

Rhetoric and Argumentation

Approaching journalism as a rhetorical performance

Tamás Bokor Ph.D.

Abstract

This paper is aimed to describe all the texts of journalism as rhetorical performances in a general theoretic frame. According to the author's point of view, all types of articles published in printed as well as online media can be reconstructed and explained by the devices of rhetoric. For first we go through chronologically the different explanations of rhetoric, getting to the postmodern era with "nethoric". After describing the properties of the latter, we observe the impact of rhetoric on professional and civic journalism. Underlining the main arguments of the paper, we will show a Hungarian case study on the attitudes and rhetorical evaluation towards a particular speech. In the end, we summarize the most used informal (non-categorical) argumentative devices and tools in rhetoric and argumentation.

1. From ancient rhetoric to postmodern media

Talking about rhetoric most people think of ancient public figures, who speak, debate and argue in front of a wide audience towards gathering power in political or public life. We imagine Plato, Aristotle, Demosthenes and other great historical persons while putting their words into rhetoric structures, using well-practiced phrases, verbal devices and a strategy most of all to talk over people about their justice. This situation is more or less theatrical or scenic: it requires an active audience, a speaker (actor), a main message (a story), and many more properties which are originally bound to theatre.

The modern conception of rhetoric puts the rhetorical situation under the light of mutual understanding, and what is more: mutual appreciation. Heuristic rhetoric emphasises the importance of equality in coding and decoding potential of the speaker and the audience. Thus the members of the audience become rhetorician indeed, vanishing the difference between these two functions (Aczél, 2009).

Back in the early years of media research, mediated messages were thought to be one-directional: while the actor forms and sends it, the reactor only can receive (mostly mixed with some sort of noise) and passively regard it. Harold Lasswell's paradigm about media messages is quite simple: the only necessity in describing and evaluating media messages is to know who says what to whom in what channel with what effect (Lasswell, 1971).

After the '60's, media scientists started to point out that media messages are non-linear and bidirectional. The "Limited-Effects" Model developed by Paul F. Lazarsfeld and his colleagues from

Columbia University was highly influential in the development of media studies. The model claims the mass media has “limited effects” on voting patterns. Voters are influenced, rather, through the ‘two-step flow’ model, the idea that media messages are disseminated through personal interaction with ‘opinion leaders’ (Lazarsfeld, 2004).

Without any correct detailing, it can be seen only by the mentions above that rhetoric and media studies both underwent the same change: the approach of their topics became bidirectional, while the classic model of sender and receiver has got a mutual character which emphasises that every sender can be a receiver at the same time. According to this, one can say that media influences people *while* people influence media; similarly, the rhetorician influences his audience while the audience puts a serious impact on the rhetorician – shortly said, roads of communication are necessarily two-way streets.

In this short summary we show how rhetoric works in a particular field of media, namely in the realm of journalism. At the same time, we have to depict the main properties of logical and non-logical argumentation as a toolkit of journalism.

2. From historical roots to “nethorics”

This subchapter leads the reader into the transfiguration of rhetoric during different eras. As we will see, the concept of rhetoric includes a wide variety of approaches considering human communication.

In the *Phaidros* (also known as Phaedrus, Plato’s work on the nature of dialogue) we see that rhetoric is the ‘guidance of soul by speech’. While this clearly asymmetric concept implies that only the rhetorician has the power to change the audience’s mind, Aristotle stresses the symmetric approach by talking about mutual understanding and mutual creation of meanings. Neither the latter is a really symmetric conceptualization: in both definition, the main aim is persuasion itself. To put it in other words: as rhetoricians, we aim to change the audience’s behaviour. According to Starhawk, rhetoric is a conquest in the eyes of antique authors: classical sophist philosophers only targeted the success of persuasion, disregarding most of the inner processes of audience. In this form we see a pure utilitaristic communication (Aczél, 2012).

In the antiquity, three components have been distinguished in rhetoric messages. As the most resource on theory of rhetoric claim, these ‘ingredients’ are the following:

- ethos: the ethical property of the rhetorician. This can call the trust of the audience in the rhetorician’s words into being (resulting trustfulness).
- pathos: this is a means of the speech’s emotive movements. Creates all the passion and fervour of the rhetorician in the audience’s eyes (resulting eloquence).
- logos: the value of the logically edited text, disregarding the fact whether this text is verbal or nonverbal, direct or mediated, linguistic or multimedial, etc. (resulting persuasiveness).

The stress on these three components can be different in every single rhetorical text. However, it is clear that all the components can be found in each performances, in various gears: thus each rhetorical texts can be described by the means of these factors. The common denominator is that ethos, pathos and logos aim the same: change the audience's opinion (Hauser, 2002).

First of all one has to emphasize that there are important differences to consider between persuasion, argumentation and manipulation in human communication. Without further differentiation, relating to the narrower topic of this paper, it is enough to depict that:

- persuasion is an intentional process for both participants (as the persuader and the audience bot know that they are being in a persuasive process), however there can be a lack of logical turn of mind in persuasive situations. Feelings come to play;
- argumentation is also an intentional process, however logic plays a much more important role using logical arguments. The case of argumentative communication is a mentally (rationally) effortful process conferring persuasion for both participants;
- in the case of manipulation, the receiver (i. e. the manipulated participant of communicative situation) is not conscious of being in a persuasive situation. Both emotional and logical arguments are used by the persuader, however logical arguments only in an indirect way.

In the 20th century, rhetoric has been rethought, introducing the idiom of 'new rhetorics'. This collective concept includes many different schools and tenors with the common specialities of opened discourse, democratic frames and mutual character. (The latter emphasizes the dynamics of getting and giving of informations, aspects, etc.) These keywords relate spectacularly to the modern civic journalism, which has been developed in the western corner of Europe in the late 18th century, blossomed in the 19th century and decked out in all its finery in the postmodern online 'grass root journalism'. The above-cited values and their implications – freedom, liberty of speech, participative democracy, mutual effort for understanding, freedom of opinions, etc. – result a new type of rhetorical situation, which is bound to the postmodern media theories. There are no more senders and receivers leastwise they cannot be categorically differentiated, for in principle each person can fulfil the terms of both roles. As media communication – including journalistic messages – is always bi-directional, neither media nor rhetoric can be described as a one-way process. The need for a change in view is inevitably necessary.

Considering the above-mentioned thoughts about the widen meaning of rhetoric, one may find Kenneth Burke's bon-mot relevant: 'We are always in a rhetoric' (Aczél, 2009). In the 20th century, American schools of thought, rhetoric is no more persuasion, but more: it aims to shape the intellectual environment (claims John D. Gerhart). Ultimately rhetoric is either coverage instead of argumentation: as Gerhart describes the process, the rhetorician with his/her competences offers alternatives and choices the audience (of course in a certain topic). In this mind-set, clear difference appears between preparedness and knowledge of the rhetorician and the audience (however, it is seen and controlled only by the rhetorician).

In another school of modern rhetoric, it is defined as an invitation to understanding as a means to create a relationship rooted in equality, immanent value, and self-determination. Sonja K. Foss, a leading representative of this conception emphasizes the union of rhetorician and audience. Thus we are one step closer to the above-mentioned bi-directional conceptualization of our topic. According to the invitational rhetoric, the rhetorician has to create an adequate, secure and free environment

for his/her audience. Albeit this sounds like a mere idealistic approach which is only available in an ideal world, yet we get a proper description on the best circumstances which ought to exist toward realizing the “clear” communication (Corder, 1993).

Switching to a newer framework on rhetoric, Ivor Armstrong Richards’ theory (Richards, 1923) on the two layers of language adds a useful viewpoint considering journalism as a rhetorical performance. Richards claims that every language has two different semiotic layer: the realms of referential words and the realm of emotive words, as seen below:

	Referential words	Emotive words
Express	facts	emotions
Refer to the	objective world	subjective world
Clear type can be found	in scientific language	in poetry

Rhetoric is a mixed expressive form, sort of unity of the two layers, as it is halfway between science and poetry: successful rhetoricians have to be scientists and poets at the same time.

Going along this way, ‘rhetoric as ingenuity’ gets clearly understandable: in Ernesto Grassi’s conceptualization, rhetoric requires ingenuity (inventiveness or rather resourcefulness) to find answers to the audience’s needs and challenges. It is eventually a sort of mutual thinking process which allows finding answers for our common problems. Taking a look of a nation’s political journalism, the ingenuity may be caught in the fact that each newspaper have different political preferences, however each of them deals with the same issues, for they are all edited and published in the same social territory. To put in other words: topics and frameworks are all the same, attitudes and detailing are different. Ingenuity thus does not lie in the agenda setting of these newspapers, but in the fine tuning of certain topics: how the public affairs are described and judged, and what kind of rhetorical devices are used etc.

If we add the opinion of Mary Lee Mifsud to this concept, we find ourselves in the realm of party-oriented journalism: an inward communion has to be created mutually between rhetorician and audience – stresses Mifsud (Aczél, 2009). It is exactly what used to happen when reading a maverick journal as a maverick elector, or a governing party’s journal as a governing party’s voter. What is more, self-confidence of the rhetorician in this case is much less important than the rhetorician’s confidence in the audience, for the point is what they understand and not what you say, be well a grassroots journalist or a professional one.

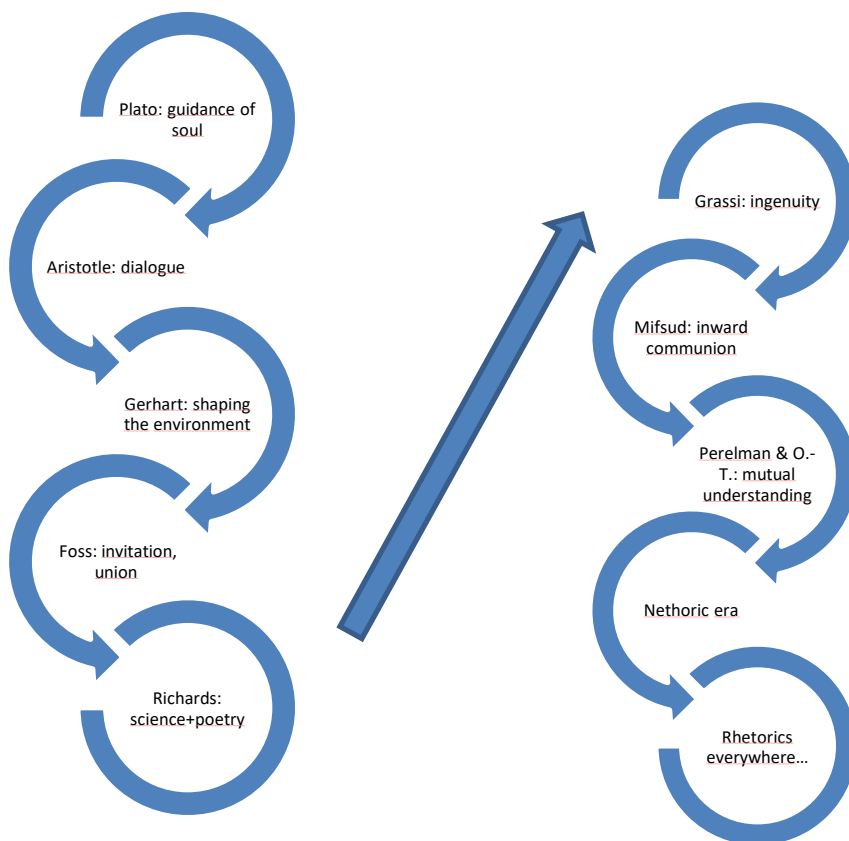
Developing the modern conceptualisation of rhetoric, different theses have been born highlighting the importance of argumentation. One of them is the view of Chaim Perelman and Lucie Olbrechts-Tyteca. According to them, one may say that a successful argumentation only depends on the audience’s mental capacity. That is why a successful argumentation can only be born in relation to the receivers: this evokes a sort of „there and then” understanding, the miraculous moment of a

certain argumentative situation. However, the concept of 'audience' always includes two different type of audience:

- actual audience: a group of people available here and now;
- mental (virtual) audience: the mental reference of the author's ideal audience.

Preparing an argumentation (be it a presentation, a conference rendition, a panel or any other social interaction where argumentation plays an important role), the rhetorician can only imagine his mental audience instead of the actual one. The former is more or less convertible to the latter depending on how much proper knowledge the rhetorician has got about the composition of the prospective actual audience group. What is more, this composition is changing from time to time, from situation to situation. It is so especially regarding print media's audience: albeit market research provides certain data about them, we only know the aggregated socio-demographic results; however we may never know personally what people read us exactly of the order of hundreds or thousands.

The above-mentioned transition from premodern to modern rhetoric ultimately puts the stress from persuasion to mutual understanding. To sum up all the theses, we can draw them into a common diagram as seen below.



Talking about the last two movements, it is worth spending a few words on postmodern rhetorical concept, namely 'nethoric'. Here we can only summarize the main characteristic properties of the web2-based communication form (Aczél, 2009):

- decreasing importance of ingenuity: 'we constantly tell the nothing'. It is not surprising that the most successful and viewed thematic blogs are about fashion, food, jokes and things like that. They are all basically focused on 'simple things' in life, keeping a serious distance from actual public affairs and other 'serious issues'. Under this set of circumstances, the rhetorician has to adapt to the habit of phatic communication which means communication for communication: keeping the communication channel instead of broadcasting new and helpful information.
- constant coverage about (almost) everything: considering the decreasing importance of ingenuity and the spreading of phatic character in communication, it is logical that if we 'constantly tell the nothing' we start to seek for everyday topics. This results in Facebook posts about our breakfast, our daily personal pickles, the life events of our pet and many more imponderable topics. (Another interesting anthropological approach of l'art pour l'art communication is given in Malinowski, 1945.)
- the rule of pathos on ethos and logos: a typical user ('nethorician') of the social media concentrates on how they can influence the emotions of their readers (viz. followers) instead of guide them and be exemplary. Ultimately, virtue goes to background, switching for entertaining. (The point is how you express it and not what you express.)
- the importance of reach rate increases: through the rule of pathos, the user (who is often called 'netizen') measures their communicative success by the access potential of their posts. The more like you get, the more comments you gather, the more profile views you collect, the more successful nethorician you are. In this sense, we might see that persuasive potential vanishes while accessibility stars in the theatre of postmodern rhetoric.
- 'kairotic' moments: kairos is a propitious moment for decision or action. In rhetoric kairos is 'a passing instant when an opening appears which must be driven through with force if success is to be achieved'. Aaron Hess submits a definition of kairos for the present day. According to him, kairos can either be understood as 'the decorum or propriety of any given moment and speech act, implying a reliance on the given or known', or as 'the opportune, spontaneous, or timely'. The latter definition reveals the relation between web2 and kairotic moments: as social media platforms allow quick involvement (and the speed is increasing due to mobile technology), we are constantly surrounded by such kairotic moments when we can latch on to online communication. It is the platform itself which provides these moments and opportunities by its own existence.
- panoptic character: technological infrastructure of social media platforms let realize the opportunity of global surveillance in practice. The 'brave new world' with the non-stop monitoring 'Big Brother' is a less terrible but existing fact nowadays. The one and only real difference between science fiction stories and the reality is that in the latter the user itself provides the opportunity to look deep into their life by using web2, by posting personal data and pictures, by buying and paying online, etc. The great panoptic system is being built voluntarily by billions of internet users (Manovich, 2001).

3. Impact of rhetoric on professional and civic journalism

In classic theoretic system of journalism, there are two different families of genres: news and opinion genres. The former ones ideally focus on the facts of reality, use referential language (in contrast with the emotional idioms and expressions of opinion genres), their generation requires much information in a common sense, and it is a necessity that the author has an individual presence on the scene where the news come into existence. Unlike news, opinion genres mostly focus on the journalist's individual thoughts about a certain topic, nevertheless this requires some informal knowledge about the things they deliver themselves of an opinion. The deliberating and argumentative articles characteristically use emotional language, and emphasize the unique individual thoughts beside the pure information. Individual presence at the happenings is not a must for the author: they can deliver the opinion without learning a certain phenomenon at first hand. The most characteristic examples for news genres are short news, extended news, correspondents' news, reports, interviews etc., while on the other hand, comment, glossa, notice, blog posts and many more genres represent the realm of opinion genres.

Rhetoric as a genre is in between the two main journalistic approach. It is required to have a serious knowledge on a topic as rhetoricians, while they ought to be 'ethic' enough to form their opinion about it at the same time. (Referring back to the trinity of antique rhetoric, ethos and pathos are as much important parts of a rhetoric performance as the logos.) That is exactly why we can call good journalists also good rhetoricians.

Considering the connection between the written respectively spoken words and the reality, one has to point out two main problems.

According to Luhmann's theory on social systems (Luhmann, 1995), we can say that there are situations in the world (e. g. a communicative situation), and there are participators who are involved into these situations. The participators can be observed by so called 'primary observers', who can see from the outside of the situation the situation itself, and also things what are hidden for the participators (exactly because of their involvement). Secondary observers, who observe the situation and also the primary observers, have the chance to decode other things regarding the situation and the primary observation – ultimately, they can see more than the participators and the primary observers. The row can be arbitrarily continued. In journalism, the situations are given: different social happenings, riots, negotiations, hearings, and so on. These all have some kind of participators (members, rioters, clients, partakers, etc.).

In this framework, journalist is the person of primary observation regardless of they are amateur or professional. The task of secondary observation goes to the readers (audience): they are allowed to be informed (and often influenced) by different newspapers, blogs and other journalistic products, so they can see more types of opinions than the primary observers (viz. the journalists). This quite simple modelling shows that the role of audience allows a wider perspective than the other: readers are freer in their judgements than the often politically obligated and infatuated professionals. Even when we talk about amateurs ('grassroot journalists'), we see a sort of presupposition in their attitudes: to provide an example, freelance political writers, are often mavericks, and this fact reflects on all their opinions about the governing power's acts.

The second problem about journalistic reality and 'real' reality is known in philosophy as relativism. Considering a discussion, people have different meanings and values on the topic. These wide-scale attitudes stem from different familiar backgrounds, different principles, different education and many more factors which shape the individual characteristic of the persons with various types of thoughts and viewpoints. While different meanings irritate and are able to form each other, the reinforcement of one's sight come from the person's environment, too. According to the antique sentence, 'similis simile gaudet', To put in other words, similar greets similar: the more we are similar in our sights, the friendlier we find other people. However, nothing assures that our meanings and values are exactly the same: let's talk about political issues or actual social problems, and be more or less of the same opinion, we may have different attitudes towards the details of the current problem.

What impacts do all these approaches and aspects have on professional and civic journalism? These factors will be detected in the next subchapter, by presenting a particular case study on a Hungarian public issue.

4. Ferenc Gyurcsány's speech in Balatonőszöd

Hungarian Prime Minister Ferenc Gyurcsány gave a speech in Balatonőszöd in May 2006 to MSZP (Hungarian Socialist Party) members of the National Assembly of Hungary. This meeting was supposed to be confidential. However, the Prime Minister's speech was taped and Magyar Rádió (Hungarian State Radio) began broadcasting it late afternoon on Sunday September 17, 2006. The speech ignited mass protests around Hungary and rioting in Budapest. The most interesting and embarrassing excerpts are listed below as well as obscene and offensive details:

- "Divine providence, the abundance of cash in the world economy, and hundreds of tricks, which you obviously don't need to know about, helped us survive this situation."
- "It is allowed to protest in front of the Parliament. Sooner-or-later they will get bored of it and go home."
- "If there is a scandal in the society, then it's the fact that the upper ten thousand reproduce themselves using public money."
- "And we should try to take these issues forward, to maintain the cooperation and bona fide between us, to assure the support of the coalition partner [i.e., SZDSZ], to prepare the managers and leading publicists of the most influential newspapers about what they can count on. To involve them in this process."
- "No European country has done something as boneheaded as we have. Obviously, we lied throughout the last year-and-a-half, two years."
- "And meanwhile, by the way, we've done nothing for four years. Nothing."
- "I almost perished because I had to pretend for 18 months that we were governing. Instead, we lied morning, night and evening."
- "There are several matters, where I have no clue what the sixth step is; I don't even know the third. I know the first two."
- "My personal story is: we must change this f*cking country; otherwise who else will?"

- "Go to hell with that already. Let's move on." (Note that the original Hungarian phrase is much stronger language than this and has no direct translation in English.)
- "There aren't many choices. That is because we have f*cked it up. Not just a bit, but by much."
- "That it [i.e., the Left] doesn't have to hang its head in this f*cking country. That we shouldn't shit ourselves by Viktor Orbán and the Right, and learn finally to compare itself [i.e., the Left] not to them but to the world."
- "Will we say, that fu ... goddamn it all, a few people came along who dared to do it and didn't fart around with how the hell will we get our travel costs refunded; f*ck it! A few people came along and didn't fart around whether they will be in the local governments or not, but they understood that this f*cking country is about something else."
- "And of course we can think for a very long time and conduct a whole f*cking load of analysis about how certain social groups will end up; this is what I can say to you."
- "And I will write f*cking good books about the modern Hungarian left."
- "...that I make history. Not for the history textbooks; I don't give a shit about that."
- "You cannot name any significant government measures that we can be proud of except pulling our administration out of the shit at the end. Nothing!"
- "Has the healthcare system improved, my son? I reply: a load of bullshit, mom! They just recognize your name."
- "What if we didn't lose our popularity because we are fucking with each other but because we dealt with great social issues? And it doesn't matter if we temporarily lose the support of the public; after all we will regain it."

Regarding the fact that Ferenc Gyurcsány was the Hungarian Prime Minister at that time, the "Őszöd Speech" makes his governmental competences doubtful. At first glance, this is a 'negative confession': a speech in which he admits that he is in lack of proper tools to take Hungary out of crisis. In Hungarian common talk, the text was regarded at first sight as 'the speech of lie'. "The news which were provided by Gyurcsány led the nation into moral crisis" – stated László Sólyom, President of Hungary right after the explosion of the issue. Viktor Orbán, leader of the maverick stated that "Ferenc Gyurcsány is a compulsive liar whom his party considers as a person who is a part of history and the past". Surprisingly, there were also alternative narratives in common talk and in printed respectively electronic media that could more or less balance the situation.

Ferenc Gyurcsány himself labelled the speech as "the words of objurgation, passion and love". (This is what he later tried to reinforce in an interview given for the BBC.) According to József Debreczeni, who wrote a whole book on Gyurcsány's curriculum, „leaking the speech was a result of conspiracy of the outs". What is more, a professional Polish journalist named it explicitly as a rhetoric performance, a speech of passion and truth. As we may think, the judgement depends on the personal political setting: people on the conservative side do not accept the speech as "words of passion and love", while voters of the Left are divided: some accept it as a special kind of coming out driven by hopelessness and ultimate energy, some others are sceptic about the governmental competences of the prime minister.

In this case as well as in general, two different group of factors form the character of the performance's adjudication together. On the one hand, the rhetorician's knowledge, personal attitudes and social experiences create and influence the text itself. On the other hand, all the

members of the audience have individual knowledge, attitudes and experiences on the topic, on the rhetorician and on the context which surrounds the rhetorical situation. A mutual impact of these two groups of factors creates the discourse about the performance, and it is the discourse indeed what results the different flows of meanings in the social milieu. The individual impact of the speech is unpredictable, however we can calculate the general social impact if we gather enough information about the society, the rhetorician's background and the topic. That is why all rhetorical performances have an uncertain output depending on the members of the audience.

5. Informal arguments as tools of persuasion

Let us now take a closer look at the deep structure of articles, of texts published in journals. In the previous subchapters we argued that rhetoric is a mere argumentation, and we emphasized that the successful rhetorical performance can only be found in mutual understanding. However, this statement doesn't exclude the opportunity for manipulation by the creator of the text (viz. the rhetorician). Thus in this subchapter we sentence a few words on the most used informal logical forms, the so called "fallacies" in written texts.

There exists a widespread categorisation in social sciences. According to this, there are two different logical systems in use of argumentation: formal and informal logic, which are used side-by-side in everyday communication as well as in scientific language. The latter is based on formal logical proofing, however the former hides informal properties in a great amount. Without detailing the characteristic properties of formal logic (e. g. the structures of premises and conclusion, the semantic relations between different formal logic structures and so on), we aim to write here about the other category, the realm of informal logic, more exactly, about a particular area of this phenomenon, the 'fallacies', according to Moore and Parker (2008). The reason why we focus on this area is quite simple: among rhetoric devices, the tools of informal logic are the most used – and the most successful in persuasion.

According to Moore and Parker (2008), the top ten fallacies of all time are:

1. Ad hominem / genetic fallacy: Disputing a position or argument by criticizing its source. Universally esteemed by talk radio hosts as the highest form of reasoning.
2. Straw man: Disputing a position by exaggerating it, mispresenting it, or otherwise distorting it. Putting negative spin on an opponent's ideas.
3. "Argument" from outrage: Self-explanatory. Political talk shows are often reduced to shouting matches where guests compete for the loudest volume and sharpest insults.
4. Scare Tactic: Try to prove a point by scaring the reader or listener. We bet you can probably think of recent examples.
5. Hasty Generalising: Having more confidence in a conclusion than you should, based on a small sample. For example, thinking that all baseball players use steroids simply because a few have developed bulging neck muscles and nasty tempers.

6. Groupthink: Allowing loyalty to one's group to cloud one's judgement. Ever notice how the refs call too many fouls on our team?
7. Red Herring: This attention-span fallacy works best on people who are unable to stay focused long enough to notice that the question answered was not the question asked.
8. Wishful Thinking: A refusal to acknowledge the truth. You might call it the Ostrich Fallacy.
9. "Argument" from Popularity: believing that if "everybody" believes it, it must be true.
10. Post Hoc, ergo Propter Hoc: Just because two things happened around the same time does not mean one caused the other.

The reason why we do not observe categorical logic is that informal structures are more effective in argumentation processes and thus they occur more often in newspapers and blogs than classic categorical argumentations. Let us remain the task of finding examples to the reader. Some help is given in subchapter 4th, where almost all of the above-mentioned fallacies can be found in excerpts.

Epilogue

By the end of our train of thought, we showed that rhetorical devices are used in journalistic genres as tools of argumentation as well as persuasion. However, we stressed that the concept of rhetoric has been changed over the eras: by the 20th century, it is described as a mutual understanding, a kind of social game: it requires a great deal of information as well as common cultural knowledge and common attitudes between the rhetorician and their audience. Through presenting a brief case study we showed implicitly four steps of rhetoric in journalism: at first stage the argumentation (the base text) is born in a certain communicative situation. At the second stage it will be mediated by amateur and professional journalists. After this action, the mediated content is received by the audience, which is followed by individual interpretations and explanations. They may form different types of common sense or rather discourses in societal scenes, but all the explanations are unique. Therefore the burden of understanding is mutually on the author and on the reader.

Here in this text we did not deal with visual side of rhetoric. Neither we concentrated on categorical logic and formal argumentation patterns. We did not shoulder the task to analyse certain examples, and impacts of particular rhetorical devices. Giving a few notice about rhetorical phenomena in journalism was found enough to picture that a good journalist must be a good rhetorician either. Meanwhile, they have to be empathetic, precise and eloquent indeed. According to Burke, "we are always in a rhetoric" – especially in the pages of a newspaper, disregarding the fact that we are the authors or the audience.

Bibliography

Aczél, Petra (2009) Új retorika. Közélet, kommunikáció, kampány. Kalligram, Bratislava.

Aczél, Petra (2012) Médiaretorika. Magyar Mercurius, Budapest.

Corder, J. W. (1993) From Rhetoric into Other Studies. In: Enos, T. - Brown, Stuart C.: Defining the New Rhetorics. Sage, Newbury Park, CA, pp. 95-105.

Hauser, Gerard A. (2002) Introduction to Rhetorical Theory, Prospect Heights, Ill.: Waveland Press.

Lasswell, Harold D. (1971) Propaganda Technique in the World War. Chicago: MIT Press.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F. and Robert K. Merton, 'Mass Communication, Popular Taste, and Organized Social Action', in L. Bryson (ed.), The Communication of Ideas. New York: Harper, 95-118. Reprinted in: John Durham Peters and Peter Simonson (eds), Mass Communication and American Social Thought: Key Texts, 1919-1968. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2004, pp. 230-241.

Luhmann, Niklas (1995) Social Systems, Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Malinowski, Bronislaw (1945) The Dynamics of Culture Change. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Manovich, Lev (2001) The Language of New Media. Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press.

Moore, Brooke Noel and Parker, Richard (2008) Critical Thinking. California State University, Chicago.

Perelman, Chaim and Olbrechts-Tyteca, Lucie (1969). The new rhetoric: A treatise on argumentation. (J. Wilkinson and P. Weaver, Trans.). Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press.

Richards, Ivor Armstrong: The Meaning of Meaning: A Study of the Influence of Language upon Thought and of the Science of Symbolism. Co-authored with C. K. Ogden. With an introduction by J. P. Postgate, and supplementary essays by Bronisław Malinowski, 'The Problem of Meaning in Primitive Languages', and F. G. Crookshank, 'The Importance of a Theory of Signs and a Critique of Language in the Study of Medicine'. London and New York, 1923.