GreeSE Papers

Hellenic Observatory Discussion Papers
on Greece and Southeast Europe

Paper No. 179

**The Covid-19 Anti-vaccination Movement in Cyprus:
an investigation of its discourses (AMID)**

Marilena Paraskeva

HELLENIC OBSERVATORY

European Institute

Research at **LSE** ■

The Covid-19 Anti-vaccination Movement in Cyprus: an investigation of its discourses (AMID)

Marilena Paraskeva

LSE THE LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE ■

Contents

The COVID-19 anti-vaccination movement in Cyprus: An investigation of its discourses (AMID)

Marilena Paraskeva[1]

ABSTRACT

This project examines the speeches articulated in COVID-19 anti-vaccination onsite protests in Cyprus, situating the topic of anti-vaccination within culture wars. Data cover a period of eight months (July 2021–February 2022) and were collected through attending protests and through selecting past speeches of anti-vaccination protests that are available online in the form of shared videos. The data were analysed in terms of the main topics, the implicit and explicit influences/resources, and the linguistic strategies contained in these speeches. Results reveal that four are the main topics included in these speeches: government/governors/politicians, vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated, measures, and children/parents. In addition, the influences/resources of these speeches derive from the political, religious, social, scientific, and historical spheres/domains, while the linguistic strategies used by speakers involve representations of processes and social actors which include – and exclude thereof – certain actions and 'doers' in specific ways. Overall, this project bridges the gap caused by both the absence of studies on onsite anti-vaccination protests and the very limited consideration of anti-vaccination discourse in Greek-speaking contexts.

Keywords: anti-vaccination, discourses, onsite protests, speeches, Cyprus

---

[1] Marilena Paraskeva is a Research Fellow at the University of Cyprus, paraskeva.marilena@ucy.ac.cy.

1. Introduction

This project, titled '*The COVID-19 Anti-Vaccination Movement in Cyprus: An Investigation of its Discourses* (AMID)', examines the speeches articulated in COVID-19 anti-vaccination onsite protests in Cyprus, situating the topic of anti-vaccination within culture wars. The concept of culture wars became popular by Hunter (1991) who used it in referring to the conflict between orthodox and progressive values in America. Orthodox and progressive conflicted values and beliefs revolved around the weighted morality of issues like gay rights, abortion, and gender identity, with Hunter (*ibid.*) arguing that this gap cut across political, ethnic, racial, sexual, religious and class positions (see also Taviss Thomson 2010: 4). Examples of culture wars have been attested diachronically, with the massive protests against the abortion ban law during the end of June 2022 being a recent one from the US context.

Given that the overarching idea underlying the concept of culture wars is that certain topics trigger intra-societal disparity with concomitant polarization of public beliefs and values, it is argued that specific issues of the COVID-19 pandemic and (anti-)vaccination can be considered as forms of culture war. In this connection, there is research that explicitly links certain aspects of the COVID-19 pandemic to the concept of culture wars. For example, Perry, Whitehead and Grubbs (2020) have demonstrated that Americans with conservative political beliefs are more likely to opt out of COVID-19 safety recommendations and are, therefore, prone to more frequent "[…] incautious virus-related behavior [sic] […]" (*ibid.*: 407) like eating at restaurants, and less frequent "precautionary behavior" (*ibid.*) like wearing masks. In addition, Duffy *et al.* (2021), based on a review of the UK newspapers coverage of the concept of culture wars from 1997 to 2020, report, among others, that the topics associated with this concept have broadened through years: since 2018 this concept has attracted a wide range of divisive topics (*ibid.*: 17), with government response to COVID-19 entering the pool of topics in 2020 and being referred to in 5% of the COVID-19 newspaper articles reviewed altogether – 22% of the COVID-19 newspaper articles in 2020 (*ibid.*: 18-19).

The consideration of (anti-)vaccination especially as a subject falling under culture wars is grounded on the fact that vaccination initiatives, campaigns, and policies by states have been strongly counteracted by documented cases of the anti-vaccination movement worldwide and throughout history, which have led to respective protests, culminating in the present-day COVID-19 movement. The long presence of the anti-vaccination movement is reported by Berman (2020), who provides an overview of the three-centuries history of the movement,

while he identifies the arguments made by anti-vaccination partisans. In a similar vein, Larson (2020), who also refers to specific instances of the anti-vaccination movement over time such as the smallpox anti-vaccination protests in the nineteenth century, attempts to account for the factors that shape opinions against vaccination and the forms that these opinions can take.[2]

The explicit association of the anti-vaccination movement with the concept of culture wars is also evident in relevant research. Whitehead and Perry (2020), based on a representative sample of American adults nation-wide, have shown that Americans who identify with conservative political beliefs – or Americans who are partisans of what the researchers name as Christian nationalism, are more inclined to have anti-vaccine attitudes, believing, for example, that "Vaccines cause autism," and "People have the right to decide whether or not to vaccinate their kids" (*ibid.*: 7). According to the same researchers, this group of Americans will be likely to resist COVID-19 vaccination (*ibid.*: 9).[3] Moreover, Hornsey (2021) attempts to portray the psychological profile of vaccine-hesitant individuals and suggests that political leaders affect people's beliefs in relation to conspiracy theories; the latter being closely associated with anti-vaccination attitudes (see also Gao 2021). On this basis, the topic of vaccines entered the existing culture wars subsuming a new big group, namely conspiracy-driven conservatives (Hornsey 2021: 53).

The link of anti-vaccination with culture wars is manifest in certain recent online news articles too. French (2021) argues that the COVID-19 pandemic has led to the American nation's creation of "two, competing Coronavirus political cultures" (*ibid.*: par. 8), with hesitancy towards vaccines being a part of the COVID-19 fight since the beginning of the pandemic. French also cites several national surveys that correlate vaccine hesitancy with Republican partisans as compared to Democrat partisans, and with fanatic Republican white Evangelicals as compared to the other religious communities (*ibid.*: par. 10). In addition, Dionne (2021), who relates anti-vaccination to political and cultural suspicions (*cf.* Klein, Harper & Wiersema 2021), claims that, although there have always been anti-vaxxers, the present vaccination

---

[2] Berman (2020) and Larson (2020) published their works before the disposal of COVID-19 vaccines. Therefore, their discussions on anti-vaccination arguments and attitudes respectively do not cover the COVID-19 anti-vaccination movement.

[3] The work of Whitehead and Perry (2020) involved probabilistic accounts of COVID-19 (anti-)vaccination intentions as it was published before the release of COVID-19 vaccines.

attitudes are so deeply located in tribal conflicts that persuasion over the benefits of vaccination is difficult, and culture wars are in the same logic.

As to the Greek context, Karakatsani (2021), who implicitly relates COVID-19 pandemic measures and (anti-)vaccination to culture wars, reports that vaccination and health measures opponents fall under two groups: a moderate group and a more radical one. The moderate group comprises people who are susceptible to conspiracy theories, parish priests' advice, and to ideas of personalities who are against modern science and general vaccination. The radical group is very often associated with violence or even far-right extremism, and it is involved in spreading fake news and anti-vaccination propaganda online.

Regarding research on COVID-19 from a linguistic and/or a discursive point of view, it covers a range of aspects of the topic; the most prevalent – yet internally diverse – line of inquiry being the COVID-19 media discourse. Sharma *et al.* (2020) examine English discourse around COVID-19 in Twitter in 182 countries and they identify patterns of misleading contents and misinformation tweets, highlighting the importance of such identifications for individuals, who can be educated on the content of online discussions and, thus, be less prone to misinformation. In a similar vein, Kydros, Argyropoulou and Vrana (2021) investigate COVID-19-related discussions in Twitter in Greece and show that Greek-speaking users' main tweets revolve around mainstream information on the pandemic and that users' sentiments have changed, with positive emotions decreasing and negative emotions increasing over time.

Moreover, Mu, Zhao and Yang (2021), based on thirty-five news reports on the pandemic in China in *The New York Times*, show by means of critical discourse analysis how the latter medium portrays China as being very far away from the United States and the West and as standing partly as a threat. Mu, Zhao and Yang (*ibid.*) argue that these news reports are mixed with ideologies, and if readers bear this aspect in mind, they can critically think and understand in an objective way China's profile construction in foreign media.

At the same time, there is research focusing especially on COVID-19 anti-vaccination language and/or discourse.[4] Such research mainly investigates anti-vaccination linguistic/discursive trends in social media. Wu, Lyu and Luo (2021) employ Natural Language Processing (NLP) techniques to study the thematic/linguistic characteristics of discussions on COVID-19

---

[4] It is noted that there has been research on anti-vaccination language/discourse in relation to vaccine-preventable diseases and viruses other than COVID-19 – see e.g. Joye 2010; Ma & Stahl 2017; Meyer *et al.* 2019; Smith & Graham 2019.

vaccines in Reddit and users' embedded concerns. The researchers show that "skeptical/aggressive remarks" (*ibid.*) are the predominant topic in the comments, suggesting that social media platforms and policymakers should gain a thorough picture of online discussions to develop those strategies that will shape the trust of the public in vaccinations.

Furthermore, Germani and Biller-Andorno (2021) examine how anti-vaccination proponents behave in Twitter (as compared to pro-vaccination proponents and a control group) and demonstrate that anti-vaccination proponents, albeit with fewer tweets, have greater engagement in discussions. In addition, the shared emotional and conspiracy theory-related content of this group of users is greater than the corresponding one of the other two groups. In light of these and the finding that emotional language use by anti-vaccination supporters does not significantly correlate with increased discussion engagement, Germani and Biller-Andorno (2021) propose that there could be policies that prevent anti-vaccination proponents from circulating vaccine-related false information on Twitter, and that health organizations could be more communicatively efficient by using, among others, influencers who will disseminate information over vaccines and their safety.

Hughes and colleagues (2021) investigate online English-language anti-vaccination narrative tropes and persuasive rhetorical strategies of various modes (written, image, meme and/or video) within the vaccine reluctance discourse aiming at compiling a codebook of the main anti-vaccination themes. Hughes and colleagues (2021) identify sixteen anti-vaccination rhetorical strategies and twenty-two anti-vaccination narrative tropes targeting certain antagonists (e.g. government/establishment and elites, society at large etc.), and they claim that these strategies and tropes can be used in developing counter-messages, i.e. pro-vaccination messages, combating, thus, misinformation and disinformation.

Regarding anti-vaccination discourse in Greece, so far it has been considered only in one report. Karakoulaki and Dessì (2021) describe trends in antisemitic tropes within online COVID-19 anti-vaccination conspiracy theories across several countries – Belgium (Flanders and Wallonia), France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Poland, and the United Kingdom, identifying how anti-vax conspiracy theories and antisemitism are connected. They show that in Greece, anti-vaccination proponents consider vaccination as a threat for Orthodox Christians and as a means of killing children. Anti-vaccination proponents' antisemitic narratives, albeit non-dominant, involve the ideas that a group of powerful Jewish people are

orchestrating vaccination for controlling the world, and that unvaccinated are comparable to Jews prosecuted during WWII – the latter ideas applying to all countries/states considered.

Against this growing body of research and the proliferation of studies on the anti-vaccination movement as presented online, AMID aims to examine the speeches articulated in anti-vaccination onsite protests in Cyprus, where approximately 73% of the whole population has been fully vaccinated so far.[5] Therefore, AMID bridges the gap caused by both the absence of research on the oral discourses articulated in anti-vaccination onsite protests and the very sparse consideration of the anti-vaccination discourse in Greek-speaking contexts. With these in mind, the research objectives of AMID are:

1. the identification and analysis of the main topics included in these speeches
2. the identification of the range of implicit and explicit influences/resources upon which the speeches draw to support their arguments.
3. the identification of the linguistic strategies that the speeches contain to persuade the public on certain (anti-)vaccination ideas and, in turn, shape the beliefs and knowledge of the public.

2. Methodology

For the purposes of implementing AMID, relevant data from different settings were collected during January 2022 and February 2022. This involved attending various anti-vaccination protests and video recording (onsite) speeches given during the said protests. The process of data collection also worked backwards by searching for and collecting past speeches of anti-vaccination protests that are available in the social media in the form of shared videos. In the latter process, July 2021 was set as the starting period from which videos would be collected in a backward fashion on the grounds that a period of eight months (from July 2021 to February 2022) would suffice for obtaining adequate speech samples from recent anti-vaccination protests. This was coupled with the fact that many anti-vaccination protests involving speeches took place from July 2021 to August 2021 and, thus, certain samples of them were deemed appropriate to be collected. Overall, forty-four speeches of varying

---

[5] Source: European Centre for Disease Prevention and Control, "COVID-19 Vaccine Tracker."
https://vaccinetracker.ecdc.europa.eu/public/extensions/COVID-19/vaccine-tracker.html#uptake-tab
[information current as of 24 October 2022].

lengths (durations) were collected which derived from eight different anti-vaccination protests.[6]

The stage of data collection was followed by the transcription of thirty-six speeches. The reduction of forty-four speeches to thirty-six was made because certain speakers in a given anti-vaccination protest or across different anti-vaccination protests took the floor more than once, in which case a maximum of two speeches of the same speakers was taken as an indicative speech sample and, in turn, considered for the purposes of analysis. This was grounded on the assumption that speeches of the same speakers would contain similar topics, features and/or arguments.

As far as the transcribed data are concerned, they were rendered in the CHAT[7] (Codes for the Human Analysis of Transcripts) transcription format, a system which is provided by TalkBank (https://talkbank.org/), a computer-based project that adopts a common "metalanguage" and a standard set of symbols in data transcription and coding systems.

The data transcription was followed by the data analysis. For the purposes of analysis, the data were firstly organised and systematised in a way that they would be subsequently accessible and subjected to proper analysis from various perspectives. During this phase, a significant distinction across the collected data was observed, namely a distinction between speeches which had been prepared in advance and speeches which had been delivered on the spot/spontaneously. These two types of speech have been termed 'speech(es) with paper' and 'speech(es) without paper' respectively and have been taken into consideration in the data analysis as an aspect that can explain the results.[8]

---

[6] The number of speeches was unevenly distributed across the different anti-vaccination protests as certain protests included a big number of speeches, e.g., fourteen, while others had a smaller number of speeches, e.g. two.

[7] CHAT allows transcribing data in standard orthography (with the additional option of phonetic transcription), adding comments, headers, main and dependent tiers, paralinguistic and duration scoping symbols, language tags, utterance delimiters, e.g., +... for trailing off or +!? for a question with exclamation, and symbols for indicating, among others, pause durations, e.g. (2.0) for a two-second pause, retracing ([/]) and reformulation ([///]) (MacWhinney 2000).

[8] All speeches, whether with or without paper, were anonymised and/or pseudonymised (where appropriate), respecting in this way speakers' privacy.

3. Data analysis and findings

3.1. Main topics included in the speeches

The first step of addressing the first project objective, i.e. identifying and analysing the main topics included in the speeches, was a frequency analysis of the words of the speeches at the corpus level. Using *Voyant Tools*, a word cloud (or tag cloud or cirrus – the latter being the respective term in *Voyant Tools*) of the total of the speeches was created, providing a visual representation of the occurrence of words in the speeches: the bigger the words, the more frequent they were. This can be seen in the following *Voyant Tools* figure:[9]

Figure 1. Word cloud at the corpus level

The word cloud in Figure 1 includes the fifty-five most frequent words of the corpus and shows that the five most frequent words were *test*, *παιδιά* (=*children*), *μέτρα* (=*measures*), *εμβόλια* (=*vaccines*), and *κυβέρνηση* (=*government*). The exact number of occurrences of each of these words, excluding their occurrences in different inflectional forms, i.e. their occurrences in different grammatical cases either in singular or in plural number, was as follows: *test* 34 times, *παιδιά* (=*children*) 30 times, *μέτρα* (=*measures*) 26 times, *εμβόλια* (=*vaccines*) 22 times, and *κυβέρνηση* (=*government*) 20 times. This can also be seen in the following *Voyant Tools* figure:

---

[9] The words excluded from the word cloud (stopwords) were numbers, coding symbols, punctuation marks, articles (e.g., *ο, τους*=*the*), pronouns (e.g., *εμείς*=*we, όλοι*=*everyone*), complementizers (e.g., *ότι*=*that*), filler words (e.g., *umm*), conjunctions (e.g., *επειδή*=*because*), abstract nouns (e.g., *ιδέα*=*idea*), collective nouns (e.g., *kosmos*=*world/people*), auxiliary verbs (e.g., *είμαι*=*I am*), definite numeral adjectives either cardinal (e.g., *πέντε*=*five*) or ordinals (e.g., *πέμπτος*=*fifth*), impersonal constructions (e.g., *γίνεται*=*it is allowed, πρέπει*= *must, have to, ought, υπάρχει*=*there is*), and verbs with a wide range of uses (e.g., *κάνω*=*I do/make, θέλω*=*I want*).
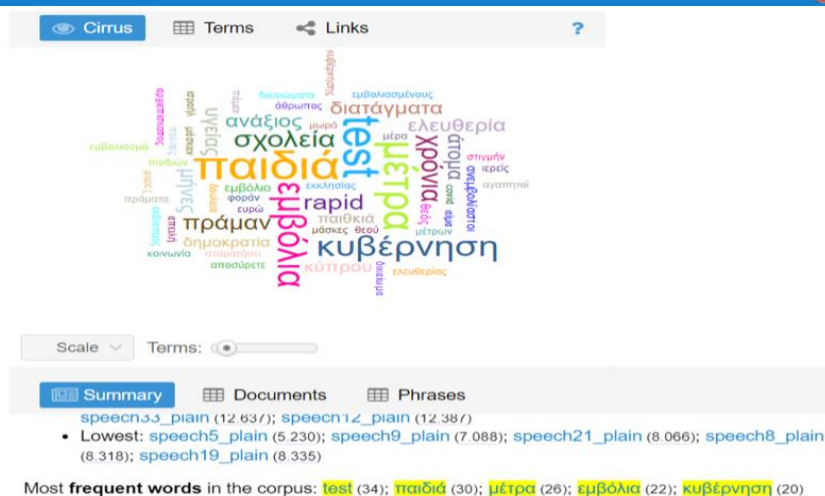
Figure 2. Word cloud at the corpus level and number of occurrences of the five most frequent words

The next step involved a thorough examination of each of the speeches to pinpoint whether and/or where it included each of the five most frequent words of the corpus as topics provided through the word cloud in the previous step. This examination employed the mixed methods and qualitative analysis software *QDA Miner*, which allows tracking words *qua* topics within their specific contexts of occurrence in the speeches, and led to the observation that the majority of some of the speeches' main topics identified in the form of single words (i.e. *test*, *children*, *measures*, *vaccines* and *government*), could merge with one another or with other very relevant topics. As such, the word *test* as a separate topic merged with the topic *measures* in that the former was one form of the latter, and the remaining words as topics were expanded to fit additional related topics, forming in this way head topics. The table below shows how most of the single word topics were rendered as respective head topics:

Single word topics	Head topics
Tests; measures	Measures
Children	Children/parents
Vaccines	Vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated
Government	Government/governor/politicians

Table 1. Single word topics expanded into head topics

As far as the distribution of the head topics across speeches is concerned, *measures* were found in 22 out of 36 speeches, corresponding to 61% of the speeches, while *children/parents* appeared in 13 out of 36 speeches (in 36% of the speeches). Regarding the remaining two

head topics, *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* was found in 24 out of 36 speeches, i.e. in 67% of the speeches, and *government/governor/politicians* surfaced in 19 out of 36 speeches (in 53% of the speeches). These results show that *vaccines/vaccination/(un)*vaccinated was the most widely distributed head topic followed by *measures*, *government/governors/politicians* and *children/parents.* The following figure demonstrates the comparative distribution of head topics across speeches:
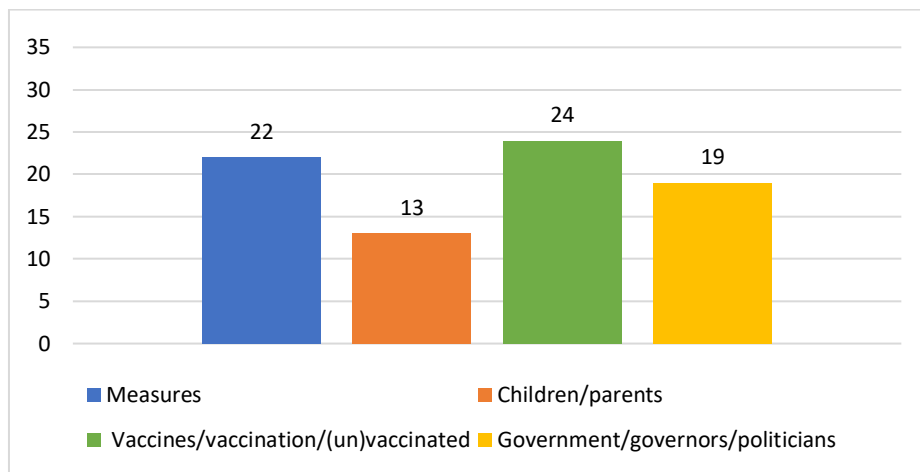

Figure 3. Distribution of topics across speeches

In looking at the head topics in terms of how they were discerned between speeches with paper and speeches without paper, it appeared that there was an even distribution between the two types of speech for all four head topics, suggesting that there was no correlation between the speech type and head topics at the corpus level. This is demonstrable in Figure 4 below:
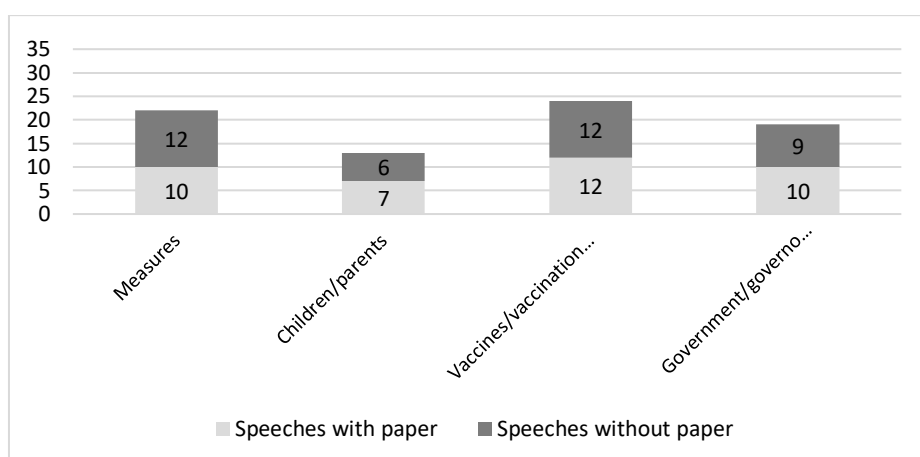
Figure 4. Distribution of topics across speeches: Speeches with paper and speeches without paper

In turn, each of these head topics was taken one by one and was examined in terms of how specifically it was being under reference in the speeches *qua* subtopics. Using the qualitative

analysis software *QDA Miner*, the exact uses of each head topic were identified through repeated readings of the speeches' transcripts, leading to a data-driven *in vivo* coding of subtopics. In this procedure, the specific contexts of the use of subtopics were also taken into consideration.

3.1.1. Measures

The analysis revealed that *measures* appeared in 77 instances across speeches. From these instances, the great majority (91%; N=70) corresponded to one of the two major subtopics, namely *being against measures* (*cf.* Karakatsani 2021)*,* while the remaining instances (9%; N=7) were related to the subtopic of *alternative explanations of measures*.

Being against measures as a subtopic of *measures* was further broken down into two categories based on the narrower topics to which they referred. In particular, 61 out of 70 uses (87%) of the subtopic of *being against measures* were directly relevant to *disapproving/condemning measures*, with 43 uses (70%) being included in speeches with paper – example 1, p. 28. The second category, which accounted for 13% of the uses of *being against measures* as a subtopic of *measures* (N= 9, 2 out of which were with paper), was *fighting against/resisting in measures* (example 2, p. 28).

The second major subtopic of *measures*, namely *alternative explanations of measures*, was further discerned into two categories. The first category was *measures are irrelevant to the pandemic/health* which was a point of argument in 71% (N=5) of the *alternative explanations of measures* subtopic, while the remaining 29% (N=2) mapped onto the *measures aim at causing fear* subtopic*.* In both categories, the speech types (i.e., speeches with paper and speeches without paper) were fairly equal – examples 3 and 4, p. 28.

The following graph demonstrates the total number of uses of the *measures* head topic with its respective subtopics:
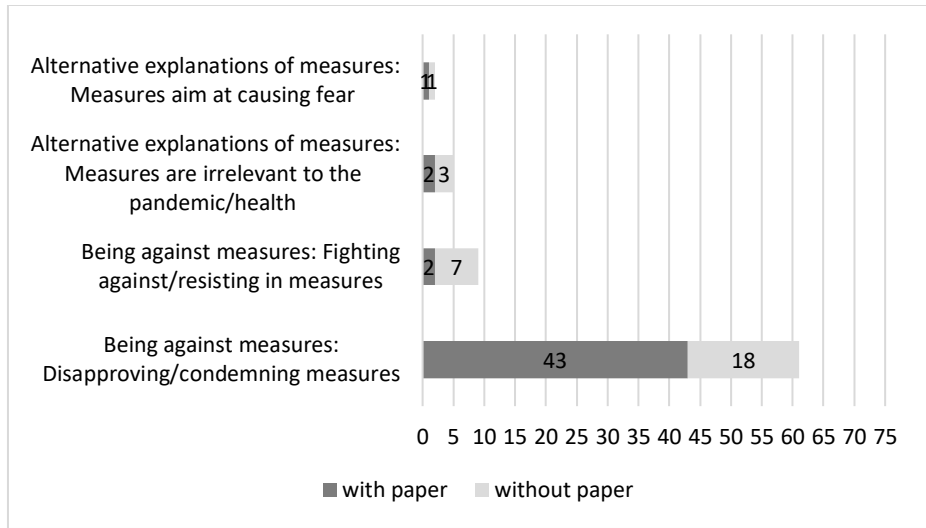
Figure 5. Measures subtopics

3.1.2. Children/parents

Regarding the second head topic distinguished, that is *children/parents*, it appeared in 57 instances throughout the corpus and consisted of four subtopics: *protecting/fighting for children*, *disapproving child vaccination, disapproving measures in children*, and *parents being in a difficult situation*. From these, the subtopic with the highest frequency was *protecting/fighting for children* with 27 occurrences (47% of the *children/parents* head topic), 19 out of which were in speeches with paper – example 5, p. 28; see also Karakoulaki & Dessì (2021: 9). The second most frequent subtopic of the *children/parents* head topic was *disapproving child vaccination* which occurred 13 times, 9 out of which were in speeches with paper (example 6, p. 28). The third most frequent subtopic of *children/parents* was *disapproving measures in children* with 10 occurrences, whose great majority (90%) were included in speeches with paper (example 7, p. 28). The least frequent subtopic of the same topic was *parents being in a difficult situation* with 7 occurrences, all in speeches with paper (example 8, pp. 28-29).

Overall, the head topic of *children/parents* predominated in speeches with paper (77% of the total of instances of the *children/parents* head topic; N=44), a finding that can be ascribed to the fact that a set of speeches with paper included many instances of the head topic at stake. At the same time, this finding might be suggestive of speakers' acknowledging an underlying necessity of sensitivity and, hence, of a more careful articulation when referring to

children/parents (especially children), which requires preparation and, in turn, written points of argument.

The following figure provides the total number of occurrences of the *children/parents* head topic with its respective subtopics:
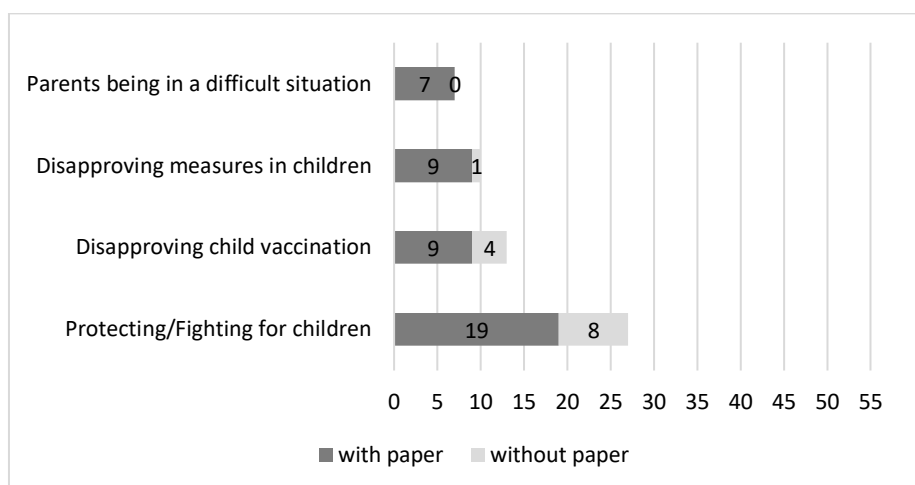

Figure 6. Children/parents subtopics

3.1.3. Vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated

The third head topic identified in the data, i.e., *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated*, occurred 88 times and was found to branch into three subtopics: *questioning the vaccine's efficacy and effectiveness*, *against vaccination*, and *the idea of vaccinated people spreading the virus*. *Questioning the vaccine's efficacy and effectiveness* surfaced in 31 instances (35% of the total uses of the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* head topic), 21 out of which were in speeches with paper – example 9, p. 29.

Against vaccination, as an additional subtopic of the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* head topic, was used 52 times (59% of the total uses of the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* head topic) and was further subdivided into two categories, with one being *disapproving mandatory vaccination* (example 10, p. 29). This category had 45 occurrences (51% of the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* head topic), the great majority of which were included in speeches with paper (73% of the category of *disapproving mandatory vaccination*; N=33.

The second category of the subtopic identified as *against vaccination* was *resisting in vaccination* and accounted for 7 instances (8% of the total instances of the

vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated head topic), which were almost equally allocated in speeches with paper and in speeches without paper – example 11, p. 29.

The last subtopic to which the head topic of *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* branched, *the idea of vaccinated people spreading the virus* (example 12, p. 29), appeared 5 times (6% of the total uses of the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* head topic), 2 out of which were in speeches with paper.

Figure 7 that follows shows the total number of uses of the head topic of *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* with its respective subtopics:
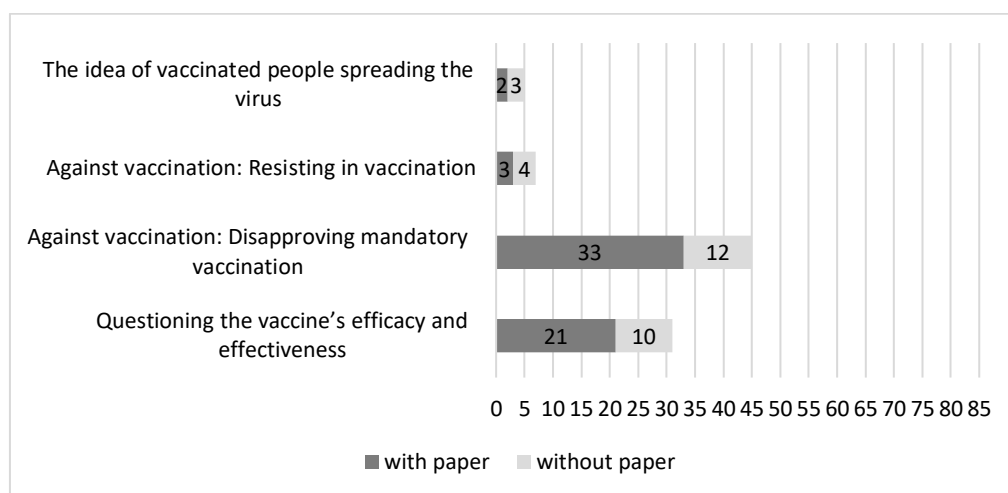

Figure 7. Vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated subtopics

3.1.4. Government/governors/politicians

The fourth head topic found in the data was *government/governors/politicians*, which occurred 97 times. This head topic was distinguished into two subtopics, one of which was *accusing government/governors/politicians* with 66 instances (68% of the total uses of the *government/governors/politicians* head topic). *Accusing government/governors/politicians* was further broken down into nine categories according to the aspects of accusations. As such, accusations towards government/governors/politicians were over *measures/decrees*, *extortion*, *mandatory vaccination*, *spreading division and discrimination*, *not assisting civilians*, *corruption/bribery*, *being criminals/incompetent/dictators*, *lying/misinformation/being crooks*, and *rendering people slaves/guineapigs – cf.* Dionne (2021). The numbers of uses of each of these categories are presented in the following figure:
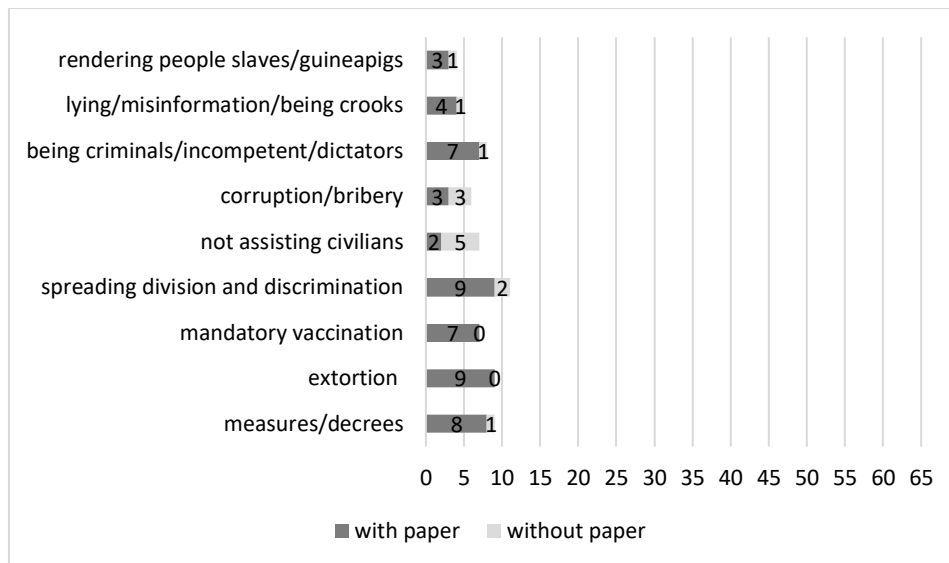
Figure 8. The subtopic of accusing government/governors/politicians with its categories

Figure 8 shows that the most frequent accusations towards government/governors/politicians revolved around the *spread of division and discrimination* among people (N=11), followed by accusations regarding *measures/decrees* (N=9) and *extortion* (N=9) – examples 13-15, pp. 29-30. The next three most frequent accusations towards government/governors/politicians were related to the latter *being criminals/incompetent/dictators* (N=8), to *mandatory vaccination* (N=7), and to *absence of assistance to civilians* (N=7) – examples 16-18, p. 30. The three least common accusations made towards government/governors/politicians were over *corruption/bribery* (N=6), followed by accusations over *lying/misinformation/being crooks* (N=5) and *rendering people slaves/guineapigs* (N=4) – examples 19-21, p. 30.

The remaining 31 uses of the *government/governors/politicians* head topic (32% of the total occurrences of *government/governors/politicians*) corresponded to the subtopic of *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians*, which branched into six categories. These were appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to *withdraw/recall measures*, *respect civilians' freedom* (freedom of choice on vaccination, freedom of speech), *stop spreading division*, *assist civilians*, *stop accusing unvaccinated people*, and *stop extortion*. Figure 9 below includes the categories of the *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians* subtopic along with their frequencies:
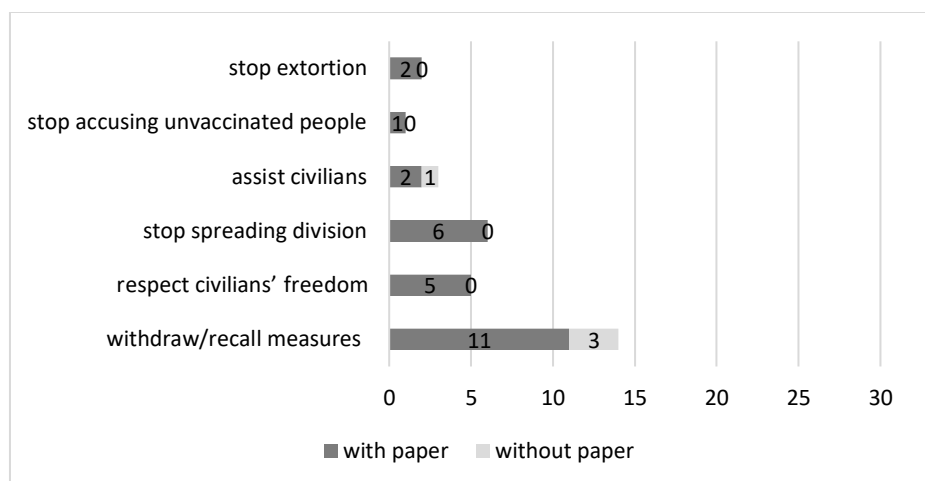
Figure 9. The subtopic of appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians with its categories

In Figure 9 it is shown that *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to withdraw/recall measures* were by far the most common category (N=14), followed by the categories of *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to stop spreading division* (N=6) and *respect civilians' freedom* (N=5) – examples 22-24, pp. 30-31. The three least frequent *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians* were on *assisting civilians* (N=3), *stopping extortion* (N=2) and *stopping accusing unvaccinated people* (N=1) – examples 25-27, p. 31.

Overall, *government/governors/politicians* was the most frequently used head topic and comprised instances that were included in speeches with paper per 81% (N=79; 52 in *accusing government/governors/politicians* and 27 in *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians*).

3.2. Implicit and explicit influences/resources of the speeches

Regarding the second project objective, i.e., the identification of the range of implicit and explicit influences/resources upon which the speeches draw to support their arguments, it was addressed through repeated data readings for locating the spheres/domains from which these influences/resources derive. In doing so, spheres/domains were instantiated as various forms (and sub-forms; see below) of intertextuality (Fairclough e.g. 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1995, 2003, 2012), grounding the whole procedure on the fact that the speeches under consideration, as many other forms of text, are in a dialectical relationship with other texts,

and include elements of other texts, "[…] bringing other 'voices' into a text […]" (Fairclough 2003: 41).

The data analysis showed that the influences/resources of the speeches derive from the religious, political, scientific/medical, historical, and social spheres/domains by means of various forms of intertextual referencing. Figure 10 below displays the relevant percentages of occurrences of all five spheres/domains:
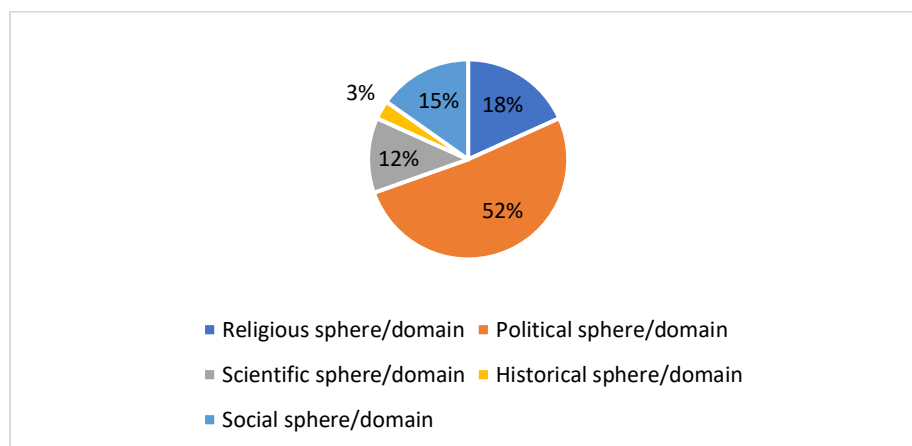

Figure 10. Percentages of spheres/domains across speeches

As can be shown, the political sphere/domain was by far the most productive sphere/domain per 52% (N=135 of which 71 were with paper). The remaining 48% was distributed across the religious sphere/domain per 18% (N=48, 34 out of which were with paper), the social sphere/domain per 15% (N=40 of which 6 were with paper), the scientific sphere/domain per 12% (N=29, 22 out of which were with paper), and the historical sphere/domain per 3% (N=8 of which 5 were with paper).

As has been mentioned above, each of the spheres/domains identified was qualified in terms of various forms of intertextuality in which specific instances of influences/resources were incorporated in the speeches. Building on Fairclough (esp. 2003: chapter 3), the following forms of intertextuality were employed as core analytical concepts:

1. *Attributed intertextuality*, which is further distinguished into *specifically attributed intertextuality* to explicit speakers (Fairclough 2003: 48), and *non-specifically (vaguely) attributed intertextuality*. An instance of the latter sub-form of attributed intertextuality provided by Fairclough is the use of *some* in the utterance '*Don't overreact some say*' from a speech of Tony Blair, where the words of an imaginary interlocutor are vaguely attributed to *some* (*ibid.*). Both sub-forms of attributed

intextuality are realised in various types of reporting, namely direct reporting[10], indirect reporting, free indirect reporting, and narrative report of speech act (Fairclough 2003: 49; Leech & Short 2007; Yoshimura 2000).

2. *Non-attributed intertextuality*, which can take the (sub-)form of *generalised representation*, e.g., through negation like the use of *not* in the utterance '*The issue is not how to stop globalisation*' contained in the same speech of Blair, where the denial implies that 'someone' has 'elsewhere' asserted the opposite, i.e., that the issue is how to stop globalisation (Fairclough 2003: 47). Non-attributed intertextuality may also surface as *discourse-associated voicing* which corresponds to "[…] the evocation of a voice simply through drawing upon a discourse which is recognisably associated with that voice" (Fairclough 2003: 55).

These (sub-)forms of intertextuality allowed investigating how available resources were being manipulated by the speakers and gauging the extent to which reporting involved "[…] reports which are relatively 'faithful' to what is reported, quoting it, claiming to reproduce what was actually said or written […] [or] which are not" (Fairclough 2003: 49). At the same time, these intertextuality (sub-)forms, as analytical tools, facilitated the uncovering of less apparent and less explicit ways that the speakers made use of in subsuming other texts, voices, and/or discourses in their own speeches.

The data analysis revealed that the most common sub-form of intertextuality across speeches was discourse-associated voicing, which accounted for 52% (N=134) of the total instances of intertextuality and occurred in speeches with paper and speeches without paper in fairly equal numbers – 68 and 66 respectively.

In looking at discourse-associated voicing in terms of its distribution across spheres/domains, it was drawn from the political sphere/domain slightly more than half of the times (55%; N=73), followed by the social sphere/domain (16%; N=22), the religious sphere/domain (14%; N=19), the scientific sphere/domain (10%; N=14), and the historical sphere/domain (5%; N=6). Discourse-associated voicing across spheres/domains in speeches with paper and speeches without paper are shown in Figure 11 below:

---

[10] Direct reporting was also very often marked by changes in intonation (see also Leech & Short 2007: 257) and/or extra-linguistics hints like speakers showing quotations with their hands.
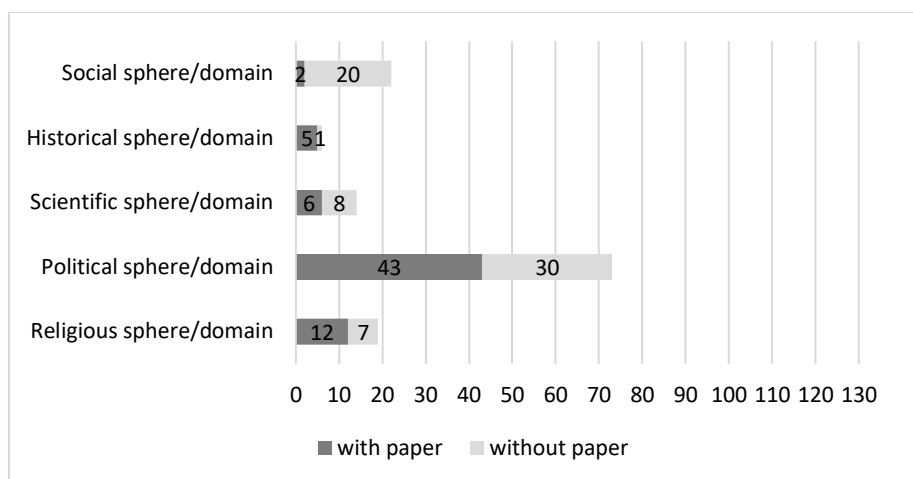
Figure 11. Discourse-associated voicing per sphere/domain

Discourse-associated voicing under the political sphere/domain in both speeches with paper and speeches without paper involved voices relevant to metaphorical conceptions of anti-vaccination proponents' endeavour as war/fight which will bring about victory, to conspiracy theories (*cf.* Germani & Biller-Andorno 2021; Hornsey 2021*;* Karakoulaki & Dessì 2021; Karakatsani 2021), to specific regimes through wording like *dictatory measures, fascism of obligatoriness* (of vaccination) and *junta*, to slavery, with which speakers compared the situation because of measures and vaccination policies, and to measures that the government has already taken including decrees. Voicing associated with international conventions for condemning the measures and voicing associated with political ideologies were found only in speeches with paper, whereas voicing related to corruption was found only in speeches without paper.

Instances of discourse-associated voicing under the social sphere/domain consisted of cross-country information and/or statistics on how the pandemic is being handled/has been handled in terms of measures and how the latter are withdrawn in other countries, as opposed to Cyprus. A striking difference between speeches with paper and speeches without paper is that many speakers of the latter type of speech, i.e. without paper, when referring to cross-country information, engaged in storytelling about personal experiences from other countries and the respective situations pandemic-wise in order to substantiate their claims. This fact accounts for the large number of occurrences of speeches without paper (20 versus 2 speeches with paper).

As for discourse-associated voicing under the religious sphere/domain, it echoed a discourse that pertains to priest preaching, and a conception of God as the one who helps/will help in

21

this situation, i.e. the pandemic and the 'fight' against any anti-God actions like vaccination – the latter mainly occurring in speeches without paper (*cf.* Karakoulaki & Dessì 2021).

In looking at discourse-associated voicing under the scientific sphere/domain, it mainly revolved around the absence of license of use of vaccines, the side effects of vaccines, and the existence of dangerous substances in the tools used for rapid tests.

Finally, discourse-associated voicing under the historical sphere/domain comprised references to facts of the past like fascist and slave contexts, and ancestors/heroes who had fought in the past.

An example of discourse-associated voicing under the political sphere/domain from a speech with paper is the following:

Example 28

> ***Σύντροφοι συντρόφισσες*** (1.5) *άρχοντες κι αρχόντισσες της Κύπρου μας* (2.0) ***Έλληνες και Ελληνίδες της πατρίδας μας*** (2.0) *παίρνω θάρρος από την υπομονή και την επιμονή σας. […]* (8.0) *Ψηλά να κρατήσουμε το λάβαρο της δημοκρατίας και της ελευθερίας. Το σκοτάδι <δεν μπορεί να διώξει το φως>* [!]*. Το ψέμα δεν μπορεί να νικήσει την αλήθεια. Ο διχασμός δεν μπορεί να αγγίξει την αγάπη.* ***Χαίρετε περήφανοι Έλληνες της Κύπρου!*** *Άρχοντες στο μυαλό και στην καρδιά.*

> '***Comrades compañeras*** (1.5) *lords and ladies of our Cyprus* (2.0) ***Greek men and Greek women of our homeland*** (2.0) *I am encouraged by your patience and perseverance.* […] (8.0) *Let's hold high the banner of democracy and freedom. Darkness <cannot drive out the light>* [!]. *The lie cannot defeat the truth. Division cannot touch love.* ***Hail proud Greeks of Cyprus***! *Lords in mind and heart.'*

In the opening part of this speech (i.e. up to *Παίρνω θάρρος από την υπομονή και την επιμονή σας. = I am encouraged by your patience and perseverance.*) there is an asyndeton linking (absence of any conjunction) of the three vocative utterances which results in a staccato effect, and, in turn, in an emphasis of the appellations used both one-by-one and altogether – also notice the pauses between the utterances. The points of interest from an intertextual perspective lie in the first (*Σύντροφοι συντρόφισσες =Comrades compañeras*) and the third vocative utterances (*Έλληνες και Ελληνίδες της πατρίδας μας = Greek men and Greek women of our homeland*). The use of *Σύντροφοι συντρόφισσες* (=*Comrades compañeras*) is strongly associated with political discourse, in particular the discourse of left-wing ideologies. In an

analogous vein, the utterance *Έλληνες και Ελληνίδες της πατρίδας μας* (=*Greek men and Greek women of our homeland*) is also associated with political discourse, which relates, however, to right-wing ideologies. Here the speaker is evoking completely different voices of political discourse in an attempt to anticipate several audiences (*cf.* Fairclough 1992b: 208), and to identify with as many members of the audience as possible, underlining that, whichever their ideological background might be, they are all united in their endeavour (protest against –mandatory– vaccination). This is also understood as an instance of recontextualization (Fairclough 2003: 51) in that the speaker utilizes the 'tools' generally known to be associated with specific political ideologies and places them in a completely new paradigm with reappropriated connotations. At the same time, the use of these specific and clearly ideological (vocative) utterances appears to be based on the assumption that the majority of civilians in the Greek-Cypriot political context are left-wing or right-wing proponents, or just the latter, if one considers the paraphrased repetition of *Έλληνες και Ελληνίδες της πατρίδας μας.* (=) in *Χαίρετε περήφανοι Έλληνες της Κύπρου* (=*Hail proud Greeks of Cyprus*) towards the closing of the speech.[11] This assumption also serves to exclude people with different political ideologies, or people with no political ideologies who are attending the protest purely by virtue of their anti-vaccination sentiments.

So far cases of discourse-associated voicing drawn from separate spheres/domains have been considered. However, there were many instances where voicing or discourses from more than one sphere/domain were evoked and blended, leading to what is named as interdiscursivity (e.g. Fairclough 1992a, 1992b, 1992c, 1995, 2003, 2012; Wu 2011). One such example is provided below:

Example 29

> *Λοιπόν (.) ξαφνικά μας αγάπησαν τόσον πολλά που τρέξαν με διάφορους τρόπους να μας σώσουν; Τάχα για το καλόν μας.* **Μόνον τρόπον** [//] **τρόμον θέλαν να σκορπίσουν με τα σκληρά μέτρα (.) με τα σκληρά lockdown (.) για να υποτάξουν τον λαό! Όμως ο Ελληνορθόδοξος Έλληνας <ποτέ> [!] δεν υποτάσσεται!** (2.0) **Ο Θεός μας έπλασεν <ελεύθερους>** [!]. (3.0) **Οι πρόγονοι μας πολέμησαν για την ελευθερίαν τους. Ας βάλουμε μπροστά τον Χριστό μας και να πολεμήσουμε για την ελευθερίαν μας. <Εμ^είς θα νικήσουμε> [!]. Ζήτω η Ορθοδοξία! Ζήτω ο Θεός! Σας καλώ για ακόμα**

---

[11] See also Perry, Whitehead & Grubbs (2020) and Whitehead & Perry (2020) on the association of anti-vaccination proponents with conservative political beliefs.

μιαν φοράν να πούμεν <μαζί> [!] (1.5) τη Υπερμάχω Στρατηγώ και τον Εθνικόν Ύμνον.

*'So (.) they suddenly loved us so much that they ran in various ways to save us? Allegedly for our own good. **They only wanted to spread way [//] terror with the harsh measures (.) with the harsh lockdowns (.) to subjugate the people! However, the Greek Orthodox Greek is <never> [!] subdued! (2.0) God made us <free> [!]. (3.0) Our ancestors fought for their freedom. Let us put our Christ first and fight for our freedom. <We will win> [!]. Long live Orthodoxy! Long live God! I call upon you once again to sing <together> [!] (1.5) To Thee, the Champion Leader and the National Anthem.***'*

At the beginning of this excerpt, the speaker poses a rhetorical question relating to the governors (*Λοιπόν (.) ξαφνικά μας αγάπησαν...να μας σώσουν;=So (.) they suddenly loved us ...to save us?*), which involves sarcasm further intensified by the immediately following utterance that begins with the modal adjunct *τάχα (=allegedly)*. Then, in the third utterance the speaker draws on a voice that relates to political discourse, in particular the measures that the government has taken, which are negatively described (*σκληρά μέτρα=harsh measures, σκληρά lockdown=harsh lockdown)* and are attributed to the governors' aim to cause terror and render people subjugated. The speaker's following utterance, introduced by the adversative adjunct *όμως* (=however), stands for a defence to what has just been mentioned, in which voices associated with political ideology and religion are intertwined using *Ελληνορθόδοξος (=Greek Orthodox)*, with *Έλληνας* (=*Greek*) adding to the echo of a specific political ideology – *cf.* example 28.[12] Following, to back up these claims and frame next ones, the speaker, first, draws on religious discourse through the utterance *Ο Θεός μας έπλασεν ελεύθερους* (=*God made us free),* similar to which are usually found in priest preaching. Second, s/he draws on a historical voicing through their reference to ancestors who had fought for their freedom, which constitutes a steppingstone for introducing the next utterance, in which Christ is placed in first position in the fight for freedom (*Ας βάλουμε μπροστά τον Χριστό μας και να πολεμήσουμε για την ελευθερίαν μας. =Let us put our Christ first and fight for our freedom*.). Here, the speaker re-blends religious with political discourse, the latter realized through the metaphorical use of the verb *να πολεμήσουμε* (=*fight*) in the context of anti-vaccination, thus also constituting an instance of recontextualization. This

---

[12] See also Chilton (1990) on cases of blending of political with religious discourse.

blending of religious with political discourse is further intensified through the next three utterances *qua* exclamations (*Εμείς θα νικήσουμε! Ζήτω η Ορθοδοξία! Ζήτω ο Θεός! =We will win! Long live Orthodoxy! Long live God!*), which pave the way for the closing of the speech, where the speaker calls the audience to sing together the To Thee, the Champion Leader (the Akathist Hymn) and the National Anthem (*Σας καλώ για ακόμα μιαν φοράν να πούμεν μαζί (1.5) τη Υπερμάχω Στρατηγώ και τον Εθνικόν Ύμνον.=I call upon you once again to sing together (1.5) and the National Anthem.*). This point can be seen as the progressive crescendo of blending of different voices in that both the To Thee, the Champion Leader from the religious sphere/domain and the National Anthem from the political sphere/domain are very characteristic symbols of the Eastern Orthodox Church and the Greek-Cypriot political context respectively and carry precise connotations. Overall, it is argued that interdiscursivity in this and other comparable data excerpts constructs and projects a very specific anti-vaccination profile, which subsumes a commitment to Eastern Orthodox religion, the driving force in the anti-vaccination endeavour, a strict orientation to right-wing political ideology, and a patriotic feeling through the acknowledgment of ancestors who had fought in the past and who may well be imitated in the anti-vaccination 'war' – *cf.* Perry, Whitehead & Grubbs 2020; Whitehead & Perry 2020; see also Karakoulaki & Dessì (2021) on similar findings from online anti-vaccination discourse.

Turning to the second most common sub-form of intertextuality, this was found to be specifically attributed intertextuality, which corresponded to 41% of the total cases of intertextuality (N=108). This sub-form, with 58 occurrences in speeches with paper and 50 in speeches without paper, consisted of direct reporting, indirect reporting, free indirect reporting, and narrative reports of speech act. The numbers of each of these types of reporting are shown in Figure 12 that follows:
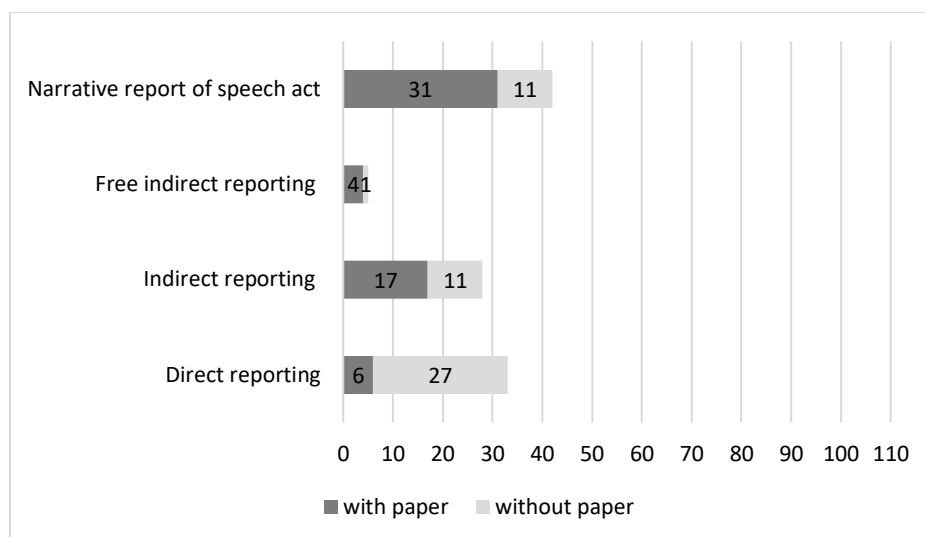
Figure 12. Specifically attributed intertextuality per type of reporting

Figure 12 shows that the most frequent type of reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality was narrative report of speech act (39%; N=42), whose great majority occurred in speeches with paper. This is accounted for by the fact that narrative reports of speech acts involve reports of events exclusively from the perspective of the speaker and, thus, the speaker is in full control of that report (Leech & Short 2007: 260). As such, a narrative report of speech act is more likely to be included in a speech that the speaker has taken the time to prepare beforehand. Moreover, taking the time to prepare a speech (or any other form of writing) enables the writer/speaker, among other things, to select and focus on the gist of the propositional content they want to convey, which can be facilitated by narrative reports of speech act, "[…] where the narrator does not have to commit himself [*sic*] entirely to giving the sense of what was said, let alone the form of words in which they were uttered." (*ibid.*: 259-260). In considering narrative reports of speech act from the perspective of spheres/domains, they were drawn from the religious and the political spheres/domains in almost equal numbers (N=19; 45% and N=20; 48% respectively), with the remaining few cases (N=3; 7%) been drawn from the scientific sphere/domain. In all three cases, speeches with paper predominated except from narrative reports of speech act from the scientific sphere/domain that were all in speeches with paper. Narrative reports of speech act from the religious sphere/domain revolved around references to the Archbishop's statements *qua* speech acts (e.g. *εκτοξεύει απειλές =(he) makes (launches) threats*), and narrative reports of speech act from the political sphere/domain related to representations of governors' statements/acts on pandemic-related policies (e.g. *εξαγγέλλει με περηφάνεια η κυβέρνηση =the government proudly announces*) and to references to political decisions of other

26

countries or world associations like the World Court of Law. Narrative reports of speech act from the scientific/medical sphere/domain constituted references to scientific studies and scientific scenarios about COVID-19 being constructed.

The second most frequent type of reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality was direct reporting (30%; N=33), whose vast majority was included in speeches without paper (82% of direct reporting cases under specifically attributed intertextuality). This finding is conversely analogous to the occurrences of narrative reports of speech act discussed above and it can be attributed to the fact that direct speech reporting in speeches without paper was mainly part of storytelling of speakers' experiences, quoting themselves or their interlocutors (*cf.* discourse-associated voicing under the social sphere/domain above). Thus, the speakers wished to reproduce the initial incident as faithfully as possible and with the exact word forms (Leech & Short 2007: 257), allowing "[…] the characters to talk entirely on their own" (*ibid.*: 260). This was precisely the case for direct reporting drawn from the political and the social spheres/domains (N=18 and N=7 respectively), which included direct speech rendering embedded in speakers' personal incidents relevant to the pandemic and the measures either in encounters with the police (political sphere/domain), in discussions with other anti-vaccination proponents or in interactions in countries other than Cyprus (social sphere/domain). As for direct speech reporting from the historical sphere/domain (N=2), which was found only in speeches without paper too, it comprised quoting of orders given in the pandemic context yet placed in junta contexts of the past in order for the speakers to argue that even extreme regimes like these had not imposed such extreme restrictions (e.g. *Η χούντα εν έκλεισεν με σχολεία με δουλειές. Ούτε σου ελάλεν, "Βαρ τες μάσκες σου".=Junta didn't close neither schools nor workplaces. Nor would they (it) tell you, "Wear your masks".*). Regarding the religious and the scientific spheres/domains (N=3 each), direct reporting occurred in speeches with paper alone and mainly in speeches with paper respectively. This is because quoting from the religious sphere/domain involved extracts from religious texts written in Ancient Greek that may be difficult to remember – unless known by heart, like *Αντί να βαδίζει στο δρόμο του Χριστού που είπε, "όστις θέλει οπίσω μου ελθείν". (=Instead of walking in the way of Christ who said, "he who wants to come after me".*). In an analogous vein, quoting from the medical/scientific sphere/domain mainly included extracts and/or titles from documents associated with scientific scenarios on the pandemic being constructed.

Indirect reporting was the third most frequent type of reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality per 26% (N=28). Indirect reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality predominated in speeches with paper per 61%, explained by the fact that this variety of speech representation, i.e., indirect speech, is closer to narrative report of speech acts in that the narrator is in relatively more control of the report as compared to direct speech (Leech & Short 2007: 260). This, coupled with the fact that in indirect speech "[…] one expresses what was said in one's own words […]" (*ibid*.: 255), can be said to call for time to speculate over what is/will be indirectly reported, and thus, more likely to occur in a speech prepared in advance – *cf.* the findings on narrative report of speech acts above. As for indirect reporting in relation to spheres/domains, it was mainly drawn from the political sphere/domain, occurring in reports of personal encounters with government-related officials (e.g. the police or the epidemiologic team) and governors' statements – the latter appearing only in speeches without paper which predominated in the political sphere/domain. Indirect reportings from the medical/scientific and the religious spheres/domains, which were included only in speeches with paper, centred on scientific research regarding the lack of safety and the side effects of vaccines, and on the Archbishop's statements respectively. Finally, indirect reporting from the social sphere/domain, which mostly occurred in speeches without paper, related to statements of known people worldwide (e.g. Elon Musk).

The least frequent type of reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality was free indirect reporting (5%; N=5), whose great majority was in speeches with paper. This can be ascribed to the fact that free indirect reporting in speeches with paper was only drawn from the religious sphere/domain and was relevant to the Archbishop's statements, which required careful rendering, and, thus, preparation beforehand. This is in accord with findings on other types of reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality from the religious sphere/domain, which were all included in speeches with paper.

Before turning to the next most common sub-form of intertextuality overall, it is worth considering an excerpt with instances of specifically attributed intertextuality:

Example 30

> ***Δεν επιτρέπεται να εκφράζει απειλές <εναντίον των ιερέων μας> [!!].*** *Γιατί δεν επιτρέπεται να παρασύρεται από τον διχαστικό λόγο της κυβέρνησης. Να σταθούν (.) με σθένος μπροστά σε αυτή την λαίλαπα και να προστατεύσουν έμπρακτα τον πιστό λαό του Θεού.* ***Να διακηρύξουν την ελευθερία <που μας χάρισε ο Θεός> [!!].*** *Αυτή*

την ελευθερία που σέβεται και ο <ίδιος ο Θεός> [!!]. Που ακόμα (.) και για να θεραπεύσει τους ασθενείς (.) της εποχής του Χριστού δεν παραβίαζε την ελευθερία τους. (1.0) **Για αυτό και τους ρωτούσε, "θέλεις υγιής γενέσθαι;". Καλούμε την κυβέρνηση <να πάψει να χύνει δηλητήριο** *και τις διχόνοιες μέσα στην κοινωνία>* **[!!!].** *(3.0)* [the audience applauds and shouts 'bravo'] *Καλούμε [/] καλούμε την κυβέρνηση (.) να σταματήσει να καταστρέφει την κοινωνική συνοχή και την κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη μέσα στον λαό.* **Απαιτούμε από την κυβέρνηση (.) να σταματήσει άμεσα (.) να σπέρνει τον διχαστικό λόγο** *και να μην ανάβει τα πάθη της κοινωνικής αντιπαράθεσης ανάμεσα στην κοινωνία.* (3.0) [the audience applauds] *Ντροπή! (.) Φτάνει πκια! Θα πρέπει να ντρέπονται γι' αυτό τον διχασμό που καλλιεργούν εργολαβικά εδώ και τόσους μήνες.*

'***He (the Archbishop) is not allowed to express threats <against our priests> [!!!].*** *Because he is not allowed to be carried away by the divisive discourse of the government. They must stand (.) firmly in the face of this horror and actively protect God's faithful people. (They must)* **proclaim the freedom <that God has given us> [!!!].** *The freedom that <God himself> also respects [!!!]. Who even (.) in order to heal the sick (.) of Christ's time did not violate their freedom.(1.0****) For this reason he asked them, "do you want to get well?".*** ***We call on the government to <stop pouring poison** and divisions into society> **[!!!].** (3.0)* [the crowd applauds and shouts 'bravo'] *We call [/] we call on the government (.) to stop destroying social cohesion and social solidarity within the people.* ***We demand that the government (.) immediately stop (.) spreading divisive discourse** and stop inflaming the passions of social confrontation among society.* (3.0) [the crowd applauds] *Shame! (.) Enough is enough! They should be ashamed of this divisiveness they have been contractually cultivating for so many months.*'

Here, the speaker begins with a critique of the Archbishop's stance through a narrative report of speech act from the religious sphere/domain to represent what the Archbishop is doing (via language). In particular, s/he is using a negatively polarised verb with modal meaning (*δεν επιτρέπεται=(he) is not allowed*) to introduce her/his opposition to the Archbishop's stance, followed by a complement clause with a periphrastic verb and a stressed prepositional phrase (*να εκφράζει απειλές εναντίον των ιερέων μας=to express threats against our priests*), all of which contribute to the standing out of both the speaker's words and the Archbishop's

reported words. The speaker continues with a series of clauses on what the Archbishop and other Church people 'must do', one of which involves another narrative report of speech act from the religious sphere/domain, namely *Να διακηρύξουν την ελευθερία που μας χάρισε ο Θεός*(=(*They must*) *proclaim the freedom that God has given us*). The idea of freedom included in this 'must do' sentence is further elaborated through an example, whose closing is marked by a religion-relevant direct reporting in Ancient Greek, i.e., *Για αυτό και τους ρωτούσε, "θέλεις υγιής γενέσθαι;"*.[13](=*For this reason he (God) asked them, "do you want to get well?"*). This direct reporting serves to validate the speaker's claims that the Archbishop and other Church people must respect the freedom of priests and God's faithful people and that the latter must not be forced to do anything they do not wish (including vaccination that the Archbishop allegedly imposed on priests). The direct quote is immediately followed by a topic change as the speaker calls on the government to stop division among people (*cf.* the findings of the first objective). These calls include two instances of narrative report of speech act relevant to the political sphere/domain, namely *Καλούμε την κυβέρνηση να πάψει να χύνει δηλητήριο...(=We call on the government to stop pouring poison...)* and *Απαιτούμε από την κυβέρνηση (.) να σταματήσει άμεσα (.) να σπέρνει τον διχαστικό λόγο...(=We demand that the government (.) immediately stop (.) spreading divisive discourse...*), which are both endorsed by the audience, as shown by its reactions (applauding and/or shouting 'bravo').The former instance of narrative report of speech act draws on a figurative use of language linguistically realized in the segment *...να πάψει να χύνει δηλητήριο...(=...to stop pouring poison...)*.[14] The latter instance of narrative report of speech act is framed by an intensified verb as compared to the verb used to frame the previous narrative report of speech act: *καλούμε(=we call on)* is replaced by *απαιτούμε(=we demand)*. It also includes a repetition of the expression *διχαστικό λόγο(=divisive discourse)* found at the beginning of the excerpt, which functions cohesively, tying different parts of the excerpt together (the beginning and the end) – see also Halliday & Hasan (1976) and Halliday & Matthiessen (2004). Overall, this excerpt is an example of how BOTH different sub-forms of intertextuality AND different spheres/domains can be combined, leading to a rather different version of intertextuality, which may be termed as *compound intertextuality*.

---

[13] This quote is, in fact, from John the Evangelist's Gospel (5: 6), where it is embedded in a narrative of one of the Christ's miracles.

[14] The expression *χύνει δηλητήριο* (=*s/he is pouring poison*) is usually found in the larger expression *η γλώσσα του/της χύνει/στάζει δηλητήριο* (=*his/her tongue is pouring/dripping poison; his/her words are hurtful*).

So far, discourse-associated voicing and specifically attributed intertextuality have been discussed as the two most common sub-forms of intertextuality. The third most common and by far less frequent sub-form of intertextuality was generalised representation under non-attributed intertextuality, which accounted for 6% of the total instances of intertextuality (N=15) and whose great majority was found in speeches with paper (75%). Regarding generalised representation in relation to spheres/domains, it mainly fell under the political sphere/domain (N=8; 54%), where it revolved around allusions to the government's obligatory practices and around conspiracy theories – the latter found in speeches without paper. Generalised representation also fell under the social sphere/domain (N=5; 33%) and the scientific/medical sphere/domain (N=2; 13%), in which there were hints at the absence of truthful reports by the mass media and the lack of the vaccine's effectiveness respectively. An excerpt involving instances of generalised representation is the following:

Example 31

> *Αγαπητοί μου φίλοι (.) εν τζι έχω να πω πολλά πράματα. Όπως πάντα τζείνον που θέλω να πω ότι (.) τούτον το: [//] τούτη η πανδημία αν θέλετε τζιαι τούντα εμβόλια (1.0) **<έννεν κάτι>** [x2] (.) **απλά που έναν τυρούιν** για να ασχολούμαστεν ούλλη μέρα. (.) Γιατί ο σκοπός τους τούντους αθρώπους είναι να στερήσουν την κάθε (.) την <κάθε> [!] ελευθερία που έχουμεν. Το κάθε ανθρώπινον μας δικαίωμαν. **Τζιαι πρέπει να αντιληφθούμεν ότι** (0.5) **<δεν γίνεται>** [!] **τούτον το πράμαν για την υγείαν μας αλλά γίνεται για την ελευθερίαν μας.** (0.5) Για τον έλεγχο. Γίνεται για να ελέγχουν όι εσάς σήμερα αλλά τα μωρά σας αύριο. Γιατί (.) σήμερα εσείς έσιετε ήδη δημιουργήσει ένα δικό σας τρόπο σκέψης.*

> 'Dear friends (.) *I don't have much to say. As always what I want to say is that (.) this: [//] this pandemic if you like and these vaccines (1.0)* **<are nothing>** *[x2] (.)* **simply but a small cheese** *for us to be preoccupied all day. (.) Because the goal of these people is to take away every (.) <every> [!] freedom we have. Our every human right.* **And we must realize that** *(0.5)* **this thing <is not done>** *[!]* **for our health but done for our freedom.** *(0.5) For control. It is done to control not you today but your babies tomorrow. Because (.) today you have already created your own way of thinking.'*

Here, the speaker provides her/his own conspiracy theory-driven account over the pandemic and the vaccines, arguing that the latter *are nothing* (*έννεν κάτι*). This verb phrase, which is negatively polarized and repeated twice, bears the meaning *they are not a big deal* and

alludes that the opposite has been claimed 'elsewhere', i.e., that the pandemic and the vaccines are a very big deal (*cf.* Fairclough 1992a: 121-122, 2003: 47-48; Ellah 2022: 14). The framing that follows this verb phrase is also significant in that it further minimizes the exaggeration of worry and importance of the pandemic and the vaccines expressed 'elsewhere', and it is textually enacted through the dispositional adverbial adjunct *απλά* (=*simply*) plus the diminutive noun *τυρούιν* (=*a small cheese)*. The speaker, then, goes into explaining her/his account of the pandemic more precisely, claiming that the aim is the deprivation of people's freedoms. One of her/his claims is that the pandemic does not relate to health, using <*δεν γίνεται*> [!] *τούτον το πράμαν για την υγείαν μας* (=*this thing <is not done> [!] for our health*), and stressing the negatively polarized verb *δεν γίνεται* (=*(it) is not done*). The use of this verb form implies that others elsewhere claim that this is happening for our health (see also Fairclough 2003: 47-48).

As for the least common sub-form of intertextuality, this was non-specifically (vaguely) attributed intertextuality under attributed intertextuality corresponding to 2% (N=6) of all cases of intertextuality and was evenly distributed among speeches with paper and speeches without paper. All these cases involved indirect reporting except from one with direct reporting in a speech without paper (*cf.* the findings of direct reporting under specifically attributed intertextuality). Non-specifically (vaguely) attributed intertextuality was found under the political sphere/domain and related to what 'some' (implying the governors) state or order on the pandemic, and under the social sphere/domain to a lesser extent, referring to what some people want to say and to an extract of a book. Finally, it occurred once under the scientific/medial sphere/domain, where there was a vague report on COVID-19-related studies. The latter case is presented below:

Example 32

> *Θα προχωρήσω και σε κάτι άλλο. Ο covid μετά από νόσηση αφήνει τουλάχιστον ανοσία έξι μηνών. **Κάποιες μελέτες μιλούν για ανοσίαν** (.) **οχτώ μηνών** (.) **ως και χρόνο**. Γιατί πρέπει να εμβολιάζονται (.) άμα για τουλάχιστον έξι μήνες έχουν ισχυρή ανοσία και δεν μεταδίδουν ούτε ασθενούν;*

> *'I'll move on to something else. Covid after infection leaves at least six months of immunity. **Some studies talk about an immunity of** (.) **eight months** (.) **up to a year**. Why should they get vaccinated (.) if they have strong immunity for at least six months and do not transmit (the virus) or get sick?'*

In this excerpt, the speaker puts forth some evidence in support of her/his argument that vaccination is unnecessary. Her/his evidence lies in the immunity post COVID-19 infection for six months. This evidence is further supported by a reference to some studies that have shown that immunity may last longer (*Κάποιες μελέτες μιλούν για ανοσίαν* (.) *οχτώ μηνών* (.) *ως και χρόνο.=Some studies talk about an immunity of* (.) *eight months* (.) *up to a year*.). This reference to indefinite studies, as opposed to a reference to specific studies, can be said to suffice for the speaker as s/he knows that the audience will not ask for the naming of these studies. Of course, one can see that the absence of an attributed reference weakens the speaker's evidence.

3.3.   Linguistic strategies contained in the speeches

As far as the third project objective is concerned, *viz.* the identification of the linguistic strategies that the speeches contain to persuade the public on certain (anti-)vaccination ideas and, in turn, shape the beliefs and knowledge of the public, it was based on those first project objective (sub-)topics that were directly relevant to (anti-)vaccination. The rationale behind this is that it is equally important to understand both WHAT is included in the speeches in relation to (anti-)vaccination ideas *qua* (sub-)topics and HOW they are included by means of the grammatical construction of the speeches' clauses, gauging, in this way, how processes and social actors are represented via linguistic structures. Building on Fairclough (2003), processes involved in grammatical configurations and realized as verbs were assessed in terms of whether they were material, i.e., processes of doing-and-happening, verbal, i.e., processes of saying, mental, i.e., processes of sensing, relational, i.e., processes of attributing and processes of identifying, or existential, i.e., processes of existing – see also Halliday & Matthiessen (2004: 168 *ff*.). This was deemed very useful as "[…] by analysing patterns in transitivity choice it is possible to make more general statements about the way that characters [or speakers] view their position in the world and their relation to others" (Mills 1995: 144). In an analogous fashion, social actors were assessed in terms of whether they were included/excluded, and whether they were represented as activated/passivated, personal/impersonal, named/classified, or specific/generic (Fairclough 2003).

3.3.1. Representation of processes

The data analysis from the perspective of processes revealed that the most frequent process type was material (35%; N=52), whose majority was in speeches with paper (N=32). Material processes mainly described the current situation and provided relevant information (*cf.* Wahyudin 2016: 6). They involved what the government and other stakeholders do to anti-vaccination proponents (or make them do) (example 33 below), how anti-vaccination proponents respond to these, what vaccinated people do, and how vaccines are not effective and efficient. A relevant example is the following:

Example 33

> *(1.5) Διχάζετε κύριοι κυβερνήτες τον κυπριακό λαό. (1.0) Εμείς τον θέλουμε <ενωμένο> [!]. (0.5) Με το πρόσχημα (.) ότι το όφελος υπερέχει του κινδύνου (.) **καρφώνετε** τον ανυποψίαστο κόσμο με πειραματικά εμβόλια των οποίων τα αποτελέσματα και η ασφάλεια αμφισβητείται σύμφωνα με πολλές επιστημονικές μελέτες. [...] Εδώ και μήνες εσείς η κυβέρνηση (.) μας **βομβαρδίζετε** με ψέματα (.) προπαγάνδα (.) επιτυχίες των εμβολίων (.) και παραπληροφόρηση.*

> '*(1.5) Messrs governors, you divide the Cypriot people. (1.0) We want them <united> [!]. (0.5) Under the pretext (.) that the benefit outweighs the risk (.) **you stick** the unsuspecting people with experimental vaccines whose results and safety are questioned according to many scientific studies.[...] For months you the government (.) **bombard** us with lies (.) propaganda (.) vaccine successes (.) and misinformation.*'

In this example, there is a series of processes with the most striking and relevant material processes being the 'sharp' verbs *καρφώνετε*(=you_plural *stick; cf.* Karakoulaki & Dessì 2021: 33-34) *and βομβαρδίζετε*(=you_plural *bombard*). The speaker represents governors/government as the doer(s) of these material processes and addresses them as shown by the use of the second plural person verb form and the explicit naming of the actors (*κύριοι κυβερνήτες =you_plural, governors, εσείς η κυβέρνηση =you_plural the government).* So, governors/government are represented as the one(s) responsible for the 'sticking' and the 'bombarding' processes, with *τον ανυποψίαστο κόσμο (=the unsuspecting people)* and the inclusive *μας (=us)* being the affected parties – Fairclough 1989: 51; 2003: 141-142. These processes, which are represented in a figurative language, are condemned by the speaker, who projects the idea that what is happening is without people knowing/consenting (see the attributive adjective

ανυποψίαστο=unsuspecting in *τον ανυποψίαστο κόσμο=the unsuspecting people)*. What seem to be excluded from the processes of this example and the data in general are representations of the vaccines' safety and effectiveness. Instead, counterarguments are put forth, among others, through the use of attributive adjectives (e.g. *πειραματικά εμβόλια=experimental vaccines*), vague references to scientific studies (e.g. *σύμφωνα με πολλές επιστημονικές μελέτες=according to many scientific studies*) or representations of the governors'/government's attacking of people (*bombarding* in the speaker's words) with *vaccine successes (επιτυχίες των εμβολίων).*These counterarguments serve to naturalize and establish anti-vaccination discourse.

The second most frequent process type was relational per 26% (N=39). The latter percentage was broken down into relational attributive (20%; N=30) and relational identifying (6%; N=9). Regarding the relational attributive process type, it was evenly distributed between speeches with paper and speeches without paper (N=14 and N=16 respectively) and included the copula verb *to be* in most cases. As for the relational identifying process type, it was found mainly in speeches with paper (in 6 out of 9 occurrences) and included the copula verb to *be* in all cases. Overall, relational clauses were used to characterize or identify the stances[15] of anti-vaccination proponents towards vaccines and relevant practices. They also contained cases of what is referred to as grammatical metaphor textually realized as nominalization, i.e., "the conversion of a verb [or adjective] into a noun-like word, and semantically of a process into an entity" (Fairclough 2003: 143). Nominalization partly accounted for the high frequency of relational clauses in the data, an example of which is discussed below:

Example 34

> *Η υποχρεωτικότητα είναι χουντική <πρακτική> [!].*
>
> '**Obligatoriness is a junta**adjective **<practice> [!].**'

Here, the speaker expresses her/his stance towards the mandatoriness of vaccines that the governors have purportedly imposed, which s/he identifies as *junta practice (χουντική πρακτική)*. The use of the noun *υποχρεωτικότητα (=obligatoriness)* as passive subject, instead of the corresponding active verb *υποχρεώνω*(=to oblige), or even the reflexive/passive verb *υποχρεώνομαι*(=to be obliged), allows the speaker to represent and identify social events in

---

[15] See also Shi and Fan (2019).

a very abstract way and exclude the subjects, objects etc. involved in the process (*cf.* Fairclough 2003: 132). In turn, these exclusions serve to generalize the speaker's attitudinal statement in the form of a succinct slogan-like accusation against governors.

The third most frequent process type was mental (21%; N=32), whose great majority was included in speeches with paper (N=23). This process type represented what the anti-vaccination proponents need, want, feel, and know and what the government and the Archbishop need, want, feel, and know (or should). An example referring to the Archbishop is the following:

Example 35

> *(3.0) **Ξέρει** (.) ότι (.) όταν άρχισαν οι εμβολιασμοί (.) τα εμβόλια δεν είχαν άδεια. Άρα μπορούσαν να κάνουν μεγάλο κακό. Και μπορεί ακόμα οι επιπτώσεις τους να εμφανιστούν αργότερα. **Ξέρει πολύ καλά** ότι ο εμβολιασμός των παιδιών είναι σε ερευνητικό στάδιο.*
>
> *'(3.0) **He knows** (.) that (.) when vaccinations started (.) vaccines were not licensed. So they could do great harm. And their effects may even appear later. **He knows very well** that vaccination of children is at a research stage.'*

In this example, the speaker uses the verb *ξέρει*(=*he knows*) twice – the second time more emphatically through the addition of the adverbial phrase *πολύ καλά(=very well*), in representing the Archbishop's knowledge state in relation to the vaccines' lack of license and the experimental stage of child vaccination. However, one might observe that the speaker takes this knowledge state for granted – one might also ask how the speaker knows that the Archbishop knows the stated contents. This taken-for-granted knowledge state that is represented through the assertive mental process *ξέρει*(=*he knows*) is, in fact, what allows the speaker to assume the authoritative profile that pertains to the Archbishop and highlight the anti-vaccination-related contents of the two complementizer phrases (*ότι...=that...*) of the two occurrences of *ξέρει*(=*he knows*). In this way, the speaker works towards accomplishing her/his goal, i.e., the persuasion of people over certain anti-vaccination ideas.

The least most frequent process type was verbal (18%; N=27) with relatively equal cases in speeches with paper and speeches without paper (13 and 14 respectively). Verbal processes involved appeals/demands towards the government/governors/politicians to respect civilians' freedom of choice on vaccination and towards the Archbishop to stop 'threatening'

unvaccinated priests (e.g., *καλούμε=we call, απαιτούμε=we demand,*) – *cf.* the first project objective findings. They also involved quoting or reporting studies and statements mainly in support of the claims that vaccines lack efficacy (e.g., *ανακοίνωσε=it announced, προέβαλαν=they claimed*) – *cf.* the second project objective results, thereby excluding any form of reporting on studies and statements that show the vaccines' efficacy.

3.3.2. Representation of social actors

Analysis of the data in relation to the representation of social actors showed that, in terms of the inclusion/exclusion distinction, social actors were mainly excluded (58%; N=107). This is attributable to the fact that exclusions involved many null subject (or pronoun-dropping) cases, i.e., cases where the subject was omitted, which characterize the Greek-Cypriot dialect and the Greek language systems in general. Exclusions also covered cases of nominalizations, an instance of which is the following (see also example 34 above):

Example 36

> *(.) Πού πήγαν τα δικαιώματα του παιδιού;(1.0) Πού πήγαν οι συμβουλές στα παιδιά ότι δεν επιτρέπουμε σε κανέναν να μας αγκαλιάζει σε κανέναν να μας φιλά και να μας αγγίζει χωρίς τη συγκατάθεσή μας; (.) Τα ξεχάσαμε αυτά; (.) Τώρα **θα γίνεται παρέμβαση** στα σωματάκια και στις αθώες ψυχούλες τους και πρέπει να συμφωνήσουμε;*
>
> '*(.) Where have the rights of the child gone? (1.0) What happened to the advice to children that we don't allow anyone to hug us anyone to kiss and touch us without our consent? (.) Have we forgotten these? (.) Now there will be **an intrusion** into their little bodies and innocent little souls and we must agree on that?*'

In this example, the speaker refers to child vaccination to which s/he opposes. The focus of interest here, and in other comparable cases, lies in the use of the nominal *παρέμβαση*(=*intrusion*), which allows the speaker to emphasize the very act of intruding, and make covert accusations against child vaccination. More importantly, this grammatical construction facilitates the exclusion of the agent of the action, in this case of intrusion – *cf.* Fairclough (2003: 143-144).

Regarding cases of inclusion of social actors (42%; N=76), they mainly involved individuals, e.g., *ο Αρχιεπίσκοπος=the Archbishop, του Προέδρου=of the President, η Υπουργός*

Εργασίας=the Minister of Labour), groups of individuals, or the government/governors. These were lexicalized primarily as pronouns, as nouns, e.g. *οι εμβολιασμένοι=the vaccinated (people), κύριοι κυβερνήτες=you*plural*, governors, τα μικρά παιδιά=the young children*, or as both pronouns and nouns, e.g. *εσείς η κυβέρνηση (you*plural*, the government)*. A striking feature of cases of inclusion was the repeated use of personal or possessive pronouns, especially the first-person plural pronoun *μας (=us/our)*, by the speakers with complete absence of use of an equivalent noun. This was in sharp contrast to the use of both nouns and pronouns when referring to other individuals, groups of individuals, or the government/governors.

As for the activated/passivated distinction, it comprised a predominated use of activated representation of social actors (96%; N=153). The social actors identified in the previous distinction were, thus, represented as "[…] the doers or the makers of things happen […]" (Fairclough 2003: 145), mainly through activated pro-drop verbs whose 'doers' were '*we*', e.g., *απαιτούμε=(we) demand*, and '*you*plural*', e.g., *σταματάτε=(you*plural*) stop*, in most cases. The same social actors were also passivated (N=6), i.e., represented as affected by actions, an instance of which is presented below:

Example 37

> *[…] η εταιρία […] έρχεται και λέει πως το ένα τρίτο της δόσης του ενήλικα μπορεί να χορηγηθεί σε παιδιά. (1.0) Λέει όμως ότι μπορεί να προκαλέσει καρδίτιδες. **Έχει ενημερωθεί κανείς σας γι' αυτό από τα μέσα;***

> '*[…] the company […] comes in and says that one third of the adult dose can be given to children. (1.0) But it says it can cause carditis. **Has anyone of you been informed of this by the media?***'

Here, the speaker talks about the potential side effects of vaccines for children. S/he uses a rather rhetorical question at the end of the excerpt, which involves a passivated representation of the addressees, that is the attendees at the protest, through *κανείς σας (=anyone of you*plural*)*. The latter are the ones affected by the action expressed by the verb, whose agents are the media. Therefore, this grammatical construction seems to serve emphasizing the fact that the attendees have not been informed, and the ones responsible for this are not them but the media. This also constitutes a covert blaming of the media that they report facts selectively.

In looking at the personal/impersonal distinction, the representation of social actors was personal in all cases (N=162), which indicates that speakers had no intention of dehumanising social actors – not even the ones whom they accused.

Lastly, social actors in terms of the distinction between named representation, i.e., representation by their name, and classified representation, i.e., representation as class or category with individual or group reference (Fairclough 2003: 146), were found to be represented as classified (N=131), except for one case where *Κύριος ο Θεός*(=*Lord God*) was used as a name. Classified representation was further distinguished into specific (N=63) and generic (N=68). Specific representation referred to certain individuals, e.g., *δέσμευση του Προέδρου*(=*the commitment of the President*), groups, e.g., *οι εμβολιασμένοι που εν δέχουνται να βάλουν άλλες δόσεις*(=*those vaccinated persons who refuse to receive further doses*), or establishments, e.g., *η κυβέρνηση του Ισραήλ(=the government of Israel)*. It also referred to the anti-vaccination proponents through the repeated use of the first-person plural genitive or accusative case pronoun *μας* (=*us/our*), the first-person plural verb forms, or a pronoun-verb combination, e.g., *εμείς τονίζουμε(=we stress)*. Generic representation was used for referring to individuals abstractly through indefinite pronouns, e.g., *η ελεύθερη επιλογή του καθενός για εμβολιασμό είναι αδιαπραγμάτευτη (=the free choice **of each one** for vaccination is non-negotiable)*, to groups generally, e.g., *οι παππούδες(=the grandparents)*, or to the government/governors through nominals, pronouns (especially the second-person plural genitive or accusative case pronoun *σας=you$_{plural}$*), or second-person plural verb forms. Overall, specific and generic representation were marked by a contrast in that the former involved the use of the collective 'we' in its various forms and configurations, e.g., pronoun-dropping, to refer to the community of anti-vaccination supporters, while the latter involved the use of the abstract 'you' (again in its various forms and configurations), for referring to the government/governors by and large.

4. Discussion and conclusions

In this project the speeches articulated in COVID-19 anti-vaccination onsite protests in Cyprus have been considered, situating the topic of anti-vaccination within culture wars. This project adds value to existing research that explicitly or implicitly associates anti-vaccination with culture wars. This is because the findings of this project also show that the profile of anti-

vaccination proponents, as drawn through the speeches considered, comprises, *inter alia*, conservative political and religious beliefs (Perry, Whitehead & Grubbs 2020; Whitehead & Perry 2020), conspiracy-driven attitudes (see Germani & Biller-Andorno 2021; Hornsey 2021; Karakatsani 2021), political suspicions (Dionne 2021), and following ideas that are counter to modern science, general vaccination and measures (Karakatsani 2021).

Moreover, four main head topics were found to be included in the speeches. The most frequent head topic was *government/governors/politicians*, which was distinguished into two subtopics, namely *accusing government/governors/politicians* and *appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians*. The second most frequent head topic was *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* and was found to branch into three subtopics: *questioning the vaccine's efficacy and effectiveness*, *against vaccination*, and *the idea of vaccinated people spreading the virus*. The third most frequent head topic was *measures* with two major subtopics, *being against measures* and *alternative explanations of measures*. The fourth most frequent head topic was *children/parents* and consisted of four subtopics: *protecting/fighting for children*, *disapproving child vaccination, disapproving measures in children*, and *parents being in a difficult situation*. A striking finding in relation to the point of being against vaccination identified in both the *vaccines/vaccination/(un)vaccinated* and *children/parents* head topics was that in the former head topic the great majority of instances of objection related to mandatory vaccination, whereas in the latter head topic (*children/parents*) the objections were on vaccination wholesale. This suggests that anti-vaccination supporters are more reluctant to accept vaccines on children than on adults. In addition, the finding that *accusing government/governors/politicians* was the most frequent subtopic across speeches in terms of number of instances seems to indicate that vaccination opponents consider the governing bodies responsible for the situation to which they object, and they can be said to act as an opposition party.

In relation to the influences/resources on which the speeches are based to support their arguments, these have been found to derive from the religious, political, scientific/medical, historical, and social spheres/domains by means of various forms of intertextual referencing. It has been shown that the most common sub-form of intertextuality across speeches was discourse-associated voicing from the spheres/domains of influence/resource identified. Here, instances of merging and recontextualization (Fairclough 2012) of texts were identified, as well as voicing from different spheres/domains, which was combined with one another,

bringing about interdiscursivity. The second most common sub-form of intertextuality was specifically attributed intertextuality consisting of narrative reports of speech act, direct reporting, indirect reporting, and free indirect reporting. The third and fourth most common intertextuality sub-forms, yet by far less frequent than the two other sub-forms, were generalised representation and non-specifically (vaguely) attributed intertextuality; the latter involving indirect reporting and one case of direct reporting. The findings that speakers 'prefer' discourse-associated voicing as a sub-form of intertextuality suggest that there is a tendency to invoke influences/resources in a less obvious way, which affords the speakers the opportunity to tap into various spheres/domains just by bringing in voices relevant to specific discourses (Fairclough 2003: 55). Thus, intertextuality of this sort facilitates indirectness as compared to other intertextuality sub-forms.

It has also been demonstrated that the sphere/domain that has been the greatest influence/resource on/of speeches by means of various intertextuality forms is the political sphere/domain, with the ones following being the religious sphere/domain, the social sphere/domain, the scientific sphere/domain and the historical sphere/domain. These accord with the findings of the first project objective, where the most frequent topics revolved around government/governors/politicians.

In terms of the linguistic strategies that the speeches contain to persuade the public on certain (anti-) vaccination ideas and, in turn, shape the beliefs and knowledge of the public, the analysis of the representation of processes via linguistic structures showed that the most common process type was material, describing the current situation and providing relevant information. The second most common process type was relational used to characterize or identify the anti-vaccination proponents' stances towards vaccines and relevant practices. They also contained cases of grammatical metaphor textually realized as nominalization, which allowed speakers to represent and identify social events in a very abstract way and exclude the subjects, objects etc. involved in given processes (*cf.* Fairclough 2003: 132). The third most common process type was mental, representing what the anti-vaccination proponents need, want, feel, and know and what the government and the Archbishop (supposedly) need, want, feel, and know (or should). The least common process type was verbal with appeals/demands towards the government/governors/politicians and the Archbishop, and quoting or reporting studies/statements mainly in favour of vaccines' lack of efficacy. Overall, the most significant exclusions from the process types were representations

of the vaccines' safety and effectiveness, with speakers selectively drawing upon only those pieces of information, quotations and reportings that show otherwise.

In addition, the consideration of the representation of social actors has revealed that social actors tended to be excluded, which was ascribed to the use of null subjects and nominalizations; the latter serving the exclusion of agents of actions (see also finding above). There where social actors were included, these were individuals, groups of individuals, or the government/governors in the form of pronouns, nouns or both pronouns and nouns. Interestingly, when speakers represented themselves, they only used personal or possessive pronouns and no equivalent nouns at all, contrary to the use of both nouns and pronouns when representing other individuals, groups of individuals, or the government/governors. This finding suggests that anti-vaccination proponents opt out of identifying themselves with specific nominals. Social actors were also mainly activated, i.e., as 'doers', and in those cases where they were passivated, they were represented as affected by processes for which others are responsible. Further, social actors were always personally (versus impersonally) represented, showing that speakers did not aim at dehumanising social actors. Lastly, classified representation in all but one cases was used, through which social actors were either specifically represented, e.g., certain individuals, groups or the anti-vaccination proponents, or generically represented, e.g., individuals abstractly or the government/governors. A striking contrast between specific and generic representation is that specific representation included instances of the collective 'we' in referring to the anti-vaccination proponents, whereas generic representation included the use of abstract 'you' in referring to the government/governors by and large. This is important, because it shows that anti-vaccination proponents identify as members of a specific group, the 'we' group, which is distinct from – or even opposing to – the 'you' group and can be said to afford them a collective identity (Wodak 2012).

The critical discourse analysis approach adopted in this project has allowed uncovering the situated social practices (Fairclough 2003: 25 *ff.*) of anti-vaccination proponents (macrolevel) through detailed and linguistically informed considerations of the individual speeches (microlevel). The findings of this project suggest that the speeches considered form reactions to specific social practices, namely power and control exercised by the governors and other stakeholders. At the same time, these speeches form actions themselves as they contain resistance and power exercise anew as parts of their social practices. As such, the critical

discourse analysis approach of this project adds to relevant linguistic, sociological, and political science research in that it shows that microlevel practices – the individual speeches in this case – and macrolevel social practices shape each other, such that they can only be fully understood if they are considered conjointly.

Overall, the findings on the main topics included in the speeches contribute to the documentation of the current state of the arts in relation to the thematic and argumentative trends of anti-vaccination supporters as attested in protests in Cyprus. This documentation can be used comparatively with other domains, e.g. social media discourse, and with other states or countries in order to identify universal features. At the same time, the identification of the range of influences/resources of the speeches is very useful in that relevant stakeholders of each of these domains of influence, e.g. politicians, priests, theologists, social influencers (singers, actors/actresses etc.), scientists or medicals and historians, can be employed by policymakers to participate in campaigns for enlightening the public, and especially the anti-vaccination proponents, in relation to the safety of vaccines, thereby affecting change. Moreover, the analysis of the grammatical composition of the speeches' clauses in terms of how processes and social actors are represented (Fairclough 2003) provides insights into the perspectives projected (or not) in the speeches such as "[…] who is represented as causing what to happen, who is represented as doing what to whom" (Fairclough 1989: 51). These are significant because they reveal the covert ideologies and power relations of the speeches, which are valuable for policymakers as they can gain a deep understanding of the underlying beliefs and attitudes of anti-vaccination supporters (*cf.* Goldman *et al.* 2020). On this basis, this project contributes to the growing literature on COVID-19 anti-vaccination discourse and informs relevant policymaking.

References

Berman, J. M. (2020). Anti-vaxxers: How to Challenge a Misinformed Movement. Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press.

Chilton, P. (1990). Politeness, Politics and Diplomacy. *Discourse & Society* 1(2), 201-224.

Dionne, E.J. Jr. (2021, 18 August). When culture wars turn deadly (Opinion). https://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/2021/08/18/culture-war-covid-vaccine-mandates-deadly/

Duffy, B., Hewlett, K., Murkin, G., Benson, R., Hesketh, R., Page, B., Skinner, G., & Gottfried, G. (2021). *Culture wars in the UK: division and connection*. https://www.kcl.ac.uk/policy-institute/assets/culture-wars-in-the-uk-division-and-connection.pdf

Ellah, S.M. (2022). Intertextuality in political discourse: A study of President Mohammadu Buhari's 2015 inaugural speech. *Journal of Languages, Linguistics and Literary Studies* (JOLLS) 11(1), 9-17.

Fairclough, N. (1989). *Language and Power*. London: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (1992a). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge, UK; Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1992b). Linguistic and intertextual analysis within discourse analysis. *Discourse & Society* 3(2), 193-217.

Fairclough, N. (1992c). Intertextuality in Critical Discourse Analysis. *Linguistics and Education* 4(3-4), 269-293.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language.* (Language in Social Life Series). Harlow: Longman.

Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London: Routledge.

Fairclough, N. (2012). *Critical Discourse Analysis*. In Gee, J. P., & Handford, M. (eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, 9-20. New York: Routledge.

French, D. (2021, 8 June). How Can We Escape the COVID-19 Vaccine Culture Wars? (Opinion) https://time.com/6071909/covid-19-vaccine-culture-war/

Gao, X. (2021). 'Staying in the Nationalist Bubble': Social Capital, Culture Wars, and the COVID-19 Pandemic. *M/C Journal* 24(1). https://doi.org/10.5204/mcj.2745

Germani, F. & Biller-Andorno, N. (2021). The anti-vaccination infodemic on social media: A behavioral analysis. *PLOS ONE* 16(3), e0247642. https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0247642

Goldman, R. D., Yan, T. D., Seiler, M., Parra Cotanda, C., Brown, J. C., Klein, E. J., Hoeffe, J., Gelernter, R., Hall, J. E., Davis, A. L., Griffifiths, M. A., Mater, A., Manzano, S., Gualco, G., Shimizu, N., Hurt, T. L., Ahmed, S., Hansen, M., Sheridan, D., Ali, S., Thompson, G. C., Gaucher, N. & Staubli, G. (2020). Caregiver willingness to vaccinate their children against COVID-19: Cross sectional survey. *Vaccine* 38(48), 7668-7673.

Halliday, M.A.K. & Hasan, R. (1976). *Cohesion in English*. Singapore: Longman.

Halliday, M.A.K. & Matthiessen, C. (2004). *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* (3rd edition). London: Arnold.

Hornsey, M. (2021). The psychology of the anti-vaccine movement. *Biochem (Lond)* 43(4), 52-54.

Hughes, B., Miller-Idriss, C., Piltch-Loeb, R., Goldberg, B., White, K., Criezis, M. & Savoia, E. (2021). Development of a Codebook of Online Anti-Vaccination Rhetoric to Manage COVID-19 Vaccine Misinformation. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 18(14), 7556. https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph18147556

Hunter, J. D. (1991) *Culture wars: The struggle to define America*. New York: Basic Books.

Joye, S. (2010). News discourses on distant suffering: a Critical Discourse Analysis of the 2003 SARS outbreak. *Discourse & Society* 21(5), 586-601. https://doi.org/10.1177/0957926510373988

Karakatsani, E. (2021). Greece social briefing: Greek Society in 2021 and COVID-19 pandemic. *Weekly Briefing* 46(3) (GR) December 2021. Available at https://china-cee.eu/2022/01/11/greece-social-briefing-greek-society-in-2021-and-covid-19-pandemic-evelyn-karakatsani/

Karakoulaki, M. & Dessì, G. (2021). *Antisemitism and anti-vax discourse in Europe: A report on conspiracy ideologies and anti-Jewish hatred on Facebook and Twitter*. Media Diversity Institute, November 2021.

Klein, R., Harper, A. & Wiersema, A. (2021, 28 July). Culture wars threaten to overtake war on COVID: The Note. https://abcnews.go.com/Politics/culture-wars-threaten-overtake-war-covid-note/story?id=79097767

Kydros, D., Argyropoulou, M. & Vrana, V. (2021). A Content and Sentiment Analysis of Greek Tweets during the Pandemic. *Sustainability* 13, 6150. https://doi.org/ 10.3390/su13116150

Larson, H. (2020). *Stuck: How Vaccine Rumors Start and Why They Don't Go Away*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Leech G. N. & Short, M. (2007). *Style in Fiction: A Linguistic Introduction to English Fictional Prose* (2nd edition). Harlow: Pearson Longman.

Ma, J. & Stahl, L. (2017). A multimodal critical discourse analysis of anti-vaccination information on Facebook. *Library & Information Science Research* 39(4), 303-310.

MacWhinney, B. (2000; last update: 12 June 2022). *The CHILDES Project: Tools for Analyzing Talk* (3rd edition). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Meyer, S. B., Violette, R., Aggarwal, R., Simeoni, M., MacDougall, H., & Waite, N. (2019). Vaccine hesitancy and Web 2.0: Exploring how attitudes and beliefs about influenza vaccination are exchanged in online threaded user comments. *Vaccine* 37(13), 1769-1774. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.vaccine.2019.02.028

Mills, S. (1995). *Feminist Stylistics*. London: Routledge.

Mu, J.F., Zhao, H.Y. & Yang, G. (2021). A Critical Discourse Analysis of Reports about China on the COVID-19 Pandemic in *The New York Times*. *Open Access Library Journal* 8, e7746. https://doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1107746

Perry, S. L., Whitehead, A. L. & Grubbs, J. B. (2020.) Culture Wars and COVID-19 Conduct: Christian Nationalism, Religiosity, and Americans' Behavior during the Coronavirus Pandemic. *Journal for the Scientific Study of Religion* 59(3), 405–16.

Sharma, K., Seo, S., Meng, C., Rambhatla, S. & Liu, Y. (2020). Coronavirus on social media: analyzing misinformation in twitter conversations. *ArXiv, abs/2003.12309.* http://arxiv.org/abs/2003.12309

Shi, W. & Fan, M. (2019). Critical Discourse Analysis of News Texts from Transitivity Perspective. *EAS Journal of Humanities and Cultural Studies* 1(5), 330-334.

Smith, N. & Graham, T. (2019). Mapping the anti-vaccination movement on Facebook. *Information, Communication & Society* 22(9), 1310-1327. https://doi.org/10.1080/1369118X.2017.1418406

Taviss Thomson, I. (2010). *Culture Wars and Enduring American Dilemmas*. Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press.

Wahyudin, A. Y. (2016). A Study of Transitivity System: An Analysis of Process Type Used in News Item. *Teknosastik: Jurnal Bahasa dan Sastra* 14(1), 1-8.

Whitehead, A. L. & Perry, S. L. (2020). How Culture Wars Delay Herd Immunity: Christian Nationalism and Anti-vaccine Attitudes. *Socius: Sociological Research for a Dynamic World* 6, 1-12.

Wodak, R. (2012). Language, power and identity. *Language Teaching* 45(2), 215-233. https://doi:10.1017/S026144481100004847

Wu, J. (2011). Understanding Interdiscursivity: A Pragmatic Model. *Journal of Cambridge Studies* 6(2-3), 95-115.

Wu, W., Lyu, H., & Luo, J. (2021). Characterizing Discourse about COVID-19 Vaccines: A Reddit Version of the Pandemic Story. *Health Data Science* 2021. https://doi.org/10.34133/2021/9837856

Yoshimura, A. (2000). Speech Presentation in Kipling's "They'". *Gakushuin University Studies in Humanities* 9, 81-90.

Appendix

Data examples

Example 1 [*disapproving/condemning measures*]

Θέλω να σημειώσω (.) [/] θέλω να σημειώσω όσο πιο γίνεται έντονα ότι τα νέα μέτρα της κυβέρνησης είναι <απαράδεκτα> [!].

'I want to note I want to note as assertively as possible that the new measures of the government are <despicable> [!].'

Example 2 [*fighting against/resisting in measures*]

Ή θ ανακαλέσουν τα μέτρα (.) ή η επόμενη φορά (.) θα έρθουμεν έτοιμοι για όλα.

'They will revoke the measures (..) otherwise next time (.) we will come dead set.'

Example 3 [*measures are irrelevant to the pandemic/health*]

*Φωνάζαμεν από πέρσι (.) ότι **αυτόν το οποίον ζούμεν (.) από τον Μάρτιον του δύο χιλιάδες είκοσι δεν έχει να κάνει με πανδημίαν αλλά με τον έλεγχον του πληθυσμού και την σταδιακήν αφαίρεσην των δικαιωμάτων μας.***

*'We have been shouting since last year (.) **that what we have been experiencing (.) since March two thousand twenty has nothing to do with a pandemic but with the control of the population and the gradual suspension of our rights**.'*

Example 4 [*measures aim at causing fear*]

Λοιπόν επειδή εν πας στον φόβο μας που ποντάρουσιν (0.5) εν τον φόβον που σπέρνουν για να μας ελέγχουν (2.0) εμμ κάποιες σκέψεις.

'So since they bet on our fear [through measures] (0.5) it is the fear that they spread to control us (2.0) uhm [here are] some thoughts.'

Example 5 [*protecting/fighting for children*]

(.) Όλοι μια γροθιά εκπαιδευτικοί μαθητές και γονείς και θ' αγωνιστούμεν μέχρι τέλους (0.5) για την ελευθερία μας και προπάντων (.) για να χαμογελούν και πάλι ελεύθερα τα παιδιά.

'Educators pupils and parents we are all one and we will fight right to the end (0.5) for our freedom and especially (.) for children to smile freely again.'

Example 6 [*disapproving child vaccination*]

(1.5) Δεν σας επιτρέπουμε (.) να αγγίζετε τα παιδιά μας (.) με τα επικίνδυνα πειραματικά εμβόλια σοβαρών παρενεργειών (.) και θανάτου.

'We do not allow you (.) to touch our children (.) with those dangerous experimental vaccines of severe side effects (.) and death.'

Example 7 [*disapproving measures in children*]

*Και η εισήγηση μας εδώ είναι να επενδύσουν τα εκατομμύρια τους στα νοσοκομεία και όχι στα test. (1.5) **Λοιπόν γνωρίζετε όλοι σας ότι τα μέχρι σήμερα μέτρα έχουν επηρεάσει αρνητικά (.) με κάθε τρόπο τα παιδιά μας και κατά συνέπεια έβλαψαν αμετάκλητα στην ανάπτυξη (.) της πνευματικής και της ψυχικής τους υγείας. […]***

'And our recommendation here is that they invest their millions in hospitals and not in tests. (1.5) **Well you all know that the measures taken so far have negatively affected (.) our children in every way and consequently irreversibly damaged the development (.) of their mental and spiritual health. […]**'

Example 8 [*parents being in a difficult situation*]

Πλήρης αποκοπή του γονέα από τον εκπαιδευτικό χώρο. (1.5) Ελλιπής και ανεπαρκής ενημέρωση των γονιών για την πρόοδο του παιδιού τους. (0.5) Ανάληψη ρόλου εκπαιδευτικού από τον γονιό με λανθασμένες αντιπαιδαγωγικές προσεγγίσεις. […]

'Complete separation of the parent from the educational space. Inadequate and insufficient information for parents about their child's progress. (0.5) Parents assuming the role of educator with incorrect anti-educational approaches. […]'

Example 9 [*questioning the vaccine's efficacy and effectiveness*]

Ποιον είναι το συμπέρασμαν? (.) Ότι <τα εμβόλια σας είναι άχρηστα ρε (.) άχρηστα> [!]. Δεν λειτουργούν καθόλου! (1.0) Άχρηστα! *Κολλούν μας κανονικά με τα πάσα τους όλοι όσοι εμβολιαστήκαν. Και κινδυνεύουμεν@s όλοι! <Είναι άχρηστα> [!].*

'***What is the conclusion? (.) That <your vaccines are useless (.) useless> [!]. They don't work at all! (1.0) Useless!*** *They normally affect us all those with passes who were vaccinated. And we are all in danger! <They are useless> [!].*'

Example 10 [*disapproving mandatory vaccination*]

Εμείς είμαστεν ενάντια στην υποχρεωτικότητα (.) όχι στα εμβόλια. Τα εμβόλια [για] τα οποία μου λεν "έβαλες τα άλλα εμβόλια?". Ως επί το πλείστον τα βασικά εβάλαμεν τα.

'We are against obligatoriness (.) not vaccines. The vaccines about which they tell me "did you get the other vaccines?". We got most of the basic ones [vaccines].'

Example 11 [*resisting in vaccination*]

Στο τέλος της ημέρας πρέπει ν αντισταθούμεν (.) αγαπητοί φίλοι (1.5) τζιαι εδώ τζιαι στο σπίτιν μας (.) τζιαι στες δουλειές μας (0.5) τζιαι για τες μάσκες τζιαι για τα εμβόλια.

'At the end of the day we must resist (.) dear friends (1.5) and here and at our home (.) and at our jobs (0.5) and for the masks and for the vaccines.'

Example 12 [*the idea of vaccinated people spreading the virus*]

<Όλοι γνωρίζουν> [x2] τόσο στην Κύπρο όσο και σ' ολόκληρο τον κόσμο ότι και οι εμβολιασμένοι (.) μολύνονται από τον ιό και μεταδίδουν τον ιό.

'<Everyone knows> [x2] both in Cyprus and in the whole world that vaccinated people (.) are also infected by the virus and transmit the virus.'

Example 13 [*accusing government/governors/politicians over spreading division and discrimination*]

Θα πρέπει να ντρέπονται γι' αυτό τον διχασμό που καλλιεργούν εργολαβικά εδώ και τόσους μήνες. (1.0) Από τον πρόεδρο (.) τους υπουργούς και τους υπόλοιπους που ενσπείρουν τόσο μίσος ανάμεσα στους συμπατριώτες μας. Ντροπή τους!

'They should be ashamed of this division that they have been contractually cultivating for so many months. (1.0) From the president (.) the ministers and the rest who are inciting so much hatred among our compatriots. Shame on them!'

Example 14 [*accusing government/governors/politicians over measures/decrees*]

Αν τους αφήσουμε να μας κυβερνούν με διατάγματα να είστε σίγουροι (.) πως την επόμενη φορά που θα εμφανιστεί ένας νέος ιός σε τρία πέντε οχτώ χρόνια (.) θα μας αφαιρέσουν όλα τα δικαιώματα μας.

'If we let them govern us by decree you can be sure (.) that the next time a new virus appears in three, five, eight years (.) they will take away all our rights.'

Example 15 [*accusing government/governors/politicians over extortion*]

*Θα πρέπει να ντρέπονται και η ΣΕΚ και η ΠΕΟ και η ΔΕΟΚ και όλοι οι υπόλοιποι οι οποίοι παρακολουθούν **την κυβέρνηση να απειλεί και να εκβιάζει τους εργαζόμενους <και δεν κάνουν τίποτα>** [!!].*

*'It should be shameful for the SEK[16] and the PEO[17] and the DEOK[18] and all the others who watch **the government threaten and extort workers <and do nothing>** [!!].'*

Example 16 [*accusing government/governors/politicians of being criminals/incompetent/dictators*]

Γι αυτό (.) και όλους αυτούς τους ονομάζω εγκληματίες κατά της ανθρωπότητας (.) κι ανάξιους να κρατούν το τιμόνι της πολιτείας και της εκκλησίας.

'Therefore (.) I call all of them criminals against humanity (.) and unworthy to hold the helm of the state and the church.'

Example 17 [*accusing government/governors/politicians over mandatory vaccination*]

Γνωρίζω πολύ καλά ότι ο εκβιασμός και ο έμμεσος εξαναγκασμός απαγορεύεται. (.) Πόσ- [//] πόσο μάλλον απαγορεύεται για εμβόλια που βρίσκονται ακόμα υπό αξιολόγηση και δεν έχουν πάρει άδεια κυκλοφορίας αλλά μόνο έγκριση επείγουσας χρήσης.

'I am well aware that blackmail and indirect coercion are prohibited. (.) How much more so for vaccines that are still under evaluation and have not yet received marketing authorisation but only emergency use authorisation.'

Example 18 [*accusing government/governors/politicians over absence of assistance to civilians*]

Εν είδαμεν (1.0) τους πολιτικούς μας (.) ούτε ένας (.) ούτε που αντιπολίτευση που (.) <κανένας> [x2] (.) να σταθεί δίπλα στον λαό (.) που υποφέρει.

---

[16] Cyprus Workers Confederation
[17] Pancyprian Federation of Labour
[18] Democratic Labour Federation of Cyprus

'We have not seen (1.0) our politicians (.) not a single one (.) nor any opposition that (.) <no one> [x2] (.) to stand by the people (.) who are suffering.'

Example 19 [*accusations towards government/governors/politicians over corruption/bribery*]

Δεν μας αξίζει αυτό το καθεστώς της διαφθοράς και της τρομοκρατίας.

'We do not deserve this regime of corruption and terrorism.'

Example 20 [*accusations towards government/governors/politicians over lying/misinformation/being crooks*]

Εδώ και μήνες εσείς η κυβέρνηση (.) μας βομβαρδίζετε με ψέματα (.) προπαγάνδα (.) επιτυχίες των εμβολίων (.) και παραπληροφόρηση.

'For months you the government (.) have been bombarding us with lies (.) propaganda (.) vaccine successes (.) and misinformation.'

Example 21 [*accusations towards government/governors/politicians over rendering people slaves/guineapigs*]

Είμαστε εδώ για να αντισταθούμε στα δόλια υποχθόνια σχέδια των κυβερνώντων που στόχο έχουν να μας κάνουν δούλους. Και ο αρχιεπίσκοπος Χρυσόστομος έγινε ο προπομπός και ο φανατικός υποστηριχτής τους.

'We are here to resist the deceitful underhanded plans of the governors to make us slaves. And Archbishop Chrysostomos has become their forerunner and fanatical supporter.'

Example 22 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to withdraw/recall measures*]

Είμαστε λοιπόν εδώ όλοι μαζί και απαιτούμε (.) την άμεση κατάργηση της μάσκας (.) του test to stay (.) του test (.) και κατ επέκταση απαιτούμε (.) την πλήρη άρση των μέτρων στα σχολεία όλων των βαθμίδων και στην κοινωνία γενικότερα.

'So we are here together and we demand (.) the immediate abolition of the mask (.) the test to stay (.) the test (.) and subsequently we demand (.) the complete removal of the measures in schools at all levels and in society in general.'

Example 23 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to stop spreading division*]

Κύριοι πολιτικοί δικτάτορες (.) σεβαστείτε την αντίθετη άποψη (.) την ελεύθερη άποψη (1.0) την ελεύθερη βούληση (.) το δικαίωμα της αυτοδιάθεσης και της δημοκρατίας.

'Messrs political dictators (..) respect the contrary opinion (..) the free opinion (1.0) the free will (..) the right of self-determination and democracy.'

Example 24 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to respect civilians' freedom*]

Απαιτούμε από την κυβέρνηση (.) να σταματήσει άμεσα (.) να σπέρνει τον διχαστικό λόγο και να μην ανάβει τα πάθη της κοινωνικής αντιπαράθεσης ανάμεσα στην κοινωνία. (3.0) Ντροπή! (.)

'We demand from the government to immediately stop sowing divisive discourse and not to inflame the passions of social conflict among society. (3.0) Shame! (.)'

Example 25 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to assist civilians*]

(.) Εμέναν@s (1.0) είναι τα ερωτήματα μου προς τους πολιτικούς μας. Να σταθούν μιαν@s φοράν@s (1.0) κοντά στον λαόν@s τους.

(.) For me@s (1.0) [here] are my questions to our politicians. They should stand once (1.0) close to their people.

Example 26 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to stop extortion*]

Σταματάτε (.) αμέσως να εκβιάζετε τον κόσμο. Να τον εξαναγκάζετε με τον πειθαναγκασμό με την πειθο- [///] με τη δημαγωγία.

'You stop (.) immediately extorting people. Forcing them by coercion by persuas- [///] by demagogy.'

Example 27 [*appeals/demands from government/governors/politicians to stop accusing unvaccinated people*]

Σας καλούμε (2.0) να σταματήσετε (1.5) [/] να σταματήσετε να κατηγορείτε τους λογικά σκεφτόμενους ανθρώπους. Να τους καλείτε ψεκασμένους (.) να τους καλείτε

τρελούς και παρανοϊκούς επειδή αρνούνται (.) τα φαρμακευτικά δηλητήρια των τοξικών εταιριών [///] των τοξικών φαρμακευτικών εταιριών.

'We urge you (2.0) to stop (1.5) [/] to stop blaming rational people. Calling them sprayed (.) calling them crazy and paranoid for refusing (.) the pharmaceutical poisons of the toxic companies [///] of the toxic pharmaceutical companies.'

Previous Papers in this Series

178. **Antonis Pastellopoulos,** Cypriotism as a Political Ideology: critical contributions and conceptual limitations, December 2022

177. **Angelos Angelopoulos, George Economides, George Liontos, Apostolis Philippopoulos, Stelios Sakkas**, Public Redistributive Policies in General Equilibrium: an application to Greece, November 2022

176. **Dimitris Katsikas,** Crisis, Clientelism and Institutional Resilience: reflections on a public sector reform under the MoUs, October 2022

175. **Petros Kosmas, Antonis Theocharous, Elias Ioakimoglou, Petros Giannoulis, Leonidas Vatikiotis, Maria Panagopoulou, Lamprianos Lamprianou, Hristo Andreev and Aggeliki Vatikioti,** Mapping and Measuring the Phenomenon of Precariousness in Cyprus: challenges and implications, September 2022

174. **Nasia Hadjigeorgiou,** The Invisible Impact of Frozen Conflicts: A case study of foreign domestic workers in Cyprus, August 2022

173. **Dimitrios Karamanis**, Defence partnerships, military expenditure, investment, and economic growth: an analysis in PESCO countries, July 2022

172. **Cyrille Lenoël, Corrado Macchiarelli**, **Garry Young**, Greece 2010-18: What could we have done differently?, June 2022

171. **Ilias Livanos and Evi Tzika,** Precarious employment in Greece: Economic crisis, labour market flexibilisation, and vulnerable workers, May 2022

170. **Theodoros Rakopoulos,** On Divisionism and Cypriotism: the civic languages of the Cyprus Problem, April 2022

169. **Ritsa Panagiotou and Nikolaos Tzifakis,** Deciphering the Greek Economic Diplomacy towards the Western Balkans: actors, processes, challenges, March 2022

168. **Diomidis Spinellis, Athanasia Pouloudi, George Xirogiannis, Evmorfia Makantasi**, Intelligent modeling of e-Government initiatives in Greece, February 2022

167. **Lamprini Rori, Vasiliki Georgiadou and Costas Roumanias,** Political violence in Greece through the PVGR database: evidence from the far right and the far left, January 2022

166. **Eleni Theodorou, Spyros Spyrou, and Georgina Christou,** There is no Plan(et) B: youth activism in the fight against climate change in Cyprus, December 2021