"I think any reasonable person will agree…": A corpus and text study of keywords in Irish political argumentation

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This paper brings a corpus and discourse perspective to bear on the investigation of the broader argumentative implications of keywords in the context of 20th-century Irish politics. On the basis of two corpora including Michael Collins' papers and Eamon de Valera's speeches and statements, a keyword-in-context analysis was performed. Results provide evidence of the persuasive power of keywords as signposts leading to a better understanding of culturally shared rules of inference in political discourse.

KEYWORDS: political argumentation, keywords, phraseology, corpus, text, Ireland.

1. INTRODUCTION

In their capacity as means of access to a shared body of knowledge, keywords have been researched from a variety of oft-interrelated perspectives. First of all, they have been investigated as cultural keywords, by focusing on their role as tools to gain access to the inner workings of a culture (Williams, 1976; Liebert, 2003; Wierzbicka, 2006). Secondly, keywords have been investigated as indicators of propositional content, namely as those pointing to the conceptual structure of a text and its overall aboutness, as it were (Scott, 1998; Bondi, 2010). Thirdly, they were dealt with as items allowing analysts to identify lexico-grammatical patterns and schemas across a wide range of discursive and/or disciplinary areas (Hunston & Francis, 1998; Stubbs, 1996 and 2001). Finally, keywords have been discussed in terms of their overall argumentative implications.

As far this last research strand is concerned, for instance, keywords were defined by Rigotti and Rocci (2005, p. 131) as words that act as *termini medii* in enthymematic arguments, operating at the same time "as pointers to an endoxon or constellation of endoxa that are

used directly or indirectly to supply an unstated major premise". In an attempt to define the structure of reasoning that underlies the connection between a standpoint and its supporting arguments, keywords have also been incorporated into the Argumentum Model of Topics (AMT) (Rigotti, 2008; Rigotti & Greco Morasso, 2010). By delving into the relationship between implicit premises of a material nature – chiefly, endoxa – and the level of explicit lexical choices, this approach proved most effective in shedding light on keywords as those terms "that activate cognitive frames from which endoxa are then drawn to be used in the argumentation" (Bigi & Greco Morasso, 2012, p. 1142).

In the interest of bringing such analytical insights as close together as possible, this study is aimed at bringing a corpus and discourse perspective (Baker, 2006; Fetzer, 2014; Baker & McEnery, 2015) to bear on the study of keywords in argumentation. More specifically, the research is intended to combine quantitative keyword analysis (Bondi & Scott, 2010) with the more essentially qualitative perspective provided by AMT. In order to accomplish this purpose, a preliminary study of keywords in political argumentation was undertaken, with Irish political discourse in historical rather than contemporary terms as a case in point. In that regard, Michael Collins and Eamon de Valera's discourse was chosen as the object of the investigation, not merely due to their undisputed political stature in the Irish context, but also because in spite of an ever growing body of research on their historical significance (Costello, 1997; Hart, 2005; Ferriter, 2007), their profile as arguers is still waiting to be fully elucidated (Mazzi, 2016).

The rest of the paper is organised as follows. In Section 2, corpus design criteria are discussed, and the methodological tools are introduced: this will allow for a presentation of the dataset as well as a preliminary review of the procedure(s) through which the data were studied. Section 3 then presents the findings of the study, which are eventually discussed in the light of the relevant literature in Section 4.

2. MATERIALS AND METHODS

The study centred on the two key figures behind the establishment of the modern Irish State in the first half of the twentieth century (Ryle Dwyer, 2006). First of all, Michael Collins (1890-1922), the revolutionary reader and dedicated organiser, Director of Intelligence of the Irish Republican Army during the Anglo-Irish War of Independence (1919-1921), member of the Irish delegation that signed the historical Anglo-Irish Treaty that would lay the foundations of the Irish Free State from January 1922, Chairman of the Provisional Government Cabinet and first Minister for Finance of the newborn Irish State. Secondly,

Eamon de Valera (1892-1975), formerly the Irish Volunteer and dogmatic Republican who opposed the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed by Collins and others on the grounds that it undermined Irish national aspirations, by partitioning the island of Ireland and severing the six counties of the North from the rest of the Irish State; and then, the statesman who would serve as both *Taoiseach* [Prime Minister] and *Uachtarán* [President of Ireland] until the end of a political career of unquestionable longevity.

In order to analyse the discourse of both leaders, two corpora were collected. The first one, the so-called Mick-Corpus, includes the eleven essays published by Collins in the volume *The path to freedom*. The second corpus, hereinafter referred to as the Dev-Corpus, includes 126 of de Valera's best known speeches and statements, as collected by his own personal secretary Maurice Moynihan (1980). The Mick-Corpus amounts to 32,335 words altogether, whereas the Dev-Corpus contains 288,254 tokens.

From a methodological perspective, the study inevitably had to grapple with the long-standing problem of how to identify keywords (Scott, 2010). For the sake of clarity, the research embraced and adapted O'Halloran's (2009, p. 25) notion of "corpus-comparative statistical keywords" as those items "being statistically more frequent in a text or set of texts than" in a corpus used for comparative purposes "known as the reference corpus". In particular, the two corpora presented above were used as each other's reference corpus, in order to extract Collins' and de Valera's distinctive keywords.

Once a keyword list was thus generated for each corpus through the linguistic software package *AntConc 3.2.1* (Anthony, 2006), three main steps were followed. First of all, any pattern of semantic proximity across each speaker's top-fifteen keywords was identified (Gramley & Pätzold, 2004). Secondly, the relevant keywords were extracted and concordanced, i.e. analysed in context (Sinclair, 2004; Römer & Wulff, 2010), in order to examine their preferred collocational and phraseological patterns. Finally, on the basis of a manual text-based analysis, the relationship between collocational patterns and the inferential configuration of key arguments was highlighted for both Collins and de Valera.

3. RESULTS

By comparing the Mick-Corpus and the Dev-Corpus, the top-fifteen keywords were identified for each of them. These are displayed in Table 1 below:

Corpus	Top-15 keywords

Mick-Corpus	Freedom, English, civilization, British, Gaelic, Irish, national, Ireland, had, Treaty, Nation, strength, free, spirit, succeeded.
Dev-Corpus	I, that, you, if, think, am, going, your, time, know, want, should, today, Constitution, Bill.

Table 1 – Top-15 keywords in Mick-Corpus and Dev-Corpus

First of all, it is interesting to note that a few keywords in the Mick-Corpus appear to denote abstract ideas and concepts, i.e. 'freedom', 'civilization', 'strength', 'spirit'. Secondly, some of the keywords in the Dev-Corpus may be described as indicating cognitive and/or volitional acts, namely 'think', 'know', '(am) going (to)', 'want'. By virtue of the prominent semantic proximity across those terms, they were extracted for the purpose of the exploratory keyword analysis attempted here for both Collins (Section 3.1) and de Valera (Section 3.2).

3.1 Collins' keywords in argumentation

As an illustrative example of the study of Collins' keywords, 'freedom' and 'civilization' can definitely be taken as a case in point. Even from the restricted sample of concordance lines displayed in Table 2, to begin with, it may be observed that 'freedom' tends to collocate with items qualifying it in terms of its overall extent, e.g. 'complete', 'full', 'crumb of':

Concordance lines of 'freedom'
…individual and national **freedom** - of the fullest and broadest character; freedom to think…
…Complete national **freedom** can now be ours, and…
…freedom we have won to achieve full **freedom**.
….The complete fulfilment of our full national **freedom**…
…that period Ireland would, it was hoped, […] accept the crumb of **freedom** offered by…

Table 2 – Concordance lines and collocational patterns of 'freedom'

This trend applies to about 10% of the corpus occurrences of the keyword. Moreover, it underlies a striking opposition between the idea of full and accomplished freedom generated by the first concordance

lines in Table 2, and the utterly negative notion of incomplete freedom embodied by 'the crumb of freedom' of the last line.

As the careful study of the context surrounding these occurrences reveals, on the one hand, Collins borrows the concept of freedom as a goal to be accomplished to the fullest and broadest extent from William Rooney (example 1 below). The journalist, poet and advanced-nationalist urged the Irish public opinion to embrace more radical views of Irish nationhood, by rejecting any form of "slavish loyalty to the British crown" and the "horror of the very name of revolution" (Rooney, 1909, p. 99) that had characterized the Irish parliamentary tradition since Daniel O'Connell:

> (1) He [William Rooney] interpreted the national ideal as "an Irish State governed by Irishmen for the benefit of the Irish people". He sought to impregnate the whole people with "a Gaelic-speaking Nationality." "Only then could we win freedom and be worthy of it; freedom - individual and national freedom - of the fullest and broadest character; freedom to think and act as it best beseems; national freedom to stand equally with the rest of the world." (Collins, *Freedom within grasp*)

On the other hand, the 'crumb of freedom' is the image used by Collins to refer to what the British Parliament was ready to offer Ireland through the Government of Ireland Act 1920, which would go down in history as the Partition Act severing the mainly Protestant North from the overwhelmingly Nationalist South. This piece of legislation (cf. 2 below) was in fact a Home Rule act aimed at giving Ireland limited autonomy, while at the same forcing a partitioned island to continue to be part of the United Kingdom:

> (2) The Act was probably intended for propaganda purposes. It might do to allay world criticism to draw attention away from British violence for a month or two longer. At the end of that period Ireland would, it was hoped, […] accept the crumb of freedom offered by the Act. Britain, with her idea of the principles of self-determination satisfied, would be able to present a bold front again before the world. (Collins, *Partition Act's failure*)

The contrast between full and partial, unaccomplished freedom is interestingly echoed by the use of 'civilization'. In a remarkable 60% of its occurrences instantiated in Table 3 below, the keyword was detected

to collocate with items sharing a semantic preference of revival, as it were. This is demonstrated by the noun 'revival' along with a wide range of verbs including 'refresh oneself in', 're-awaken' and 'reconstruct'.

Concordance lines of 'civilization'
…our goal and the revival of our Gaelic **civilization**.
…and refresh ourselves in our own Irish **civilization**,
to become again the Irish men and…
…of the last twenty years or more that it [Gaelic
civilization] has re-awakened. …
…now living hopes for a better **civilization**.
…dark world, to reconstruct our ancient **civilization**
on modern lines, to avoid the errors…
…miseries, the dangers, into which other nations, with
their **false civilizations**, have fallen.

Table 3 – Concordance lines and collocational patterns of 'civilization'

From Collins' perspective, what is to be reconstructed is invariably ancient Gaelic civilization, which was distinctive to Irish society before the English set foot on the island in the twelfth century. As can be seen in (3), this view of Irish civilization goes back to an ideal of socially cohesive society devoted to the cultivation of the mind and national pastimes (GAA, 1887; Murphy, 1948).

> (3) The Irish social and economic system was democratic. It was simple and harmonious. The people had security in their rights, and just law. And, suited to them, their economic life progressed smoothly. Our people had leisure for the things in which they took delight. They had leisure for the cultivation of the mind, by the study of art, literature, and the traditions. They developed character and bodily strength by acquiring skill in military exercise and in the national games. The pertinacity of Irish civilization was due to the democratic basis of its economic system, and the aristocracy of its culture. Gaelic **civilization** was quite different. […] Spiritually and socially they were one people. Each community was independent and complete within its own boundaries. The land belonged to the people. (Collins, *Distinctive culture, ancient Irish civilization*)

In passages such as this, Collins seems to draw on a notion of civilization as "an achieved condition of refinement and order" (Williams, 1976, p. 58), resolutely opposed to the 'false civilization' conjured up in the last concordance line of Table 3 and attested for 16.6% of the corpus entries of 'civilization'. Not surprisingly, this is the civilization that England was accused of imposing upon Ireland during more than five centuries of colonial rule. A civilization that later in the same essay Collins defines as a "misfit", a "garment" rendering Ireland "mean, clumsy, and ungraceful", while exposing its defects and giving it no scope to display its good qualities (Collins, 1922, p. 118). This is yet again a vivid picture Collins might have borrowed from the Irish nationalist imagery. After all, in his comprehensive account of the philosophy of the Gaelic League, the leading organisation designed to revitalize the ancient Irish language, Corkery (1948, p. 12) emphasizes the widely held view that "Ireland can of course continue to live its life in English – only, however, a *constricted* sort of life" [my emphasis].

Taken together, these findings point to the argumentation constructed by Collins around keywords. In more detail, Collins appears to dissociate (Van Rees, 2009, p. xi) as much between a notion of complete freedom and one of limited, unaccomplished freedom, as he does between true (Irish) civilization and false (English) civilization. Against this backdrop, the two keywords provide a link to the interlocutors' shared values, and as such they activate the appropriate frames (Chong & Druckman, 2006; Scheufele & Iyengar, 2014). In turn, from the relevant frames endoxa are drawn to be used in the argumentation. In this case, the endoxon at work may well be formulated as follows: complete freedom and true Irish civilization are the only worthwhile ends. This is less the result of speculation than what clearly emerges from the leading nationalist authors shaping up the Irish public opinion during Collins' lifetime (cf. Sheehy, 1980, Harkness, 1988 and McMahon, 2008). These include not only Rooney, but also Arthur Griffith and D.P. Moran. First of all, Griffith (1920, p. 1) called for an economically independent Ireland to stop England from having "the sole monopoly and absolute control of our trade, which to her is a great advantage". Secondly, Moran (1906, p. 80) advocated a full-fledged Irish-Ireland policy on the grounds that the Irish "are all in a state of general affectation playing up to a civilization that is not natural to them".

Resting on these foundations, the implicit component of much of Collins' argumentation broadly takes this form:

MP: Worthwhile ends must be pursued.
mp: Complete freedom and true civilization are worthwhile ends.
C: They must be pursued.

Moving back from the implicit to the explicit part of Collins' reasoning, complete freedom and true civilization can be pursued and eventually achieved by accepting the terms of the Anglo-Irish Treaty signed by the Irish delegation in London in December 1921. This is justified by Collins through pragmatic argumentation, more specifically by means of its "Variant I" (Van Poppel 2012, p. 99) schematized below:

1 Action X should be performed
1.1a Action X leads to Y and Y^1
1.1b Y and Y^1 are desirable
1.1a-1.1b' (If X leads to Y and Y^1, and Y/Y^1 are desirable, then Action X should be performed)

In the above scheme, Action X is the ratification of the Anglo-Irish Treaty, whereas Y is the achievement of complete freedom, and Y^1 is the restoration of true Gaelic civilization. The effectiveness of pragmatic argumentation, urging the Irish people to embrace the Treaty in that it would lead to highly desirable effects, is arguably reinforced by the framing operations and endoxic elements activated by the use of keywords documented earlier on.

3.2 De Valera's keywords in argumentation

In order to discuss the argumentative implications of de Valera's use of keywords, the two key verbs 'know' and 'think' are worth looking at. By again starting from the patterns and contexts of use of key terms, there is remarkable continuity in the deployment of 'know' and 'think' on de Valera's part, as can be appreciated from Tables 4 and 5 below.

Concordance lines of 'know'
…task. <u>You probably all</u> **know** by now how much I believe in thoroughness of…
…of the school. <u>We all</u> **know** how much one teacher may mean to a whole locality.
… and deny her people imports to the extent <u>that we all</u> **know** of. We do…
…spare us to the end. <u>As you all</u> **know**, our history has been one of such active struggle…
…by infamous methods. <u>We all</u> **know** that his warning had the fullest foundation. We…
…undoubtedly lead to disaster. <u>We all</u> **know** that there is a body in this country with …
…was sympathetic to communism. <u>Everybody</u> **knows**

that is fundamentally untrue and false.

Table 4 – Concordance lines and collocational patterns of 'know'

Concordance lines of 'think'
…is a monarchy? I do not **think** any constitutional lawyer of repute would attempt…
…it is legitimate to borrow for. I do not **think** anybody will seriously contest that …
…what was in mind. I do not **think** anybody here will deny that we were right…
…That narrow interpretation I do not **think** had occurred to anybody when the…
…A Chinn Cornhairle, I do not **think** that any good purpose would be served by…
…for the country as a whole. I do not **think** that any good purpose is to be served by…

Table 5 – Concordance lines and collocational patterns of 'think'

First of all, the concordance sample in Table 4 shows that in 7.4% of its 352 entries, 'know' collocates with pronominal and/or indefinite entities ('we', 'you', 'everybody'). Secondly, 3.5% of the over 500 tokens of 'think' in the Dev-Corpus are represented by negative forms reporting the speaker's views ('I do not think'). Moving beyond the surface, however, the common ground between the two verbs appears to lie elsewhere. Behind the use of both verbs, in particular, lies de Valera's intention to portray himself as a prime example of man of common sense, he who embeds the mindset of the ordinary Irishman, a kind of 'reasonable man' (Wierzbicka, 2006, pp. 103-138) *par excellence*. Chunks such as 'As you all know' or 'We all know' in Table 4, let alone 'I do not think anybody will seriously contest' or 'I do not think anybody here will deny' in Table 5, are essentially instrumental in enabling de Valera to putatively argue from the position of the Irish people's spokesperson. In that regard, the passage reported in (4) below may serve as a typical example.

The extract is taken from one of de Valera's best known speeches, delivered before the Irish Parliament in the wake of Francisco Franco's victory in the Spanish civil war. As the Head of the Irish Government, de Valera had been put under increasing pressure to take steps to accord Franco formal diplomatic recognition. Failure to do so, the argument from opposition benches went, would constitute tangible proof that de Valera's government was sympathetic to communism.

(4) We do not always think alike, but I think Deputy MacDermot has replied sufficiently to the speech made from the opposite benches to warrant, if I care to use it, my allowing the amendment and all [to] go to the House without any word from me. I think any reasonable person who has listened to him or who will read what he has said will agree that the point of view which he has expressed is the right and proper point of view. […] There has been, from the opposite benches, a continued effort since 1931 to try to mend the fortunes of their party and to build up a case for Fascist organisations on the ground that this Government was sympathetic to communism. Everybody **knows** that that is fundamentally untrue and false. I do not **think** there is anybody in the country who looks at the Government's action dispassionately who will not be satisfied that the Government have no more use for communist philosophy than has any member of the Opposition. The question is: how are we best to defend our philosophy and the philosophy of the vast majority of the Irish people in our attitude towards life and prevent organisations with a completely and fundamentally different policy from making inroads here? These grounds of prudence on which it is customary to act do not need to be explained. I think they are self-evident to everybody. It would be ridiculous, obviously, to give recognition to a government that was unable ultimately to maintain itself. *It certainly would not lead* – I am talking in general – *to cordial relations between the government of one country and another if the relations had to be with the restored government.* […] I do not think there has been any attempt at all to show that it would, in fact, help General Franco that this recognition should be accorded. We are told that the cause of Christianity demands it. […] I do not know that recognition on our part would involve any grievous consequences to us as a people, but *if we take it on the high grounds of protection and help for Christianity, then I think at least that we ought to hesitate when the head of Christianity has not deemed it wise or prudent to give the recognition that we are asked to give***.** (de Valera, *Ireland and the civil war in Spain*, 1936)

Example (4) is a lengthy one, but it was worth including as much of it as we can see above by virtue of its overall explanatory potential regarding de Valera's argumentation. First of all, the first half of the passage includes both phraseology reflecting the collocational patterns identified in Tables 4 and 5 above – i.e., 'Everybody knows that' and 'I do not think there is anybody is this country…who will not be satisfied that' – and other items sharing similar semantic features, cf. 'I think any reasonable person…will agree that' and 'I think they [those grounds of prudence] are self-evident to everybody'. The reiterated use of such forms allows de Valera to basically frame his upcoming proposal as 'the reasonable one'. In turn, this secures the activation of the relevant endoxon on the interlocutors' mind, which may be phrased as follows: reasonable proposals should be accepted. As a result, the implicit component of de Valera's argumentation broadly takes this form:

MP: Reasonable proposals should be accepted.
Mp: Our policy is reasonable.
C: It should be accepted.

In the second place, focusing more closely on the second part of the passage inherent in the explicit argument structure, it can be seen that de Valera's policy is the non-recognition of Franco's Government – cf., "It would be ridiculous, obviously, to give recognition to a government that was unable ultimately to maintain itself". More precisely, the view that Franco's Government should not be recognised represents the standpoint of multiple argumentation. Viewed pragma-dialectically, the standpoint is supported by two mutually independent argument schemes, namely pragmatic argumentation and causal argumentation, as in Figure 1 below:

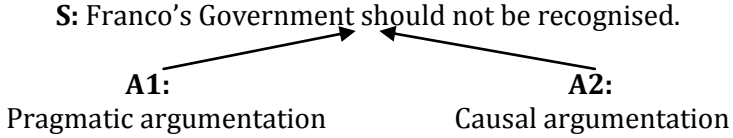

Figure 1 – Argument structure of de Valera's speech *Ireland and the civil war in Spain*

To begin with, de Valera's pragmatic argumentation can be accounted for as an instance of "Variant IV" (Van Poppel, 2012, p. 101) going back to the first italicised fragment in (4) – i.e., "It certainly would not lead…to cordial relations between the government of one country and another if the relations had to be with the restored government". In the schematisation below, Action X is the recognition of Franco's

Government, while Y is the desirable consequence of establishing and maintaining cordial relations with the legitimate government. In other words, de Valera points out, should Spain's legitimate government ever be restored, recognising Franco would prevent us from attaining the worthy end of cultivating harmonious diplomatic relations with it:

1 Action X should not be performed
1.1a Action X does not lead to Y
1.1b Y is desirable
1.1a-1.1b' (If X does not lead to Y and Y is desirable, then Action X should not be performed)

As regards the second scheme supporting de Valera's standpoint, the presence of causal argumentation can be detected in the last italicised fragment in (4) – "if we take it on the high grounds of protection and help for Christianity, then I think at least that we ought to hesitate when the head of Christianity has not deemed it wise or prudent to give the recognition that we are asked to give". In this case, the fact that Ireland did not recognize Franco before the Holy See ever did is what causes the Irish Free State to be in a position to portray itself as a country championing Christianity's best interests. The scheme, where Y is the safeguard of Christianity, Z is the choice of not granting recognition to a State before the Holy See does and X is the Irish Free State, is reproduced below following Van Eemeren and Grootendorst (1992, p. 97):

Y is true of X
because Z is true of X
and Z leads to Y.

Overall, the impact of the causal argument, and more generally of the whole pattern of multiple argumentation discerned above, seems to be maximised by the strategic use of the keywords 'know' and 'think' outlined at the outset. It is their distinctive use in context, as highlighted by their phraseology, that underlies the activation of the appropriate frame and the endoxon behind de Valera's argumentation. In turn, the power of the frame and the solidity of the resulting endoxon are secured in the light of both the strength of proposals presented as 'reasonable', i.e. by definition thoughtful and well-balanced, and the interlocutors' shared values.

As a matter of fact, it should not be forgotten that that was the Irish Free State in the 1930s, a country that a year after de Valera's speech in the aftermath of Spain's civil war would enact *Bunreacht na hÉireann*. This is a Constitution to which de Valera was to make a

significant contribution, and which despite a number of amendments over the following decades, still retains a lasting Catholic imprint. After all, the Preamble to the Constitution (2012: 2) still has marks of the country's religious heritage, suffice it to think of forms such as "In the Name of the Most Holy Trinity…" or "We, the people of Éire, humbly acknowledge all our obligations to our Divine Lord, Jesus Christ…", which must have made de Valera's causal argument even more persuasive.

4. CONCLUSIONS

The keyword analysis presented in the prior section lent fresh insights at two main levels. As regards the findings themselves, first of all, corpus data have enriched our understanding of Collins and de Valera, by adding to the profile generated by historians of the two characters as the dominant figures of Irish nationalist politics in the age of Independence. On the one hand, Collins has often been perceived as the pragmatist, the man who made a substantial contribution to the Irish delegation's attempt to broker a sensible compromise through the Anglo-Irish Treaty. At the same time, his discourse has been shown by keywords to draw on an evocative nationalist imagery and as such, to be driven by noble ideals of freedom and civilization. On the other hand, de Valera has on many an occasion been described as the doctrinaire Republican, the hardliner who rejected the Anglo-Irish Treaty even after its ratification through democratic means, and therefore fostered the political climate eventually leading to the Irish civil war (1922-1923). At the same time, his discourse appears to reflect an increasingly statesman-like profile, whereby he aims at serving as the Irish people's true spokesperson and as a man acting mindfully and reasonably.

From a methodological point of view, secondly, the analysis indicates the major advantage of corpus-comparative statistical keywords as a genuinely data-driven method to engage in "the business of implicit premise recovery" (O'Halloran, 2009, p. 44) on the basis of terms whose keyness is more objectively established by software. More specifically, data tend to confirm the function of the selected keywords in argumentative text where, consistent with the literature, they were observed to "provide a link to the interlocutors' context and their shared values" (Bigi & Greco Morasso, 2012, p. 1142). Finally, the results in the whole of Section 3 seem to advocate a close integration of available approaches – notably, AMT and corpus linguistics – to achieve a number of desirable aims: to begin with, the combination of qualitative and quantitative evidence; secondly, the need to identify and focus on not merely key words, but also key phraseology in context as the actual starting point to accurately define the inferential

configuration of arguments; finally, the opportunity to rely on a method to empirically check on culturally relevant corpora – as were the two datasets used here – whether the implicit premises attributed "to the arguer are indeed recoverable or at least partially justified in the cultural common ground" (Rocci & Wariss Monteiro, 2009, p. 95).

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