

Discourse-semantics of risk in *The New York Times*, 1963–2014: a corpus linguistic approach

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- Context of our investigation, research questions
- Sociological risk theory
- Linguistic approaches to risk
- Our methods and linguistic findings
- Sociological significance of the results

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From previous sociological and linguistic research, we know that:

- Risk as concept is sociologically important
 - ▶ New global risks (Beck, 1992)
 - ▶ Calculative technologies (Dean, 1998, 2010)
 - ▶ Individualisation (Beck) and Technologies of the Self (Foucault, Martin, Gutman, & Hutton, 1988)
 - ▶ Risk-taking (Luhmann, 1993)
- Risk as lexical item is increasingly frequent in print journalism (Zinn 2011)
- Risk as a lexical item in naturalistic text may behave contrary to expectations (Hamilton, Adolphs, & Nerlich, 2007)

- ① *NYT Annotated Corpus*: 1.8 million articles, 1987–2007 (Sandhaus, 2008)
- ② *ProQuest Newsstand* for articles containing a risk word between 2007–2014

We wanted to build on these earlier findings, and take advantage of new technologies:

- What are risk words doing in the NYT?
- How has the behaviour of risk words changed in the NYT between 1963 and 2014?
- Can we connect these findings to sociological theories of risk?
- What kinds of tools and methods can we use/develop to do this kind of research?

New kinds of data and tools make it possible to empirically analyse risk language in new ways:

- Digitisation of newspapers means we have large, well-structured datasets
- Automatic annotation of text makes it possible to search for lexical and grammatical features in tandem
- Modern programming languages facilitate:
 - ▶ Automation
 - ▶ Reproducibility
 - ▶ Transparency

Frame semantics: risk as a cognitive schema (Fillmore & Atkins, 1992)

- Conceptualises risk mostly as experiential Process/Event
 - ▶ *What kind of participants and circumstances occur when risk is the Process?*
- Problem: risk often takes less prominent experiential roles
 - ▶ Is the risk frame actually invoked when the word is used?
 - ▶ Example:

Mr. Tepfer noted that Mr. Douglas, who was in the neighborhood when the body was found and was interviewed by the police at the time, 'preyed on at-risk women, on prostitutes, and he engaged in sex and strangled them to death.'

Corpus linguistics: risk as token (Hamilton et al., 2007)

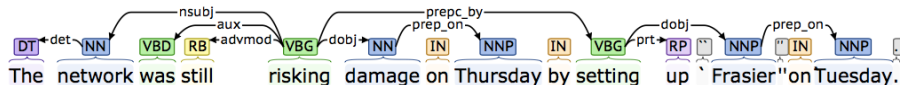
- Topics and text-types in which risk tokens appear
- Collocates of risk tokens (Hamilton et al., 2007)
- Risk appears a lot in discussions of health
- Use of risk words is different to invented examples

Shortcomings:

- Smaller corpus size, heterogeneity of samples
- No parsing, lemmatisation
- No means of connecting lexicogrammar to meaning

- Get all paragraphs containing *risk* in all 1987–mid 2014 editions of the NYT:
 - ▶ 153,828,656 words
 - ▶ 149,504 articles
 - ▶ 240,08 risk words
- Annotate/parse the data for lemmata, constituency, dependency (not SFL!)
- Develop `corpkit`, a toolkit for manipulating the corpus and communicating results
 - ▶ <https://www.github.com/interrogator/corpkit>
- Interrogate the corpus
- Connect to sociological theory

Q: Can we extract SF grammatical features from this?



A: Yes, quite often.

```
# import module and define corpus path
from corpkit import *
nyt = 'data/nyt/years'

# count every pos
baseline = interrogator(nyt, 'pos', 'any', lemmatise = True)

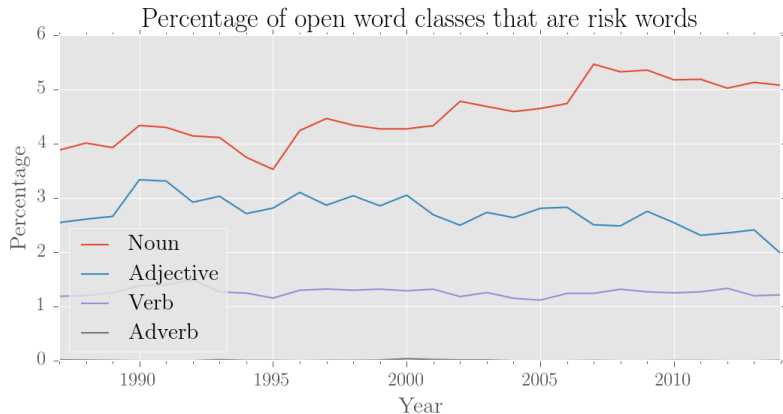
# count pos for risk words
riskp = interrogator(nyt, 'pos', r'__ < /(?(i)\brisk/', lemmatise = True)

# list open word classes
open_words = ['Noun', 'Verb', 'Adjective', 'Adverb']

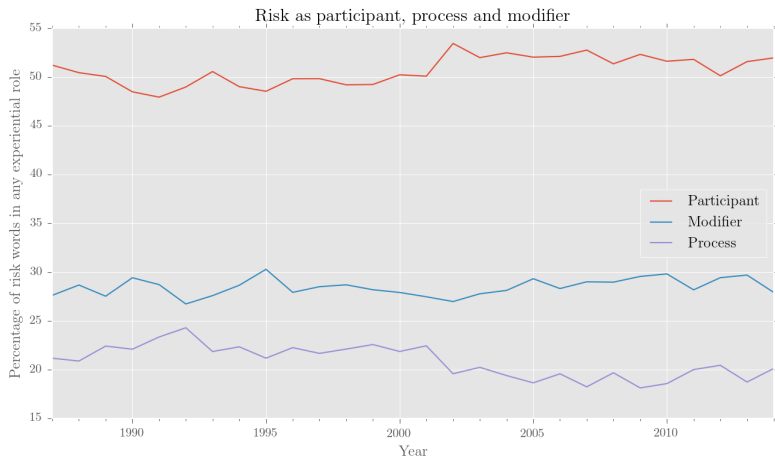
# get relative frequencies of open word classes, skip 1963
maths_done = editor(riskp.results, '%', baseline.results,
    sort_by = 'total', just_entries = open_words,
    skip_subcorpora = [1963])

# plot
plotter('Percentage of open word classes that are risk words',
    maths_done.results, legend_pos = 'lower left')
```

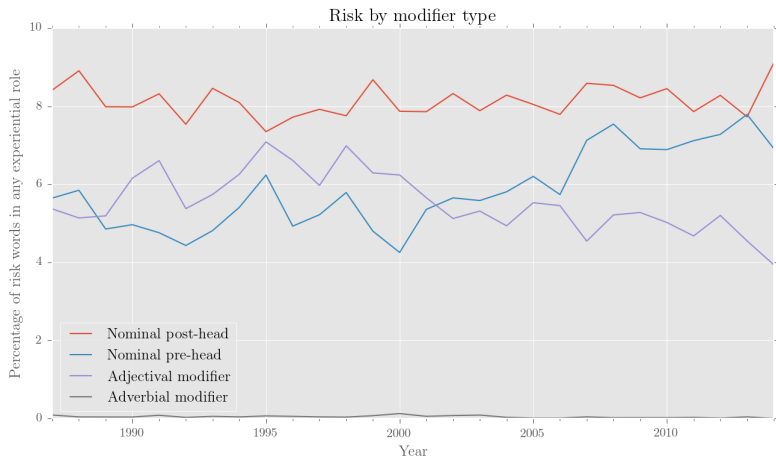
Output: nominalisation of risk



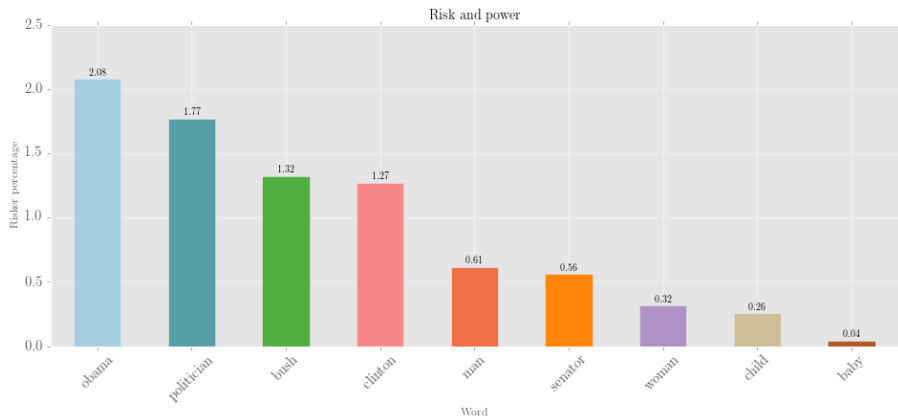
Experiential roles of risk words

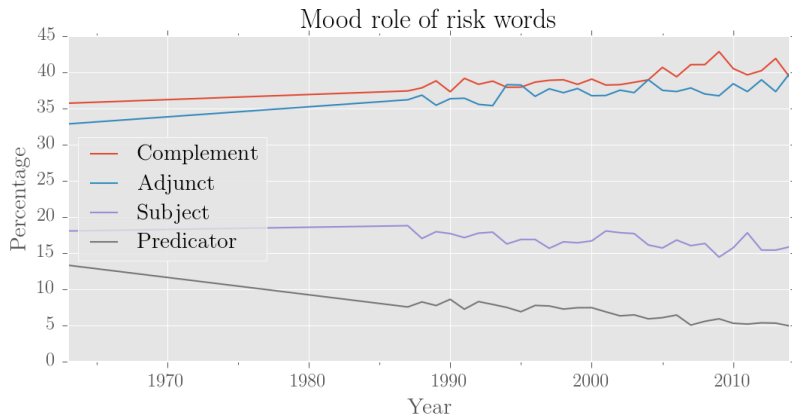


They risked their life → It was a risk

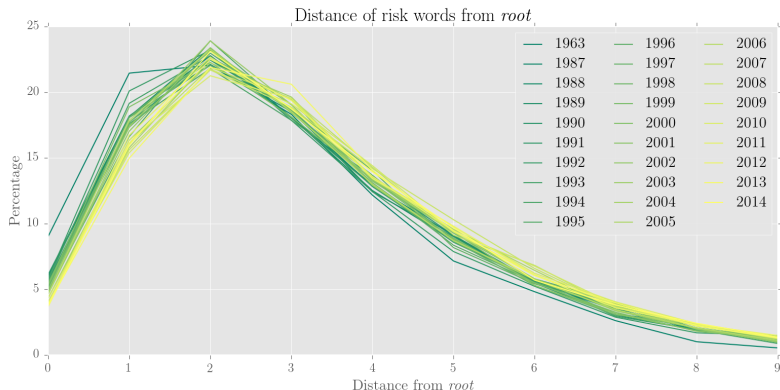


Risky decision → risk arbitrage





Distance of risk word from *root* (predicator)



- Nominalisation and *participation*
 - ▶ risking harm → risk assessment
 - ▶ Meaning of risk expanding beyond the *risk frame*
- Risk words becoming more implicit
 - ▶ Routinisation of the management of risk
 - ▶ Risk as increasingly present, but decreasingly debated
- More everyday exposure to risk, but less risking
 - ▶ Neoliberal conceptualisations of agency: institutional expectation to take risk
 - ▶ Reporting of '*the scandal of not being in control*' (Beck, 1992)

- SFL proves a useful means of dividing up and investigating the behaviour of a given word
- SFL parsing is difficult, as is converting concepts from (esp. formal) grammars
- Difficult SF concepts: rank shift, grammatical metaphor, appraisal, process types (Yan, 2014; Costetchi, 2013; Heyvaert, 2003)
- That said, though theoretical orientations are different, much of the grammar (esp. at group/phrase levels) are similar

Though SFL treats context as embedded in the lexicogrammar of texts, sociological theory can theorise the influence of salient events, people

- Did Chernobyl/Sept. 11 *change* language use in the NYT?

Functional linguistic theory and corpus/computational linguistic provide sociology research with:

- Empiricism
- Reproducibility

- Further exploration of risk as per SFG: process types, mood features, thematic metafunction
- New datasets and comparative analyses
- Expanding our focus to related terms: *danger*, *(in)security*, etc.

Data and tools are available for reuse:

- <https://www.github.com/interrogator/risk>

Findings are presented dynamically in an IPython Notebook:

- <http://git.io/vIM2W>

This slideshow:

- <http://git.io/vYOM4>

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