Assessing Argumentative Normativity in the English Medium Kenyan Newspaper Editorials from a Linguistic-Pragmatic Approach

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Abstract

The paper explores argumentative Normativity in the English medium newspaper editorials in Kenya. The paper aimed at establishing whether the editorials meet the logical, dialectal and rhetorical demands as aspects of Normativity. Four editorial texts were analysed from a Linguistic-Pragmatic approach. The Rhetorical Structure Theory and Text-Type Theory were used as descriptive tools. The findings show that editorials in the Kenyan newspaper discourse adhere to the classical structure of argumentation and that different clause relations signal the editorial structural components, opinion and arguments though implicitly. Interpersonal relations are preferred to ideational-textual relations. Pragmatically, editorials are written to shoulder the burden of proof; however, this is determined by the acceptability or unacceptability of the claim depending on the context and external constraints playing a role within the particular argumentative framework in which this claim is supposed to play its argumentative role.

Key words: Kenyan newspaper editorials, argumentation discourse, rhetorical structure, RST and Text-Type Theory

1. Introduction

The editorial opinion column in newspapers has been described as a type of journalistic essay where the reader will find the newspaper's opinions and attitudes on what it considers to be an important topic of the day (Bell 1991, Oktar 2001, Reah 2002, Stonecipher 1979). Van Dijk (2002:4) defines editorial articles as "personal opinion texts about recent events. Editorials are argumentative in language and structure (Van Dijk 1995, 1998). The activity of arguing plays two basic roles, both of which are fundamental to humans as rational and social beings. On the one hand, argumentation is a tool for knowledge because it is the way we justify our beliefs and claims: in giving reasons for a claim, we try to show that it is correct in a certain sense and that it is not up to an audience to accept it or not, argumentation is a means of justifying our claims. On the other hand, argumentation is also a tool for interaction among individuals, a mechanism with casual powers: it is not only that we place a commitment on our addressees to accept the claims for which we afford good reasons; it is also that by means of our reasons, we sometimes manage to cause certain beliefs in our addressees, we are able to persuade them of our claims.

The Linguistic-Pragmatic approach is adopted in this paper because it employs a unitary treatment of the two key aspects of argumentation, namely, its justifactory device that can eventually be used for persuading-this is the case with most theories that take logical or epistemic approaches-or as persuasive device whose legitimacy conditions would provide a particular account of justification as happens with the rhetorical approach and with some theories within the dialectical approach.

According to Bermejo-Luque (2011) a conception of argumentation as a speech-act complex is meant to be suitable for providing a unitary treatment of justification and reasoned persuasion. This enables us to characterise argumentation as a justifactory device at its illocutionary level, whereas its paradigmatic persuasive power, that is, the power of persuading by reasons, results from its ability to produce certain perlocutionary effects.

The motivation behind this approach to argumentation evaluation is the observation that arguments are abstract objects representing the semantic properties of acts of arguing and acts of indirectly judging (Bermejo-Luque 2011:ix).

The possibility of representing both types of acts by means of arguments is the first condition for determining their semantic value. However, acts of arguing have, certain pragmatic constraints that have to do with their communicative nature: by contrast with acts of indirectly judging, which are not communicational, acts of arguing are attempts to showing target- claims to be correct. As a result, they involve two types of normativity; a) the semantic normativity in light of which the target claim of an act of arguing is correct. b) the pragmatic normativity in light of which an act of arguing is a good act of showing.

Acknowledging not only semantic but also pragmatic conditions for argumentation is therefore the reason why a good argumentation is argumentation justifying the claim for which we argue.

Since Aristotlian time, the history of the normative study of argumentation has been divided into three main disciplines: Logic, Dialectic and Rhetoric. This paper, however, embraces the contemporary Argumentation Theory which has paralleled this dichotomy by developing a logical approach (that focuses on arguments as the product of the activity of arguing), a dialectical approach (seeing argumentation as a procedure consisting of strategic movements by a proponent and an opponent) and a rhetorical approach (dealing with argumentation as a communicative process having social, psychological, aesthetic and moral aspects that affect its interpretation and its evaluation).

The question that stands to be answered is how good and easy are they argumentative? This paper, therefore, adopts Bermejo-Luque's (2011) Linguistic-Pragmatic Approach in assessing the argumentative normativity in the English medium newspaper editorials in Kenya. Argumentative Normativity is the articulation of the distinction between good and bad arguments. According to Bermejo-Luque (2011) any theory dealing with the normative conditions of argumentation in terms of its features as a certain type of linguistic practice may be said to belong to a linguistic-pragmatic approach to argumentation theory. Linguistic-Pragmatic Approach takes argumentation as a particular type of linguistic practice- instead of a logical product, a dialectical procedure, rhetorical process or an epistemological tool- that facilitates the integration of argumentation's logical, dialectical, rhetorical and epistemic dimensions. The paper attempts to establish the following objectives: (a) whether the editorials in the English medium newspapers in Kenya adhere to the classical structure of argumentation discourse, (b) what clause relations as linguistic features are employed and how they signal the rhetorical structure of these editorials, and (c) how the clause relations facilitate interaction between the editorial reader and the editorial text.

Editorials are given more prominence than other sections in the newspaper. According to Fowler (1991) editorials have a symbolic function especially because of their unchanging position in the newspaper. Despite the vital function they have in the society, there is a lack of empirical studies on editorials (Le 2002) and specifically on its structure (Van Dijk 1996a). Stonecipher (1979:40) says that an editorial is like an essay because it consists of: an *introduction, body* and *conclusion* where these parts do not necessarily have to appear in the same order every time like an essay. MacDougall (1973:60) describes the three-part structure as: *the subject* or *news peg, the reaction* and *the reasons.*

Today editorials are, according to Van Dijk (1996a), characterised by the categories: *summary, evaluation* and *pragmatic conclusion.* He explains that, firstly, a brief summary must be given in order to remind the reader of the issue at hand. Secondly, the editorial must give an evaluation of the events. Lastly, the editorial must attempt to answer the questions "what next?" and "what are we going to do about this?" Here the editorial aims to provide answers for these questions and is "action-oriented" in terms of what the newspaper thinks should be done (Van Dijk 1996a). This observation agrees to the classical structure of argumentation.

2. Materials and Method

Hohenberg, (1969) observes that there are a number of factors that militate newspapers against taking an active and objective role of informing the public. They include; ownership, fear of being proscribed, especially, in the third world countries, self-censorship, circulation and government interference among others. Circulation and ownership were considered in picking on the papers for analysis. There are three publishing groups behind mainstream print media in Kenya: the Nation Media Group owned by the Aga Khan foundation, the Standard Limited owned by Lonhro East Africa and the Kenya Times Group owned by the former ruling party, KANU. The Nation Media Group has five newspapers in the market: the *Daily Nation*, the *Sunday Nation, Taifa Leo, Taifa Jumapili* and the *East African.*

The Standard Ltd publishes the *East African Standard* while the Kenya Times Group publishes the *Kenya Times*, the *Sunday Times and Kenya Leo*. The *People Daily* represents those owned by individuals. Editorial articles drawn from the English medium mainstream newspapers in Kenya were analysed. These articles were: editorial from *The Kenya Times* of 15th June 2003; *The People Daily* of 14th June 2003; *Sunday Nation* of 15th June 2003 and *The East African Standard* of 14th June 2003. There are many opinion texts in the newspaper, such as the op-sit, letters to the editor, political analysis and so on. All these are produced by journalists and other writers who both as professionals and as other social group members, exhibit their shared social representation (Van Dijk 1995), so editorials are picked on for analysis because they are socially construed thus individual writer's experiences and opinions are limited.

The method is based on argumentation analysis. As a starting point for our analysis we use RST by Mann & Thompson (1987) to discover the overall text organisation, and then test it to the expected text-type: argumentation. This will address the first concern in argumentative normativity of logic, and then the second step is the analysis and interpretation of the content. This starts with the interpretation of the primary thesis of the editorial. The interpretation is based on a pragmatic view supported by the reading of the whole text. This pragmatic view is a necessity, as the primary thesis cannot be found on the basis of semantic reasoning alone (Tirkkonen-Condit 1986: 375). Editorials are used to influence an audience towards some end. In short, they are rhetorical by nature, and the argumentation in them is intended to resolve some difference of opinion (van Eemeren & Grootendorst 1984, van Eemeren et al. 1997: 218).

3. Theoretical Literature Review

Some approaches to text analysis view text as a structure that could be analyzed in terms of the relations connecting its segments. A major part of the structure of text, in these approaches, is the relations that tie its units together. It is these relations, says Beekman (1970a:7), which "give unity and structure to a discourse". Therefore, a message consists not simply of units, but of "units-in relation" (Callow and Callow 1992:8). These relations, that have been given various names in the literature, i.e. coherence relations, rhetorical relations, functional relations, and compositional relations, are the focus of the relation-based approaches to text analysis. Because their significance in text organization is widely recognized, analysts consider them a useful framework for describing text structure (see Beekman 1970a; Callow 1998; Grimes 1975; Hoey 1994; Longacre 1992; Mann and Thompson 1988; Meyer 1985; Reinhart 1980; Van Dijk 1982; Winter 1977).

Underlying this view of text as a structure of relations is the assumption that texts are communicative units that serve an overall rhetorical purpose. As Hatim and Mason (1990:187) explain, "a text progresses towards a goal, and will be deemed complete at the point where the rhetorical goal is considered to have been achieved". This communicative goal determines how sequences of sentences are organized in order to create a coherent text. The same segments, Hovy et al (1992:19) realizes, "can be organized differently to achieve different communicative effect". The writer organizes his text in a certain way to achieve his goals. Each segment in a coherent text, whether a sentence or a paragraph, therefore, serves a certain function following from the writer's global plan. "Attributing functions to various discourse parts" Longacre (1992) points out, "enables us to view it as a functioning whole". It is this rhetorical function which a given segment performs, such as explanation, specification, or elaboration, that defines the kind of relation it has with respect to other segments, and contributes to the realization of the overall communicative goal of the text.

Conveying the functions intended by the text producer, relations become a text organizing device that determines its structure. This is why they are considered to be an essential factor, among others like: cohesion, thematic structure, and information structure, in maintaining the text overall coherence. As Mann and Thompson (1992) note "Unity and coherence arise from imputed function. A text is perceived as having unity and coherence because all of its parts are seen as contributing to a single purpose of the writer". Relations between clauses and sentences, Van Dijk (1983) argues, maintain the text's local coherence by organizing its microstructure. The macrostructure of text, realized by high level units, on the other hand, is organized by global functional relations that account for the text's global coherence. It is proposed, therefore, that different procedures should be employed to analyze relations at each level of text. Whereas schematic structure theories describe "conventional textual structures in terms of patterns which specify the overall structure of text," relations holding between low-level segments could be explained by coherence relation theories (Hovy et al 1992:3).

"The two approaches to analyzing text above the level of sentence," notes Gulla (1996:79), "are crucial to account for discourse coherence at both the local and the global level". In this study, the text structure is described within the framework of two theories that account for local and global coherence. While Text-type Theory provides the means to describe macro-structure of editorial texts, the functions served by clauses are described in terms of Rhetorical Structure Theory; this is illustrated in figure 3 in which P stands for Paragraph while S stands for Sentence.

Figure 1 Relations in Text (adopted from Fatima, 2010:132)
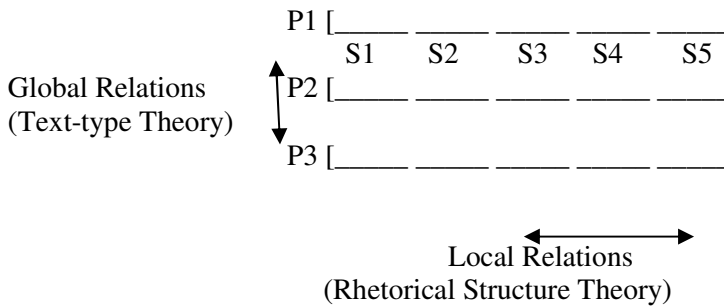
However, it is important to note that this distinction between the two levels of relations is only theoretical in order to facilitate the analysis process. When we treat relations at high and low levels separately, "we must not be misled into thinking that relations are therefore inherently independent and isolable. On the contrary, there is a constant interaction between the two levels since they both work towards the same goal. While global relations provide a framework by which local relations are organized into a pattern of purposive development, local relations are the "elemental building blocks" of global relations (Hovy et al 1992:31).

3.1 Text-typology Theory

As mentioned above, text types are classes of texts with socio-culturally fixed schematic categories that highlight the main rhetorical structure of the text. Classification of texts provides an overall framework which text users can utilize in order to determine the relevance of high-level segments of text to each other and to the overall purpose of the text. Hatim (1997:55) points out that "text-type focus almost casually determines text structure" and lays down the relations whereby texts develop in order to achieve their goals. Linguists who ignore the importance of text typology, Longacre (1996:7) asserts, "can only come to grief". Text typology stands for the means to identify a text as a token of a type by suggesting specific characteristics to major types. It has been suggested by many linguists that despite the cultural differences between conventionalized types of text organization, there exist some similar features in each type that allow developing general taxonomies of texts. Some analysts classify texts according to their field, such as journalistic, scientific, and religious text types, while others categorize them in terms of their plan of organization, such as problem-solution, causation, and comparison. Yet others base their classification on the rhetorical purpose of the text, such as description, instructional, and argumentation. Hatim's (1997) typology, which is adopted in this study, falls in the third category that associates particular text structures with particular functions.

In his text typology, Hatim (1997:38)) recognizes three major forms for identifying the global structure of texts; expository texts, argumentative texts, and instructional texts. The argumentative text focuses on "the evaluation of relations between concepts" in order to persuade the text receiver to the author's point of view. Two variant forms of argumentation are distinguished in this model: Through-argumentation and Counter-argumentation.

The structural patterns of organization identified by Hatim's (1997) argumentative text-type are employed in this study to highlight the overall rhetorical structure of the texts and define the relations connecting their high-level segments. Argumentative texts, as mentioned above, relate to a specific goal, namely to persuade. Given that the newspaper opinion articles, which are analyzed in this study, have the tendency to persuade and are dominated by evaluativeness, they are considered to represent argumentative text-type. However, there is need to establish through clause relations how the rhetorical structure of argumentation is signalled.

3.2 Rhetorical Structure Theory – RST

Rhetorical Structure Theory (RST) was developed by Mann and Thompson, (1987) in their study of r*elational propositions* in discourse. This work, however, was a build-up on the works of Beckman and Callows, (1979) the r*elations between propositions* and Grimes, (1975) work on the r*hetorical predicates*. All these works focus on the semantic connection between clauses or sentences as propositions. The basic assumption underlying RST is that texts are not merely strings of clauses but are instead groups of hierarchically organized clauses which bear various informational and interaction relations to one another (c.f Van Dijk and Kintsch, 1983; Mandler and Johnson, 1977). Over the years, RST has been adopted by many researchers for very different purposes. It has therefore two main characteristics: descriptive adequacy and cognitive plausibility.

A theory that is descriptively adequate is one that helps characterize the internal structure of texts producing plausible text structures. Years of text analysis using RST have shown that RST is, indeed, useful to capture the underlying structure of texts. RST is a descriptive theory of text structure, which describes the parts texts have, and the principles of combination of these parts into entire texts. It is a functional theory and a linguistically useful method for describing natural texts, and characterizing their structure, primarily, in terms of relations holding between parts of the text. RST does therefore, recognizes three principal kinds of structure: a) *Holistic structure*: derived from the properties of the genre or variety of text, (b) *Relational structure*: expressing the organization of coherent contiguous text and (c) *Syntactic structure:* deriving from the order of language elements (Mann and Thompson, 1992).

RST is a theory of relational structure; however, it harmonizes the other two structures, that is, holistic and syntactic structures. It is guided by three objectives: (a) To identify the hierarchical structure in text (b) To describe the relations holding between parts of the text in functional terms, identifying both the transition point of a relation and the extent of the items related and (c) To establish the communicative role of text structure. From these objectives it is evident that RST is comprehensive in its analysis and also that it is not bound to text size.

RST is also ideal in capturing one of the fundamental aspects of text structure, namely the succession of information units. Ideational relation links successive units of semantic content, hence, forming the building blocks of information content whose overall effect is a hierarchical structure that goes beyond sequential order and dependency. Sequential relations, on the other hand, deal with the progression of a text. Then, the Intentional relations (what Halliday (1985, 2004) calls Interpersonal relations) play a central role in argumentation, in its broader sense, as the expression of attitudes and opinions. They (intentional relations) are normally captured through the satellite in a rhetorical structure; hence they reveal the persuasive tone on a reader. Although intentionality may be implicit or diffused in the text, Mann and Thompson, (1987); Cohen et al., (1990); Grosz and Sidner, (1986) say it is *plausible* that such intents exist both in the writer and in the reader in interpreting the text.

In line with these qualities that RST has, it is integrative in its application thus; it considers sequential, ideational and intentional relations in a bid to capture a text's clarity, comprehensibility of the information and the functionality of its rhetorical organization in the intended context of use. This theory is, therefore, instrumental to this study.

4. Results

Figure 2: The RST diagram for the entire editorial text 1 of 15/06/2003 entitled 'A strong budget, but weak in crucial sectors'
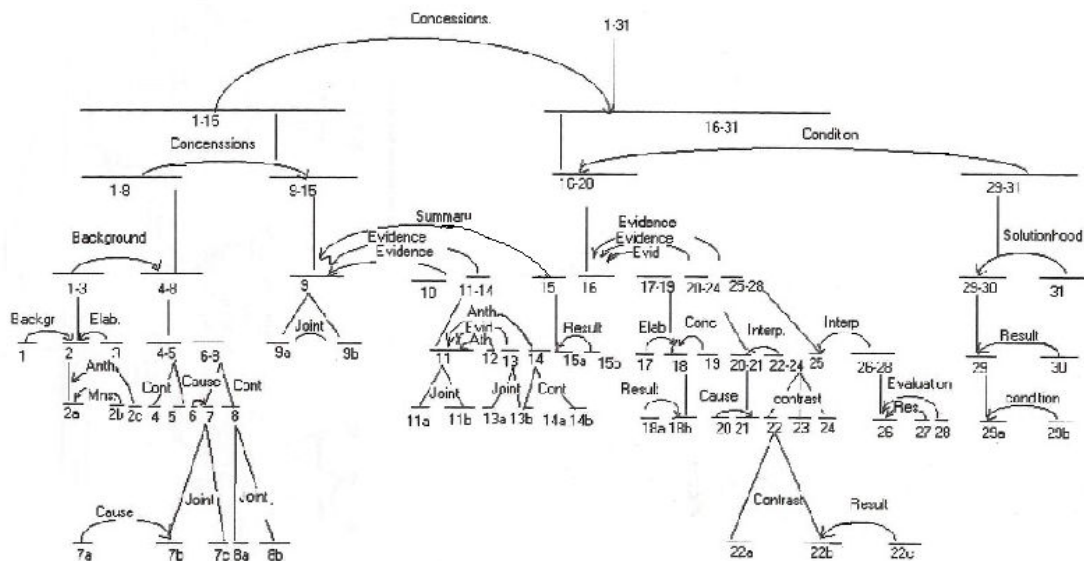

Figure 2 shows that editorial text is broadly organized in terms of a concession relation. The title itself is concessive (*A strong budget but weak in crucial sectors…).* The figure divides into two major chunks of units, that is, unit 1-15 and unit 16-31. These two chunks are connected through a relation of CONCESSION which organizes the rest of the text. Let us analyze each of these two chunks one at a time. In the first chunk unit 1-15, the writer majorly points out the weakness in the budget. Unit 1, for instance, discredits the budget. It suggests that, the budget is just like other budgets that have been presented before, (Marked yet another forum where the Narc government legally made pledges…). A ground for the claim that there are shortfalls in the budget is set through relations of BACKGROUND, ELABORATION, CONTRAST, and SUMMARY in units 1-8.

Units 9-15 are connected to units 1-8 through a relation of CONCESSION. In units 9-15 the writer presents the weaknesses. Unit 9 introduces the weaknesses. (However, some proposals made were either farfetched or with undue considerations). The weaknesses are then outlined in unit 10 (Kshs. 400m given to the state of us too little). These weaknesses are presented as evidence, through the EVIDENCE relation. These evidences are strengthened through relations of CONTRAST, ELABORATION, RESULT and JOINT.

Turning to units 16-31, in this chunk divides into two units 16-28 and units 29-31. In unit 16-28 the writer presents the strong points of the budget. These strong points are introduced by unit16 (A lot of encouraging proposals were made). Unit pairs 17-19, 20-24 and 25-28 outline the strengths of the budget (reduction of VAT, raise in airtime tax from 5 to 10 percent, zero rating of importation of computer accessories). These points are given as evidence to the claim that the budget is strong. Each of these evidences is developed and reinforced through relations of ELABORATION in units 17-18, CAUSE, RESULT, and CONCESSION. The writer goes ahead to give the economic implication of each of the strong points against the expectations of the common man. This is through the relation of INTERPRETATION in units 21-22, 25-26.

Units 29-31 connect to units 16-28 through a relation of CONDITION. The writer in these units gives conditions, which should be met if the strong proposals are to be realized. Units 29 (The estimates all but need immediate implementation if the common man to realize that he is the ultimate beneficiary…) states a condition in reference to the entire strong proposal in the budget. The text ends with a solution clause relation. (The government through the relevant ministries should work in conjunction with the Kenyans to ensure immediate implementation), in which a suggestion is given if the common man is to benefit.

The rhetorical analysis above reveals a rhetorically structured editorial text as argumentation discourse that takes a concessive approach in which both the strengths and weaknesses are pointed out. It can be noted that each schematic category in the editorials is signaled by specific clause relations though some cut across the entire text.

Table 1: Summary of the Clause Relations identified in the editorial texts analysed

		KT	SN	PD	EAS
		UNIT NO	**UNIT NO**	**UNIT NO**	**UNIT NO**
CLAUSES RELATION	Background	1-2, 3-4	6-7	6-7, 1-2, 2-3	1-2, 3-4
	Circumstance		2-3		6-7
	Elaboration	2-3,11-13,17-18	17-18,16-17,23-24,3-4	7-8	11-12
	Enablement			6a-6b	
	Summary	5-6,11-15		8-9	
	Evidence	9-10,9-11, 11-14,16-17, 17-19,16-21, 25-28	5-6,5-12, 5-15, 8-9	12-13	5-6
	Justify		22-27, 3a-3b, 12-13, 27-28, 26a-b, 22-26		1-5, 11a-11b
	Concession	8-9,15-16, 28-29,18-19	4-5,21-22	10-11,13-14	8a-8b 12a-12b
	Contrast	26a-b, 4-5, 7-8,11-14, 14a-b, 22-24	1-2,7-8,9-11, 13-14,18-19, 16-21,28-29-30	4-5,4a-b, 13a-b	
	Antithesis	11-12	12a-12b	13a-13b	2-3
	Evaluation	26-28	32-33,23-25	9-10,3b-c	
	Interpretation	21-22,25-26	19-20	3-4	
	Condition			5a-b, 11a-b, 12a-b	
	Cause	6-7, 7a-b, 20-21		7a-b 4a-b, 7-8, 2a-b	
	Result	26-27, 18a-b, 15a-b 29-30, 22a-22b	15-16		
	Corroboration			2	
	Restatement		30-31		
	Solutionhood	30-31			
	Inference			5-6	
	Means				8-9,10, 11-12,13
	Joint	7b-c, 8a-b, 9a-b, 1a-b, 13a-b	2b-c, 30a-b, 31a-b	3a-b, 8a-b, 11-12	5a-5b,6a-6b, 13a-13b-13c
	Reason		2a-2b		
	Suppression	29b-29c			

It can be noted from the summary in Table 1 above that not all the clause relations outlined in Mann and Thompson, (1987) were identified in the data analysed. These clause relations that were not found in the analysed data include *sequence, motivation, purpose* and *otherwise* relations. This could be attributed to the fact that different genres serve different purposes hence employ varied linguistic items. Fox, (1993), for instance, notes that a sequence relation is common in narratives while a purpose relation features prominently in exposition discourse. It can also be noted that a few new clause relations, from those outlined in Mann and Thompson, (1987), have been introduced in this study. They include *inference, means, corroboration, reason,* and *suppression*. This introduction of new clause relations is warranted by the fact that the list of relation in RST is not a closed set.

A number of researches have classified the relations into different categories. Halliday, (1985) observes that clause relations (Grammatical metaphors) can fall under two groups, that is, metaphors of mood and modality and metaphors of transitivity.

Mann and Thompson, (1988), on the other hand, distinguishes *subject matter relations* whose intended effect is that the reader recognizes the relation in question and *presentational relations* whose intended effect is to increase some inclination in the reader, such as the desire to act, or the degree of positive regard for belief in or acceptance of a claim.' Mann and Thompson (1988:257)

A more specific classification of clause relation is proposed by Hovy et al., (1992). Hovy classifies clause relations into three categories namely ideational, textual and interpersonal relations. *Ideational relations* concern the information content [*subject matter* in Mann and Thompson, (1988)] conveyed within or between clauses. *Textual relations*, on the other hand, deal with the sequential progression and the linking of various text parts into a unified whole. This entails conjunctions and subordinators. *Interpersonal relations* entail mood and modality in a text that reveal the writer's feelings, opinion and position on an issue. Ideational and textual relations serve mainly, the goal of clarity and transition in a text while; Interpersonal relations make a communication acceptable and convincing. This classification relates closely to Halliday's (1985) Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory.

Table 2: Hovy et al's (1992) classification of clause relations based on Systemic Linguistic Theory

Ideational relations	Interpersonal relations	Textual relations
-Volitional/Non-Vol. cause	-Evidence	-Restatement
-Volitional/Non-Vol. result	-Justify	-Summary
-Purpose	-Motivation	-Background
-Means	-Solutionhood	
-Condition	-Enablement	
-Otherwise	-Interpretation	
-Elaboration	-Evaluation	
-Circumstance	-Antithesis	
-Joint	-Concession	
-Sequence	-Contrast	

This classification is deemed relevant and instrumental in this paper and in particular to the next section of the paper in which we show how the clause relations signal the rhetorical structure of editorials as argumentation text type. It is noted that specific clause relation types characterize each schematic category. For instance, relations of circumstance, background, evaluation, elaboration, reason and result characterize the summary of events in which the writer introduces the topic, gives necessary background information, and declares his/her position on the issue. Most of these relations fall under the textual and ideational clause relation categories whose intention is to make the text clearer and more comprehensible.

The second schematic category: the evaluation or evidence in support of the claim is given. In this schematic category, the writer either refutes or concedes the counterarguments. It is noted in this study that a concessive approach in which both the weaknesses and strengths are given is the most favoured in the data analysed. Selective perception is quite evident in this schema. Selective perception is simply a newspaper bias in which only some issues are picked on and emphasized at the expense of others. It is noted in this study that although all the four editorial articles analysed covered the same topic- the Budget, the information included is quite varied. There are only two issues that recur in three editorial articles: the reduction of VAT by two per cent as a strong point in the budget and little allocation of funds to the police and security as a weakness. This is attributed to factors such as the editorial's ideology and opinion which are outside the scope of this paper. The clause relations noted here include, evidence, justify, concession, antithesis, enablement, elaboration, reason, inference, interpretation. Most of these relations tally with the interpersonal relations which, as Hovy et al., (1992) note, are meant to make communication acceptable and convincing, hence, facilitating argumentation.

The last schematic category is the conclusion. Here, the editorials as a watchdog of public interest suggest the way forward. The editorials state what should or should not be done as a suggestion or a warning to those in authority. The clause relations mostly noted in this category include, condition, evaluation, means and solutionhood. Tables 3 and 4 below, summarize the clause relations that signal the structural parts of the editorial texts as argumentation discourse into Interpersonal relations and Ideational-textual relations.

Summary of clause relations grouped into Interpersonal relations category and textual-Ideational relations category

Table 3: Interpersonal relations

Relation name	Editorial Text				
	KT	SN	PD	EAS	Grand total
Evidence	7	4	1	1	13
Justification	0	6	0	2	8
Concession	4	2	2	2	10
Contrast	6	8	3	0	17
Antithesis	1	1	1	1	4
Evaluation/Interpretation	3	3	3	0	9
Reason	0	1	0	0	1
Total	**21**	**25**	**10**	**6**	**62**

Table 4: Textual-Ideational Relations

Relation name	Editorial Text				
	KT	SN	PD	EAS	Grand total
Elaboration	3	4	1	1	9
Background	2	1	3	2	8
Condition	0	0	3	0	3
Inference	0	0	1	0	1
Total	**5**	**5**	**8**	**3**	**21**

It can be seen from the tables that out of the 83 clause relations of argumentation identified in the editorial texts analysed, 62 representing 75% are interpersonal relations whereas only 21 representing 25% are ideational-textual relations. This means that editorials in the Kenyan newspapers employ more of the interpersonal relations than the textual-ideational relations. This implies that editorials in the Kenyan newspaper discourse aim at making communication acceptable and persuasive. The overuse of interpersonal relations at the expense of ideational-textual relations makes editorials more of persuasion than argumentation. This also implies that the opinions are implicitly signaled. This calls for keen reading and high concentration for the reader to follow the argument. This could be the reason to low readership the editorials receive (Mbugua 1997). It is therefore important that writers signal the relations in a text to make it more readable and comprehensible. This is with the understanding that editorials today are not a preserve of the literate readers.

Clause relations do more than simply signaling the sequential progression in a text. They also signal the subject matter. This in turn reveals the writer's plausible intention on the reader (the pragmatic aspect). All the four editorials address the same topical issue: the government budget, however, from different argumentation planes. Here we consider the aspect of burden of proof in argumentation. To begin with, the East African Standard editorial has the title *Kenya's time for economic rebirth*. Rebirth implies that the economy had suffered some "death". The editorial's position statement states "After 24 years dotted with budgets that promised economic heaven only to deliver sweat and tears, the Narc government yesterday scored a goal for economic recovery" (EAS 4:1). With such a claim, the editorial has the burden of showing the two forms of the economy. First, it has the burden to proof that the economy had died. Secondly, to proof that it is being revived.

For the first proof, the editorial says "The last 10 years in particular saw growth stagnates to an average of just two per cent, largely due to poor economic governance" and "Not only win public enterprises stop being regarded as cash cows to reward political loyalty, but those that fail to return profitability will be sold to stop them from draining public funds" (EAS 4: 4 and 10 respectively). These statements refer back to the weakness in the former government. Then the editorial raises two welcome proposals in the budget by the new government, these are, incentives to the agricultural sector and reforms in the banking sector, thus, "Reforms in the banking sector have been long overdue and it is hoped these changes will increase availability of credit to local industry..." (EAS 4:13) This again implies that the former government should have reformed the banking sector but it did not but the new government has done it. This is an example of a Through argumentation (Hatim 1997). It only sets to proof that the new government's budget is out to revive the country's otherwise 'dead' economy. The People Daily editorial is entitled *It's a sigh of relief from tax burden*. This editorial begins with a heavily laden position statement. Unfortunately, it fails to proof its claim.

It begins "The first Narc budget as spelt out by finance minister David Mwiraria on Thursday has indicated that it possible to be generous to the long suffering Kenyans without disrupting production process and provision of social services" (PD 2:1). The reader expects to see proof of how and what the Kenyans have been suffering from, how long they have suffered, how generous is the new government, how the government plans to balance generosity, production process and provision of socials services and what are these services. Instead, the editorial only attempt to create a desperate economic situation inherited from the former government, and then states the new plans which need financing by the new government. It then goes ahead to state the strengths of the budget such as " A two per cent waiver on VAT across the board, new policy measures to revamp the manufacturing and agricultural sectors, and the additional sh 300 million to the police..."(PD4 5, 6 and 13 respectively). A keen look at the editorial text leaves much unanswered, in other words, it fails in carrying the burden of proof. One for instance, would expect to see new policies that have been raised to boost the manufacturing and the agricultural sectors but nothing is said about it. One also would expect to see how the tax waiver would not affect the provision of social services as much as it is to boost the production process. The editorial only interprets the waiver to be a relief but the question is to whom, the producers or the consumers? These two editorials are a type of the Through argumentation type according to Hatim's (1997) classification of text types.

The Sunday Nation editorial entitled *A step in the right direction* and the Kenya Times editorial entitled *A strong budget but weak in crucial sectors* are objective enough in their arguments. They discuss both the strengths and the weaknesses in the budget. The Sunday Nation editorial, begins with the position statement, "...the budget being the first one for the new government, it is attracting a lot of attention since it is to signal the direction and vision of the new government to its people." Then the shortcomings in the budget are raised such "The sh 60 billion hole in the budget, lack of serious attention and allocation to the agricultural sector, the allocation to the security being too little." (SN3: 6, 12 and 21 respectively). Three strengths in the budget then are discussed "the reduction of VAT to boost business in the region, VAT waiver on capital goods for new industries and the regulations on the banking sector SN3:23,26 and 27 respectively).

The Sunday Nation and the Kenya Times editorials (refer the Results section pp 19-21 above) do not take sides on the topic. They fall in the category of the Counter-argumentation text type according to Hatim (1997). This objective approach could be attributed to the political ideology. The Sunday Nation and the Kenya Times, inasmuch as they are also in business, their major role is to serve as the watchdog to the public. The budget has key implications to public and that is why they address the topic from a neutral stand in order to balance between the government and the public. The People Daily and the East African Standard, on the other hand, sets out to proof that the new government is better in its budgeting by discussing only the strengths in the budget. This is attributed to ownership of the papers. Both papers are owned by individuals who probably are out majorly for businesses hence have to seek for political good will for them to survive.

In summary, to determine whether a speaker has the burden of proof involves a previous judgement on the acceptability of his/her claims, given its context. A claim may be acceptable or unacceptable because of its merits or shortcomings as a claim, but also because of external constraints playing a role within the particular argumentative framework in which this claim is supposed to play its argumentative role, that is, as a reason, rebuttal, inference etc. what emerges, however in the analyses above, is the People Daily and the East African Standard editorials inadequately shifts the burden of proof to the former government that it is not to blame for the messy economy. These editorials instead of showing that their questioned claims are actually right, they suggest that those having the opposite view have the burden of proof. Many studies in argumentation equate an inadequate shift of the burden of proof to argumentation ad ignorantiam (see Govier 1985, 2001; Krabbe 1995; Walton 1995). In this paper, however, we don't take the shift of the burden of proof to be ad ignorantiam but a mere challenge to prove a claim opposite to the one the writer holds. This is not a case of bad argumentation but it may be false argumentation and fallacious.

5. Conclusion

It has been observed that editorials adhere to the classical structure of argumentation, that is, they have a proposition, support/evidence, and a conclusion. This finding agrees with Van Dijk's, (1995), of a summary event, an evaluation and a pragmatic coda. It is also noted that different clause relations signal each of these structural components, that is, the proposition, the evaluation and the conclusion.

The interpersonal relations, whose main purpose is to increase the reader's acceptance and belief, are highly favoured in the English medium newspaper editorials. The ideational-textual relations, whose main purpose is to signal the idea(s) under discussion and also show the text progression, are sparingly used. Due to this implicit signalling of the opinion or arguments and imbalance between rationality and emotivity, editorials become difficult to comprehend and also a negative impression to an informed thus receive low readership. Editorials are written to shoulder the burden of proof; however, this is determined by the acceptability or unacceptability of the claim depending on the context and external constraints playing a role within the particular argumentative framework in which this claim is supposed to play its argumentative role.

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