The Rhetoric of Regional Planning: a Cross-Disciplinary Approach

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Abstract

Analysing discourse as a social practice and the rhetoric of regional plans entails a focus on the features of context, such as identities of participants, the social structures, and the professional relationships urban planning is likely to maintain or change. This paper aims at discussing recurrent trends in regional land-use planning concerning development versus conservation in the 1990s in the Portuguese context. Two regional plans, whose date of approval shows a ten-year span, are compared within a cross-disciplinary framework with two tourism plans. Two major fields, namely linguistics (i.e. corpus linguistics and discourse analysis) and territory planning, highlight how language in regulations is used, based on a quantitative empirical study. The main findings, drawing both on exploratory data and methods from computational linguistics, point towards increasing levels of subjectivity. The close scrutiny of linguistic and discursive choices, with a focus on the interaction of segmental, supra-segmental and textual levels, also highlights the multimodal nature of the regulations of these two regional land plans. Concurrently, underlying discourses towards development rather than conservation come to the fore in both plans.

Keywords
Regional plans, sustainable development, protection, corpus linguistics, modality, modal carriers.

Introduction

The analysis of territorial planning is a theme mentioned in some international publications (Healey 1993, Faludi & Valk 1994) but rarely studied from an interdisciplinary perspective, interweaving urbanism and linguistic domains, such as discourse analysis, semantics and syntax, as well as resorting to the more common techniques in computational linguistics. Hence, the increasing number of publications on law and space is recent (Valverde 2005), particularly those addressing cross-disciplinary topics (Butler 2009) contributing to critical legal scholarship, such as the regulation of the city, the control of public space and the symbolic dimensions of spatial conflicts.

In fact, the concern for the organization of people's lives in urban spaces goes back to antiquity. From modernity to postmodernity, there is (Allmendinger and Gundar 2005: 87) "a great deal of anecdotal and empirical evidence" which discusses "how planning can be, and has been". Yet, posits Valverde (2008: 895), "the content of (some) norms is subject to revision but the normative power of law as such remains unchallenged". Leshinsky and Bar (borrowing from Glazer 2007: 258) advance that (2007: 1192) "planning has become a complex web of technical policy which is difficult for even planners and planning law actors to navigate through". So they challenge planning law decision-makers to discuss "taken-for-granted assumptions" as "there is space for other knowledge tools and legal actors' who can "provide knowledge on social and cultural impacts" towards "significant land use and development". In other words, the appeal is on, borrowing from Stephenson's words (1998: 237), "an actual (rather than rhetorical) policy-making context". Consequently, some current trends not only point to insights shared by researchers in related domains in human and social sciences (Bhatia 1998, Candlin 2001, and Chichorro 2003), but also favour a dialogue involving domains like anthropology, philosophy, rhetoric and linguistics (Chichorro 2003), for a deeper understanding of urbanism (Alves Correia 1993).

On the one hand, the current study takes a linguistic approach and carries out a corpus linguistic analysis of urban plans as reflecting the public dimension in their legislative drafting. Thus, it borrows from quantitative and qualitative methods in computer linguistics applied to discourse analysis (Baker 2006), because "the strengths of corpus-based approaches in investigating language use", referred to by Biber et al. (in Parlington 1998: 9-10), "cannot solely rely on intuition, anecdotal evidence, or small samples; they rather require empirical analyses of large databases of authentic texts". On the other, previous research of an interdisciplinary sort on Portuguese plans (Sousa and Lourenço 2006, 2009, 2009) pointed to the fact that urban plans (i) evidenced linguistic and discursive choices from a range of shared official languages, particularly English, and (ii) overlooked some intricacies inherent to their legislative drafting (Hunt 2002, 2003), for instance ambiguity, vagueness, with direct impact on courses of action, towards development rather than conservation. Moreover, previous studies (Sousa and Lourenço 2006, 2009) have come to validate the theoretical and methodological framework concerning
the use of corpus linguistics in the analysis of urban regulations of interdiscursive genre. Given their hybrid kind, it is therefore necessary to put forward a linguistic approach to the issues of the comprehension and comprehensibility of urban plans as legal documents, also bearing in mind their impact on the public dimension in their drafting. Another issue is whether the regional plans have a development cline or a conservation one. The object of scrutiny comprises: two regional plans, PROTAL (Decree No. 11/91 - Law 176-A/88), and PROTAML (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 11/2002); two tourism plans, POT Madeira (Regional Decree No. 17/2002/M) and PDTDV (Council of Ministers Resolution No. 139/2003). These plans are essentially of legal nature (Cao 2007: 9), regulating main activities within economic, environmental and socio-cultural domains, especially urbanisation and tourism, for the regions of the Algarve, Lisbon Metropolitan Area, Madeira Island and the Douro Valley, respectively. Their selection follows several external criteria (Sinclair 2004), namely: i. broader territorial scope, overlooking specificities unlikely to be compared; ii. production by multidisciplinary teams, including legal experts, granting (Alves Correia 1993) higher quality standards to the rules issued; iii. limited production by a few public-administration agencies which allows for a better control of variables, like urban descriptors, as well as linguistic and discursive choices constrained by “normativities” (Blommaert 2005 in Baker 2006) shared in complementary discourse communities of territory and tourism planning. As for the external criteria, these derive from the examination of the communicative function of regulation plans whereas the internal criteria reflect details of the language of the text.

All in all, the current research focuses on a lexicosyntactic and semantic analysis of, for example, adjectives and modals, so as to arrive at a better understanding of the way these modal carriers, to cite Hoey (1997: 67), “embody and, in turn, reinforce processes” which contribute to flush out distinct modal elements on the discourse level underlying the speaker’s/legislator’s standpoint be it in relation to a regulatory agenda, the propositional content or a diversity of interlocutors.

Shared Perspective: The Rhetoric of Urban and Tourism Planning

Before defining regional planning as a process, it is mandatory to point to recent trends on collaborative research inherent to the “discourse of professions”, following Oliveira (2005, 2009), and grounded on Sarangi (2005), in the line of the postulates by Malinowski (1935: 320), in that the interpretation of language in context benefits both from applying the tools of analysis and repertoire in linguistics, and the knowledge and expertise of professions stemming from diverse but related domains. More than a focus on the language used, regulating the professional relations, a multidisciplinary approach intends to involve researchers (Sarangi 2001) “in what constitutes professional practice and knowledge representations from the insiders’ perspective”.

At this point, the role of applied linguistics is deemed relevant to sketch out the borderlines underlying this research, as long as in any area of (Traugott and Pratt 1980: 19) “applied” fields, for instance “applied physics or applied anthropology”, to tag along the scholars’ wording, “the use of the discoveries, the frame of reference, and terminology of one discipline... serve[s] the ends of another area of endeavor”. Hence, poignantly bring in Traugott and Pratt, “the discoveries and methods of the social sciences are often applied to the solution of concrete social problems. Many applications of linguistics are practical in this way”.

Now coming back to the interdiscursive dimension (Ramos 2003) of regional plans, as legal texts, it is worth referring to Maingueneau’s contentions on speech acts (1997: 30), given their relevance to the current argument. “Language used in law can perform such acts as conferring rights, prescribing prohibition and granting permission”, states Cao (2007: 14). This entails, thus, the deliberative genre in rhetoric, provided that framing laws concerning land use and development presupposes a long negotiation process. The speech acts involved, so advances Maingueneau (1997), trigger conventions which regulate the relations among subjects on the institutional level, conferring each and every one a role in the linguistic activity. Therefore, the legislator/speaker assumes a sort of implicit social linguistic ritual also shared by the interlocutors. Consequently, a certain degree of subjectivity is likely to occur in the production of urban plans as the outcome of the negotiation process. Yet, it is also expected that certain strategic linguistic and discursive choices, featuring the normative/legalisual discourse (Malety 1994), reduce the subjective clime, so as to “establish legal facts or create rights and obligations” (Cao 2007: 10).

The crafting of plans presupposes a long dialogue among several actors, discursive practices and communities, who decide upon land use and development. These communities involve multiple voices by, for example, demographers, sociologists, architects, planners, politicians, or as Leshinsky and Bar put it (2007), “legal actors, from municipal planning officers to judges, to make explicit and implicit assumptions and claims about truth” as well “develop models for more adjustable and equitable urban spaces.

Regional planning involves both a strategic and a regulatory dimension developed in a process of abiding to social, technical and political constructs. The output of one of the most important by-product of regional planning, the regional plan, consists of a set of rules and a map of multimodal nature, following Kress, 1997), such as, territory and land use planning, ecology, tourism, and economics, both of which translate a long negotiation process, necessarily reflecting a vast array of interests. Moreover, the ensuing interdiscursive nature of regional plans is reinforced by the involvement of several technical domains, or following Wodak and Cilia (2006: 712), selected dimensions. Interdiscourse is social practice, and socio-cultural heritage, among other, which render regional plans interdiscursive (cf. Figure 1).
The process of public discussion underpinning the making and approval of any regional plan involves wide discussions with many diverse participants besides urban planners. So the methodological approach to analyse regional plans borrows from diverse but complementary frameworks, and entails working in a transdisciplinary way (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 16). Accordingly, the logic of one discipline, for example linguistics, can offer further insights in the development of another, for example, urban planning, as depicted in Figure 2. Hence, state Wodak and Cilla (2006: 712) "cooperation leads to a bundling or clustering of problem-solving approaches".

In the process of plan making and plan negotiation, which leads to the final production of the set of rules and a map, different standpoints are usually associated with either a development or a conservation cline. Territory plans in Portugal, as well as in many other countries, are likely to be related to the latter. For example, in the nineties, regions such as the Algarve, experienced a construction boom especially driven by a tourism-development purpose which raise some conflict with nature preservation and conservation. Consequently, a regional plan was designed to be later approved aiming at closely regulating the construction of hotel and resorts along with any urbanisation kind in coastal and other natural fragile areas.

To put it briefly, the operational concept of development, in the scope of regional and urban planning domains, implies the carrying out of activities in, on or under the soil, that is, related to the construction of roads and facilities, buildings and public spaces, together with mining or agro-forestry, to name but a few. The operational concept of conservation points towards domains of maintaining existing land uses, be it nature or built-up environments.

**Methodology**
In the analysis of subjectivity, Simpson states (1993: 47) that "modality, point of view and transitivity" are crucial.
For a broader understanding of subjectivity at the discourse level, and more specifically of modality, this research departs from Simpson’s contention that the former (1993: 47) "has been used rather loosely to refer to ‘attitudinal’ features of language by a variety of grammatical means for conveying modal commitment" [author’s emphasis]. As such, this research focuses on the analysis of some modal elements in both plans via a corpus-based approach because, and to borrow from Hoey’s tenets (1997: 3), “language corpora supports the view that modal elements frequently combine and interact dynamically, there seldom being one carrier of modality operating in isolation within the clause”. Modal elements comprise (Simpson 1993: 47), "modal auxiliaries, modal adverbs (or sentence adverbs), evaluative adjectives and adverbs, generic sentences, and verbs of knowledge, prediction and evaluation".

The systematic study of two regional plans (PROTAL and PROTAML) and two tourism plans (POT Madeira and PTVD), involved the selection of linguistic and discursive choices, via computer analysis of, notably, lexical modals, modal verbs, adjectives (modal carriers) and relevant structures which are singled out given their unexpected occurrence in legal texts of this type.

Techniques and Procedures

As for the cross-referencing of corpus-based approaches with other domains of linguistic scrutiny (Biber et al., 1998; Sinclair 2004; Parlington 1998; Hoey 1997, 2001, 2005; Sampson and McCarthy 2004; Baker 2006), namely discourse analysis, it might be stated that much research is now heavily dependent on data encoded in computational resources. In so doing, the analysis of linguistic phenomena, for example, linguistic and discursive choices, will benefit from corpus tools allowing for (Macleod, 2005: 61) "an objective and verifiable description of the relevant linguistic features of a text" and larger corpora. Corpus tools allow for the electronic retrieval of, for instance, modal words (words in concordance lines/strings), displaying their context of occurrence (phrases), followed by a close analysis. Concordance data may shed light both "into the conceptual meaning of words and the connotational significance of lexis", advances Parlington (1998: 65). 

"Semantic prosody" borrowing from Sinclair (1990, 2004) accounts for the phenomenon in which an item with no association with other lexemes, as offered in a concordance sample, acquires a "favorable or unfavorable connotation" (Parlington 1998: 66). Bearing in mind the nature of the plan regulations, of legal kind, this study is meant to find out the context of occurrence, firstly, and the frequency of occurrence of modal carriers in the corpora under scope. Amidst these modal elements, adjectives, given their large number, were carefully singled out in frequency lists and analysed in context before being displayed in tables.

1 When Halliday refers to "forms" of modality, he means the modal verbs as "verbal forms" and lexical modals, for instance adverbs as "non-verbal elements".

2 A concordance is simply a list of all the occurrences of a particular search term in a corpus, presented within the context that they occur in, usually a few words to the left and right of the search term" (Baker 2006: 71) and "concordance analysis is one of the most effective techniques which allows researchers to carry out this sort of close examination."

3 "Frequency is one of the most central concepts underpinning the analysis of corpora. It is important to understand that frequency lists are a good starting point and should be used sensitively they are a variety of interesting phenomena." (Baker 2006: 47)

The exploratory analysis of the official regulations of both plans is based on a systematic study of the selected corpus by means of a concordance tool – ConCapp. This allows for retrieving the context of occurrence of repeated patterns (for example, words, phrases or constructions), along with the search of co-occurring items (Ristling 1998: 138) "which have a high probability of being found together in a text or in a collection of texts of the same corpus". These items are likely to contribute to a better understanding of both plans. Thus, in the research of the linguistic and discursive choices, in a total of 6085 words (PROTAL – 6454 words; PROTAML – 43076 words; POTMadeira – 8945 words; PTVD – 2507 words), "the inclusion of only moderately common or rare words" (Partington, ibidem) depended on the interrelated "topics represented in the texts of the corpus" in Barthes’s conception (1975: 1994: 42) these entail "an unconstrained word that claims consistency of its own insistence" opposing expected "stereotypes" given the problem at hand, if related to any lexical-semantic field.

The term context, as perceived in corpus linguistics, plays an important role by involving the analysis of, to borrow from Biber, Sinclair and Partington (in Hoey 2005:163), "collocations, semantic associations, cullations and textual collocations". A final stage of the analysis comprises triangulating the regulation (Baker 2006:16), thereby facilitating evidential checks of hypotheses. Among the striking carriers of modality or modal elements on the discourse level, there is also a focus on modal verbs in Portuguese dever ("must; shall in legal English") and possibly may. For ex ample (cf. Campos 1997; Marques 2004). In the process of interpretation of linguistic and discursive choices, concur several levels of analysis, especially, the lexico-semantic, syntactic and pragmatic ones (Hoey 1997: 3). The first concerns the "lexical meaning", in as much as, contends the linguistic, "every lexical choice starts off a series of options and predefinitions... in any situation in which the speaker has been primed to perform". The second entails the discursive process, which involves decision-making regarding the propositional content, the discursive genre, interdiscursive domains, interlocutors, apart from, adds Hoey (Op. Cit., ibidem), "situationally-specific features which cumulatively account for, and contribute to, what have traditionally been treated as the syntax, semantics, pragmatics and discoursal features of a language." Hoey contends that corpus analysis benefits from pragmatics, thus entailing a "pragmatic" approach in the scope of modality, as follows (1997: 8-9): "co-occurrence is examined in terms of speaker meaning and context of utterance. The nuances introduced by particular modal-adverb associations and the influence that motivate their selection offer further insights into how modal-adverb collocations may be accounted for and eventually formulated".

* One consideration when building a specialized corpus in order to investigate the discursive construction of a particular subject is perhaps not so much the size of the corpus, but how often we would expect to find that subject mentioned within it." (Baker 2006: 28)

* Yet, it is not our purpose to undertake their semantic analysis, because, however succinct it might be, it would overlook long debated features on national (cf. Campos, 1997; Santos, 2003) and international (cf. Viana 2006) scopes.

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Case Studies

- PROTAL & PROTAML

Preliminary studies (Lourenço & Sousa, 2005, 2008, 2009), of a diachronic kind, flushed out distinctive linguistic and discursive choices in PROTAL (the oldest one in Portugal, issued in 1991) and PROTAML (the latest to be approved in 2002). PROTAML presents a higher frequency of an array of lexemes falling upon recurrent domains, which highlight its interdiscursive nature, namely: *política* → political (48 / 0.11140); *administração* → administration (47 / 0.10910); *coesão* → cohesion (24 / 0.05570); *económico/a* → economical (71 / 0.16480); *mercado* → market (25 / 0.05800); *turismo* → tourism (22 / 0.05110); *turística/as* → touristic (40 / 0.09280); *interfaces* → interfaces (19 / 0.04410); *paisagístico/a* → landscape (34 / 0.10210); *ambientais* → environmental (25 / 0.05800); *ecológico* → ecological (22 / 0.05110); *cultural* → cultural (15 / 0.03480), among other. These come in the line of the claims of the contemporary negotiation process, explicitly stated in the decree PROTAL (2002), involving “synergies between public and private initiatives (...), thereby calling for the institutionalization of intervention and negotiation processes which grant the inclusion of economic, social and cultural aims”. These relate to environmental, ecological, social and tourism discourse communities, following a policy based on sustainable development.

Interestingly, there was the unexpected occurrence of structures in the present participle (endó indô ing form), totalling 411 instances (PROTAML), which led to the search of co-locations and associated meanings. Amongst structures like *visando* (aiming at), *vinculando* (linking), *respeitando* (respecting), *considerando* (considering), *prevendo* (forseeing), *garantindo* (ensuring) or *fazendo parte integrante* (making part), *exigindo* (demanding), *impedindo* (forbidding), and *permitindo* (allowing for), singled out the modal verbs *poder* (may) and *dever* (shall), which in the present participle form may connote an ethic imperative (deontic modality), Palmer (1986) indebted to the sort of discourse shared in the civil society: *poder* (may [possibility]; 2 instances) and *dever* (having to; 14 instances [obligation/necessity]).

Following Barthès (1977/1994: 42) the unexpected occurrence of “an unconstrained word that claims consistency of its own insistence” opposing expected “stereotypes” given the problem at hand, if related to any lexico-semantic field. Deontic modality refers to the notions of obligation and duty, which can be conveyed in Portuguese by *ter de* and *dever* (must, shall in legalese discourse), *obrigar* (oblige), *impor* (impose), *permitir* (allow) and synonyms.

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de ciclo curto e resposta rápida, **exigindo** novos modelos de organização e fina
conflitos com o estatuto do Tejo, **exigindo** o estabelecimento de formas de comp

de fundo catalizador desse modelo, **exigindo** por isso, a institucionalização de
s na Carta de Recursos Geológicos, **impedindo** a sua afectação a outros usos que i
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o seu atravessamento por pessoas e **impedindo** a sua ocupação por edificações; d)
gicos e paisagísticos em presença, **impedindo** intrusões e condicionando os usos;
a internacionalização da economia, **permitindo** a criação de maior riqueza e, sobret
uação metropolitana e sub-regional **permitindo** aos responsáveis e gestores do sist
— solos urbanizáveis e edificáveis, **permitindo** controlar a fragmentação da ocup.
públicos, espaços verdes urbanos e **permitindo** melhorar a qualidade de vida das pou
itorização das águas subterrâneas, **permitindo**, nomeadamente, efectuar o controlo su
através da ponte do Carregado, **permitindo** o desvio do tráfego rodoviário de m
condições de forte acessibilidade e **permitindo** uma estruturação a partir da cria;
1 e as condições de acessibilidade, **devendo** ainda clarificar a hierarquia e as os e utilizados de forma conjunta, **devendo** as leituras cartográficas ser semp
2 entos em grandes Infra-estruturas, **devendo** canalizar-se os novos investimentos 6
dencial do território metropolitano, **devendo** constituir, nos próximos anos, uma áreas prioritárias de intervenção, **devendo** estes guiar-se pelo referencial de
opção a travessia Chelas-Barreiro, **devendo** os estudos necessários à implementa
7 ao primeiro tipo de necessidades, **devendo** para isso resolver-se as actuais ru
8 senso de desenvolvimento económico ou social, **devendo** pelo contrário ser aproveitado como 9
área lagunar de grande importância **devendo** ser considerada uma área nuclear pa
por si só não tem leitura na AML, **devendo** ser equacionada em articulação com 10
o de água da península de Setúbal, **devendo** ser estudadas várias alternativas a
11 ins para a sustentabilidade da AML, **devendo** ser garantidas a sua protecção e ma
12 territoriais na área metropolitana, **devendo** também definir as variações absolut 13
1 a partir dos PDMU sub-regionais, **devendo** todos os estudos de avaliação e con

(PROTAL)
1 res de apoio à náutica de recreio, **podendo**, na sua expressão mais simples, ser
2 são delimitadas em cada UNOR, não **podendo** ocupar uma percentagem da área tota

The speaker wishes to convey impartiality. Yet, the resource to modal carriers without time anchorage, on the discourse level, ends up jeopardizing the fulfillment of courses of action, because they are open to possibility. Hence, the resource to modal verbs in the future simple stands out in the latest regulations (year 2000 onwards); PROTAML and POTMADEIRA (cf. Figure 3 and Table 2).

Some of them, for instance the modals inflected in the future simple in Portuguese, **poderá** → will be likely to/might, instead of may (present tense), **deverá** → will (have to), instead of shall (is compulsory), featuring legalese discourse⁴, convey possibility or a vague commitment, instead. Hence, the semantic density of the structure in Portuguese (Campos 1997) **poderá vir a ser + past participle ~shall come to be (cf. string 5, underneath), points to vagueness, rather than a strong commitment to future endeavors, thus escaping the criterion of veracity, because there are no time anchors in segmental or supra-segmental levels to limit the course of action⁵.

⁴The modal auxiliary "will", instead of "shall", marking the future simple, comes in the line of Cao's report on the Australian guidelines in terms of linguistic choices in treaties, in that (2007: 149), "the mandatory 'shall'... should be avoided and ‘will’ should be used instead".
⁵The concordance line/string is determined by a quantitative criterion, containing a number of characters on the right and left side of the lexeme.

**Figure 3. Occurrence of Modal Verbs· PROTAL...and PROTAML**

1 a estrutura essencialmente radial, **poderá** articular-se com uma rede de modos
2 rbanas através da linha de cintura **poderá** implicar, nomeadamente, a ligação e
3 o do financiamento das realizações **poderá** ser aferida ao longo do período de
4 o vário do Montijo ao Pinhal Novo **poderá** ser acometido para um sistema fer
5 competitiva na Europa e no mundo só **poderá** ser realizada num quadro de integra
6 os fluxos maiores (comboios), mas **poderá** vir a ser completada com uma rede f

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Moreover, and considering the selected concordance lines, the legislator/speaker clearly points to socio-economical factors underlying the making of the plan for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, illustrated by the occurrence of lexemes in the same field (for instance, econômico/âo/a/o-social/oeconômical [71], 0,164,893). This plan evidences developing trends with respect to economic activities and to the location of mega infrastructures. There are 23 instances of the lemma mercado (→market) but 25% of its co-locates are related to employment. The second most frequent collocate is solo (→land [5 instances]), followed by other collocates in related lexical fields, like: mercado imobiliário (→estate), mercado habitacional (→housing), comportamentos de mercado (→market behaviour), nichos de mercado (→market niches), mercado de capitais (→capital market), mercado europeu (→European market), mercado mundial (→world market), and cota de mercado (→market share), among others.

The claim for a change towards sustainable development, and the lexeme transação (→transition / shift) occurs 22 times, is underpinned by the use of adjectives, particularly in PROTAMAL such as: novo/os/as (→new), estrutural (→structural), fundamental (→fundamental), grande (→large), high, adequado (→adequate) and efectivo (→effective), as evidenced further on, in Table 3. On the whole, it illustrates a meaningful increase in the number of occurrences of evaluative adjectives. These are perceived as vague predicates, in Barker’s contentions (2002), most of which require further specification or descriptive stances in their context of occurrence, likely to reduce subjectivity on the discourse level. Indeed, this is an unexpected linguistic choice in this type of regulations.

According to some explanation advanced by Chichorro (2003), adjectives like estruturante (sing/pl.) (→structuring), frequently occurring in her research corpus, might be considered as metaphorical language featuring the political jargon, but likely to collocate in expressions like ‘international political discourse as structuring’. Similarly, an increasing number of adjectives in the past participle form (Quirk and Greenbaum 1993) is equally evidenced, sometimes, as attributive, or even in their superlative or comparative forms, on the discourse level, with a higher frequency in PROTAMAL.

Having briefly pointed out some of the linguistic features and their meaning potential (that is, adjectives, time, tense, and aspect) related to the topic under research, i.e., development and/or conservation, it is necessary to analyse some of other modal elements, deserving a close scrutiny (Simpson, 1993: 47). As a matter a fact, in both English and Portuguese, like in many Indo-European languages (Hoey 1997: 38) ‘the modal concepts are signalled by inflecting the verb’. Drawing on the studies by the Portuguese linguists Campos (1997) and Marques (2004), it is possible to draw a contrastive view on the semantic scope of modals in Portuguese and English. In the Portuguese language, the modal auxiliaries poder and dever are inflected (pode, pôde, pode, podia, podia, poderá, devo, devia, devia, deverá, deverá) and marked grammatically by mood (i.e., indicative, subjunctive and imperative). As occurrence of lexemes in the same field (for instance, possa, pudesse, deva, devesse) is also used in Portuguese to (Hoey 1997: 39) *convey a wide range of attitudes on the part of the speaker towards the factual content of his/her utterance, such as doubt, certainty, vagueness, and possibility*. Yet, they may not be so far to be conveyed in English by modal expressions, including the modal auxiliaries (can/ could, may / might, will / would, shall / should) and the semi-modals (have to, ought to, need to, dare, used to).

Regarding the expected occurrence of the modals in Portuguese, in the enunciativo field of PROTAMAL, it may be uncovered that the modal verb dever (→shall) is more frequent in PROTAMAL conjugated in the simple present form, in the indicative mood, 3rd person plural, dever (170 instances, 0,39469), 3rd person singular, deve (94 instances, 0,06505), in the infinitive form, dever (28,0,06550), and in the future deverá (21,0,04870).

On the contrary the modal poder (may) only occurs in: i. PROTAMAL in the present simple, indicative mood, podei (13/0,2014); ii. in PROTAMAL in the present simple, indicative mood, podei (12/0,0279) and in the future simple, poderá (6/0,0139). It might be inferred that the locutor/speaker, though categorical while using the future so as to firmly commit the addressers/hearers to fulfilling the goals on the enunciativo field, cannot guarantee their legal implementation. The future, then, is perceived as a carrier of subjectivity. Actually, in the early nineties the Presidency of the Council Ministers warned legislators against the use of the future simple in regulations issued in the Diário da República, the official journal. These strict guidelines fostered the use of the simple present, however withdrawn later on. In fact, PROTAMAL does not present any form of the future tense, affirmative form (poderá, deverá), while PROTAMAL displays several other occurrences in singular (poderá) and plural (poderão) forms of the modal verb. There are a couple of instances in the negative form, expressing a condition subject to regulation, therefore more adjusted to the legal discourse:

1. ...planos municipais, não poderão ser autorizados nem previstos

2. ...área abrangida por essa zona poderão ser reclassificada pela câmara

In order to give an account of the pragmatic-linguistic choices and the illocutionary forces of legal regulations, Bowers’ classification (1989: 30-31), as cited by Cao (2007: 115), are worth mentioning: (1) facultative language, which confers a right, privilege or power through the use of "may"; (2) imperative language, which imposes an obligation to do an act through the use of "shall"; and (3) prohibitive language, which imposes an obligation to abstain from doing an act through the use of "shall not". Whereas in English, "shall", "may" and "shall not" are the main legal performative markers, in Portuguese regulations there are several forms of two modal verbs which often become ambiguous. These performative markers function as speech acts with the illocutionary forces of permission (poder- may), order (dever- shall) or prohibition (não deve- may) not, instead of "shall not".

To put it briefly, PROTAMAL evidences a strong emphasis on strategies and courses of action illustrated by distinct lexicosemantic and syntactic choices, namely the resource to adjectives and nouns repeating to action (Figure 4). Apart from the items tackled so far, it is worth mentioning the following: i. use of adjectives like multipolares (→ multipolar), multifuncionais (→ multifunctional), and intersticiais (→ interstitial); ii. nominalization: abstract nouns of action, predominating the prefix "te" - (in the ecological and environmental scopes) more related to conservation, for example, recuperação (→ restoring), redistribuição (→ redistributing).
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relocation), reparação (→ repair), readaptação (→ readaptation), reposição (→ reposition), reversão (→ reversal), regularização (→ regularization), reparcelamento (→ reallocation), reconstituição (→ reconstruction), revisão (→ revision, redução (→ reduction), among other.

PROTAL ______ ADVERBS OF MANNER ______ PROTAML

TENSE/ MOOD/ ASPECT ______ MODALS ______

Development Conservation

Sustainable Development
Conservation Relevant Core Focus on the Process

Figure 4. Contrastive Perspective of Modal Carriers - PROTAL and PROTAML

• POTMadeira & PTVD
Having succinctly presented the data on the linguistic and discursive choices highlighting the subjective cline and vagueness in both land use plans, within a contrastive and diachronic perspective, POTMadeira and PTVD tourism plans (standing for the oldest and latest tourism plans issued in Portugal) will now be under scrutiny.

The tourism plan for the Douro Valley displays a number of lexical instances, among which stand out the lemma “investment” (23 instances), pointing to an overriding focus on the economic cline, whether implying private, national or foreign investment, and drawing on figures, estimated calculations, so as to account for facts. There is also an underlying spurt to action by inviting the addressee, in interdiscursive domains, to put forth: suggestions, intentions, projects and call for new investment in the tourism offer. There is a cline on individual and collective entrepreneurship under the auspices of several bodies and agencies such as API, or even promotional regional agencies, among other:

14. a API - Agência Portuguesa para o investimento e as agências regionais de promoção
15. la API - Agência Portuguesa para o investimento e as sugestões e recomendações nele (PTVD)

There are fewer instances underpinning the preservation of natural resources, albeit defined as a major goal in designing this plan, and following, in this respect, the convention for the World Patrimonial Protection.

...efinidos em tal matéria pela Convenção para a Protecção do Património Mund (PTVD)

As for the resource to adverbs (Table 1), PROTAML and POTMadeira display the largest number of occurrences.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>PROTAL</th>
<th>PROTMAL</th>
<th>POTMadeira</th>
<th>PTVD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>6,054</td>
<td>45,079</td>
<td>8,945</td>
<td>2,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ADVERBS</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>0.83%</td>
<td>77 (0.80%)</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Occurrence of Adverbs - PROTAL, PROTAML, POTMadeira, PTVD

Yet, the resource to adverbs of manner in POTMadeira is not as varied as in both regional plans, previously surveyed. These comprise:

...motivações de férias e lazer, nomeadamente as associadas ao turismo de natureza, Conclusão do IP 4, o que inclui, nomeadamente, a duplicação do IP 4 entre Amarante e...da medida AGRIS do Por-Norte, nomeadamente, os seguintes projectos: i) A recuper...ais da envolvente da região, designadamente por via da construção de novos tramos na...e fluvinas, o que compreende, designadamente, a manutenção, ao longo de toda a via,

(PTVD)

35
There are courses of actions planned for the future though sometimes without time boundaries on the discourse level, in POMadeira, evidenced in utterances in which stand out: passive structures (e.g. ser)

unicição do Funchal, na zona do Lido, alcançando aqui os 75% do total de oferta de alojamento (→ reaching)

com capacidade de afirmação e reforço, apontando-se para tal a construção de infra-estruturas (→ pointing)

seis, explorando o mar como recurso e apoio no reforço das centralidades turísticas da ilha (→ fostering)

ações de enquadramento paisagístico, apresentando para apreciação, nomeadamente: a) Levantamento (→ presenting)

Turística e cultural e desportiva; Beneficiando-se das novas condições de acessibilidade, aumentando (→ benefitting)

(regolamento viários e de trânsito, continuando com o tráfego de residentes: No sistema de (→ getting in conflict)

se que a capacidade de acolhimento, considerando uma taxa de ocupação média anual de 70% e uma (→ considering)

a Madeira e outros parques temáticos, destacando-se naturalmente a floresta Laurissilva, clãs de circuitos e percursos turísticos, destacando-se: As áreas protegidas, incluindo o Parque (→ standing out)

mitârias com a promoção hoteleira, diversificando e sua distribuição territorial e temporal e (→ varying)

desenvolvimento sectorial definidos, enunciando os principais eixos de 22 / 31 desenvolviu (→ outlining)

Despite meeting the requirements of a normative text, by illustrating and enumerating (apontando-se [→ pointing], destacando-se [→ standing out]), this sort of lexical choices are vague though the propositional

content is regulated, at times, by the modal dever, categorical imperative, or poder, evidenced in these strings (POMadeira):

minante da área em que se localizam, não podendo constituir elemento dissonante e destacado;

10 anos a partir da sua publicação, podendo ser reavaliado por iniciativa do Governo Regi

Also, the use of the modal verb dever, in the future simple tense, points to a mismatch between the propositional content and its impact on the addressee. These linguistic and discursive choices are illustrated in, for example, deverá ser dada preferência (→ shall/will be given preference). Although meant to reinforce the legal commitment to the action, its outcome can not be checked, especially when there is no time anchorage. On the contrary, the use of the modal dever in the future simple tense (deverá), expressing obligation but in close association with adverbial phrases, setting up time boundaries, reduces the subjectivity level at the discourse level in PTVI, as evidenced in Table 2:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>MODALS</th>
<th>PROTAL</th>
<th>PROTAL</th>
<th>POMadeira Madeira Islands</th>
<th>PTVI Douro Region</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dever (present, simple, 3rd person, plural)</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dever (present, simple, 3rd person, singular)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>94</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dever (infinitive)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deverização (future simple, 3rd person, singular; plural)</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Table 2. Occurrence of Modals – PROTAL, PROTAML, POT Madeira and PTVDT

Interestingly, and concerning time adverbials, there is the unexpected occurrence, given the nature of a legal text, of creative language in Portuguese such as no horizonte temporal (−temporal horizon), reflecting the plain language focus in drafting legal texts to make them reader-friendly and within the grasp of any citizen, notably in:

"Atriz no vale do Douro no horizonte temporal de 2004-2007. 4 - Atribuir a
tico do vale do Douro no horizonte temporal de 2004 a 2007. [ANEXO A]"

As for the use of adjectives, the occurrence of novo/novos (−new), stands out both in POTMadeira and PTVDT (cf. Appendix), taking into account the local specificities in the line of a developing trend. Also striking is the limited number of qualifying adjectives of this sort in PTVDT (Table 3).

In short, the lexical categories under study sometimes report to the legal discourse (cf. Figure 5), as was expected, yet there are also modal carriers like modals, accounting for a subjective cline in both POTMadeira and PTVDT. Still this subjective cline is stronger in POTMadeira, towards sustainable development and less on conservation, whereas the linguistic and discursive choices in PTVDT might underpin a two-fold trend towards both conservation and investment.

Source: Sousa & Lourenço, 2010
Figure 5. Contrastive Perspective of Modal Carriers - PROTAL and PROTAML.
positioning of the speaker in current social and cultural relationships through discourse moves" in that the negotiation process is reflected in the normative discourse. As was already put forth by Chichorro, the repetitive text is strengthened by the key idea of sustainable development, featured by lexis used generically, vague use of terms, recurrent and repetitive phrases from topic to topic which contribute to a lengthy and ambiguous text.

Conclusion
The approach adopted in this research has departed from a cross-disciplinary analysis (Gavioli & Aston, 2001), involving two distinct domains, namely linguistics and regional planning. An understanding of development/conservation is also seen to benefit from the insights of linguistics, i.e., corpus linguistics and discourse analysis, above all in terms of the relations established between the speaker/legislator and the propositional content (epistemic modality) together with the speaker and the addressee/s (epistemic modality) on the discourse level. The sort of data analysis undertaken in this research, particularly on the existence of a meaningful number of lexico-semantic categories underlying linguistic and discursive choices in the regulations, under scope, made it possible to come to a set of conclusions which shed some light on the research question: whether the regional plans have a development drive or a conservation emphasis. Although these categories sometimes report to the legal discourse, as expected, they are also modal carriers, therefore, accounting for the strong subjective cline of the regulations. In the drafting process of the regional plans/rules under scope, both technical and legal experts seemed to give in to the strong influence exerted by the wide array of voices in the community together with those in the political arenas, thus failing to equalise "interpretative opportunity", to borrow from Caudin (in Bhatia, 1998: 103).

There is strong evidence that these regulations are much more oriented towards development, and in the case of PROTAML, towards sustainable development, than conservation, given the multiple modal elements of epistemic kind, pinpointed in the case studies section. These unearth a cline on possibility and flexibility concerning the forthcoming courses of action associated with land use shifts, in as much as the speaker/legislator does not seem to adopt an assertive and regulatory stance, especially in terms of the propositional content. This data is somehow unexpected in territory planning. Indeed, plan regulations are usually meant to convey restrictive contents by a normative discourse, yet, focusing on integrated action strategies, as a result of social negotiation underpinning the approval of each regional plan. Still, it might be advanced that these regulations are also meant to meet the needs (Ferreira, 2003) "in the linkage between local, in-the-moment interaction of individuals and historical, overtime discourse activity of the collective". Before coming to an end, it is of utmost importance to reiterate that the subjectivity imbued to the rules, perceived at the outset as restrictive, is due to the complexity in the making of the rules of regional plans as these comprise a wide array of text types stemming both from different sectors and levels of public administration as well as public participation debates in which several lobbies, either pro-development or pro-conservation oriented, co-exist and clash. This concluding remark reiterates empirical evidence set forth by other researchers in domains like planning and discourse analysis. What might seem a mere linguistic / stylistic choice ends up conveying ambiguity and subjectivity in legalese discourse. In so doing, it is our stance that forthcoming regulations of this kind should resort to adjectives, modes, lexical modes and tense more accurately.

With regards to the consequences of our research, to corroborate Sarangi (2006: 199-220), we offer a set of observations that can be seen as a way of opening a dialogue among communication researchers and professional practitioners around issues of "discovery/usefulness of regulatory expertise", if our research is to attain practical relevance. As for further research, we suggest that studies on the comprehensibility of legal tools together with social negotiation, and the development of legalese discourse in regional and urban plans, are necessary. In this regard, it is our contention to reiterate Bhatia's postulates (1998: 207) on the process of language reform, particularly in the context of present-day concern with the simplification, reader accessibility and usability of legal and public documents. This simplification entails the amount of "obscure expressions and circumlocutions, long-winded involved constructions and tortuous syntax, apparently meaningless repetitions". All in all, by addressing regulatory issues through linguistic evidence as an affordance to understanding professional legal texts and resorting to corpus tools, this approach is likely to offer a (Bhatia, 1998: 102) "better idea of the communicative purposes" which texts are meant to serve and the constraints met while drafting them.

Appendix

PROTAML

1 a potencialidades de reconversão/renovação - são áreas marcadas por ocupação
2 acas fenômenos de relocalização, renovação e incremento industrial dentro
3 noções de alto rendimento, e ou de reconversão e requalificação urbanas através
4 na grande determinação, lucidez e inovação, e, sobretudo, a partilha de res
5 dora, do risco e da capacidade de inovação na vida empresarial e na admini
6 ração e projetos municipais de requalificação ou ampliação dos ativos de in
7 o de ações de qualificação e de requalificação urbana que lhes imprimia nova e
8 essas com potencial de reconversão/renovação, para que cumpram funções de re
9 ues tendam a ser reconvertidas ou renovadas. A sua posição na AMI e a dimer
10 no, deve dar também um sólido e inspirador contributo para a articulação solid
11 a, exposta, este modo, um traço inspirador de apoio ao desenvolvimento, ex
12 ação dos subúrbios é uma proposta renovadora e de óbvias consequências soc
13 vs da implantação de atividades renovadoras e de qualidade, numa lógica d
14 x de: Implantação de atividades renovadoras e de qualidade, Criação de c
15 tentações dirigidas a atividades renovadoras e qualificadas, em detrimento
c6 econômica e das pequenas empresas renovadoras. A AMI pode e deve desempenh
17 ação de atividades dinâmicas e renovadoras. Integram estas áreas os ant
arte/sul e, muito em particular, o novo aeroporto de Lisboa na Ota. Nelo
central da NML. A localização do novo aeroporto de Lisboa (NML) na Ota.
previstas no Plano (por exemplo, o novo aeroporto de Lisboa, a nova través
o em conta a futura localização do novo aeroporto de Lisboa. 1.3.14.2 - I
implementação do novo aeroporto de Lisboa. Nos últimos
último, uma vez que as questões do novo aeroporto e do TGV deverão ser anal
instituição central (nomesadamente o novo aeroporto internacional de Lisboa,
ambul/Corredor/Ota, associado ao novo aeroporto internacional de Lisboa
portais; Porto de Lisboa/Sesimbra; novo aeroporto internacional; Redes tr
matérias portuária, dos aeroportos internacionais, de Lisboa
ação do centro de carga aero do novo aeroporto internacional; 5) Orden
territorial para a proximidade do novo aeroporto internacional de Lisboa,
rodo e ferroviários associados ao novo aeroporto internacional; b) Deve
ção metropolitana. A construção do novo aeroporto na Ota será, também, um
ii) Torres Vedras; Corredor/Ota (novo aeroporto): Sesimbra-Falmea. As

fragilidades face à localização do novo aeroporto. Os factores acima esp
literals. 1.3.1.1 - Reconstruir e repartir as áreas/spaços e unidades funcl
na NML e o dimensionamento das áreas a repartir criam condições ao desenvolvimento:
verifica-se já há necessidade de remover o tecido edificado em resultado d
ar as dinâmicas introduzidas pelas novas acessibilidades na paisagens rural
a capacidade de atravessar e fixarem condições para a instalação de novas actividades geradoras de emissões de arima
da localização de novas áreas urbanas existentes e novas áreas a urbanizar; c) Promover a
hidrociclos urbanos; g) Garantir que as áreas de crescimento urbano incluam áreas urbanas e áreas interiores e residenciais; h) Ressaltar novas áreas urbanas e as edificações no
iv il 2.10.1 - O planeamento de novas áreas urbanas em zonas sísmicas d
sacudimentos de novas áreas urbanizáveis e a colocali
ção das áreas já licenciadas ou em novas áreas, atendendo aos impactos eco
mir o agravamento ou surgimento de novas centralidades - esta estrutura te
ma e na proposta evolutaristas de novas centralidades apoiadas em áreas d
sugerimentos: O planeamento baseado no conhecimento das condições de desenvolvimento de cordas transversais das novas centralidades metropolitana
cada através do desenvolvimento de condições para o desenvolvimento de novas centralidades. O elo Cascais-Sintra e o
as subúrbias: Desenvolvimento de novas centralidades; Valorização do pa
orientar as pressões geradas pelas novas condições de acessibilidade e de
do pólo de Sabugo, a criar, como as novas regiões da sua costa. Simultaneamente, as
varam-se significativamente com novas condições de acessibilidade trazi
do ao reordenamento e à criação de novas condições de funcionamento do sis
mes o que se abrem um novo recado de acesso e novas dinâmicas de ocupação do solo, a
adequação dos recursos humanos às condições do mercado e a correcção das formas de alternativa de uso do so
ecitoriais, destina-se a equacionar formas de negócio que pretendem c
icas, determinadas pela procura de novas formas de habitar que pretendem c
lutas intensivas de regadio, para novas formas de ocupação habitacional e s
os estruturantes supramunicipais; novas infra-estruturas e interfaces de
comércio de grande dimensão. As novas infra-estruturas da Ponte de Vasco
úrico, os limiares de construção de novas infra-estruturas e equipamentos d
às áreas onde ocorrem projectos de novas infra-estruturas e equipamentos c
elas-louças integra um conjunto de novas ligações a criar e as ligações existentes que se verificam, hierarquizam-se as
rcado de emprego, condicionando as novas localizações industriais fora da q
no geral, se traduz na oferta de novas localizações industriais fora da q
vimento nos sistemas existentes a
o Plínheiro; 6) Desenvolvimento de novas plataformas logísticas com função d
o Tejo. Ainda que a construção de novas travessias do Tejo em Lisboa se p
porto internacional de Lisboa, a
o Novo Porto de Lisboa, as novas travessias terrestres e rodo viárias d
o rio, os limiares de construção de novas infra-estruturas e equipamentos d
es de Lisboa e a criação de novas unidades nos centros de nível sub
ão por mimetismo. A construção de novas vantagens competitivas que repr
em, no entanto, o desenvolvimento de uma nova capacidade de gerar riqueza, segundo
ítorico (FROIT), elaborado segundo o novo conceito de plano, consagrado na 1
; Bombel/Alverca; Cova/Finhal Porto; 2) Consolidação e integração ter
ulação das novas emergentes. No novo contexto de tendências e
as novas unidades do Corredor e de Vila
lanção das novas centrais térmicas em Lisboa e em Vila
Re z/Araber, Évora e Sines. Nesta nova dimensão territorial, a NML tende
a construção do troço Coimbra-Pinhal
renovação urbana que lhes imprimiu
géstica, em articulação com Pinhal
se estende entre Alcochete, Pinhal
incrementar o desenvolvimento do Pinhal
recolhas e lenhas n.os 367/90, de 26 de
12 de Outubro, e 309/95, de 20 de
o quadro, tem como objetivo a melhor adopção do
o espaço urbano metropolitano e anco
expressão da região metropolitana
na fronteira de crescimento e produção
localização, entre os espaços pola
sentido de promover e cultivar uma
viva com arroio, uma dimensão de
 das e indicações as possibilidades de
materferroviária e na aquisição de
os recursos humanos. Afirmar um
aglomerados de Alcochete e Pinhal
unícios com logística: Coimbra/Pinhal
superioridade desempenhada de imediato
vista em investigação e difusão de
em IET em vigor necessárias a:
na localização de
considerado o não licenciamento de
es objectivos: Desenvolvimento de
em analisar e avaliar a criação de
estruturar-se em sistemas de
séica de áreas de interesse do
a curto e resposta rápida, exigindo
destinos de transporte existentes e de
os mercados do transporte público, principalmente nos
pólos complementares - e pelo apre
os projetos localizados em áreas)
os tipos de oferta e produção de
usos compatíveis com a proximidade
usos, como à reestruturação e qua
ar o eixo urbano de Montijo-Pinhal
ferroviário de Montijo ao Pinhal
acarretar o pico, o novo aeroporto de Lisboa, a
-estruturas de transporte na MML
o-Madrid em velocidade elevada e a
o local de transmissão do Tejo e a
nova vitalidade e dinamismo ao centro t

1.3.2.2 - Imprimir

1 e e eficácia e contribuir para uma
os agentes e operadores. O
traz as consequências de um

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