from your own voice about the best way that could help us build agreements that could be an answer to your needs...) (Cycle 28).

#### 5.4.1.8. Markers of Reliability Found in the Colombian Government

No Markers of Reliability were found used in the communiqué presented by the Colombian government. This type of finding was expected, as the use of markers such as “*evidentemente*” (evidently) and “*al parecer*” (it seems that) will imply that the speaker is making an assertion about the information he is presenting, and for that reason, he could later on be held accountable. This

could be considered a problem for this political party, as studies show politicians' tendency to detach themselves from their arguments in case those arguments are found to be flawed (Berlin & Prieto-Mendoza 2014).

#### **5.4.2. Evidential Markers Present in the Guerrilla Group FARC**

The analysis of the communiqués presented by the guerrilla group FARC during the peace dialogue process showed the presence of a total of 2,187 evidential markers. Table XXXII shows the number of markers based on each one of the taxonomic categories:

Category	Quantity	Percentage
Hearsay	1271	58.1%
Deduction	497	22.8%
Induction	258	11.9%
Matching against expectations	87	3.9%
Belief	42	1.9%
Sensory Evidence	28	1.3%
Matching against verbal	4	0.1%
Reliability	0	0%
Total	2187	100%

TABLE XXXII. EVIDENTIAL MARKERS FOUND IN THE FARC'S COMMUNIQUÉS BASED ON BERLIN AND PRIETO-MENDOZA'S (2014) TAXONOMY CHART

Based on Table XXXII, the evidential marker with the highest amount of frequency used by the FARC was the marker of hearsay with 1267 instances (58.1%). The second evidential marker most commonly used, and similar to the Government's case, was the Marker of Deduction, with 497 instances (22.8%), followed by the Markers of Induction 258 instances (11.9%). Moreover, the



FARC made use of the Markers of Matching Against Expectations 87 instances (3.9%), Markers of Belief 42 instances (1.9%) and Markers of Sensory Evidence 28 instances (1.3%). The marker with the least number of tokens was the Matching Against Verbal Resources with 4 instances (0.1%). Finally, and once again similar to the Colombian government's communiqués, there were no instances of Markers of Reliability. What follows is a more detailed presentation of the markers used by this political party according to every category.

#### **5.4.2.1. Markers of Hearsay Found in the FARC**

In regards to the Markers of Hearsay, the FARC made vast use of this same marker, as the Colombian government did. Table XXXIII shows the amounts of tokens and percentages of the tokens found.

Marker of Hearsay	Tokens	Percentage
Reportative “que” (that)	1239	97.5%
De que (that)	27	2.1%
Dicen que (people said that)	5	0.4%
Dizque <sup>14</sup>	0	0%
Total	1271	100%

TABLE XXXIII. CATEGORY MARKER OF HEARSAY FOUND IN THE FARC

As Table XXXIII presents, Both the FARC and the Colombian government made a very similar use of the Markers of Hearsay. For instance, the most used Marker of Hearsay was the reportative “que” (that) with 1239 tokens (97.5%), followed by “de que” (that) with 27 tokens (2.1%) and

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<sup>14</sup> Dialectical form of “de que” (that)

“*dicen que*” (people say that) with 5 tokens (0.4%). There were no instances of the marker “*dizque*” used by the FARC. (96), (97), (98) are examples of the markers found in this study.

(96) “*Humberto de la Calle ha reiterado **que** la orden presidencial a la fuerza pública es seguir persiguiendo a las FARC en todo el territorio nacional*” (Humberto de la Calle has reaffirmed **that** the presidential mandate is for the public force to continue prosecuting the FARC around the entire national territory) (Cycle 5).

(97) “*Igualmente somos conscientes **de que** la progresión de un acuerdo tan trascendental no puede ser interferida por los tiempos electorales y plazos legislativos*” (In the same way we are aware **that** the progression of such a transcendental agreement cannot be interfered by the election timelines and the legislative terms (Cycle 10).

(98) “*Las FARC quiere **decir que** la paz es de todos, que el destino de Colombia no puede ser el de la guerra*” (The FARC wants **to say that** peace is for everyone, that Colombia’s destiny cannot be the one of war) (Cycle 40).

#### 5.4.2.2. Markers of Deduction Found in the FARC

The second category most commonly used was Deduction. Table XXXIV presents the markers found with their respective number of tokens.

Marker of Deduction	Tokens	Percentage
Future Indicative (will + verb)	184	37%
Deber (should, shall)	109	22%
Poder (may, might, can, could)	83	17%
Conditional (would + verb)	61	12%
Tener que (To have to)	37	7.4%
Imperfect	23	4.6%
Total	497	100%

TABLE XXXIV. CATEGORY MARKER OF DEDUCTION FOUND IN THE FARC

As can be seen in Table XXXIV, future indicative was the most common marker of deduction found in the communiqués presented by the FARC with 184 tokens (37%). In regards to the modal verbs, this study found the presence of the verb “*deber*” (should, shall) 109 times (22%), followed by the verb “*poder*” (may, might, can, could) 83 times (17%) and then the verb “*tener que*” (to have to) 37 times (7.4%). Finally, the use of the conditional as evidential marker was found 61 times (12%) and the use of the imperfect 23 times (4.6%). (99) through (105) are examples of the data found:

(99) “*Del manejo inteligente e independiente que le demos entre todos a este asunto **dependerá** la reconciliación y la paz de Colombia*” (Colombia’s peace and reconciliation **will depend** on the intelligent and independent way with which we treat this topic) (Cycle 21).

(100) “*...con la perversa excusa de la lucha contra el narcotráfico **no se debe** seguir haciendo la guerra a las comunidades rurales...*” (...**there should not be** continued fighting the countryside communities with the perverse excuse to be fighting the narcotraffic) (Cycle 18).

(101) “*Si examinamos desapasionadamente las causas y el origen del conflicto social y armado, **podremos** encontrar más fácilmente el camino que conduce a la superación definitiva del mismo*” (If we examine dispassionately the reasons and origin of the armed and social conflict, **we might find** easily the road that can take us to its final overcome) (Cycle 26).

(102) “*...en este contexto los razonamientos de los altos funcionarios del estado que en apariencia **estarían** orientados a ampliar los contextos del delito político (...) en el fondo lo que buscan es el desprestigio de una fuerza rebelde...*” (...in this context, the way the high state officials think, those ones who **would be oriented** to amplify the context of the political crime) (Cycle 31).

(103) “*...no nos resignamos a que mientras se desarrollan los diálogos **tengamos que** contemplar la persecución, la criminalización y la muerte de muchos dirigentes populares y de oposición...*” (...we do not want to put up with the fact that, while the dialogues take place, **we have to** watch the persecution, criminalization and death of many popular and opposition leaders) (Cycle 19).

(104) “*...donde el soberano, que es el pueblo, **tendrá que** ser el protagonista principal*” (...where the sovereign, that is the people, **will have to be** the main character) (Cycle 1).

(105) “*...por determinación exclusivamente política del poder imperial, los que ayer **eran** guerrilleros, pasaron a ser de la noche a la mañana delincuentes terroristas*” (...because of an exclusive political determination of the imperial

power, those ones who **were** guerrillas yesterday, became from day to night terrorists' delinquents) (Cycle 20).

#### 5.4.2.3. Markers of Induction Found in the FARC

Induction was the third type of commonly found markers on the FARC communiqués (258 tokens). The most common marker in this category was the present perfect tense, used 95.7% of the time (247 tokens). The next markers found were the use of the verb “*parecer*” (to seem) with a significantly smaller percentage of instances, only 2.7% (7 tokens) and then the verb “*resaltar*” (to highlight) with only 1.6% (4 tokens). examples (106), (107) and (108) present some of the data found:

Marker of Induction	Tokens	Percentage
Present perfect	247	95.7%
Parecer “Seem”	7	2.7%
Resaltar “Highlight”	4	1.6%
Total	258	100%

TABLE XXXV. CATEGORY MARKER OF INDUCTION FOUND IN THE FARC

(106) “...con la firme determinación de alcanzar la más importante reivindicación del pueblo Colombiano en toda su historia, la que se **ha constituido** tal vez en el único propósito nacional...” (...really determined to reach the most important vindication the Colombian people has had in all its history, the one that **has become** maybe the only national purpose) (Cycle 8).

(107) “...como bien lo afirma el comandante de las FARC timoleón jiménez, cada vez el gobierno **parece** más empeñado en reducir los alcances del proceso de paz a la aceptación de condenas...” (...as rightfully claims the FARC commander, Timoleón Jimenez, the government **seems** every day more and more focused on reducing the capacity the peace process could have to accept penalties) (Cycle 35).

(108) “Queremos **resaltar** la importancia y compromiso que revisten propósitos necesarios como el de encontrar la coincidencia política de los sectores populares” (We want to **highlight** the importance and compromise that entitle the necessary proposals, such as the one to find political agreement on the popular sectors) (Cycle 25).

#### 5.4.2.4. Markers of Matching Against Expectations Found in the FARC

The third type of marker most commonly used in the analyzed communiqués by the FARC was Matching Against Expectations. Table XXXVI presents the number of tokens found.

Matching Against Expectations	Tokens	Percentage
Considerar (to consider)	26	30%
Saber “To know”	23	27%
Conocer (to know)	19	21.3%
Demostrar (To prove)	7	8.2%
Concebir (To conceive)	5	5.6%
Concluir (To conclude)	3	3.4%
Sugerir (To suggest)	3	3.4%
Confirmar (To confirm)	1	1.1%
Total	87	100%

TABLE XXXVI. CATEGORY MATCHING AGAINST EXPECTATIONS FOUND IN THE FARC

As observed on the above table the verbs “*considerar*” (to consider), “*conocer*” (to know), and “*saber*” (to know as well) were the most commonly found verbs with 26, 23 and 19 tokens respectively (30%, 27% and 19%). This study then found the use of the verb “*demostrar*” (to prove) 7 times (8.2%) and the verb “*concebir*” (to conceive) 5 times (5.6%). The verbs “*concluir*” (to conclude) and “*sugerir*” (to suggest) were found to be used 3 times each (3.4%) and finally there was only one instance found for the verb “*confirmar*” (to confirm) with 1.1%. (109) to (116) are examples of these type of markers :

(109) “*Las FARC e.p. **consideran** un contrasentido y de mal augurio para el país, que mientras que se coloca como fundamental en la búsqueda de la paz...el gobierno siga avanzando en el propósito de aprobar una legislación de tierras y desarrollo rural...*” (The FARC **considers** nonsense and bad luck for the country, the fact that while the finding of peace is supposed to be fundamental...the government continues with its mission to approve a land and countryside development legislation) (Cycle 4).

(110) “*¿Qué **saben** las autoridades sobre las operaciones realizadas por bancos de Medellín y Cali para lavar dinero de negocios sucios de los dos carteles del narcotráfico de ambas ciudad es?*” (What do the authorities **know** about the movements made by banks from Medellín and Cali, that were done to clean money from bad business from both of the narcotraffic cartels of both cities?) (Cycle 17).

(111) “Urge **conocer** la verdad porque la mayoría de esas tierras fueron despojadas violentamente por el paramilitarismo del estado” (It is really necessary **to know** the truth because most of those territories were violently emptied out by the st’te’s paramilitarism) (Cycle 12).

(112) “...y Gabriel, **demostrando** que la voluntad de paz de la guerrilla es tan alta como nuestras cordilleras y alcanza a tocar como diría Pablo Neruda el mismo invisible pecho del cielo” (...and Gabriel, **demonstrating** that the guerrillas’ desire for peace is as high as our mountain and it can reach, in Ner’da’s words, the ’ky’s clear chest itself) (Cycle 30).

(113) “...las realidades de un conflicto cuya historia tiene particularidades que reclaman salidas que deben ser **concebidas** fundamentalmente por sus propios protagonistas” (...the realities of a conflict whose history has particularities that demand solutions that should be **conceived** fundamentally by its own characters) (Cycle 33).

(114) “...sus **conclusiones** ha ido preparando el entendimiento de que la responsabilidad de lo acontecido...podía y debía evidenciarse más allá del señalamiento de una sola de las partes del conflicto como exclusivo victimario” (...their **conclusions** have been preparing the understanding that, the responsibility for what happened...could and should not only be proved by one of the confl’ct’s party as the solely victimary) (Cycle 44).



(115) “*conocidos sus resultados éstos no pueden ser archivados o arrojados al incendio del olvido como lo **sugiere** la indiferencia del gobierno*” (...and once the results are known, these cannot be archived or sent to be forgotten, as it seems to be **suggested** by the government’s indifference) (Cycle 34).

(116) “*...aprovechamos este cierre de ciclo para agradecer también las propuestas que el pueblo Colombiano nos aproximó..., los cuales **confirman** que la estrategia antidrogas del gobierno...es un fracaso*” (...we take advantage of this end of a cycle to thank the Colombian population as well for the proposals they have sent..., proposals that **confirm** that the government’s anti-war strategy...is failure) (Cycle 18).

#### 5.4.2.5. Markers of Belief Found in the FARC

Marker of Belief	Tokens	Percentage
Creer (To believe)	30	71%
Imaginar (To imagine)	9	21%
Suponer (To suppose)	3	8%
Total	42	100%

TABLE XXXVII. CATEGORY MARKER OF BELIEF FOUND IN THE FARC

The next set of markers found in this study of the FARC guerrillas’ communiqués was Markers of Belief. In this regard, this study found the use of the verb “*creer*” (to believe) 71% of the time (30 tokens), followed by the verb “*imaginar*” (to imagine) 21% and the verb “*suponer*” (to suppose) 3% of the times (9 and 3 tokens respectively). Examples (117) to (119) present some of the data found:

(117) “...*sólo así **creemos** que puede crearse una paz duradera*” (...**we believe** that only this way a long-lasting peace can be created) (Cycle 15).

(118) “***Imaginémonos** qué no habrán hecho personajes cómo Uribe Vélez en ocho años de un gobierno donde campeó la corrupción, la impunidad y el soborno*” (**Let’s imagine** all the things that someone like Uribe Velez may have done in eight years of a government where corruption impunity and bribery were the winners) (Cycle 21)

(119) “...*y es el estado el nuevo estado incluyente que **se supone** surgirá del acuerdo de paz el que asume la obligación específica de garantizar que todos quienes fueron victimizados sean reparados*” (...and it is the government the new inclusive government that is **supposed** to emerge from the peace agreement, [government] that will be obligated to make sure that every person who was victimized, find some reparation) (Cycle 44).

#### **5.4.2.6. Markers of Sensory Evidence Found in the FARC**

In regards to Markers of Sensory Evidence, this study found a total of 28 tokens. 50% of the time was the use of the verb “*ver*” (to see) (28 times), followed by the use of the verb “*sentir*” (to feel) (12 times) used 42.8% of the time and finally the expression “*se ve*” (it can be seen), which was found only two times (7.2%). (120) to (122) are examples of these type of markers:

Marker of Sensory	Tokens	Percentage
Ver (To see)	14	50%
Sentir (to feel)	12	42.8%
Se ve (It can be seen)	2	7.2%
Total	28	100%

TABLE XXXVIII. CATEGORY MARKER OF SENSORY EVIDENCE FOUND IN THE FARC

(120) “*Pretendimos hacer parapente la constituyente del 91 y se nos impidió, lo manifestamos en los diálogos de caracas y se nos desconoció el derecho, hoy **vemos** que es la solución a males que aquejan a la sociedad en su conjunto*” (We attempt to stop the constitution of 91 and we were stopped, the Caracas talks and our right was overlooked, today **we see** that this is the solution to all the problems that affect society as a whole) (Cycle 10).

(121) “*...aunque nos **sentimos** abrazados por el manto del deber cumplido, estamos redoblando nuestros esfuerzos para que podamos dar pronto la buena nueva de un informe satisfactorio sobre el punto de participación política*” (...although **we feel** covered with the veil of a fulfilled job, we are doubling our efforts so we can soon give good news about a satisfactory report about the point regarding political participation) (Cycle 15).

(122) “*Cada día **se ve** más necesario buscar un cese bilateral de fuego y de hostilidades, o en su defecto convenir un tratado de regularización de la guerra, como le hemos sugerido con reiteración.*” (Everyday **it seems** to be more necessary

to look for a bilateral ceasefire and hostilities, or at least create an agreement to regularize war, as we have suggested continuously) (Cycle 5).

#### 5.4.2.7. Matching Against Verbal Resources Found in the FARC

The last type of marker found in the communiqués offered by this guerrilla group was Matching Against Verbal Resources. As (123) exemplifies, this study found the use of the verb “*oir*” (to listen) only 4 times.

Marker of Matching against verbal resources	Tokens	Percentage
Oir (To listen)	4	100%

TABLE XXXIX. CATEGORY MATCHING AGAINST VERBAL RESOURCES FOUND IN THE FARC

(123) “...y la víctima deberán ser **oídas** antes de imponer sanciones a quienes reconozcan sus responsabilidades” (...and the victim will be **listened** to before and sanctions are imposed to those ones who assume their responsibilities) (Cycle 44).

#### 5.4.2.8. Markers of Reliability Found in the Guerrilla Group FARC

Finally, and similar once again to the Colombian government, there were no Markers of Reliability found in the communiqués presented by the FARC, which was expected based on the studies found on this topic. As Berlin & Prieto-Mendoza (2014) state, political parties prefer to detach themselves from their arguments, and consequently, they avoid the use of this category in order not to be held accountable for the information presented.

### c. **Data Interpretation**

After the presentation of the data found in the communiqués presented by the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC during the peace dialogues, this study will move to the data interpretation. In order to better develop this part, this study will first present the interpretation of the Colombian government's data followed by the interpretation of the FARC's data.

First of all, this study found that out of the 1,963 evidential markers used by the Colombian government, 1,832 were used to represent the way or mode information was acquired (Markers of Hearsay, Induction, Deduction). These markers represented 93.3% of the entire data.

When looking into more detail at the Mode of Knowing markers, this study found this political party had as the highest number of tokens used the reportative "*que*" (Hearsay), the use of present perfect (Induction) and the use of future indicative (Deduction).

The reportative "*que*" was used 96% of the time of Markers of Hearsay were used (825 out of 863 tokens), in which, in several cases, this reportative "*que*" is also the presentation of indirect quotations. These results make sense, as third-hand knowledge allows the speaker to relieve itself from ownership of its own words, which means that it gives the political side an opportunity to distance itself from the information presented to the audience.

The present perfect tense was used 338 times, 95.8% of the total Markers of Inductions used (338 out of 353 tokens). This is an expected marker to be used as well, as the present

perfect tense is used to talk about things that happened in the past but still have relevance in the present. In other words, the government uses this marker because there is a level of certainty to the things being said, plus also shows the continuing relevance of the topic (in contrast with the other two markers, “*parecer*” [seem] and “*resaltar*” [to highlight]).

Lastly, the future indicative was used 299 times, 51.3% of the total Markers of Deduction used (299 out of 582). This is another expected move, as this political party used it to talk about things that will happen in the future as a consequence of events that were happening at the moment of the dialogues.

Moving on, only 130 markers were actually used to present the source from where the knowledge was taken (Matching Against Expectations, Sensory Evidence, and Matching Against Verbal Resources), which makes up only for 6.4% of the data. This study did not find any use that was significant in this type of marker. Such results can also be said to be expected, taking into account that this type of marker will compromise the speaker more with what is being said, which is the opposite of what has traditionally been presented in this type of communication.

Finally, as previously stated, no Markers of Reliability were used by this political party.

Moving on, the data found in the communiqués presented by the guerrilla group FARC showed a similar pragmatic delivery to its counterpart, the Colombian government. Out of the 2,187 tokens found, the guerrilla group used 95% of the time (2,068 tokens) evidential markers

that represent the way information was acquired (Markers of Hearsay, Deduction, Induction and Belief).

When observing in more detail the Mode of Knowing markers, this political side also made use of, as did its political counterpart, the reportative “*que*” (hearsay), present perfect tense (Induction) and the Future Indicative (Federation).

The guerrillas group FARC used the reportative “*que*” 1,239 times, out of a total of 1,271 Markers of Hearsay, which makes up for 97.5% of the time. As previously mentioned, this is an expected move as third-hand knowledge allows this political side to distance itself from what is being said, which means that it gives the party an opportunity to avoid direct ownership of its own words.

Similarly, the primary use of the present perfect tense as a Marker of Induction was used 247 times out of a total of 258 instances, which makes up for 95.7% of the time. Considering this tense is used to talk about things that happened in the past but still have relevance in the present, these results were expected to be found.

Furthermore, the primary use of the future indicative, as a marker of deduction, was also an expected move found in this study. The FARC guerrillas’ communiqués contained 184 tokens (out of a total of 479), which made up for 37% of the time. This result was once again expected, as was the case in the Colombian government’s communiqués, as this political party used to talk about things that will happen in the future as consequence of events that were happening at the moment of the dialogues.

Also, only 2.3% of the time (31 tokens), this political side used markers that actually present the source from where the knowledge was taken (Matching Against Expectations, Sensory Evidence, and Matching Against Verbal Resources). Once again, this type of finding was unexpected, taking into account research shows the tendency politicians have of not owning their arguments.

The last aspect to mention, which also shares similarities with the Colombian government's communiqués, is the total absence of Markers of Reliability.

To conclude, it can be said the data found in the communiqués presented by both political parties during the peace dialogue process was expected and provides support for the predictions related to evidential markers made at the beginning of this study. In other words, the analyzed data showed how the Colombian government as well as the guerrilla group FARC made use of the evidential markers in order to show the way each looked at the information presented (first hand, second hand...), which, in turn, showed the vision and the attitude each political side has towards what is being said in the peace dialogue process. The way each side of the dialogue made use of the evidential markers showed how little responsibility each one wanted to have about the information presented on their communiqués.

By using a primarily third-hand source of knowledge, both the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC were attempting to disseminate their ideology but making statements to which they would not have to be held accountable for later. Also, aside from being expected, these results are similar to the findings of Berlin & Prieto-Mendoza (2014), as the Colombian government made use of more evidentials that will distance themselves from



the information (third-hand knowledge), and fewer evidentials that will demonstrate direct knowledge (first-hand information). These data can be understood as a desire from this political party to distance themselves from what is being said. In other words, because they are presenting their statements' mode of knowing but not the source of knowledge, they cannot be blamed for anything, as it could be the case that they understood the information in the wrong way, they heard that someone told someone else or that they heard someone saying something, and later on it was realized that information was not accurate; in other words, "it is not their fault."

Finally, it can be said that the data found in the communiqués delivered by the guerrilla group FARC during the peace dialogue process provide support for Hypothesis 3.4.1 of this study, as the evidential markers present in the presuppositions and direct quotations actually showed the detached vision this guerrilla group had towards this peace dialogue process, a vision manifested in the primary use of third-hand knowledge information.

## **VI. CONCLUSIONS AND FURTHER RESEARCH**

### **Conclusions**

The present study analyzed the communiqués offered by the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC during the Colombian peace dialogues. The analysis of such communiqués was done to observe and study the relations and dynamics of power present in this peace dialogue by the guerrillas and the Colombian government, in order to understand the way in which the communiqués contribute to the reproduction of power, dominance, and inequality in the process of the Colombian people's reconstruction of their point of view.

By using the Multilayered Model of Context framework and Critical Discourse Analysis theory, this study analyzed the presuppositions, direct quotations and evidential markers present in the communiqués delivered by the Colombian government and the FARC during the peace dialogue process. In addition, this study intended to investigate if existential presuppositions were present in these studied communications as the literature claims and also if direct quotations could be considered existential presuppositions during political communiqués, as these types of quotations share the same type of characteristics present in presuppositions.

In the case of presuppositions, for instance, this study found that both sides made use of repetition as a way to keep their agenda alive and their ideology in the minds of their audience, the Colombian population. Such a strategy was necessary when one considers that each party had the opportunity to speak to the Colombian population every month or month and a half. This repetition strategy can be described as productive for language manipulation because, within itself, there is some information the speaker would like their audience to assume as truth. In addition, the

information that was presupposed and repeated coincides with the expected information each party would need to deliver to disseminate their ideological values. Concepts of value and judgment, such as who is the good one or the bad one, or who is in a position of power, is information that could potentially make a person change perspective. This type of language manipulation is strategic for the expression of power and dominance in political communiqués and conforms to what has been previously found in scholarly research (Goffman 1955, Van Dijk 1996).

Moreover, when looking at the presence of existential presuppositions, it was found that these types of presuppositions were used as a means to indoctrinate their audience regarding who is in power, what the proper way is to view the situation and who is right or wrong. This study also found how the presuppositions found in this type of political communiqué serve to help each group save face (Goffman, 1967 pp. 5-45) while making their counterpart look bad.

In the case of direct quotations, both political parties made use of quotes from people in a position of power, emotional or sociopolitical. As indicated, quoting people in a position of power allows the speaker to create a stronger argument by appealing to the character and credentials of the communicator as well as the emotions the audience feel about the quoted person (Aristotle as discussed in Huckin and Olsen 1983). This study found that, when using direct quotations in political communiqués, what the speaker is trying to make his audience presuppose is not the person who is being quoted or the quote per se, but the ideological message. The use of direct quotations during political communiqués is a successful strategy for the parties involved, as they use the quoted person's character and credentials as well as the emotions the audience has towards the quoted person to establish camaraderie with such an audience.

For instance, the Colombian government made use of direct quotations to gain the favor of the Colombian people and to make their arguments more believable. Moreover, every quoted person was strategically selected and recognizable, so the audience could easily comprehend their character and/or their credentials and consequently believe what has been quoted on their behalf. For instance, quoting a humble farmer woman was a strategic move, because every Colombian person's ideology has the idea of a humble, old farmer woman as someone who would deserve respect and who would inspire trust. That was the type of message the Colombian government wanted to send with that quote: "if an old, humble farm woman, who has suffered first-hand the struggles of war, is talking about forgiveness, why couldn't the rest of the Colombian population think the same way?"

On the other hand, the guerrilla group FARC used quotes from people who are or have been considered revolutionaries in one way or another. In this way, this political side intended to change the connotation of revolution or revolutionary, by showing different types of people who have been considered revolutionaries because of their ideas, opinions, views of life, etc. (appealing to the audience's emotions). Moreover, the FARC also quoted people to whom the Colombian population could relate and trust more; in other words, the FARC had to make an extra effort to not only convey their character and credentials, but also appeal to the audience's emotions, in order to achieve a subtler dissemination of ideology.

Furthermore, it can be said that there is an ideological message embedded in each direct quotation, and its message was constant throughout the entire peace dialogue process, according to each political group. For instance, the Colombian government always presented themselves as the one in power, the one who protects its people and the one who knows what is good for them.

Also, most of their quotes were a reminder that people needed to give peace a chance. As expected, this same group always made sure the FARC was being portrayed as the bad ones, as the ones who have harmed the country.

Then, the analysis of evidential markers showed that both parties presented a higher use of markers that represented the way or mode that information was acquired (Markers of Hearsay, Induction, Deduction) versus markers that presented the source from where the knowledge was taken (Matching Against Expectations, Sensory Evidence, and Matching Against Verbal Resources). This is an expected result, as third-hand knowledge allows the speaker to be relieved from ownership of his/her own words, which means that it gives each political group an opportunity to distance itself from the information presented to the audience.

For this reason, it can be said that the evidential markers analyzed in this study showed each political group's vision and attitude towards what was being said in the prepared broadcast statements. This study could also observe the level of detachment that both the Government and the FARC presented when delivering their communiqués. By using primarily a third-hand source of knowledge, both groups were attempting to disseminate information with statements for which they would not have to be held accountable for later. Also, aside from being expected, these results are similar to the findings of Berlin & Prieto-Mendoza (2014), as both the Colombian government and the FARC made use of more evidential markers that distance themselves from the information (third-hand knowledge) and fewer markers that demonstrate direct knowledge (first-hand information).

Finally, when looking at the use of direct quotations as existential presupposition triggers, this study found that, in fact, these types of quotations showed the capacity to behave as existential

presuppositions, as they were able to survive under negation and their information could be taken for granted. Also, the presupposed information was difficult to detect and refute, and its embedded information intended to do ideological reconditioning. Furthermore, it could be seen that what makes direct quotations behave as existential presuppositions is the fact that the ideology or presupposed message is hard to be negated. This process becomes even harder if we take into consideration that this is a unidirectional type of communication.

Now, to answer the question that developed this project: were direct quotations, presuppositions and evidential markers used in the communiqués presented during the peace dialogues between the Colombian government and the guerrilla group FARC used to transmit an ideological agenda of power and dominance? The answer is yes.

As it was observed, this ideological transmission was done by strategically choosing the previously analyzed linguistic elements to achieve each side's communicative goal of winning the audience's favor. The analysis of these media statements showed the relations and dynamics of power present in this peace dialogue by the guerrillas and the Colombian government. When each party used presuppositions, for instance, it was possible to see the way they wanted to dominate their opponent, and to show their audience who was in a position of power. The use of direct quotations showed the face they wanted to portray to their audience, and the use of the evidential markers showed how accountable they wanted to be in regards to the information they were presenting. The results of this investigation showed that the three linguistic elements analyzed in fact collaborated in the dissemination of each political side's ideology and the transmission of their political agenda.

Finally, it can be said that the data resulting from the analysis of the communiqués delivered by the guerrilla group FARC and the Colombian government during the peace dialogue process provided support for the hypothesis presented at the beginning of this study. Also, it showed how each political side disseminated their political agendas as well as their ideologies throughout their communiqués, which in turn intended to change the context or “subjective mental mode of a situation” (Van Dijk, 2009, p.23), possibly in this case the Colombians’ perspective about the political and peace situation of the country. This study was done to fill a gap in the literature, as no study was found that looked into the communiqués presented during a peace dialogue situation, nor was there a Critical Discourse Analysis that looked at a particular set of linguistic elements present in political communiqués during a peace dialogue situation.

So what are the implications of this type of language manipulation during a peace dialogue? What happens when, during a political speech—more specifically, during a peace dialogue process—the speakers make use of language to disseminate their ideology? I think we can talk about two types of implications, social and linguistic.

We can talk about social implications, for instance, as the type of information disseminated in the above-mentioned study is problematic: people get unconsciously tired of hearing the same type of manipulated information and decide to stop worrying about what happens around them. This move can potentially leave the future of a country in the hands of people who only want to continue enacting social power abuse, dominance and inequality. For instance, it can be seen now that, five years after the signing of a peace agreement, there is a government that has not kept its word to fulfill its part of the agreement; it can also be seen in branches of an unarmed guerilla group who continues its fight. But, at the same time that some people decide to simply ignore what

happens around them, there are others who continue hearing and then decide to act. For instance, it could be said that the audience during this peace agreement may have gotten tired of hearing the same information, the same discourse, even without realizing it. The Colombian people may have gotten unconsciously fed up with both parties portraying themselves as the good ones, while their actions, their real message and their level of detachment presented in their communiqués were saying something else. It could be said that the consequence of people getting tired of this type of manipulated speech manifests, for instance, the vast number of strikes that happened in Colombia during May 2021, where Colombian people all around the world decided to protest against a government that doesn't seem to care about its people and an ex-armed group who seems to continue fighting and killing even its own members.

In regards to the linguistic implications, it is necessary to raise more awareness of the level of power language manipulation may have during a political discourse. It is necessary to diminish the level of control a political communiqué may have on an audience, and this goal can be achieved by raising awareness about the need for a conscious analysis of the context and linguistic structures present on such types of discourses. This level of language manipulation can be diminished by teaching at schools, for instance, about the type of linguistic elements that can be present in a discourse, as well as the logic behind the use of each one of those elements. People need to become aware of what they hear in order to be able to understand the real message behind the mere words. Another way to raise awareness is by making use of the media platforms that these days can be found in every home. An overly summarized version of studies of this kind has been presented here and could be presented on different media platforms, so people could start understanding the real messages they have been receiving. This is why studies of this kind need to be done.



### **a) Further Research**

After the analysis presented in this study, I believe there is a number of aspects that could deserve further thought and investigation. Among those aspects there can be found, for instance, the analysis of indirect quotations, a more detailed analysis of presuppositions and the analysis of evidential markers as existential presuppositions.

In regards to the first topic, it would be interesting to look at the number of indirect quotations present in the communiqués delivered by the Colombian government and the FARC. The study of indirect quotations in political discourses is a topic that has been previously studied (Fretzer, 2020, p. 89-100; Fretzer, 2021, p. 143; Kuo, 2007, p. 281-301; Marquez et al. 2009). These studies have seen the way indirect quotations can be used as a tool for persuasion: they tend to be used to disseminate ideological messages, and they have the capacity to contribute to the perception of interdiscursivity. A study of this kind could show if this linguistic element can also be used as a language manipulation tool during a political communiqué. In other words, it would be interesting to observe if indirect quotations could also be used for the transmission of political ideology in a covert way.

Moving into presuppositions, it could be interesting to do a study that would account for every type of presupposition trigger, or at least the most commonly found in political discourse according to the literature. This type of study could see if existential presuppositions are the most common type of trigger found, which would support the previous literature, or if there is another type of presupposition that will be the most important in political discourses.

Also, in the same way this study looked at direct quotations as a type of existential presuppositional trigger, it could be interesting to observe if evidential markers could also potentially share the same characteristics that this type of presupposition has in a political communiqué. If evidential markers were found to be a type of existential trigger, it could bring light to a new set of characteristics present on evidential markers and could expand the range of language manipulation on this type of linguistic element.

Finally, I would like to develop and expand this research in the creation of an academic class that will look into the different types of past and current conflicts through the lens of a particular linguistic element that may have been identified as a contributor to language manipulation. This kind of initiative has already started to take place in some higher education institutions, where students are learning to do fact checks and de-glossifying of political and media communiqués and discourses. This type of academic initiative could potentially expand the perspective and understanding of the real messages people receive everyday on the news, which will make a more aware and critical audience at the moment of receiving and analyzing information.

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