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Various Facets of the English Stereotype in Downton Abbey – a Pragmatic Approach

Zsuzsanna Ajtony
Sapientia Hungarian University of Transylvania, Romania

Abstract
Dramatic dialogues may be considered ideal fields for an analyst to follow the different layers of identity of interactional partners. Through an examination of the script of Downton Abbey, one of the most popular contemporary TV series, as a micro-sociolinguistic corpus, the face-to-face interaction of the characters can be traced. In this paper, following a brief summary of social, and, specifically, cultural stereotypes based on social identity theory and fictional characterisation, I will focus on a discussion of direct and inferential verbal means of expressing English identity, which are highlighted through analyses of their conversation. Besides language and accent, which may be considered as primary elements in defining a character's Englishness, I will emphasise other linguistic markers such as different forms of address, issues of power and solidarity, of face, role and personal identity, politeness strategies, as well as verbal humour and irony as defining factors of the English stereotype.

Keywords
Stereotype, language, Englishness, fictional characters, politeness, humour and irony, direct and inferential strategies.

Introduction
This paper aims to present direct and indirect representations of the English stereotype as they appear in the textual version of the TV series *Downton Abbey*. The basis of the analyses is the script of the programme written by Julian Fellowes, which is considered as a micro-sociolinguistic corpus in which the different characters' verbal behaviour and their face-to-face interaction can be followed. In this presentation I propose to highlight a selection of verbal cues that refer to the stereotypical English linguistic behaviour of the characters, which are then analysed by pragmatic means. I have grouped these references according to whether they are explicit (direct, overt) or implicit (indirect, covert) verbal references to the English stereotype.

Cultural theorists, cultural historians (Doyle 1989, Lucas 1990), anthropologists (Fox 2005) and journalists (Paxman 1989) have analysed the emergence, maintenance and change of the English stereotype over time. The script of *Downton Abbey* displays different variations of the 19th-century English stereotype and the following analysis of the characters' conversations reveals the presence of these stereotypes in their verbal behaviour.

1. Stereotypes as Schemata
According to Social Identity Theory (SIT), as developed by Tajfel and Turner (1979), **stereotypes** are defined as "beliefs about the characteristics, attributes and behaviours of members of a certain group" (Hilton and Hippel 1996: 240). The process of stereotyping emerges as a way of simplifying the demands of the perceiver (Bodenhausen et al. 1994); it makes information processing about a person easier by allowing the perceiver to rely on previously stored knowledge in place of incoming information. Stereotypes emerge in response to environmental factors, such as different social roles (Eagly 1995), group conflicts (Robinson et al. 1995) and differences in power (Fiske 1993).

The definition of ethnic stereotypes is based on the notion of the ethnic group or nation that individuals consider themselves to belong to, and which, therefore, achieves a

special role by relating the viewpoints of information processing and self evaluation. Categorising people according to their ethnic or national affiliation affects the judgment of their features. Our own group is therefore experienced to be "ingroup biased", continuously being overestimated. Our relation to other categories of people is therefore inherently asymmetrical. This asymmetrical relation leads to the emergence of national and ethnic stereotypes: the common characteristic of people belonging to one category.

Negative intergroup relations may arise as a result of an ethnocentric tendency to perceive the other group (the outgroup) by virtue of its mere otherness. This tendency is especially manifest when the outgroup obviously differs and arouses contempt and/or fear. On the other hand, positive stereotype content may arise from satisfactory political, economic, social and cultural cooperation, or the experience of friendship, security, mutual support and trust.

Research on stereotypes within social cognition may be related to social schemata. A stereotype functions as a schema, which is perfectly compatible with all the elements of a category (as opposed to a prototype [cf. e.g. Taylor 1989] which is the typical, best example of a category – a member of a category which best represents it). The schema is an integrated structure, which contains all the common features of its elements. In this way, the schema (in our case, the stereotype) functions as a frame which can be filled in with new information all the time during cognition, and therefore it does not allow for perfect and total insight. The stereotype is a typical schema, so it can lead to false statements, too. To sum up, while the prototype is a way to categorise reality – it is the best member of a category and is based on well-known data – the stereotype is a schema which assumes incomplete factual knowledge about a certain category and which – during perception – can be filled with elements congruent or even incongruent with the stereotype.

Thus a cultural stereotype – like any other category-based stereotype – is a set of beliefs "stored in memory as a cognitive structure and can then influence subsequent perceptions of and behaviours towards a group and its members" (Hamilton and Sherman 1994: 15). A newly encountered person is categorised according to their similarity to central beliefs (Cantor and Mischel 1979, both sources quoted in Culpeper 2001: 79).

2. Fictional characterisation and stereotypes

While social identity theory deals with real people, my corpus focuses on fictional characters. Intuitively one can claim that when trying to understand fictional characters we resort to knowledge about real people (see Eder et al. 2010: 7). In interpreting the characters' discursive representations in *Downton Abbey*, an analyst may rely on real-life schemata, but stereotype distortions may also be encountered when the frames of existing schemata are extended. As Culpeper (2001: 87) argues "the social categories described for real people – personal, social role and group membership – offer useful means of analysing characters". However, "knowledge about real-life people is not the only knowledge used in understanding characters" (ibid.). The dramatic roles the characters assume in a fictional work also define the way they are perceived, while the genre also activates a series of assumptions in their perception. It may be claimed that it is valid to apply real-life frameworks to fictional texts, but fictional texts develop their own peculiarities, including fictional character types: flat and round characters. The former are "constructed round a single idea or quality", while the latter are "capable of surprising in a convincing way" (both quoted in Culpeper 52-53). In other words, flat characters follow the stereotype in that they reinforce the schema, while round characters extend the frames of the stereotype, they are schema refreshing (ibid. 95). In *Downton Abbey*, for example, Lord Grantham is a typical example of a flat character, while Violet, the Dowager Countess, is a larger-than-life character, who – as such – may also be considered a card, an exaggerated prototype of her class.

3. The Outline of the Story

The series *Downton Abbey* perpetuates the English stereotype in its various manifestations and this might be an explanation for its worldwide popularity. The story revealed by the film (and the script) is based on the life and concerns of the English aristocratic Crawley family and their servants, living in an Edwardian mansion called Downton Abbey. Robert Crawley, the Earl of Grantham, "custodian" (this is his own

self-definition) of Downton, soon learns that he has lost his heirs in the tragedy of the Titanic (we are in 1912). A distant cousin, Matthew Crawley, a Manchester lawyer, is the next in line to inherit his property. Matthew moves to Downton together with his mother, Isobel Crawley, who has quite modernist and feminist views. This is enough reason to clash with the Dowager Countess, Robert's mother, Lady Violet, a conservative and domineering elderly woman. Another concern of the Crawleys, Robert and his American wife, Cora, is to marry off their three daughters, Mary, Edith and Sybil. Robert considers it his upmost duty to preserve Downton the way it is, but the social and historical changes (the First World War, the ever stronger emergence of women's emancipation, etc.) bring several obstacles in carrying out this noble plan.

The "downstairs" group of characters – the staff – living in the servants' quarters also have their more tradition-bound vs. more liberal representatives, with Charles Carson, the butler, at the head of the servants' social ladder, who watches that good manners and respectability are preserved on both levels of the house and who also supervises the work of different male servants (the valets, first and second footmen and the chauffeur); Mrs Hughes, the housekeeper and head of the maids of different rank and status; and Mrs Patmore, the cook of the house, together with her aid, Daisy, the lowest in rank in the house.

4. Direct and inferential representations of the English stereotype

The following sections discuss the different characters' verbal behaviour through examples. Considering the verbal behaviour of these characters, their Englishness can be grasped on two levels, both overtly and covertly. As the samples reveal, these can be distinguished according to whether they are more or less direct representations of the English stereotype. Direct representations are those which explicitly refer to the characters' cultural or class identity, while covert representations refer to more indirect, inferential representations as they appear in the characters' conversational encounters.

4.1. Overt (explicit, direct) references to Englishness

4.1.1. Language and register

Firstly, the language different characters speak is the primary indicator of their cultural identity. Listening to their speech during the different episodes one can recognise several different dialects and accents to distinguish them from each other: standard British (the Crawleys), American (Mrs Levinson), but also other regional varieties of English, such as Yorkshire (Daisy and Mrs Patmore), and also Irish (Branson) and Scottish (Mrs Hughes). But since these accents and dialects are represented only sporadically in the script (mostly in the case of Daisy), I do not intend to discuss this issue here.

4.1.2. Class identity – 'we' and 'they'

Both groups of characters are organised according to a very strict social hierarchy characteristic to the families of the English aristocracy and the staff that serves them. This is, by its very nature, an English stereotype referring to the class-divided and class-conscious English society. There are explicit references to this in the characters' utterances, e.g.

(1) *MATTHEW CRAWLEY: Mother, Lord Grantham has made the unwelcome discovery that his heir is a middle-class lawyer and son of a middle-class doctor.*
ISOBEL CRAWLEY: Upper middle-class.

or referring to Matthew, Lady Mary coldly remarks:

(2) *MARY: He isn't one of **us**.*

Although the two groups interact in their everyday encounters, they are markedly separate socially and any claim against this status quo is immediately retorted. Miss O'Brien's echoic irony referring to Her Ladyship's comment is a typical case in point:

(3) *MISS O'BRIEN: "Friends." Who does she think she's fooling? **We**'re not friends.*
ANNA: No?
*MISS O'BRIEN: No. And you're not friends with the girls, neither. **We**'re servants, you and me, and **they**[1] pay us to do as we're told, that's all.*

There is a clear-cut distinction between the two social groups, marked by the inclusive vs. exclusive personal pronouns "we" and "they" (see ex. 3), as Miss O'Brien, Cora's maid sharply points out, and any

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[1] My emphases.

transgression of these lines is severely punished. This is the case of Branson, the chauffeur, marrying Lady Sybil, the youngest Crawley daughter, and by this becoming an outsider both for the family and the staff. Except for his new wife, it is only Matthew who displays feelings of solidarity towards him, inviting him to be his best man at his wedding. However, not only the family members but also some of the servants express their disdain for him. For them, marrying someone from "downstairs" makes him an outsider and they believe they have the right to refuse to serve him as a member of the family.

(4) *THOMAS: I'm sorry, I won't and that's flat.*
MRS HUGHES: Then you'll have to do it, Mr Carson.
CARSON: I am not dressing a chauffeur.
MRS HUGHES: He is not a chauffeur now. Anyway, you don't have to dress him. Just see he's got everything he needs.
CARSON: I am not often as one with Mr Barrow. But, no.

This exchange reveals that even though the butler and the footman have always had their disagreements, when it comes to a common goal (in this case, a common refusal to attend to "Mr" Branson), they support each other.
As we can see, this ingroup-outgroup distinction is quite clearly demarcated in the staff's utterances. Most of the time they refer to the Crawleys as "they" (the outgroup) and in this context "we" always refers to the staff (as the ingroup; see ex. 3). However, in cases when the family's reputation is at stake, "we" is a reference to all the inhabitants of the mansion, i.e. the family including the staff as well.

4.1.3. Englishness vs. Otherness – generic statements
Another overt representation of Englishness can be found in generic statements about the English as opposed to another national/ethnic group (the American, the Irish, the Turkish, "foreigners" in general) who represent "Otherness" for the ethnic English characters. Within this English ingroup, the Crawleys, as part of the aristocracy, are another mini-ingroup for whom Matthew, the new middle-class heir and her middle-class mother form an outgroup. As the Dowager Countess Lady

Violet claims, referring to the middle-class Isobel:

(5) *VIOLET, DOWAGER COUNTESS OF GRANTHAM: Meanwhile, we have to watch that dreadful woman parade around the village as if she owned it.*

Or as Lady Mary, the eldest daughter puts it in reference to the "new relatives":

(6) *MARY: I'm afraid Papa wants to teach Granny a lesson. Poor Granny. A month ago, these people were strangers. Now she must share her power with the mother and I must marry the son.*

Both declarations contain markers that refer to the speakers' distancing themselves from the object of their utterance: the distal demonstrative adjectives "that" and "these" added to impersonalising nouns ("woman", "people"), and also the adjective "dreadful" with a negative connotation all indicate that they consider them strangers (Mary also explicitly utters the word, see ex. 6). Moreover, the modal verbs of external and internal obligation "have to" and "must" imply their indignation at having to share their lives with these outsiders. A similar attitude is expressed by Violet who talks about the Turkish ambassador's sudden death at Downton, referring to the difference between the English and foreigners:

(7) *VIOLET: Oh, my dears, is it really true? I-- I can't believe it. Last night he looked so well. Of course, it would happen to a foreigner. It's typical.*
LADY MARY: Don't be ridiculous.
*VIOLET: I'm not being ridiculous. **No Englishman would dream of dying in someone else's house.** Especially someone they didn't even know.*
*LADY SYBIL: Oh, Granny, **even the English aren't in control of everything.**[2]*
VIOLET: Well, I hope we're in control of something, if only ourselves.

In Violet's view it is typical of a foreigner to die in someone else's house, implying that they lack any kind of consideration for others. She refers to the stereotypical English trait, self-control and keeping a stiff upper lip even in the most trying circumstances.

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[2] My emphases.

4.2. Covert (implicit, indirect) references to Englishness: indirectness expressed in forms of address, politeness strategies, humour and irony

Naturally, besides these explicit references to the different characters' Englishness vs. other characters' otherness, the conversationalists' utterances display more implicit cues that lead the conscious reader to recognise more subtle representations of the English stereotype. These include inferential strategies like different forms of address, indirectness, politeness strategies, humour and irony. These will be discussed in the following sections.

4.2.1. Forms of address
A whole range of social markers and different forms of address are in use on both levels of the house that are typical for the English class-divided society. Honorifics are used mostly in formal situations such as employer-servant relationships ("His Lordship" and "His Ladyship" in the servants' addressing of the master and mistress of the house). Their daughters are also addressed by the honorific "Lady" added to their first names (Lady Mary, Lady Edith and Lady Sybil). There is also a well-established rule to signal the servants' hierarchy in their ways of addressing each other. Servants of higher rank are addressed with the title Mr or Mrs/Miss + their surname (Mr Carson, Mr Bates, Mrs Hughes, Mrs Patmore[3], Miss O'Brien), but the footmen, housemaids and the cook's assistant are called simply by their first names, without any title, all these signalling the typical asymmetrical social relations among them.

However, two borderline cases must also be mentioned, both of them being related to the change in the character's status. One is the case of Thomas, first footman of the house, who has high professional ambitions, but due to his scheming nature is not liked very much in the servants' quarters. During the First World War he voluntarily joins the army, gets himself wounded and returns to Downton as a hero. From then on he demands to be called "Mr Barrows" (title and surname) as the future valet of His Lordship.

In his interlocutions with other members of the staff it is revealed that they do accept this demand, they call him this but without the respect due to this title.

The other exception is the case of Branson, chauffeur of the family. After marrying Lady Sybil they return to the house and both the more conservative members of the family and staff are perplexed, not knowing how to address him. While being in service at Downton, he was simply called by his surname ("Branson"), but now that he is a member of the family, the Earl of Grantham and the dowager lady would like to keep their social distance and call him *Mr* Branson. The more liberal family members and staff have no doubt, however, that they should adopt and adapt themselves to the new situation and address him by his first name, *Tom* (as Cora, the lady of the house, addresses him from the first moment he enters the house as Sybil's husband, adding a warm "welcome" to this friendly address). For the staff it should be *Mr* Branson, as befits a member of the Crawley family.

4.2.2. Politeness strategies
Among the implicit representations of the English stereotype, the most pervasive conversational strategies employed by most characters of *Downton Abbey* are negative politeness strategies[4], irrespective of whether they are used by the Crawleys or by the staff. Interestingly, men's interactions appear to contain more politeness strategies. They attend to their conversational partners' negative and positive face more and whenever an FTA occurs, they feel the need to employ redressive facework.

(8) *MR CARSON: All right, Mrs Hughes, I'll take over, thank you. Good morning, Mr Bates. Welcome. I hope your journey was satisfactory.*
MR BATES: It was fine, thank you.
MR CARSON: I am the butler at Downton. My name is Carson.
MR BATES: How do you do, Mr Carson?

This conversation takes place the first morning Bates arrives at Downton and is greeted by the two heads of staff, first the

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[3] The housekeeper and the cook of relatively high rank among the servants are addressed as **Mrs** Hughes and **Mrs** Patmore, despite neither of them being married. This is mentioned as a generally accepted rule in aristocratic houses.

[4] This pervasive use of negative politeness strategies reflects the general view that the English culture is called a "negative politeness culture" (cf. Brown and Levinson 1987, Sifianou 1999, 2005)

housekeeper and then the butler. Both Carson's and Bates' utterances abound in negative politeness strategies, employing the stereotypical English formula for thanking, which is very frequent in English conversations. Carson addresses the new valet by the deferential title + surname formula, introduces himself by his surname and explicitly expresses his interest in the newcomer's travelling conditions in very formal terms. All these markers suggest that the relative distance between the interlocutors will be quite high, although the power difference is not so great between them. In his replies, Bates returns the politeness strategies offered to his face by similar negative politeness strategies (thanking Carson for his interest and care) and when he is given the floor by Carson (who obviously directs the conversation due to the fact that he is the socially superior speaker), he employs the stereotypical formal English greeting formula ("How do you do?" – an indirect question in itself, expecting no reply) to signal that he also intends to keep the necessary social distance and adds the title + surname form of address to show that he is ready to enter Carson's jurisdiction and accepts his own social status, as a valet.

4.2.3. Humour and irony
Another stereotypical English trait of some of the characters is their humour (English humour!) blended with irony. My corpus reveals that this means is pervasively employed by female characters, who are not afraid that their use of humour and irony in their social encounters will make them less ladylike. Daisy, the kitchen maid and the character with the lowest social rank, is often the target of the staff's mockery. Mrs Patmore who is her direct superior keeps making ironical remarks about her work:

(9) *MRS PATMORE: Is your fire still in?*
DAISY: Yes, Mrs Patmore.
MRS PATMORE: Oh, my, my, will wonders never cease?

(10) *MRS PATMORE: Daisy, did you hear me call, or have you gone selectively deaf?!*
DAISY: No, Mrs Patmore.
MRS PATMORE: Then might I remind you we are preparing dinner for your future employer, and if it goes wrong, I'll be telling them why!

(11) *DAISY: Do these biscuits go up?*

MRS PATMORE: No, I put them out for the fairies.
DAISY: Oh.
MRS PATMORE: Of course they're going up. What's wrong with you? You're always dozy, but tonight you'd make Sleeping Beauty look alert.

The cook's utterances directly threaten the little assistant's face, and this is clearly a case of impoliteness. However, the indirect face-attacks indicate a certain amount of care and attention for the young girl as well. This verbal behaviour resonates with Kotthoff's view (2005: 15) according to which cooperation and attack ("bonding and biting") "often go hand in hand in joking". Similarly, as Wyer et al. 1994 (quoted in Culpeper 2001) claim, "other things being equal, impolite remarks attract more attention than polite remarks". Mrs Patmore's teasing words to Daisy may be interpreted as signals to draw attention to her as a socially less powerful character in the house. She also employs the somewhat formulaic expression "might I remind you" which, at first sight, seems to be a hedge, but in actual fact is not intended to make the imposition milder, but on the contrary, is quite negatively strong. Obviously, it depends on the tone of voice in which it is uttered and the relationship of the interlocutors.

The more conservative members of the family, mostly Lady Violet, often make ironic remarks even about their own family members who are not English. Though Robert's wife, Cora, is the Countess of Grantham and member of the Crawley family by marriage, she is constantly reminded of her being an American (in spite of the fact that it was **her** fortune that had saved Downton once). One such instance is a situation when she is inquiring about the family her daughter Mary is about to be involved with:

(12) *CORA, COUNTESS OF GRANTHAM: Is the family an old one?*
VIOLET: Older than yours I imagine.

This might be a "naturally" occurring exchange between a mother-in-law and a daughter-in-law where the power relations define the tone of voice of the conversation. But Cora's different cultural background seems to be reason enough for the Dowager to use direct face-threatening acts to humiliate her, with the inference that having

an ancient family is part of being respectable. It must be noted, though, that a hedge is used ("I imagine") to mitigate the face-attack. Another incident occurs between the same conversational partners but this time Cora has the initiative to reply to Violet's attack:

(13) *CORA: Things are different in America.*
VIOLET: I know. They live in wigwams.
CORA: And when they come out of them, they go to school.

The topic of their conversation is girls' taking up a profession in early 1910s England. This time the discussion about Cora's American identity is less personal, therefore less face-threatening. Still, by generalising, invoking a stereotypical image of the Native Americans living in their traditional tents, Violet gives voice to the typical 19th-century British imperial superiority. Considering that the temporal context of this interaction is the first decade of the 20th century, this remark might seem slightly outdated, giving Cora the background support to reply to her interlocutor in the same ironic tone. The irony arises from the fact that by uttering "things are different in America", Cora means progress and development, while Violet means exactly the opposite: living in wigwams implies backwardness for her. In her reply, Cora does not contradict her mother-in-law, just continues her idea and builds it into her own line of thought. Thus the elderly lady can infer that even from wigwams there is a possibility for learning for Americans.

 Another ironical remark of Violet's can be followed when she expresses her anxiety at meeting Cora's mother coming from America:

(14) *VIOLET: I'm so looking forward to seeing your mother again. When I'm with her, I'm reminded of the virtues of the English.*
MATTHEW: But isn't she American?
VIOLET: Exactly.

Violet's first sentence is a typical English phrase to express the speaker's positive prospect in encountering another person. At first Violet's interlocutors might think that she is really happy to meet the American Mrs Levinson because they share the same values. However, after Matthew's intervention it becomes clear that the implication of her utterance is exactly the

opposite of what is expected: she considers herself totally different from her American in-law, having a degrading view of her.

Similar contemptuous views are expressed against Branson, the former chauffeur of the house. By marrying their daughter, Branson's outsider status is foregrounded on two accounts: his working class background and ethnic Irish identity. The latter is markedly present in his replies given to the English members of the family:

(15) *MATTHEW: What is the general feeling in Ireland, now?*
BRANSON: That we're in sight of throwing off the English yoke.
ROBERT: Do you approve of the new Act?
BRANSON: Would you approve of your country being divided by a foreign power?
ROBERT: Is keeping the monarchy a problem?
BRANSON: Would it be a problem for you to be ruled by the German Kaiser?

In fact, the Irish Branson's replies are questions (indirect answers) implying negation. Although his interlocutors inquire of him quite benevolently and peacefully, his retorts are obviously aggressive. Branson does not pay "due respect" to his father-in-law. He is not empowered to explicitly attack him, so he employs more implicit means and goes as far as he can by pushing the limits of Lord Grantham's tolerance. First he mentions "foreign power" by which he implies the English rule of Ireland, thus directly attacking his interlocutor's face. In the following reply, the British monarch, who is dear to Lord Grantham, is implicitly compared to the Kaiser, which Robert will have viewed as very insulting. However, it must be noted that his questions are formulated in a polite tone (with the modal "would") to mitigate the force of his negative replies.

The English characters' reluctance to accept alterity refers to objects as well. If it is English-made, it is acceptable for them. When Matthew and Mary return to Downton after their honeymoon, they arrive in a new car. In an ironic tone they anticipate the family's surprise at seeing it:

(16) *MARY: Who will groan first when they see it, Granny or Papa?*
MATTHEW: I should think they'll howl at the moon in unison.
ROBERT: What in God's name is this? Well, I never.

CORA: Where did this come from?
MATTHEW: I ordered it on the way through, in London, picked it up on the way back. It's an AC[5].
ROBERT: Well, at least it's English.

Mary's premonition is verified by Robert's question implying trauma and indignation but he is soon relieved when he realises that the car was produced by an English manufacturer. If it is something foreign, it is difficult to accept. This is reflected in Violet and Matthew's conversation when she is invited to the latter's house and seated on a special but creaky chair:

(17) *VIOLET: Good heavens, what am I sitting on?*
MATTHEW: A swivel chair.
VIOLET: Oh, another modern brainwave?
MATTHEW: Not very modern. They were invented by Thomas Jefferson.
VIOLET: Why does every day involve a fight with an American?
MATTHEW: I'll fetch a different one.
VIOLET: No, no. No, no, I'm a good sailor.

Violet's words make it clear that whatever the object, if it is American, it is probably related to modernity and this is difficult for the English lady to accept because they threaten her well-established conservative English principles.

4.2.4. Other forms of verbal indirectness: metaphorical language

Most of the male characters' utterances, on the other hand, can be characterised by verbal indirectness. Speaking and acting like a gentleman is considered to be a prerequisite of maleness in *Downton Abbey* (cf. Carson's utterance: "Downton is a great house, Mr Bates, and the Crawleys are a great family. We live by certain standards and those standards can at first seem daunting."). Robert Crawley, the Earl of Grantham, is the embodiment of the staunch conservative English gentleman, not only in his general disposition but also in his speech behaviour. He believes that being a gentleman and being attached to Downton belongs to the core of his existence. When

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[5] AC Cars Ltd, formerly known as Auto Carriers Ltd. was a British specialist automobile manufacturer, one of the oldest independent car-makers founded in Britain. Their first four-wheeled car was produced in 1913 (Wikipedia, retrieved on 11.03.2013)

he is informed that due to bad investments he has lost his (actually, his wife's) fortune, he feels it is his duty to save it at all costs. In this context he has a conversation with Murray, his lawyer:

(18) *MURRAY: The fact is, the company is about to be declared bankrupt (…)*
ROBERT: Are you really telling me that all the money is gone?
MURRAY: I'm afraid so.
ROBERT: The lion's share of Cora's fortune? I won't give in, Murray. I've sacrificed too much to Downton to give in now. I refuse to be the failure, the Earl who dropped the torch and let the flame go out.
MURRAY: I hate to state the obvious, but if there's not enough money to run it, Downton must go. Unless you break it up and sell it off piecemeal.
ROBERT: I couldn't do that. I have a duty beyond saving my own skin.

In his turn, at first the earl employs the language of refusal (the modal verb "won't" to suggest lack of willingness, the verb "refuse" and indirect, metaphorical images, means of detaching himself from his own self and considering an external view of himself in the 3rd person singular ("the Earl who dropped the torch and let the flame go out"). In his later turn this state of denial is changed to a milder and more polite form of refusal ("I couldn't do that") implying that he is on the verge of accepting the situation and giving in.

Similar metaphorical language is used when he compares himself to a wild animal slowly losing its habitat, to refer to the general state of the English aristocracy after the First World War when the traditional and conservative establishment starts to lose its power and influence.

(19) *MRS LEVINSON: You know, the way to deal with the world today is not to ignore it. If you do, you'll just get hurt.*
ROBERT: Sometimes I feel like a creature in the wilds whose natural habitat is gradually being destroyed.
MRS LEVINSON: Some animals adapt to new surroundings. It seems a better choice than extinction.
ROBERT: I don't think it is a choice. I think it's what's in you.
MRS LEVINSON: Well, let's hope that what's in you will carry you through these times to a safer shore.

This extract also seems to demonstrates that it is easier for Robert to use this indirect, metaphorical language (his mother-in-law also joins him in his vision to show a certain degree of solidarity with him), because he can see himself more objectively and thus it is easier to speak about his own identity in this way than talk about the bare truth directly.

These gentleman-like characters (the Earl of Grantham and Carson, the butler, but also the conservative Lady Mary) are desperately trying to preserve tradition but on the way they slowly realise that they have to disregard the old ways and find new ones. However, they consider this should be done with dignity and honour. In this sense, Mrs Hughes and Carson's exchange is a typical example in point:

(20) *MRS HUGHES: Was the evening a success?*
CARSON: The odd thing is, I think it was. Though, for me, everyone sprawled on the floor, eating like beaters at a break in the shooting... That's not a party. It's a work's outing. Where's the style, Mrs Hughes? Where's the show?
MRS HUGHES: Perhaps people are tired of style and show.
CARSON: Well, in my opinion, to misquote Doctor Johnson, "if you're tired of style, you are tired of life."

The conversation takes place after an odd inside picnic organised for the local nobility to show the grandeur of Downton and to impress the American Mrs Levinson who is expected to offer further financial help to the Crawleys. Carson, who is used to waiting at elegant dinner parties, is shocked by this new idea but naturally has to comply with his master's decision. After the "picnic" he has to admit to being pleasantly surprised, but he misses the style that is characteristic of the English aristocratic stereotype. The intertextual reference (Dr Johnson's famous quote: "When a man is tired of London, he is tired of life") is in fact a meta-reference to the message of *Downton Abbey*: the conflict between traditional and more liberal, more modern ways of life.

Conclusions

In this paper I have highlighted certain representations of the English stereotype in the textual version (script) of the television drama *Downton Abbey*, both in its direct, overt and in its indirect, more subtle manifestations. These were revealed by the different characters' verbal manifestations, present in conversational strategies, polite and impolite language behaviour, indirect, metaphorical language and other verbal markers (e.g., hedges). It is hoped that the pragmatic analyses of the selected examples have demonstrated that the characters' verbal manifestations reflect different "degrees of Englishness", together constituting the English stereotype as a whole. Some of the male characters (the Earl of Grantham, Carson, Matthew) stand for the stereotypical English gentleman, but the typical English humour and irony mostly present in the feminine characters' language include these women as further elements of the stereotype (typical examples are Mrs Patmore, the cook; Miss O'Brien, Cora's maid; and Violet, the Dowager Countess of Grantham).

The analyses of the characters' language behaviour confirms the already established theoretical claim that stereotypes act like schemata in that they are perfectly compatible with all the elements of the category, even with stereotype-incongruent elements; consequently its boundaries can be extended and the schema (here, the stereotype) remains unharmed.

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Ethnic Humour in Intercultural Encounters: An Analysis of James Morier's Ayesha, The Maid of Kars

Elena Buja
Transilvania University of Brasov, Romania

Abstract
One of the many fascinating aspects of James Morier's novels is his way of depicting ethnic differences in a humorous way. His 1834 novel Ayesha illustrates an intercultural romantic relationship between a Christian English lord and a Muslim Turkish maiden, in which the author satirises the stereotypes attributed by Christians to Turkish Muslims and vice-versa, also offering the reader an insight into late 18th-century multiculturalism in Turkey.
The aim of the present paper is to explore the ways in which James Morier organises humorous narrative fragments in order to elicit laughter and the extent to which current theories of humour can be applied to these particular fragments, in an attempt to understand the cultural pluralism as well as the feelings and concerns of particular groups of people living in the Middle East at the turn of the 18th century.

Keywords
Ethnic humour, theories of humour, multiculturalism, intercultural encounters, joke techniques.

Introduction

Humour represents a key element of our everyday life; it is an aspect which is characteristic of every human being, irrespective of his/her culture, colour of skin or religious beliefs. Gruner (1978:1) stated that *'without laughter, everyday living becomes drab and lifeless; life would seem hardly human at all. Likewise, a sense of humour is generally considered a person's most admirable attribute'*.

This may be the reason why the study of humour has such a long history (it started in antiquity with the contributions of Aristotle and Plato, who laid down the foundation of humour research) and has drawn the attention of people involved in different fields, such as philosophers, sociologists, psychologists, and more recently linguists. An important outcome of this is that humour research has become an interdisciplinary field.

The genres of humour that were very frequently subjected to analysis were jokes, comic strips, cartoons, anecdotes and, more recently, stand-up comedy, narrative humour being seldom approached (this is the reason why I intend to focus on this particular genre of humour). What researchers aimed to find by investigating humour was basically the functions this serves, as well as the literary techniques (devices) employed to create it.

1. What is 'ethnic humour'?

As the analysis of the narrative excerpts from Morier's *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars* focuses on ethnic humour, I consider it appropriate at this point to define the concept 'ethnic humour', which, in turn, demands a definition of both terms that make up the syntagm. But as Rappaport (2005: 3) points out, 'humour and ethnicity are each in themselves slippery concepts'. According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, humour is 'that quality in a happening, an action, a situation, or an expression of ideas which appeals to a sense of ludicrous or absurdly incongruous'. If we consider this definition, we may wonder whether humour is an intrinsic characteristic of the situation we observe or whether it is related to the observer's cognitive capacity of perceiving/interpreting a situation as humorous, or whether it is a combination of

both. As far as the dictionary definitions of ethnicity are concerned, they seem to be quite vague. The Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2006) defines the term as 'the fact that someone belongs to a particular ethnic group', while according to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, ethnicity is 'a particular ethnic affiliation or group'. What these two definitions have in common is the concept of a group. Consequently, I would suggest a more encompassing definition according to which an ethnic group may be perceived as sharing a social and cultural heritage that is passed on from generation to generation. The people in such a group are characterised by a national, cultural, religious and racial identification; moreover, they are not the ones to set the dominant style of life or control the privileges and power in the society in which they live. I would say that this description of an ethnic group is closer to our understanding of the concept, and, at the same time, it clearly describes the ethnic situation encountered in Turkey at the turn of the 18th century, the period of time in which James Morier set the plot of his novel *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars.*

2. Theories of humour
Various theories have emerged in the long study of humour. 'Of the several orientations to humour, literary and linguistic scholarships seem the oldest because across centuries people of many different cultural backgrounds have recognized that linguistic manipulation and its paralinguistic enhancements were among the most common, yet most sophisticated sources of humour' (Hill and Fitzgerald 2002: 98). Besides these, three major humour theories have been launched by psychologists in an attempt to explain why people laugh: to reveal the absurdity of certain situations or behaviours (incongruity theory), to release tension (release/relief theory), or to show superiority over others (superiority theory). They will be detailed below and will be employed in the analysis of some fragments taken from an English novel of the early 19th century.

2.1. The incongruity theory
A key element of humour is that of *incongruity*. Thus, the most important explanation of humour is provided by the incongruity theory which suggests 'that humorous experiences originate in the perception of an incongruity: a pairing of

ideas, images or events that are not ordinarily joined and do not seem to make sense together' (Lewis, 1989: 8). Incongruity is explained in terms of a difference between what a person expects to happen and what actually happens: the beginning and the main part of a joke[6] may trigger in the reader/listener certain expectations with respect to the way things will work out. But the revelation of the punch line makes the expectation disappear and causes a certain discrepancy which brings about laughter. Amusement is a reaction to an unexpected outcome.

According to Lewis (1989), incongruity is indeed an essential feature of humour but not a sufficient one by itself, because in order to appreciate humour, one first needs to perceive an incongruity and then to resolve it, and this depends to a large extent on the 'perceiver's knowledge, expectations, values and norms' (Lewis 1989:11). This means that people will perceive humour only if they have the ability to solve a problem in a creative way, or to be more precise, if they have the necessary amount of knowledge and also the capacity of (mentally) decoding certain elements (persons or concepts) employed symbolically.

2.2. The superiority theory
Derived from Hobbes (1650/1999) and filtered through Freud (1905/1960), the superiority theory refers to the negative and the aggressive side of humour, which is mainly used to disparage and humiliate specific opponents. Laughter is a means of power and superiority when it is directed against the faults and negative characteristics of other people and it thus expresses their inferiority. As Rappaport (2005:15) puts it, laughter is 'an expression of feeling superior to those who appear uglier, stupider, or more unfortunate than ourselves'. But there are also situations in which the butt of the joke has a high social status. In such a situation, humour is more enjoyed by the observers: the higher the status of the victim, the greater the fun caused by his making a fool of himself.

There seems to be a close link between the two theories of humour mentioned thus far in that the sense of superiority that we

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[6] I employ the term *joke* as an umbrella term for any humorous linguistic structure, in line with Wilson (1979: 2) who defines the joke as 'any stimulation that evokes amusement and that is experienced as being funny'.

sometimes gain from observing the victim of a joke comes from the incongruity of the victim's situation (what we expect it to be and what it really is). According to Suls (1977), the incongruity theory can account for disparagement humour in those situations where the incongruous punch line involves a surprising misfortune.

In brief, the superiority theory of humour explains amusement or even laughter in terms of the sudden glory we enjoy when we perceive ourselves to be superior in comparison with others or with a previous situation of ours.

2.3. The release theory

The third psychological theory is the release (or relief) theory, the tenet of which is that humour is employed to release tensions or to make one feel liberated when approaching taboo topics, such as religious beliefs, sex or ridicule of ethnic groups. Humour serves to reduce the frustrations of coping with the society we live in. The most influential proponent of this humour theory was Sigmund Freud, who in 1905 published his *Jokes and Their Relation to the Unconscious* in which he emphasised that humour is linked to behaviour that is forbidden or socially unacceptable. For him, humour was a substitution mechanism which enabled a person to covert his negative, aggressive impulses that are socially condemned into more acceptable ones.

These three theories presented above do not exhaust the theoretical framework[7]. Moreover, they should not even be considered as rivals, but rather as truly complementary to each other, all contributing to the explanation of ethnic humour.

The following part of the paper will identify, describe and discuss the main ethnic narrative fragments excerpted from Morier's novel *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars*, and will account for humour and culture-specific elements.

3. Ethnic humour in *Ayesha*: research questions and analysis

In an attempt to explore the way in which James Morier organised humorous narratives in order to elicit readers' amusement and the extent to which the theories of humour

could be applied to these fragments, the following research questions have guided the analysis:

-to what extent can the three theories presented above account for humour in the fragments under investigation?
-which humour techniques are encountered in the analysed excerpts?
-what linguistic means does Morier employ to create amusement?

Before embarking on the analysis of a couple of humorous fragments, a brief summary of the plot of the novel would be in order, so that the reader could get an image of the many ethnicities that appear in Morier's *Ayesha, the Maid of Kars*. After a long stay in Persia, a young English lord decides to return to Britain through Turkey, only that on entering Kars, he suffers an accident which prevents him from travelling for a while. When the accident occurred, he had the chance of seeing an extremely beautiful Muslim girl, Ayesha, and, instantaneously, both fell in love with each other. But since such a love affair was forbidden on religious grounds, they had to wait a long time and go through all kinds of (mis)adventures until they found out that the girl was actually of English birth and that they could marry. In Kars, Osmond, the English lord, who is accompanied by two friends, the Greek Stasso and the Christian-turned-Muslim Mustafa, is offered lodging by an Orthodox Armenian, Bogos. There he finds out that Ayesha was the daughter of a Muslim Turk, Suleiman Aga and of his Greek wife, Zabetta. So, we already have a number of ethnicities. Later on in the novel, people of other ethnicities appear: Russian soldiers, Georgian people, and the Jewish dentist in the prison in Rhodes. From among them only a few are ridiculed, as we shall see shortly.

One of the most enjoyable chapters of the book is chapter XV, whose title is actually a quotation from Robert Burns: 'As glowr'd the *louts*, amaz'd and curious/The mirth and fun grew fast and furious', warning the reader that something funny is going to happen. The humour in the following fragment stems from the Muslim Turks' unfamiliarity with things of common use in Western countries. The context is the following: Lord Osmond and his two friends have to flee Kars, leaving their belongings in the Armenian's house. The Muslim leaders of Kars (the Pasha, the Mufti, and Suleiman Aga) decide that it is their right to have access to them and choose whichever article they desire. In turn,

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[7] Raskin (1985) launched the Semantic Script Theory of Humour (SSTH), which later developed into the General Theory of Verbal Humour (Attardo and Raskin, 1991).

they rummage through Osmond's portmanteau, medicine chest, and artefacts, discovering things which perplex them. After inspecting all the clothes, the three Muslim heads of Kars come across a pair of leather trousers, described below:

*'but when they came to inspect a pair of leather pantaloons, the ingenuity of the most learned amongst them could not devise for what purpose they could possibly be used. For, let it be known, that a Turk's trousers, when extended, look like the largest of sacks used by millers, with a hole at each corner for the insertion of legs, and when drawn together and tied in front, generally extend from the hips to ankles. Will it then be thought as extraordinary that the comprehension of the present company was at fault as to the pantaloons? They were turned about in all directions, inside out, before and behind. The Mufti submitted that they might perhaps be an article of dress, and he called upon a bearded chokhadar, who stood by wrapped in doubt and astonishment, to try them on. The view which the Mufti took of them, was that they were to be worn as head-dress, and accordingly, that part which tailors call the seat, was fitted over the turban of the chokhadar, while the legs fell in serpent-like folds down the grave man's back and shoulders, making him look like Hercules with the lion skin thrown over his head.
'Barikallah- praise be to Allah!' said the Mufti, 'I have found it; perhaps this is the dress of an English Pasha of two tails[8]!'
'Aferim – well done!' cried all the adherents of the law. But the Pasha was of another opinion; he viewed the pantaloons in a totally different light, inspecting them with the eye of one who thought upon the good things of which he was fond. 'For what else can this be used' exclaimed the chief, his dull eye brightening as he spoke – 'what else but for wine? This is perhaps the skin of some European animal. Franks drink wine, and they carry their wine about in skins, as our infidels do. Is it not so?' said he, addressing himself to Bogos the Armenian. 'So it is,' answered the dyer, 'it is even as your kindness has commanded.' – 'Well, then, this skin has contained wine,' continued the Pasha, pleased with the discovery, 'and, by*

the blessing of Allah! It shall serve us again.' – 'Here,' said he to one of his servants, 'here, take this, let the Saka sew up the holes and let it be well filled; instead of wine it shall hold water.' And true enough, in a few days after, the pantaloons were seen in parading the town on a water carrier's back, doing the duty of mesheks. But it was secretly reported that, not long after, they were converted to the use for which the Pasha intended them, and actually were appointed for the conveyance of his highness's favourite wine'. (*Ayesha*, pp.158-159)

The first part of this fragment starts a chain of jokes. One amusing segment in it is the description of the Turkish trousers, which the writer presents the reader with so as to account for the Muslim Turks' unfamiliarity with western clothing. By comparing them with the 'largest of sacks used by millers', Morier introduces an element of incongruity: you cannot use a sack as a pair of trousers! At this point, the reader cannot predict how the story will go on. The surprise effect is created by the absurdity of having the sack provided with holes in the corners for the wearer to insert his legs and which, when pulled and tied in the front, will produce the piece of clothing typical of Turkish people.
Next, amusement is caused by the different purposes attributed by the 'most learned' Muslim Turks to the leather trousers of the English lord. Thus, the Mufti[9] concluded that they were a 'head-dress' which should be worn with the seat placed over the turban, with the trouser-legs hanging like serpents. Humour is produced in this part both by the image of the chokhadar (i.e. private watchman) entertained by the reader on the basis of the description made by Morier, but also by the comparison of the chokhadar's looks with those of Hercules, which required the reader's ability to decode the features of this mythical person employed symbolically[10].

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[8] A pasha of two tails is a governor of provinces (see http://www.infoplease.com/dictionary/brewers/pasha-three-tails.html)

[9] Islamic legal authority
[10] Hercules is known to have been expected to perform 12 important tasks, known as the 'Twelve Labours', the first of which was to kill the Nemean lion, a vicious monster whose golden fur was impenetrable and who used to take women as hostages and to lure warriors to its lair to save the captives, only that none of them managed to come out alive from the lair. Hercules seems to have been able to kill the monster by stunning it

As for the humour theories mentioned in Section 2 above, the ones employed in the amusing fragment under investigation are the superiority and the incongruity theories. First and foremost, the amusing parts are the result of incongruous situations. At the same time, elements of the superiority theory are encountered: the Pasha does not want to be considered less intelligent than the Mufti, consequently he comes up with another suggestion for the use of the pantaloons, which he assumes is the *only* correct one, stating: '*For what else can this be used (….) but for wine?*' and asking for confirmation from Bogos, the Armenian who, in his response, indicates his lower social position in saying 'it is even as your kindness has commanded'. This statement of his, which could be interpreted as criticism of the Turks (they are the majority ethnicity, ergo they have the right to give orders to all the minority ethnicities), also delivers an incongruous punch line: things cannot be in a certain way just because somebody ordered them to be like that! Having decided that the leather trousers were used to carry liquids, the Pasha orders that they should be handed over to the Saka (water carrier) to carry water in them. When the reader thought the fun was over, Morier considered it appropriate to deliver the last punch line (or unexpected resolution) which brings about laughter: the Pasha actually employed the English trousers to transport his favourite liquid, wine, which Muslims are not allowed to drink.

From among the literary techniques employed to create humour, the most frequent in this excerpt is comparison. Thus, the private watchman of the Pasha is compared to Hercules, the Turkish trousers are described in terms of the largest miller's sack, while the trouser legs of the English leather pantaloons are considered to look like serpents. A second device which Morier seems to make diplomatic use of is word choice. He undermines the high position of the Muslim heads of Kars, whom he calls 'the most learned' by later pointing out that they were 'wrapped in doubt and astonishment' at the sight of the leather trousers. Irony is also encountered at the beginning of the fragment where the author

with his club and then by strangling it to death. Then, with the help of Athena's advice, he managed to skin the pelt of the lion using one of its claws and then threw the lion's skin over his shoulders.

tries to make the reader be gentler on the stupidity (or lack of familiarity) of the Turkish Muslims concerning the use of this piece of clothing by giving us the reason for it: they do not resemble in any way the Turkish style.

The cultural elements hinted at in the fragment are stupidity, greed, hostility towards other ethnicities: stupidity is revealed by the fact that none of the three Muslims, though they were considered 'most learned', can figure out what the trousers are meant for; greed in shown in their desire to have each the piece of clothing for himself; they all show hostility both to the Christian Armenian, who is somehow forced to agree with the Muslims' suggestions, and to the chokhadar, who becomes the butt of the humorous comparison with Hercules.

The following fragment brings together people of two different cultures and religious beliefs: Omar Reis, a Turkish Muslim, commander of a ship bound for Constantinople, and an English Christian, Lord Osmond. The latter, who has been under Russian care in a garrison in Poti, is supposed to leave for Sinope by ship. The dialogue below takes place after Osmond discovers that there is no hour-glass, charts or log-line on the ship.

'*Are we likely to have a good passage?*' *inquired Osmond.*
'*What can I say?*' *answered the other. Kismet! – fate! We are in God's hands! The wind is fair; please God it will last.*'
'*Whither are you steering now?*' *inquired Osmond, finding that they were nearly out of sight of land.*
'*To Sinope, Inshallah!*' *said the old man, extending his hand right a-head.*
'*By what point are you steering?*'
'*By what point!*' *inquired Omar; 'what do I know? By the way I have always gone. Don't I know that there lies Trebisond?*' *pointing with his left hand on the larboard beam; 'and don't I know that Caffa is there?*' *pointing with his right hand. 'Besides, have I not got my compass?*'
'*Ah, the compass! Do you ever steer by compass?*' *said Osmond.*
'*Evallah! – to be sure!*' *said the old main in great exultation, expecting to surprise the Frank by his knowledge; then, calling for the compass, which was kept in a square box, he placed it before them, and pointed to the fleur-de-lis on the index, 'There, that is north; here is south; on this side is east, and on that, west. This is the direction of the*

blessed Mecca. We – praise be to the Prophet! – we know many things!'
'But have you no chart?'
'We have no chart,' said the old man.
'Then what is the use of a compass?' replied Osmond.
'Of what use is it!' said Omar. 'I have always done very well without a chart: my father did very well before me; and my grandfather before him. After that, what can you want more. Give me only wind – I want nothing more; after all, that is the father and mother of sailors; charts are bosh – nothing!'
(*Ayesha*, p. 298)

The first idea that emerges from this fragment is that the Turkish ship-commander considers himself superior to the English passenger, at least in what concerns navigation skills. By pointing with his hand to all cardinal points according to the compass, the only navigation instrument he has, he is convinced that he has surprised the Frank with his knowledge, concluding that 'we know many things'. The dialogue gradually builds tension between the two: one gets frustrated to find out that the voyage is at the mercy of nature, while the other becomes more and more furious when questioned on navigation skills. Some cultural issues are also worth considering. First, the dialogue highlights a strong reliance of the Muslims on *Kismet* (fate). On the other hand, the English lord favours the use of devices indicating the exact direction for their voyage. Secondly, the direction towards Mecca is sacred in Islam: all mosques are oriented towards Mecca. Thirdly, the fragment is also a good illustration of the importance attributed by Muslims to the past, in general and to their ancestors, in particular. In this line of reasoning, the ship commander mentions an old sailing tradition in his family: his father had been a sailor, just like his grandfather. In the Muslim cultures, what matters most is past experiences, while for the Western Franks what is of utmost relevance is what happens now and what the future brings. This may also be the reason for the accumulating tension between the two discussants.
As far as humour is concerned, it is constructed step by step, on a series of incongruous situations, as the tension in the characters increases: Osmond's questions seem to hurt the captain's feelings and as a consequence, he becomes more and more infuriated, while on the other hand, his answers perplex the English passenger (causing amusement) and make him worry. A first such example appears at the beginning of the excerpt, when Osmond asks Omar Reis by what point he was steering, the latter's reply showing indignation: *'By what point! (…) what do I know? By the way I have always gone'.* The first incongruous situation appears in connection with the ship steering: this is usually performed in accordance with exact points, while Omar's reply indicates vagueness, if not absurdity. Another contrast appears between the content of the question 'what do I know?' and what he states later, 'we – we know many things', the reader inferring that his navigations skills cannot be relied on. This is also confirmed by the fact that the compass, which he mentions in support of his knowledge, should be used in combination with a chart, but he totally disregards the latter on grounds of being '*bosh* – nothing'.
A bit later in the chapter, James Morier delivers the punch line: we find out how the captain actually steered the ship:

'The Reis kept his vessel as close to the shore as possible, and cared for little else to direct his course, the headlands standing him in lieu of all science of navigation' (*Ayesha*, p. 298-99).

Humour is created again out of an incongruous situation: after assuring his passenger of the use of (at least) the compass and despite the navigation knowledge boasted by the Turkish captain, he steered his ship according to the headlands, which somehow releases the tension that has built up.
In terms of the linguistic techniques employed, it is worth mentioning the figurative language based on implication and allusion. James Morier made use of implication because it allowed him to present a certain socially sensitive feature (i.e. assertiveness) of the Turkish captain in an indirect way. By means of allusion, he suggests that, in general, you cannot rely on Turks, something he would not have mentioned straightforwardly.
The last fragment to be analysed focuses on an important ethnic group present in Turkey at the beginning of the 19th century, namely the Jews. The excerpt comes from the end of the novel, when Lord Osmond is convicted and imprisoned on the island of Rhodes. On the ship carrying some other convicts, some Muslim passengers ask a Jewish dentist to

pull out a tooth of the chief officer (the Nostruomo), also a Muslim. The Jew refuses to do that, pretending not to be a dentist, but the story of his previous misfortune, told to Osmond, describes the actual reason why he does not want to help the officer. The Jew's refusal is the cause of riot on the ship:

'What has happened?' said Osmond.
'What has happened! do you ask?' said one.
'Why, here is a chifout, a Jew – pig-dog that he is, who is a tooth-drawer and who asserts that he is not!'
'But in the name of Allah, why strike him?' said Osmond. 'Is it a crime not to be a dentist?'
'A Jew not to be what a Mahomedan wishes, not a crime! say you?' said another. We will make mince-meat of his father. But he is a dentist. He refuses to take out a tooth for our Noustromo' – so they called the chief officer.
He was, in truth, a tooth-drawer and a leech by profession. Having been called upon to draw a tooth for Bostangi Boshi, unfortunately he extracted a sound instead of a decayed one. Discovering his mistake, he secreted himself for several weeks, fearful of the vengeance that might be wreaked upon him and, when at length, he ventured to leave his house, he always kept clear of the thoroughfares, and skulked about at night-fall. Some six months have elapsed, when, hoping that all was forgotten, to his dismay, one day crossing the Bosphorus in a boat with a pair of oars, he saw the great barge of Bostangi Boshi rowing towards him. He lay down in the bottom of the boat, occasionally turning his eye over the gunnel. To his horror, the barge still followed, and ere he could look round, it darted alongside, and immediately two men seized him, and dragged him before the comptroller of the Bosphorus in person. 'Dog of a Jew!, said he, 'Do you think I have forgotten? Look at this,' shaking his tooth at him at the same time. 'I will pay you in your own coin! Here, men, draw out all this wretch's teeth!' – 'Upon which', added the Jew, 'I was thrown upon my back, and a ruffian, strong as a lion, drew his dagger, and by thrusts, knocks, and tugs succeeded in pulling the few teeth – and God be praised that there were only a few! – out of my devoted mouth' (Ayesha, p. 398-399).

This narrative passage shows the discord that existed between Muslims and Jews, the former considering the latter inferior.

Actually, among the ethnicities living in Kars, the Jews enjoyed the lowest status. This is the reason why the Jewish dentist is called by the Mohammedans *chifout*, pig, and dog, without showing any intention of answering back. Just like in the first fragment that was analysed, here we witness again the Muslims' idea that everything should be just like they order it to be. Thus, for a Jew not to be what a Muslim wishes him to be is considered a crime. On the other hand, the fragment also hints at a feature that characterises Jews, namely cowardice. Jonassohn and Solveig Björnson (1998: 89) account for this as follows: 'Historically, Jews were not allowed to bear arms in most of the countries of the diaspora. Therefore, when they were attacked, they were not able to defend themselves. In some situations, their protector would defend them. If not, they only had a choice between hiding and fleeing. This is the origin of the anti-Semitic canard that Jews are cowards'. And this is exactly what our Jewish dentist did: he attempted to make himself invisible to the person who was to punish him for his mistake. Much to the reader's amusement, the Jew tried to hide in a 'boat with oars'! Incongruity steps in again: how much protection can an open means of transportation offer in the middle of a large surface of water?! Further on, we learn about the revenge taken by the Turkish comptroller, which is a clear illustration of the second part of the saying 'an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth'. The poor Jew had all his teeth removed in a very sadistic way. The punch line makes us sympathise with him: he was grateful to God for having got only a few of them, so the torture was not too long. In terms of the theories of humour, the one that accounts for amusement at the end of the fragment is the release theory: it seems that for our Jew, making fun of himself (with his decayed teeth) represents a means of defence which enables him to enjoy the pleasure of knowing he had wronged a Muslim Turk. The fact that he told Lord Osmond the story of how he came to be convicted made him feel liberated of a burden he has been carrying in his soul.

As regards the linguistic techniques employed by Morier to create humour, it is worth mentioning self-ridicule: the use of self-deprecation by the Jew in presenting his own shortcomings is an attempt to amuse his interlocutor and to express solidarity with him. At the same time, by ridiculing

himself, the Jewish dentist actually tried to express his hostility towards the Bostangi Boshi, indirectly criticising the Muslim's cruel behaviour towards him. By employing self-deprecating humour, the Jew's aim was to exaggerate his personal experience and make himself look funny, rather than criticise himself or place himself at a disadvantage.

This last fragment could be considered proof that even human suffering can be considered a source of humour, though as Keith-Spiegel (1972:12/13, 30) pointed out, 'situations which would cause a sort of suffering are given less significance from a humorous standpoint'.

Conclusions

As the analysis has shown, ethnic humour in *Ayesha* is built on a combination of elements that pertain to the three basic theories of humour. Incongruity is expressed in most of cases by the writer's skill in leading the reader to something unexpected (the use of trousers as headwear), which results from the punch line, and very seldom by the absurdity of the story (the sailing method of Oman Reis). Elements of the superiority theory appear in all fragments, hostility towards opponents being milder or stronger, depending on the ethnicity these belonged to. Thus, when the three Muslim heads of Kars wanted to show their superiority one over the other, hostility had a milder form than either in the fragment with the Jewish dentist or in the encounter between the English lord and the Turkish captain. Elements of the release theory were also encountered, but they seemed to play a lesser role as compared to incongruity or superiority. In terms of the joke techniques employed by Morier, it is worth mentioning ridicule, which, in most of the cases, is shared by the writer with his readers. This is the case of the first fragment, where ridicule was focused on the group of three wise Muslim Turks who turned into the butt of the joke. The last excerpt is the example of the self-deprecation of the Jewish dentist, who becomes himself the butt of the joke, emphasising in this way his inferiority with respect to the Turks. This form of ridicule makes the readers sympathise with him and with his problems. As far as the linguistic means of creating humour are concerned, the analysis has shown that Morier employs implication, allusions, comparisons and sometimes exaggerations to enhance the humorous effect of the narrative fragments under investigation. As for the cultural features that were hinted at humorously by Morier, these were greed, stupidity, willingness to break Muslim laws, boastfulness (Muslim Turks), cowardice, cunning and maybe a lack of personal hygiene (Jews), and servility (Armenians).
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Detection and Correction of Speech Repairs in MICASE

Linda Fraňová
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovak Republic

Abstract
When we speak we often communicate new thoughts and new feelings about which we have never talked before, and therefore it is very common that the speaker produces unwanted utterances that must be repaired immediately in order not to confuse the hearer. Almost everything that a speaker produces is a candidate for repair. We decided to analyse 19 763 words of spontaneous speech containing repairs in transcripts of spoken English taken from The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English and assumed that discourse markers are one of the identification devices important in detecting speech repairs. These markers let the listener know that the earlier information is not relevant any more and that a correction is to take place. Therefore, editing terms, including discourse markers, signaling speech repairs are very helpful for the initiation and completion of repairs. This paper proposes an algorithm for detecting speech repairs without using prosodic information or a syntactic parser, which are used by most authors analysing speech repairs. This method showed promising results in detection of speech repairs in spontaneous dialogues. It is observed that modification speech repairs are the most prevailing type of speech repair used by speakers in the analysed corpus. A chi-square test showed a significant association between identification cues and types of speech repair. The analysis also revealed the most common identification cue of speech repair. We assumed that the editing terms would be the most common cues; however the results showed that the most common identification cues of speech repairs are word correspondences. Moreover, we were interested whether there is a difference in making speech repairs by males and females. Our assumption that there should be no significant difference in making speech repairs by male and female speakers was confirmed.

Introduction
Spoken English includes many devices which help to make spoken interactions more comprehensive. Such devices are usually called discourse markers and they contribute to cohesiveness and coherence in spoken as well as in written discourse (Shiffrin 1987, Aijmer 2002, Povolná 2010). All of us produce occasional interruptions in our speech. In order to understand spontaneous speech which is full of small disfluencies, one must be able to detect such speech disfluencies, namely speech repairs. Discourse markers are crucial in the detection of speech repairs in face-to-face interactions. All of us make mistakes in conversation and we try to correct them so that the hearer can understand the intended meaning of an utterance. As Paltridge (2006) states, the repair is "an important strategy speakers use in spoken discourse" (2006: 119). It is due to the fact that the speaker starts speaking before he/she is sure what he/she wants to say. Then, a modification or a correction of an utterance is needed. Schiffrin (1987) mentions that some discourse devices such as *oh, well, I mean, I see* fulfil information management tasks in spoken discourse and they are also used to mark a speech repair (1987: 81). Discourse markers let the listener know that the earlier information is not relevant any more and that a correction is to take place. Therefore, it is assumed that discourse markers are

very helpful in detecting speech repairs. The aim of this paper is to analyse such markers in natural and spontaneous conversations and to show their significance in marking speech repairs. Moreover, we propose an algorithm which can detect speech repairs by identifying word fragments, editing terms and word correspondences between the reparandum and the alteration without using a higher level of syntactic or semantic knowledge. Such a method can be used to automatically detect speech repairs. We also wanted to find out the most common repair cues used by speakers in spontaneous dialogues in order to understand which cue is more preferable and easier to use in marking a speech repair. Descriptive statistics were used to calculate the number of occurrences for each of these identification cues and a chi-square test was used to verify significant differences.

Section 1 of this paper describes the form of speech repairs and its division into four basic parts. Different types of speech repairs are discussed in Section 2. Each type of repair is accompanied by a clear example. The method for detecting speech repairs is described in Section 3. Thirteen rules are introduced to help to find individual speech repairs in dialogues. Material used for this study is presented in the next Section. Section 5 reviews the results of the study and is followed by a short discussion of our findings.

1. Speech repairs

Speech repairs tend to have a standard form, so the listener can identify them easily. Following Shriberg (1994), Nakatani and Hirschberg (1994) divide repairs into four parts: **reparandum, interruption point, editing term,** and **alteration.** Let's consider the following example:

Example 1:
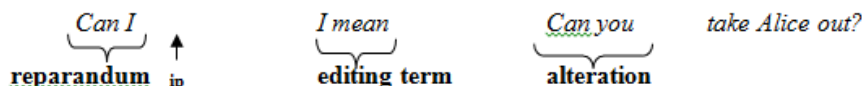
Reparandum is the stretch of speech which is being removed – the unintended part of the utterance. It might end in the middle of the word, resulting in a word fragment. The end of reparandum is called the **interruption point.** This is the point where the disfluency is realised. An **editing term** is a word or phrase with a predictable meaning. It is used to fill the pause and provide time for the planning of what will be said. Editing terms include discourse markers such as *I mean, well, let's see, uh,* etc. The last part, called the **alteration,** is the replacement for the **reparandum**.

2. Types of speech repairs

According to the relationship between the *reparandum* and *alteration*, Hindle (1983) identifies the following repair types:

- Full sentence restart: an entire utterance is thrown out and a new utterance is started.

- Constituent level: one syntactic constituent, or part thereof, is replaced by another,

e.g. *Show me the cheapest fare from Da- from Philadelphia to Dallas*

- Surface level: when identical words are repeated in sequence, the first string of occurrences is thrown out.

e.g.: *I request uh that you should go to Dallas first uh approximately Fri- Friday.*

Following Hindle's (1983) division, Heeman and Allen (1999: 529) divided repairs into the following categories: **fresh starts, modification repairs** and **abridged repairs**.

Fresh starts occur when the speaker abandons what he/she has just said and starts again. In this case there is no relation between *reparandum* and *alteration*. Consider the following example:

Example 2:
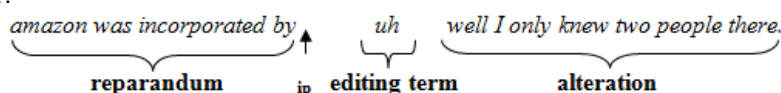
(d93-14.3 utt2)

Example 2 illustrates a fresh start where the speaker abandons the partial utterance

'*amazon was incorporated by*' and replaces it with '*well I only knew two people there.*'

Modification repairs also known as repairs with non-empty reparandum have strong word correspondences between the *reparandum* and *alteration*. This helps the hearer determine the reparandum onset as well as to signal th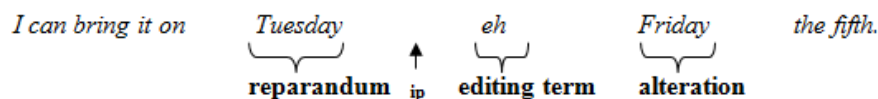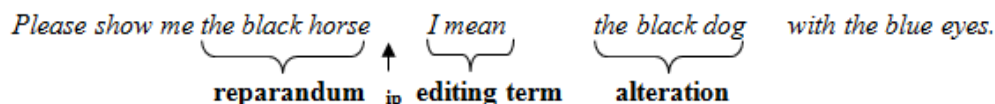at a repair has occurred. Most repairs are of this kind. Usually one or more words are shared by the *reparandum* and *alteration.*
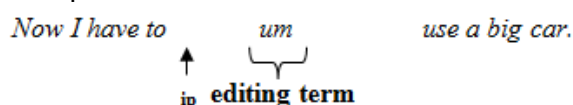
Example 3:

I can bring it on **Tuesday** eh **Friday** the fifth.
reparandum ip editing term alteration

Example 4:

Please show me **the black horse** I mean **the black dog** with the blue eyes.
reparandum ip editing term alteration

In Example 4 there is a word matched on the instance of *the black* and replacement of the noun *horse* with *dog*. As Heeman and Allen (1999: 530) state: "modification repairs can in fact consist solely of the reparandum being repeated by the alteration." Moreover, in-word repairs when the speaker interrupts within a word and corrects a part of it will be considered as modification repairs in this research.

Abridged repairs consist only of an editing term and/or a word fragment. Hesitations (filled pauses) without a self-correction will be characterised as edit terms with empty reparanda.

Example 5:

Now I have to **um** use a big car.
ip editing term

Example 6 (OFC150MU042):

well **y-** the thing is …
ip
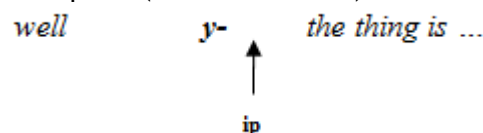
Bear at al. (1992) referred to modification repairs as *nontrivial* repairs, and to abridged repairs as *trivial* repairs; however, these terms are misleading. Consider the utterance "send it back to Elmira uh to make OJ". Determining that the corrected text should be "send it back to Elmira to make OJ" rather than "send it back to make OJ" is nontrivial (Heeman and Allen 1994). To decide if filled pauses and cue phrases should be treated as signals of abridged repairs can only be done by taking into account whether they are in the middle of an utterance or not. We should note that not all speech repairs have an editing term and editing terms can consist of one or more words. Moreover, words that can be used as editing terms can be ambiguous as to whether they are being used in a repair or not. Heeman and Allan (1994) also regard as editing terms filled pauses and hesitation sounds. In spontaneous speech hesitation markers are quite frequent especially before important content words. This is considered as a repair because from a psychological point of view a repair can in fact take place in the speaker's mind only, which might be indicated by a filled pause. Nevertheless, in our research we have considered abridged repairs as *possible-repairs*, since there is no direct evidence to suggest that a repair has been made (Levelt, 1983).

In order for a hearer to correct a repair he/she needs to identify which type of repair has occurred. When correcting fresh starts the hearer must determine the beginning of the current utterance. For modification repairs, the hearer must determine reparandum onset by using word correspondences. Finally, for abridged repairs the hearer must know that the reparandum is empty and only an editing term has been used.

As could be seen in the above examples, discourse markers are very often used in editing terms to signal that a repair has occurred. According to Moreno and Pineda (2006: 66) "the abridged repair is characterised precisely by the appearance of a discourse marker." Discourse markers can have a textual function to serve as a filler or delaying tactic used to sustain discourse or hold the floor (Castro 2009: 61).

3. Method

The current work focuses only on lexical clues, and thus prosodic information is not taken into account. Here we show results on detection and correction of repairs by combining pattern matching with syntactic and semantic analysis. First, a particular speech repair needs to be identified using several identification cues. One of the most common indication cues is the presence of syntactic anomaly at the interruption point (Bear, Dowding and Shriberg 1992). Speech repairs are also usually accompanied by word correspondences between reparandum and alteration. According to the results presented by Heeman and Allen (1994) to look only at fragments and editing terms would not be sufficient and about half of repairs would not be identified. Therefore, we need to look at word correspondences in order to identify speech repairs with greater confidence.

Following Bear, Dowding and Shriberg (1992) and Heeman and Allen (1994), the following labels have been used during the analysis of speech repairs: *m* for word matching; *r* for word replacements (words of the same syntactic category); other words in reparandum and alteration are annotated *x*; editing terms are labelled with *et* and the interruption point with *ip*. For the present analysis the word correspondences below will be taken into account:
- word matching with at most three intervening words **(m-m)**

I want to buy flowers | *two beautiful red flowers*

m_1 x   x   x m_1

- two adjacent words matching two others with at most six words intervening **(mm-mm)**

the train enters the station with five minutes | *the train arrives*

m_1 m_2 x   x   x   x   x   x m_1 m_2

- adjacent replacement **(rr)**.

I want to buy | *borrow your pencil*

r_1 r_1

Although the **m-m** cue and **mm-mm** cue do not precisely locate the interruption point, by using lexical clues, we can detect most repairs. Another feature is the number of intervening words, in both the reparandum and alteration, from the interruption point to the closest word that is marked as a word matching. Our interruption point is detected based on the literal definition of interruption point. An interruption point follows each reparandum and precedes each filler phrase. Since we identify the extent of a repair and its reparandum and alteration, considering word fragment and editing terms, we labelled interruption points accordingly. The sources of the interruption points in our analysis include the presence of pauses, filled pauses, discourse markers, word fragments, word correspondences and syntactic anomalies. In summary, for this research the following clues will be used to predict speech repairs: editing terms, word fragments, word matching, syntactic anomalies/syntactic and semantic knowledge.

Even if a repair is indicated by the above clues, the extent of the repair still needs to be detected. To accomplish this and to make the research more objective ten rules introduced by Heeman and Allen (1994) will be followed. The first four rules capture how a repair is made up of three intervals (the removed text, which can end in a word fragment; possible editing terms; the resumed text). The next two rules limit the extent of word correspondences and intervening words when there are no correspondences in the repair pattern yet. The other two rules restrict the distance between word correspondences. Rule 7 and 8 ensure that for two adjacent matches there are at most four intervening words in the removed text or in the resumed text. Rule 9 limits the number of intervening words in the resumed and removed text and rule ten restricts word replacements. The last three rules have been created based on the analysis of the hand-annotated repairs in the selected corpus. Rule 11 restricts the occurrence of pauses in speech repair. The last two rules consider word fragments. Rule 12 limits the position of word fragments and the last rule makes clear distinction between word repetitions and word replacements marked by word fragment.

1. Editing terms must be adjacent;
2. editing terms must immediately follow the interruption point;
3. a fragment, if present, must immediately precede the interruption point;
4. word correspondences must straddle the interruption point and cannot be marked on a word labelled as an editing term or fragment;
5. word correspondences must be cross-serial; a word correspondence cannot be embedded inside another correspondence

(e.g: *how would that – how long that would take*);

6. if there are no other word correspondences, there can only be five intervening words, excluding fragments and editing terms between the first part and the second part of the correspondence;

7. in the removed text, two adjacent matches can have at most four intervening words;

8. in the resumed text, two adjacent matches can have at most four intervening words;

9. for two adjacent matches, the number of intervening words in the removed text can be at most one more than the number of intervening words in the resumed text;

10. a word replacement (except those added by the detection clues) must either only have fragments and editing terms between the two words that it marks, or there must be a word correspondence in which there are no intervening words in either the removed text or the resumed text;

11. pauses might co-occur with the interruption point of speech repairs as well as at the end of the editing term;

12. a word fragment must not be at the end of an utterance;

13. if a word fragment includes only corresponding letters with the next word, then it is considered as word repetition (e.g.: *wha- what*). If the first letter corresponds with the first one in the next word and the other not, then the repair is marked as word replacement (e.g.: *ste- spectrum*).

Fragments at the end of an utterance are not considered as repairs, since they are usually not considered as a signal of a repair but rather an unfinished word or sentence or a place where a speaker is interrupted by another speaker who takes over the turn. Moreover, the word correspondence might be a word repetition or a word replacement, but with the same part-of-speech tag. So far, mostly indicators of modification repairs have been discussed.

Another decision when analysing speech repairs was whether to include fresh starts into the analysis or not. Some authors include this speech repair in their research (Levelt 1983, Heeman and Allen 1994) or not (Johnson 1997). The difference from other types of speech repairs is the need to keep some part of the removed text and therefore they require a different method of analysis. As a result fresh starts are not considered in

this research mainly because of their different nature.

4. Material

The present research is an investigation of speech repairs in *The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (MICASE) (Simpson et al. 2002). There are several features of MICASE that make it very suitable for the current research. Each speech event is categorised according to various contextual attributes. The speaker attributes include gender, age, academic position/role, native speaker status and first language. Transcript attributes contain speech event type, academic division, academic discipline, participant level and interactivity rating. For the present research the speech event category 'office hours' was selected because it has a very high frequency of word matched and word count frequency of the word *I mean,* which is commonly used as a discourse marker signalling repair. In addition, this speech event category is highly interactive. According to Limberg (2010) the term office hour is concerned with two similar concepts. First, it can be understood as a fixed period of hours per week announced by a teacher for consultation purposes. This is the organisational framework of this talk, which is determined by institutional policies and regulations. Second, it can also refer to an individual interaction between a teacher and a student within the consultation period. Office hours are in academic settings a special kind of interaction between teachers and students. Students come to their teacher before or after class to discuss some problems which they might have because there is not enough time during the class to discuss such issues. Therefore, universities have established the *office hour* which is "an institutionalized form of taking time for the student" (Gleich et al. 1982: 44). For the analysis of the speech event category labelled 'office hours' a transcript with 19,763 words has been selected. The transcript is entitled Astronomy Peer Tutorial (OFC150MU042) and belongs to the academic division Physical Sciences and Engineering.

5. Analysis of speech repairs in office hours speech event category

The table below shows the number of occurrences of modification and abridged speech repairs in the transcript. Modification repairs are the more common ones used by the speakers. This means that these repairs

have no empty reparandum and there is a strong word correspondence between removed and resumed text. A chi-square test was also used to verify if there was a statistically significant difference between using three types of repair cues in modification and abridged repairs. We can see that there is an association between identification cues and types of speech repair, since χ^2 = 129.87. Word correspondence was the most common cue for modification repairs and word fragment was the most common cue for abridged repairs. See the table below with percentage results.

Table 1: Types of speech repairs in office hours

Types of repairs								
Total			Identification clues					
			with fragment		with editing term		word correspondence	
Modification repairs	432	100%	119	27,6%	48	1,1%	265	61,3%
Abridged repairs	73	100%	71	97,3%	2	2,7%	0	0%
Total	505	100%	190	37,6%	50	9,9%	265	52,5%

For illustration of word correspondence as the most common repair cue, consider the following diagram of cross-serial correspondence:
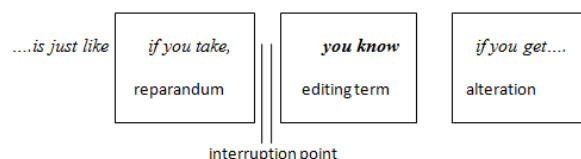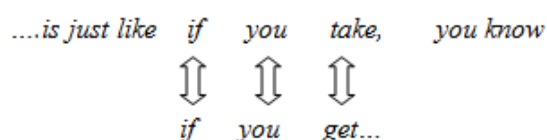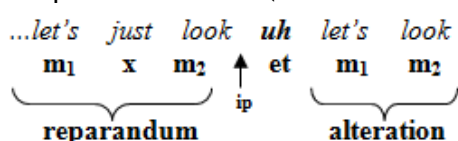
Example 7 (OFC150MU042) :

Diagram 1:

In the transcript, word correspondences are hand-annotated by labels **m** for word matching and **r** for word replacement. Other words within the repair are annotated by the labels already mentioned.

Example 8 (OFC150MU042):

The reparandum in the above example is *let's just look, the* editing term is **uh** and the alteration is *let's look here*. Of the editing terms identified in the analysis the most frequent one used to signal speech repair was **uh** as illustrated in the above example. The algorithm encounters the first identification clue **uh,** which is marked as a possible editing term in the above speech repair. The following word after the editing term is *let's* for which we can find correspondence. This correspondence is acceptable since Rule 6 is not violated and there are two intervening words between the corresponding words, excluding the editing term. Another corresponding word found is *look* which is added into the repair pattern. Taking into account Rule 9, there is one intervening word between *let's* and *look,* and none in the alteration. This means that Rule 9 is not violated. For the word *just* no correspondence is found in the resumed text and therefore *just* is included in the repair pattern as **x,** which indicates word deletion.

The abridged repairs in the hand-annotated corpus were distinguished from modification repairs by the rule that abridged repairs do not have a reparandum, as has been illustrated in the above examples. Thus, these possible speech repairs consist solely of a word fragment which is deleted in order to provide the correction. The deletion of a word fragment is labelled by **x** followed by an interruption point. According to the analysis a word fragment is more frequently

used as a marker of a speech repair than as an editing term. Abridged repairs were signalled by editing terms only in two cases; however, modification repairs were marked by editing terms in 48 cases.

Table 3: Modification repairs marked by a word fragment or editing term in office hours transcript

	word repetitions		word replacement		other speech repairs		TOTAL	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
with fragment	59	13,7%	6	1,4%	54	12,5%	119	27,5%
with editing term	21	4,8%	6	1,4%	21	4,9%	48	11,1%
TOTAL	80	18,5%	12	2,8%	75	17,4%	**167**	**38,6%**

The above table shows the percentage of using two identification cues, namely fragment and editing term, in modification repairs. Modification repairs were divided into three groups: word repetitions, word replacements, and other speech repairs. To make the analysis more relevant only 'clean' cases of word repetitions and word replacements are considered as word repetitions and replacements. It means that the repair, i.e. either repetition or replacement, does not include a combination of repetition, replacement or deletion. Therefore, repair patterns such as **mx.mx, mr.mr,** or **rm.rxm** are considered as "other speech repairs". 'Clean' word repetitions such as **m.m** or **mm.mm** are more frequently used than word replacements and almost the majority of them are marked with a word fragment. Only twelve 'clean' word replacements were found in the transcript and these were equally identified either with a word fragment or with an editing term.

The table shows that out of all modification repairs (making 100 percent) only 38.6 percent of speech repairs are marked by a word fragment or an editing term. These results show that by considering only editing terms and word fragments as speech repair cues we would result in missing more than 61 per cent of speech repairs represented by word correspondences. Therefore, as mentioned earlier, we need to look at word correspondences in order to identify speech repairs with greater confidence. Most of these repairs were marked only by word matching. Speakers usually repeated one or more words in a sentence.

A chi-square test was used to check whether there was a significant difference in the number of occurrences of speech repairs by male and female speakers. Results showed that there is no significant difference between speech repairs made by male or female speakers. The table below summarises the results.

Table 4: Statistic analysis of significance of gender and speech repair cues.

Gender	Speech	repair	cues	Total
	word fragment	*editing term*	*word correspondence*	
female	62	25	134	**221**
male	57	23	131	**211**
Total	**119**	**48**	**265**	**432**

The table presents the numbers of observed occurrences for each category. As there was no statistically significant difference (p = 0,953), it was concluded that gender and identification cues are independent. Male speakers made 211 speech errors and female speakers 221. As already mentioned, most speech repairs were marked with word correspondence. Marking speech repairs with editing terms or word fragments was almost equal. This analysis revealed that there is no difference in the ways speech repairs are produced by male and female speakers.

Conclusion
The preliminary results of this analysis showed that we are able to detect most speech repairs without using a high level of syntactic or semantic knowledge. We

introduced a method to detect modification and abridged speech repairs by contextual cues. Detection cues taken from Heeman and Allen (1994) were extended by another three rules to improve our work. The presented method also allows us to find the repair pattern and therefore to detect a particular speech repair. The repair pattern is built by finding word correspondences, word fragments and editing terms. Word repetitions marked with word correspondence were the most frequent (m_i . m_i). This paper provided a clear distinction between word repetitions and word replacements marked by a word fragment, which may be crucial when analysing speech repairs. The results showed that discourse markers are very important for detection of speech repairs and are quite often used as repair indicators.

The analysis revealed several interesting findings. At the beginning we assumed that the most common repair cues would be editing terms, however our hypothesis was not supported and the most prevailing identification cues of speech repairs are word correspondences. Altogether only 48 editing terms out of 431 repair cues were used to signal speech repairs. Of all speech repairs found in the data, 265 were signalled with word correspondences and this showed their prevalence. The analysis included modification and abridged repairs. As assumed, modification repairs were the most frequent. Abridged repairs were considered as possible repairs and were mostly marked with a word fragment which was deleted to correct a speech error. We assumed that speech repairs should be found equally in male and female utterances and this assumption was supported in our data.

Before incorporating this algorithm into other speech event categories of the MICASE corpus we will pay more attention to abridged repairs since it was very difficult to decide if they are real speech repairs or not. For future analysis we have decided to consider abridged repairs only as possible speech repairs and to take into account only those which consist of a word fragment only. Filled pauses such as *um, uh, eh* will be not tagged as possible speech repairs because we cannot say definitely that the speaker really wanted to make a correction or was thinking about their next words. Word fragments within the sentence will be considered as abridged repairs if no correspondence is found and the reparandum is empty. It is then obvious that the speaker did not want the hearer to consider the word that he/she started to say and ended in a word fragment. As a result, these word fragments will be marked as abridged speech repairs. We assume that this decision will make our method more reliable and precise. In the next step, we will test our new method of detecting speech repairs in other different transcripts from the MICASE corpus.

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Analysis of Thematic Structure in English-Arabic News Texts

Kais A. Kadhim
University of Malaya, Malaysia
Ghayth K. Shaker al-Shaibani
University of Science, Malaysia

Abstract
According to the systematic functional grammar model (for example, Halliday (1985) and Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), language is seen to serve three functions: the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual. This article confines its discussion within the textual which expresses the discoursal meaning by drawing on the system and network of Theme (T) and Rheme (R) to create a text in actual communicative event. Therefore, this article attempts to apply the information structure (T and R) and syntactic theory in the translation of English political news-texts from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) into Arabic. In the presentation of the word order of the sentence constituents, this article will adopt Culicover (1997) syntactic and structural theory of Principle and Parameters in particular the X' theory along with Halliday's (1985) thematic structure. The study reveals that except for those differences embedded in the grammatical structures, the Theme (T) and Rheme (R) structures bearing the author's intention have the tendency to be reproduced in the translation. Also culturally laden lexical items in the TT (target text) may provide a variation to the ST (source text) message.

1. Introduction
The rhetorical discipline of '*ilm al-ma'ani* (science of meaning) is concerned with the juxtaposition of sentence constituents in various word orders that lead to distinct pragmatic significations or functions, Abdul-Raof (2006:98). In the context of a preference word order to express certain pragmatic function, he contends that translating from Arabic into English and vice-versa will have some controversies in the sense that there will often be mismatches. He suggests that one seemingly obvious reason for the mismatch is that Arabic maps onto the verb in an unmarked case where the sentences start with the verbs in a Verb-Subject-Object (V-S-O) word order while English basic sentences observe the Subject-Verb-Object (SVO) word order. According to him, the Classical Arabic grammarians regard verb initial sentences as the ones displaying the normal syntactic word order system in Arabic, Abdul-Raof (1998); and that the NP-first sentences in Arabic are by and large transformationally derived from V-first structure, Schreiber and Anshen (1974:21). Consequently, they note that translating a noun initial construction in an Arabic ST as a corresponding noun initial construction in English will often modify the discourse organization of the ST which may yield a variation in its pragmatic effect. Similarly, they contend that a dislocation may result in translating a noun initial construction of an English ST as a noun initial construction in Arabic, Abdul-Raof (2006). Also according to them, despite this tendency, for different communicative functions Arabic also permits many other ways of ordering the constituents of the sentence. In fact, Baker (1992) affirms that Arabic does tolerate variations in the order

of words in its sentences. Similarly, besides the basic SVO word order, English also observes numerous variations in its surface syntax *via* transformational processes, Chomsky (1982) and Culicover (1997). Within the many allowable and grammatical ways of sentence ordering in either an English ST and its corresponding Arabic TT, however, functionally there still exists in a text a regular information structure (i.e. the thematic structure) of theme-rheme (T-R) that is typically English for the ST and typically Arabic for the TT. The Theme (T) is the point of departure of the message, Firbas (1992), which is often referred to as known information, while the rheme (R) is the resultant message or the new information, Firbas (1992). Using some ideas from the functional grammar model of Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and the X' theory (Culicover' (1997) version), this article attempts to compare the thematic structure of English political news-texts from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) with those of the thematic structure of their corresponding Arabic TT. In the comparison we will see the patterning of the information structures of the ST and the corresponding TT and observe the translating tendencies of the information structures by the translator(s) in the translation of the BBC English news text to Arabic. We will also examine whether such translating tendencies (strategies) result in any differences in the quality of the TT messages.

2. Theoretical Backgrounds
The study invokes a number of ideas from different writers but they are employed here eclectically and compositely. In our assessment of the rhetorical changes (i.e., the order of the sentence constituents) in particular, we will invoke the ideas of Chomsky (1982) and Culicover (1997). In evaluating the nature of the structure of the thematic changes in the Arabic translational output, we will use Halliday (1985), and Halliday and Matthiesen (2004) on thematic analysis.

3. Chomsky (1982) on Syntax
Chomsky (1982) suggests that language is organized with a D-Structure and a S-Structure. He further suggests that the former which is regarded as a cognitive-abstract structure is mapped to the latter *via* move-alpha mechanism of the transformational component. The move-alpha mechanism may move a sentence-constituent (a word, a phrase or a clause) usually left-wards on certain condition of movement from its original site in the D-Structure or the Intermediate-Structure somewhere else in a syntactic string. Within this theory, the final landing site of the moved-constituent must also meet certain syntactic condition yielding an S-Structure. He also indicates that the S-Structure is connected separately to a Phonetic Form (PF) which gives the sentence its phonetic manifestation and its Logical Form (LF) which provides the corresponding semantic interpretation. Commencing from the thematic structure of a verb, according to Chomsky (1982) and Culicover (1997), a sentence is generated beginning from a D-Structure, moving on to the S-Structure *via* move-alpha (i.e., a mechanism which moves a sentence constituent – a word, phrase or clause- leftwards in a sentential string) whose output becomes an input to the PF and LF. The syntactic structures are presented using an X' theory of phrase markers (tree structures), Culicover (1997). This article only takes cognizance of the ideas of the S-Structure that are presented in the X' theory along with the idea that a sentence variation can be manifested through movements of a sentence constituent *via* move-alpha.

4. Halliday (1985) on Theory of Thematic Structure and Trask (1993)
Vilem Mathesius, one of the pioneers of the Prague School Linguistics, is said to have been the linguist who was responsible to propose the concepts of theme (T) and rheme (R), Halliday (1985: 38-39). Later the concepts are seen to be popularized in the works of the other Prague School Linguists such as Firbas (1992) and Vachek (1997). As mentioned by Halliday (1985), the T is the point of departure for a message and it is the element with which the clause is concerned. In studying the coherence of a text, Halliday & Hasan (1976) reintroduce the T-R concepts and the idea of Thematic Progression. They contend that Vilem Mathesius, first put forward the ideas of T and R in his work on *Functional Sentence Perspective* (1939). They add that according to him, T is the part that comes first in a sentence, and R remains the following part. In general, T holds the old *or known* information, and R carries the new information. Later on in 1970, according to Halliday, in a paper "On Linguistic Analysis

of Text Structure", F. Danes introduces the term Thematic Progression to signify the intricate relations between the themes in a text, and states clearly that such Thematic Progression reflects the framework of the text. Based on these Prague School concepts of functional sentence perspective, Halliday (1985) conducts a full study on T structure in functional term; that is, he analyzes this subject from the perspective of the function of the constituents in a sentence. From this standpoint, he sees a sentence constituent in a text as serving three metafunctions: ideational, interpersonal and textual. As this article only uses the textual functioning of a constituent in a sentence, it will henceforth elaborate on this one only. The textual metafunction covers language that is used as an instrument of communication with which cohesive and coherent sequences are built up. It considers each clause carrying a message. So each clause is seen as fulfilling a message function; and therefore each clause is very closely connected to the information structure in a sentence. In Halliday (1985), it is stressed that as a general guide, in a sentence the T can be identified as that element which comes in first position in the clause. Hence in this article, when one examines the thematic structure of a sentence, one refers to "The structure of a sentence seen from the point of view of the distribution of information within it," Trask (1993: 278). In such a distribution of information in a sentence, Trask, however, employs three thematic notions of topic, comment and focus all which refer to the, " … semantic role borne by an NP expressing an entity which is in a state or a location or which is undergoing motion, such as *the ball* in *The ball is dirty*, *The ball is on the table* and *She threw me the ball*. In our presentation in this article, while we will take cognizance of the ideas propounded by Trask, but we will use the terms as employed in Halliday (1985), and Halliday and Matthiesen (2004).

5. Data and Methodology
The data for this study are the BBC political news texts. They have been sourced online from January 2005 through April 2006. As part of our study one hundred texts were

collected. For the purpose of this article, however, we present only five significant pieces of the data. The analysis has adopted a comparative methodology of the ST data with the TT data in syntagmatic term as envisaged by de Saussure (1916); that is, sentence constituents have a syntagmatic (syntactic) relationships with one another. The comparison of the syntactic structures and the points of grammar will highlight the structural and syntactical difference using the X'-Theory (as found in Chomsky (1982) and Culicover (1997) either linearly or using the phrase markers (i.e., tree configurarion). The effect on the content of the information (T and R) structure due to structural and other grammatical differences will be assessed using the grammatical and thematic analysis of Halliday (1985).In our presentation, each datum is produced in five different respects, namely: (a) the original English text (ST), (b) the corresponding Arabic translation (TT), (c) the Arabic output in transliterational notation (Trs.), (d) the form of the back translation (BT: back translation) , and (e) the message in the TT.

5.1 Analysis of the Data
Observe the data in (1a) through (1e) below:

(1a) ST: **'US warns Russia over aid to Iran'**
BBC Wednesday, 19 April 2006.
 ….said Mr. Burns, <u>the US undersecretary of State</u>

(1b) TT: **مطالبة امريكية لموسكو بوقف مساعدة ايران نوويا**
و قال برنز , نائب وزيرة الخارجية الامريكية .....

(1c) Trs: *wa qala barnz…. <u>naaeb wyzaarat al khaarejiiyah</u> <u>al amrykiyah</u> …*

(1d) BT: and said Mr. Burns …assisting Minister the foreign affairs the American…

(1e) Message of TT: and said Burns, the deputy minister of the American foreign affairs…

We are concerned with the underlined texts. The text *…the US undersecretary of state…* has a structure in (a') while the structure of its corresponding Arabic translation is in (b') below:

(a') ST: ...the US undersecretary of State...
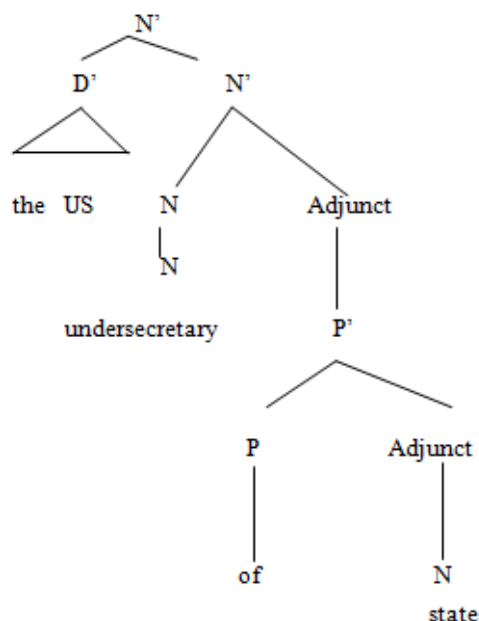
(b) نائب وزيرة الخارجية الامريكية

naaeb wyzaarat al khaarejiiyah al amrykiyah
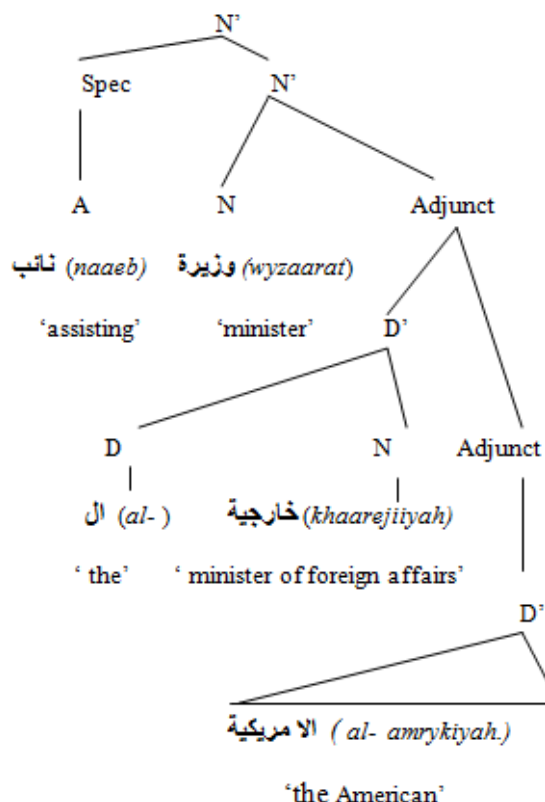
It is observed that the English phrase *the undersecretary of state* is a sequence of a determiner phrase, a noun and a prepositional phrase: [D'-N-P'], while the Arabic translation of نائب وزيرة الخارجية الا مريكية (*naaeb wyzaarat al khaarejiiyah al amrykiyah*) is of the structure containing an adjective, a noun and two determiner phrases, [A-N-D'-D']. Obviously, the translator has not literally translate each element, but instead has used structural-rhetorical changes that are inherently Arabic to create a syntactical and structural equivalence between the ST and the TT. The definite article ال (*al-*) 'the' in الخارجية (*al khaarejiiyah*) 'the exterior, foreign' and الا مريكية '*al amrykiya* ' 'the American' are used in determiner phrases (D') to define the nouns and to express new information about Mr Burns. The same corresponding expressions in the ST are undefined. In terms of Abdul-Raof 's (2006) views on rhetoric, however, the structural change in the Arabic TT is in line with the '*lim al ma'aani* (word order) and is in keeping with a formal style of the ST.

In terms of Halliday's (1985) view of macro function of the linguistic unit to express the discoursal meaning, it seems that there has not been any change in the information structure in the sense that in both the ST and the TT, the flow of the information structure remains intact, namely as T-R as follows:

ST: T- (said Mr. Burns) – Rheme (the Undersecretary of State).
TT: T- و قال برنز (*wa qala barnz*) 'and said Burns) – Rheme نائب وزيرة الخارجية الا مريكية (*naaeb wyzaarat al khaarejiiyah al amrykiya*)) '*and said Burns, deputy minister the foreign the American*'

Looking closure into the message as it is seen by an ordinary Arab reader, there seems to be some difference in the finer aspects of the message of the output TT to the message of the ST. In the ST, the American Undersecretary of State has either [+ foreign] or [-foreign] feature for he can function as both Internally within the American Political borders or Internationally outside America; but the TT sees Mr Burns

more of a deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs only with the semantic features of [+deputy, +minister, + foreign affairs, -local] where his internal function within America is absent. That is, the Arab translator has seen the Undersecretary's designation as just exclusively being special for merely serving the Foreign Affairs, an information obviously not found in the ST.

Now consider another example of English political news text within this type in (2a), its Arabic translation in (b), its transliteration in (c), the back translation (BT) in (d) and the message of the output text as in (e).

(2a) ST: ' Iraq shia alliance to vote on PM'
BBC: Friday, 21 April 2006
<u>Iraq's largest parliamentary bloc,</u> the United Iraq Alliance (UIA), is to
vote on a candidate for prime minister. The Shia Muslim coalition's vote
could see Prime Minister Ibrahim Jaafari retain power or introduce a new
leader .

(2b) TT: الجمعية الوطنية العراقية تنضر في ترشيح المالكي
تعقد الجمعية الوطنية العراقية (البرلمان) اجتماعاً اليوم السبت للمصادقة على عدد من المناصب السيادية في الدولة بما فيها اكثر هذه المناصب اثارة للجدل و هو منصب رئيس الحكومة .

(2c) Trs: ta'qyd <u>al jam'ya al waTaniiya al</u> <u>'raaqiiya (al barlamaan)</u> ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt lil muSadaqa 'la 'dad min al manaaSeb al seyaaseeyah fi al dawla

bima fiha akthar haadheh al manaaSeb ithaara lil jadal wa huwa manaaSeb raees al hukuma.)

(2d) BT - Back translasion of (c): ...making the association the national the Iraqi (the parliament) meeting Saturday for endorsing on number of posts political in the country such as most of these argument posts is the post president the government.

(2e) Messsage of TT: *the association the national the Iraqi (the parliament) convened a meeting on Saturday to endorse a number of polical posts one of which was the Presidential post.*

The ST has the following linear structure:
$_{I'}[_{N'}[_{N'}$[Iraq's $_A$[largest] $_N$[Parliamentary $_N$ [block]]]] $_{N'}$[the United Iraq Alliance (UIA)] $_V$[is $_{COMP'}$[to vote $_P$[on a candidate $_P$[for prime minister]]]]]

In the above linguistic unit, there are two known information, namely: (i) *Iraq's largest Parliamentary block* and (ii) *the United Iraq Alliance* (UIA) in the sense that these are the information that are known to be shared between the interlocutors. In Halliday's term, these are the T of the sentence. The remainder of the text which is a complex predicate (...*is to vote for on a candidate for prime minister*) holistically forms the R of the sentence. The nature of the information structure of the ST is T-R.

We now compare it with the TT which has the following linear structure:

$_{I'}$[... *ta'qyd al jam'ya al wataneeya al 'raqeeyah (al barlamaan) ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt*

'making the association the national the Iraqi (the parliament)   meeting   Saturday'

$_{COMP'}$[للمصادقة على عدد من المناصب السيادية في الدولة بما فيها اكثر هذه المناصب اثارة للجدل و هو منصب رئيس الحكومة ...]

$_{COMP'}$[*lil muSadaqa 'la 'dad min al manaaSeb al seyaasiiyah fi al dawla bima fiha akthar haadheh al manaaSeb ithaara lil jadal wa huwa manSab raees al hukuma.*]]
'for endorsing on number of posts political in the country such as most of these argument posts is the post president the government.'
The known information, (تعقد الجمعية الوطنية العراقية (البرلمان) اجتماعا اليوم السبت *al jam'ya al waTaneeya al 'raaqeeya (al barlamaan) ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt*) 'making the association the national the Iraqi (the parliament) meeting

Saturday', precedes the complement which forms the new information, namely:
الدولة بما فيها اكثر هذه المناصب اثارة للجدل و هو منصب رئيس الحكومة للمصادقة على عدد من المناصب السيادية في (*lil muSadaqa 'la 'dad min al manaaSeb al seyaasiiyah fi al dawla bima fiha akthar haadheh al manaaSeb ithaara lil jadal wa huwa manSab raees al hukuma*).
In general sense, then, the information structure of the ST has been sustained in the same flow: T followed by R.
Upon further examination of the T itself, namely: تعقد الجمعية الوطنية العراقية (البرلمان) اجتماعا اليوم السبت *ta'qyd al jam'ya al waTaneeya al*

'raaqeeya (al barlamaan) ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt), the Arabic TT text begins with the

verb تعقد *(ta'qyd) 'making'* as in the following tree below:

TT: تعقد الجمعية الوطنية العراقية (البرلمان) اجتماعا اليوم السبت

*(...ta'qyd al jam'yah al wataneeyah al 'raqeeyah (al barlamaan) **ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt)***
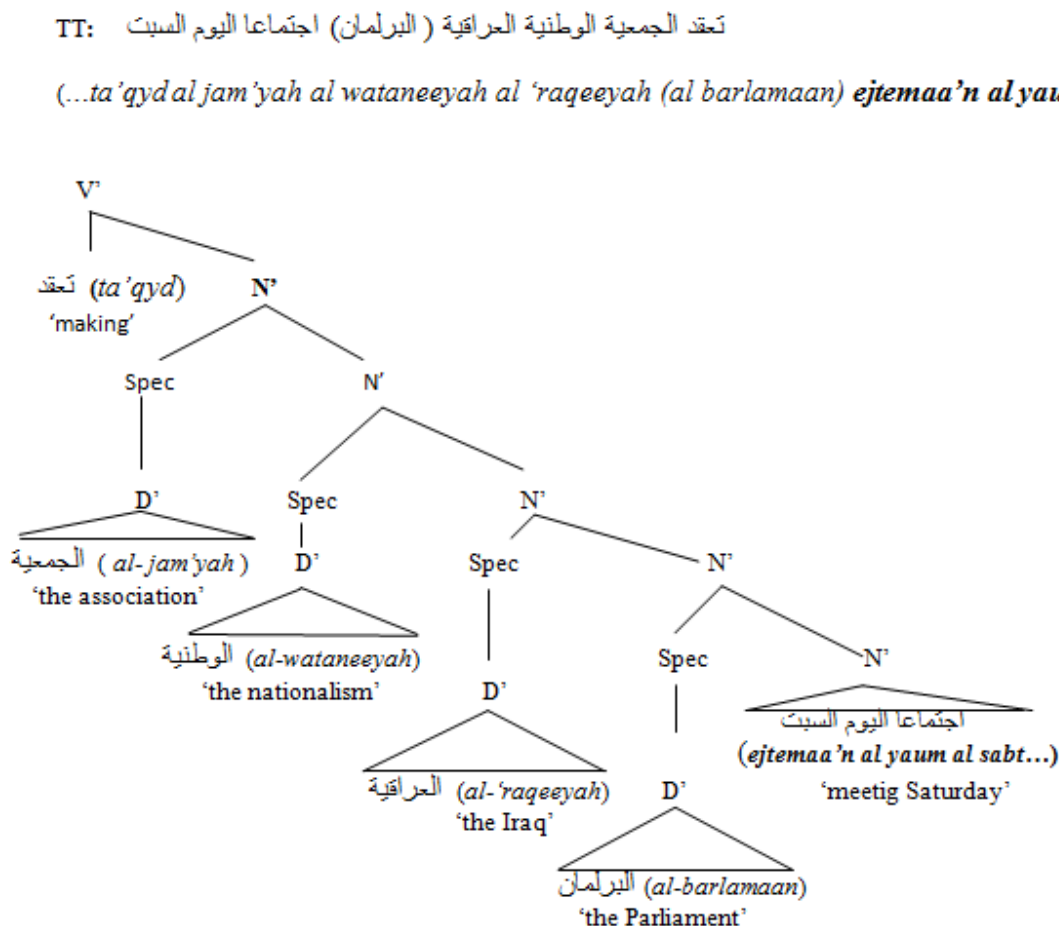
In terms of Halliday's (1985) view, the Arabic structure commences with the lexical verb تعقد *(t'qyd 'making')* which is the R and is followed by the constituents الجمعية (البرلمان) الوطنية العراقية *(aljam'yah al wataneeya al 'raqeeya al-barlamaan)* which is the T of the Arabic clause. This structure is consistent with the VSO unmarked word order in Arabic. In other words, within the general T-R structure of the TT, the information structure at the T itself has a microstructure of R-T: تعقد *(t'qyd 'making')* followed by الجمعية الوطنية العراقية (البرلمان) اجتماعا اليوم *al jam'ya al waTaneeya al 'raaqeeya (al barlamaan) ejtemaa'n al yaum al sabt.*

Moving on to the content of the output message, it is quite obvious that the changes in the information structure of T-R in the ST to a mixture of T-R and R-T in the TT have an effect in the content of the output message. In one sense, the TT saw the phenomenon not one of voting [+voting, -endorsing], but one of endorsing: [+voting, +endorsing]. It was seen in this manner by the translator probably because in the circumstances of that particular election, the voting itself might not really matter as the result would be the same any way. The other is possibly that the occasion was not for voting one particular office only, [+voting, -endorsing, + position, +single], but rather for several positions, one of which was endorsing the Presidential post: [+voting, +endorsing, -single, +President]. On the whole, then, the different information structure yields a variation in the output message.

The Arabic translation such as the one here is in keeping with the Arabic formal writing style where the text commences with a verb followed by the other constituents containing long string of juxtaposed determiner phrases and conjoined clauses. The first determiner phrases containing known information (T), (البرلمان) الجمعية الوطنية العراقية *(aljam'yah al wataneeya al 'raqeeya al-barlamaan)*, are followed by another

series of prepositional and determiner phases and joining clauses by a conjunction:

من المناصب السيادية في
الدولة بما فيها اكثر هذه المناصب اثارة للجدل و هو منصب رئيس الحكومة
(min al manaaSeb al seyaasiiyah fi al dawla bima fiha akthar haadheh al manaaSeb ithaara lil jadal wa huwa manaaSeb raees al hukuma)

Next observe the following English data in (3) below together with the corresponding Arabic translation in (b), the transliteration in (c), the BT in (d) and the content of the TT as in (e):

(3a) ST: 'Maliki endorsed as new Iraqi PM'.
US President George W Bush said the " historic achievement by
determined Iraqis will make America more secure…"
BBC Saturday, 22 April 2006

(3b) TT: المالكي : اريد تشكيل حكومة تمثل اطياف المجتمع العراقي
ورحب الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش با لا تفاق الذي توصلت اليه الكتل السيا سية في العراق و ا عتبر ان هذه الخطوة " ستجعل الو لايات المتحدة اكثر امنا"

(3c) Trs : *wa rahaba al-raees al-amryky jorj bush bi-alitifaq alathi tawasalat elihi al-kutal al-seyaseeyah fi al-'raq wa a'tabar ana hathih al-khitua " sataja'l al-wilayat al-mutahida akthar amanan"*

(3d) BT- the back translation of (c): …and welcomed the president the American George Bush for by the agreement which reached the politicians in Iraq and considered the step " will make the United States more secure"

(3e) Message of TT: …the American President George Bush welcomed the agreement that that was reached by the Iraqi politicians and regarded that it will make the united States more secure …

The information structure in the ST is one of T-R as follows:

$_{T1}$[US President George Bush $_{R1}$ [$_{T2}$ [said the historic achievement by
determined Iraqis $_{R2}$[will make America more secure…]]

Here, while the general information structure is that of T_1-R_1, within the R_1 itself there is a

sub-information whose structure is also T_2-R_2. In another words, between the interlocutors (writer and a reader, there are two known information, namely (i) George Bush as the US President, and that (ii) the determined Iraqis had made some kind of achievement. What is new in general term is that the Iraqis' achievement will make America more secure. However, within that new general information, one information is older than the other in the sense that the component '…will make America more secure' is more dynamic than the new information on 'the historic achievement by determined Iraqis…'

The English ST information structure has been translated as follows in the Arabic TT:
$_T$[ورحب الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش] (*wa rahaba al-raees al-amryky jorj bush*) 'and welcomed the president the american George Bush'] $_R$ [با لا تفاق الذي توصلت اليه الكتل السيا سية في العراق و ا عتبر ان هذه الخطوة " ستجعل الو لايات المتحدة اكثر امنا")(*bi-alitifaq alathi tawasalat elihi al-kutal al-seyaseeyah fi al-'raq wa a'tabar ana hathih al-khitua "sataja'l al-wilayat al-mutahida akthar amanan*) 'for by the agreement which reached the politicians in Iraq and considered the step " will make the United States more secure"
']
That is, the general flow of the original information of the ST as T-R has been sustained as T-R as well in the Arabic TT whereby the T is the consituent ورحب الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش (*wa rahaba al-raees al-amryky jorj bush* 'and welcomed the president the american George Bush') and the R is the remainder of the sentence: با لا تفاق الذي (*bi-alitifaq alathi* 'for by the agreement which…') …الو لايات المتحدة اكثر امنا… (*al-wilayat al-mutahida akthar amanan* 'the United States more secure'. However, as Arabic is mainly a VSO language, the TT commences with the conjunction و (*wa* 'and') as a liaison followed by the verb رحب (*rahaba* 'welcomed') and this is followed by the actual known information الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش (*al-raees al-amryky jorj bush* 'the President the Amarican George Bush'). Consequently, in the TT, within the general T itself, one information is more dynamic (i.e. newer) than the other in that George Bush being the President of the America is an older information than his act of welcoming the news about what the Iraqis had done. Here then is a phenomenon where the grammatical structure of Arabic has influenced the original flow of information structure T-R in the ST to one of a R-T in the

TT. This is so because the verb رحب (*rahaba* 'welcomed') is more dynamic (newer) than the constituents الرئيس الامريكي جورج بوش (*al-raees al-amryky jorj bush* 'the President the Amarican George Bush' **).**

On the matter of the whole message, there have also been some variations not amounting to a shift in the finer aspects of the information. The general tenor that an event had taken place and that the event will make America more secure seem to have been sustained; but the perception that emanates from the ST and that one from the TT seems to be somewhat different. That is, while the ST text saw the phenomenon as an historic achievement with the features [+ event, +achievement, +historic, +perseverance], the translator has downplayed the phenomenon and left out the features [+achievement, +historic, +perseverance] and instead projected the event as was merely an agreement arrived at by the politicians in Iraq with the features [+ event, +agreement, +politicians]. Here, while the translator had absorbed the main thrust of the message , he had side-steps the details which in his perception are not important to the Arabic readers.

Now consider the following data in (4a), its corresponding Arabic translation in (b) and its transliteration in (c):

(4a) ST: <u>Iran fears drive oil to new high.</u>
 Crude oil prices have risen still higher amid fears about continuing
 tensions between Iran, a key exporter, and the International
 community. BBC: Tuesday, 18 April 2006

(4b) TT: <u>ازمة الملف النووى الا يرانى ترفع اسعار النفط و الذهب</u>
و يرى محللون ان استمرار التوتر سيدفع ا لا سعار في اتجاه المزيد من ا لارتفاع بشكل تتجاوز معه قريبا سعر دولار للبرميل .

(4c) Trs: ...*Azmat al malaf al nuuwawi al irani tarf' as'aar al nafT wa al thahab*

(4d) BT of (c): *crisis the dossier the nuclear the Iranian raise the oil and the gold*

(4e) Message of TT: the crisis on Iran's nuclear (activities) raises the oil/gold price.
Here we are concerned only with the text that is underlined, namely: <u>Iran fears drive oil to new high</u>. The structure of (4a) is as in (a') below and its corresponding Arabic translation has its structure as in (b') below. They show syntactically the rhetorical differences and similarities between the SL and the TL.

(a') ST: Iran fears drive oil to new high...

IP [I'[N'[Iran fears] V' [drive   N'[oil   P[to   N' [new high]]]]]
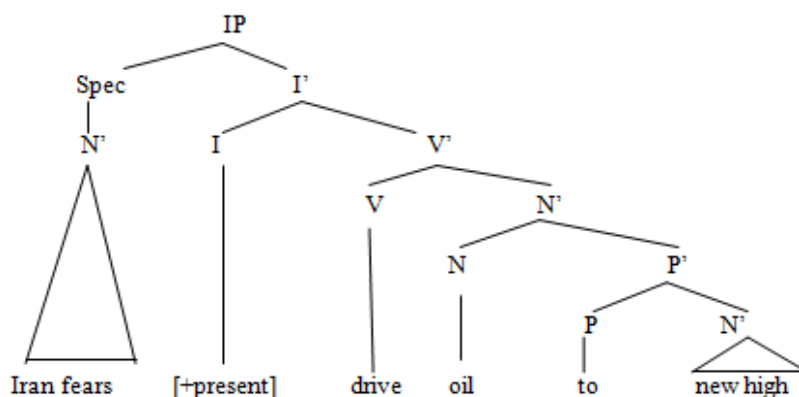
(b) ازمة الملف النووي الا يراني ترفع اسعار النفط و الذهب

Azmat al malaf al nuuwawi al irani tarfa' as'aar al nafT wa al thahab

IP

Spec

D'

N'

[الا يراني]   [النووي]   [الملف]   [ازمة]

[N [_azamat_]   D'[_al-malaf_]   D'[_al-nuunwawi_]   D' [_al-irani_]]

'crisis'   'the file'   'the nuclear'   'the Iran'

I'

I   V'

Ø   V   N'

ترفع (_tarfa'_)

'raising'   Spec   N'

N'

اسعار (_as'aar_)   D'

'price'

النفط و الذهب (_al-nafT wa al-thahab_)

' the oil and the gold'
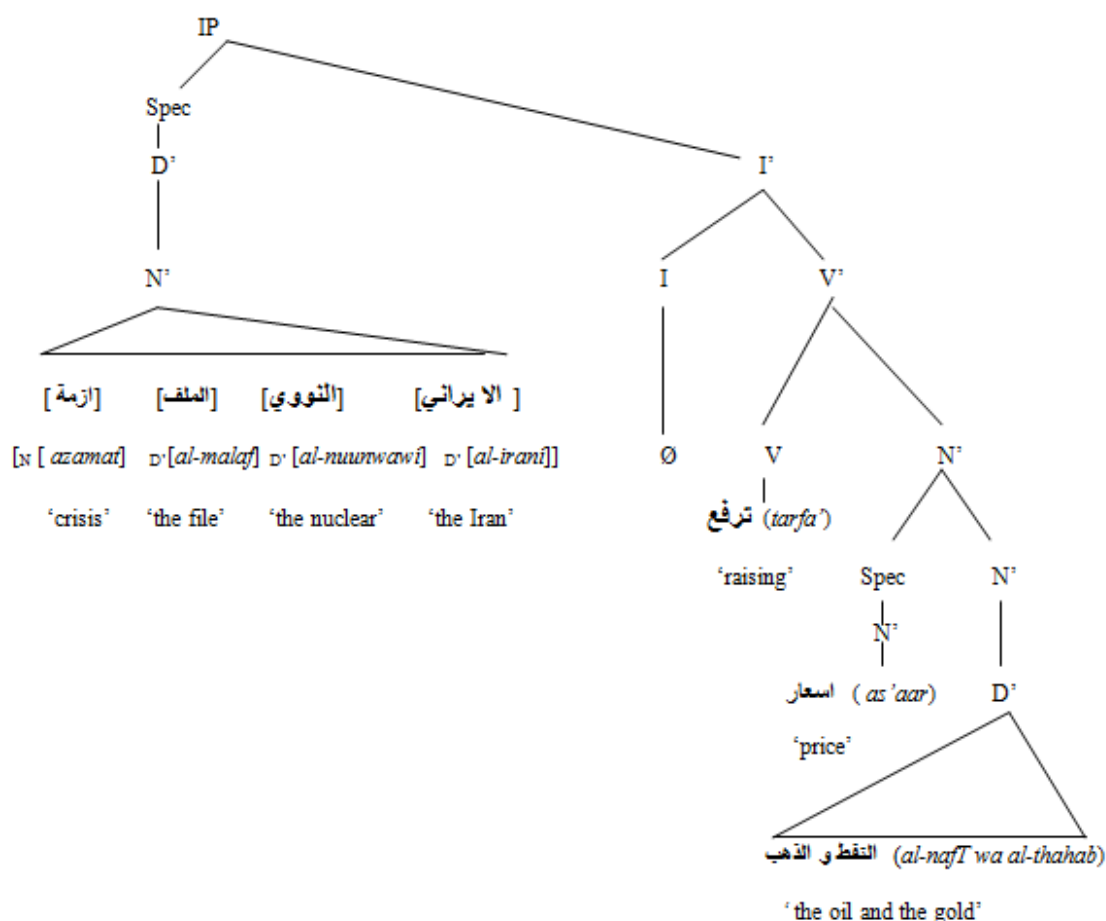
That is, they are generally similar in that both structures are basically observing the SVO word order, namely S (Iran fears)-V (drives) –O (oil) –Adjuct (to a new high) for the ST, and S (ازمة الملف النووي الا يراني) _Azmat al malaf al nuuwawi al irani_) - V (ترفع) - _tarfa'_) –O (الذهب اسعار النفط و)- _as'aar al nafT wa al thahab_) for Arabic.

In terms of Halliday's (1985) view, the headline consists of T in the ST as _Iran fears_ and its Arabic version ازمة الملف النووي الا يراني (_Azmat al malaf al nuuwawi al iraní_ 'crisis the dossier the nuclear the Iranian'), though it is not the direct translation of the ST; but here the translator seems to have used a communicative translation with the introduction of different lexical words. In terms of the T-R structure, the sentence _drive oil to new high_ in the ST is considered to be the R while in its Arabic version the constituent ترفع اسعار النفط و الذهب (_tarf' as'aar al nafT wa al thahab_ 'rising price the oil and the gold') is an R as well. In other words, the general T-R information structure of the ST has been sustained in the TT although the nature of the internal structure of the constituents within the T and R are quite distinct from each other.

With respect to the message _per se_, the semantic features of the ST include [+fear-Iran, +move, +oil price, + high, +new]. These decomposed senses have been supplemented in the TT with additional features like [+ nuclear, + gold] by two constituents: the lexical items النووي (_al nuuwawi_ 'the nuclear') and الذهب (_al thahab_ 'the gold'). What happens here seems to have something to do with the differences in _weltanschauung_ (world view) and perception: culturally, economically and ideaologicaly. With respect to the oil, the translator seems to have perceived that for the Arabic readers it would be more fitting and culturally as well as economically palatable to attach some precious value to the oil by analogously refering it as gold as well. As for the النووي (_al nuuwawi_ 'the nuclear'), in the TT the phenomenon seems to have been perceived by the translator not as an event creating 'fear' at all, but rather as a misunderstanding of sorts perhaps on points of strategies and ideologies relating to the alleged nuclear development in Iran.

Hence, while the T-R information structure within the ST *vis –a- vis* the TT has been sustained and the general content has been largely retained as well, the finer aspects of the information, however, have been colored by differing cultural world views as well differing ideological perception about events resulting in some variations in the message of the output translation.

The apparent similarity of S-V-O word order in both cases makes the Arabic translation somewhat literal and marked in nature. This is so because the S-V-O word order which is basic for English is not normal in the Arabic translation and also is not in keeping with the norm of Arabic syntax, which is basically a VSO word order. In addition, although the object (complement) of the verb in the English ST is merely a simple noun *oil,* its counterpart in the Arabic translation is a conjoined noun phrase the النفط و الذهب (al *nafT wa al thahab* 'oil and the gold'). It has added a new element *the gold* in it. Apart from that, the Arabic sentence still keeps the formal nature of the original English ST.

Now consider the English example in (5), its Arabic translation in (b) its transliteration in (c)

the BT n (d) and the message in (e) below:

(5a) ST: **" Bin Laden call falls on deaf ears'**
'Our goal is not defending the khartum government but to defend Islam its
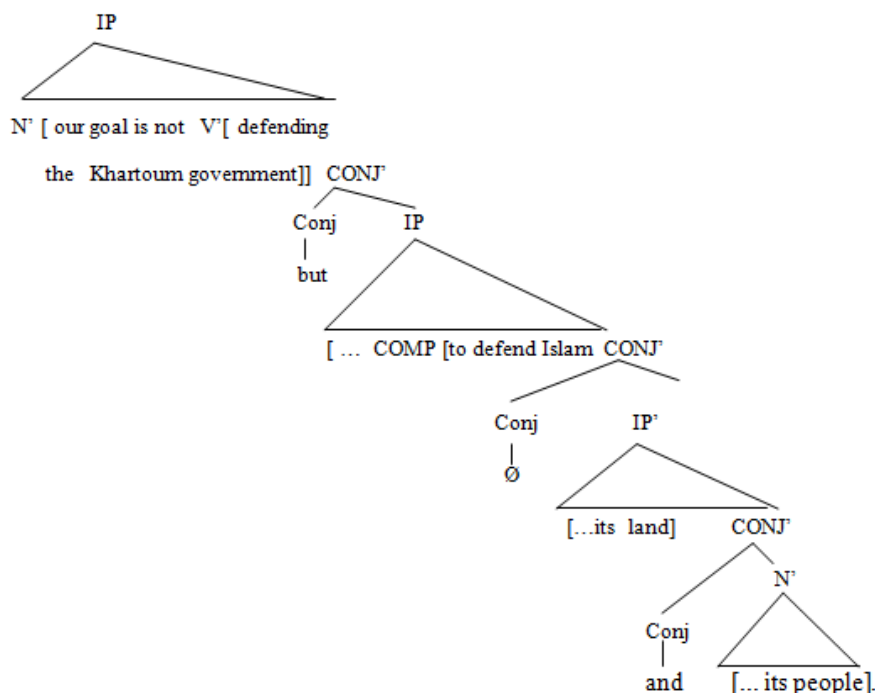
land and its people', he said. BBC Monday , 24 April 2006

(5b) TT: " سلام لا ضد صليبيه غربيه حرب " لادن بن
و اضاف " ان هدفنا ليس الدفاع عن حكومة الخرطوم و انما الدفاع عن ا لا سلام و ارضه و شعبه "

(5c) Trs: (*wa aDafa ina hadafana lysa al defa' 'an Hukumat al khartum wa inama al defa' 'an al islam wa arDeh wa sh'bih.*)

(5d) BT of (c): and added that our goal not the defense about government the Khartoom and but the defense about the Islam and its land and its people.

(5e) *that our target is not the defense of al-Khartoom government but the defense of Islam, its land and its people*
We are concerned with the underlined constituents of the texts in (5a-c) above. Sentence (5a) above has a structure as depicted by the phrase marker in (a') below while its Arabic counterpart has a structure as in the phrase marker (b'):

(a') 'Our goal is not defending the khartum government but to defend Islam its land and its people',

N'

D'   N'

the US   N   Adjunct

N

undersecretary   P'

P   Adjunct

of   N

state

N'

Spec   N'

A   N   Adjunct

نائب (naaeb)   وزيرة (wyzaarat)   D'

'assisting'   'minister'   N   Adjunct

D

ال (al-)   خارجية (khaarejiiyah)

'the'   'minister of foreign affairs'   D'

الا مريكية (al- amrykiyah.)

'the American'

The information in the sentence has a T-R structure in which the T is the determiner phrase 'our goal', while the remainder of the sentence is the R which is a concatenation of new information in the form of conjoined clauses comprising the following: '...is not defending the Khartum government, but to defend Islam, its land and its people'. This is similar to the general information structure of the Arabic TT in the sense that T-R information structure of the ST has been sustained in the Arabic TT as in (b') below:
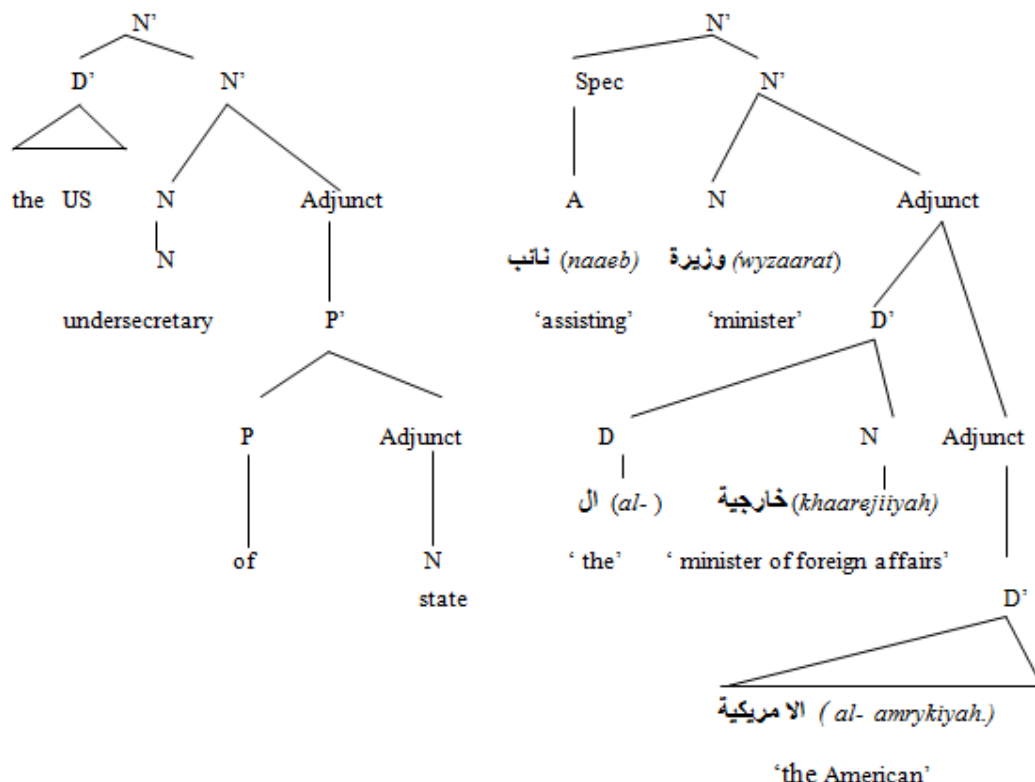
(b') و اضاف " ان هدفنا ليس الدفاع عن حكومة الخرطوم و انما الدفاع عن الاسلام و ارضه و شعبه

(wa aDafa ina hadafana lysa al defa' 'an Hukumat al khartum wa inama al defa' 'an al islam wa arDeh wa sh'bih)

CONJ' [CONJ [wa V'[aDafa COMP [ina I'[hadafana lysa al defa' 'an Hukumat al khartum]]]

CONJ [wa inama N'[D' [al defa' P'['an al islam] CONJ[wa arDeh] CONJ [wa sh'bih]]]]]

That is, the T (و اضاف) (wa aDafa 'and added')) precedes the R which is the remainder of the sentence- ان هدفنا ليس الدفاع عن حكومة الخرطوم و انما الدفاع عن الا سلام و ارضه و شعبه (ina hadafana lysa al defa' 'an Hukumat al khartum wa inama al defa' 'an al islam wa arDeh wa sh'bih '...added that our goal not the defense about government the Khartoom and but the defense about the Islam and its land and its people'). In other words, the translator has respected most of the words when translating the ST into Arabic text. It is noticed also that there is some structural and rhetorical correspondence between the ST text and the TT text. That is, basically both are similar: one principal clause followed by a series of conjoined clauses. Consequently, in general term the content of the ST message has been successfully captured and manifested in the Arabic TT.

Notwithstanding that, some differences do occur in the finer aspects of the message not due to the nature of the information structure of T-R, but rather due to the nature of the grammatical phenomena of Arabic language itself. These include the fact that the Arabic sentence is introduced by a complementizer ان (*ena* 'that'). In addition, there is an obvious introduction of the definite article ال (*al* 'the') in some of the Arabic words such as الخرطوم (*al-Khartum* 'the Khartum'), الدفاع (*al-defa'* 'the defence'), ا لا سلام (*al eslam* 'The Islam') when these definite articles do not exist in the corresponding ST. Despite all these finer distinctions, it seems that the similarity in the information structure T-R has been able to sustain the quality of the ST message and is manifested in the TT.

6. Conclusion

In any text, the thematic structure is organized on purpose by the writer of a ST. In our study, it seems that wherever possible, the translator seems to have attempted to sustain the messages of the information structure of ST in the TT. The study reveals that except for those differences embedded in the grammatical structures such as the uses of the definite article ال (*al* 'the'), the use of the conjunction و (*wa* ánd') as a clause introducer and a conjoined element, و انما (*wa inama* 'and but'), the complementizer ان (*ena* 'that'), the verb in clause-initial position, the T-R structure bearing the intention of the author of the ST seem have the tendency to have been reproduced in the translation. In some finer aspects of the information structure, however, there are cases where the T-R structures have been shifted to R-T structure. This seems to be mainly attributable to the VSO basic word order of the Arabic languages as opposed to SVO basic word order in English. With respect to sustaining the quality of the ST message, it seems that the translator has not followed any particular procedure of translating the ST, but one thing that seems to be somewhat apparent is that the translator has given a lot of priority and respect to adhere to the *emics* (i.e., the semantics, the syntax and the rhetoric) of the target language (Arabic) especially the sustenance of the VSO word order, the uses of the definite articles in series of determiner phrases, and the uses of the conjunction that are inherently Arabic. In terms of the content of the message itself, it seems that whenever the thematic structure is similar, except in cases where some new lexical (especially cultural) elements are brought-in to express the *weltanschauung* (world view) of the Arabs which might provide culturally laden information, the original messages of the ST have generally be captured and manifested in the TT. The following cases with are significant on this point:

خارجية (*khaarejiiyah* 'minister of foreign affairs'*)* from data (1),
للمصادقة (*lil muSadaqa* 'for endorsing' (data 2).
النووي (*al nuuwawi* 'the nuclear') and الذهب (*al thahab* 'the gold'), (data 4).

In general, this way of translating the English BBC political news into Arabic has in many respects been able to sustain in the TT the minimum quality of the ST messages.

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Differentiating between Genres of Musical Discourse

Evgeniya Aleshinskaya
Lobachevsky State University of Nizhniy Novgorod, Russia

Abstract
In the framework of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, 2005, 2006), musical discourse as social practice refers to specific means of representing specific aspects of musical life. Genres are regarded as socially ratified ways of using language in connection with particular types of social activity. In recent versions of genre analysis (Bhatia 2004, 2008; Swales 1998, 2009) context has assumed increasingly critical importance, thus redefining genre as "a configuration of text-internal and text-external factors" (Bhatia 2010: 32). Drawing evidence from a number of professional musical contexts, this study explores the nature of musical discourse and suggests ways of understanding and characterizing its genres. It presents a set of genre differentiation criteria, based on a combination of text-internal (text type, text structure, style, correlation of specialized language lexemes, nonverbal language use) and text-external factors, such as activity, communication technology, level of formality, situation type, place of communication, normative expectations, social roles, types of communication, and social relations.

Keywords
Musical discourse, genre, professional communication, social context, critical discourse analysis, multimodal analysis.

Introduction

"The wealth and diversity of speech genres are boundless because the various possibilities of human activity are inexhaustible, and because each sphere of activity contains an entire repertoire of speech genres that differentiate and grow as the particular sphere develops and becomes more complex." This idea from Bakhtin (1986: 60) helps us understand the growing interest of linguists in the study of the language used in various contexts and genres, including those referring to different professions. However despite the growing interest in genre and professional discourse studies (Bhatia 1993, 2004, 2008, 2010; Swales 1990, 2009; Fuzer & Barros 2009; Emmons 2009; Pavlovová 2013), musical discourse in all its diversity has not been subject to a complex linguistic analysis. This article therefore attempts to address an area that has not been investigated in the previous linguistic studies, being focused on specific features of various genres related to communication in the sphere of contemporary musical art. It suggests ways of understanding and characterizing musical discourse and its generic diversity. Drawing evidence from three professional contexts – a professional Internet forum, a musical review and a live performance, – it presents a set of text-external and text-internal criteria for differentiation between musical discourse genres. In the analysis of musical discourse and its genres, the role of context should not be underestimated, for specific text-external properties of genres determine the textual features peculiar to different genres of musical discourse.

1. Theoretical framework of the study

1.1. Critical discourse analysis

My approach to musical discourse analysis is based upon a version of 'critical discourse analysis' developed by Fairclough (2003, 2005, 2006). He regards discourse as social practice (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 258), and takes special interest in the relation between language and society, considering the context of language use to be crucial in discourse analysis (Fairclough 2003, 2005, 2006). Fairclough uses the term 'discourse' in two senses: (1) as an abstract noun, meaning language and other semiotic elements (visual images, body language) of

social life, and (2) as a count noun, meaning particular ways of representing aspects of social life. Discourse in the first sense will be hereafter referred to as 'semiosis', and discourse in the second sense is taken as a starting point in the analysis of musical discourse.

Understanding musical discourse as specific means of representing specific aspects of musical life allows bringing together various directions in musical discourse analysis: music as discourse (Agawu 2009; Sawyer 2005); song (lyrics) discourse (Dunyasheva 2010; Murphey 1992); critical discourse, or discourse about music (De Nora 2000); and a total of utterances thematically related to music (Mudryan 2011). This study encompasses language about music (e.g., musical journals, forums, books), language accompanying music (music-making or performance) and other semiotic elements (body language, images, music, sound) as ways of creating and communicating meaning. The multimodal analysis of record sleeves and music videos described by Machin (2010) also helped shape the framework for the study of different genres of musical discourse.

1.2. Genre theory and critical genre analysis

In regard to music, genre can be understood as a type of text (discursive genre) and a type of music (musical genre). Discursive genres are particular ways of communicating, using language associated with a particular social activity (Fairclough 2006), and act as means of organizing and formalizing social interaction in the sphere of contemporary musical art.

According to Bhatia (1997: 313-314), genre analysis is generally understood to represent "the study of linguistic behavior in institutionalized academic and professional settings", as linguists concentrate on a dynamic explanation of the ways in which professionals "manipulate generic conventions to achieve a variety of complex goals associated with their specialist disciplines". Bhatia's (2004, 2008, 2010) generic perspective on discourse analysis, or 'critical genre analysis', looks at discourse as genre and focuses on both text-internal and text-external features. However if text-internal (lexico-grammatical, rhetorical, organizational) resources "have been well-researched within discourse and genre analytical literature", text-external properties "so far have not been treated in detail in

genre theory" (Bhatia 2010: 34). By text-external resources Bhatia (2010: 33) understands "conventions of the genre in question, the understanding of the professional practice in which the genre is embedded, and the culture of the profession, discipline, or institution, which constrains the use of textual resources for a particular discursive practice." Being reflections of professional cultures, genres focus on social actions "embedded within disciplinary, professional and other institutional practices" (Bhatia 2004: 23). Thus genre analysis should combine elements of linguistics, sociolinguistics, ethnographic studies, psycholinguistics, studies of disciplinary cultures, and insights from professionals.

This article develops Bhatia's genre-based view of discourse, arguing that integrating textual and contextual analysis can help distinguish among discursive genres. Both text-external and text-internal factors will be specified in relation to musical professional practices in Section 4.

2. Data and method

Discourse analysis implies examination of texts in a wide sense – both written and spoken, as well as complex multimodal texts of television and the Internet, where language is used in combination with other semiotic forms (Fairclough 2006: 25-26). Materials for the research were drawn from musical journals ("Billboard", "Downbeat", "Rolling Stone", "NME", "Interviews"); sound recordings of musical radio programs on BBC Radio Two (http://www.bbc.co.uk/programmes/b006wr34/episodes/player, 600 minutes); interviews from http://www.youtube.com (518 minutes); video recordings of live performances, rehearsals, studio sessions and jam sessions on http://www.youtube.com (890 minutes); professional Internet forums (http://www.acousticguitarforum.com, http://8notes.com/f/). Lyrics of 129 songs belonging to pop, rock/hard rock and rap music were selected by referring to the top musical categories from the Billboard charts (January – June 2013) on www.billboard.com, and then collected, using the search engine www.google.com. 150 examples of academic, educational and business discourses were also collected using www.google.com.

My aim was to distinguish linguistic features peculiar to different genres of musical

discourse and explain their use from the point of view of the social context, so I decided upon 'qualitative social analysis' (Fairclough 2003). I examined textual features within a critical perspective and "the contextual frame" of the production of discourses (Baxter 2010: 128) in order to answer the question, 'Why do social agents in the music industry use the language the way they do?' (Bhatia 2008). A special focus was on the status of specialized language units extracted from the authentic texts, which was verified with the help of dictionaries of specialized language lexemes (Hitchcock & Sadie 1986; Latham 2002; Kernfeld 2003) and online musical dictionaries (http://www.grovemusic.com, http://www.solomonsmusic.net, http://www.allmusic.com). Interpretation of the social contexts of various genres was facilitated, on the one hand, by ethnographic interviews with a local sound producer and 7 musicians from 5 local rock, heavy metal and hip hop bands, and on the other hand, by the analysis of academic books and articles devoted to the cultural aspects of genres and specific types of interaction in musical discourse (to name but a few Knab & Day 2007; Doffman 2011) or websites describing the specificity of some genres of musical discourse (e.g. http://redhotdave.hubpages.com/hub/How-to-write-a-good-music-review for musical reviews or http://www.rollingstone.com/music/news/the-10-most-annoying-concert-behaviors-20130114 for live performances).

3. General view of musical discourse genres

Data examination and interpretation allowed me to draw the general view of musical discourse, which can be represented schematically as a number of genres representing the main four stages of 'life' of a musical product: 'creation of the musical product', 'completed musical product', 'distribution' and 'perception/evaluation of the musical product' (see Figure 1). The 'creation' stage comprises jam sessions, musical rehearsals, studio sessions etc. The 'completed musical product' stage is represented by song lyrics, scores, tablatures, music CD/DVDs, EP/LPs, music videos etc. The 'distribution of the musical product' includes live performances, TV/radio broadcast of live performances, musical interviews, musical articles, album presentations, musical ceremonies,

concert/tour notices, press releases, charts, CD/DVD sales etc. And the 'perception and evaluation' stage embraces musical reviews, Internet forums (general) and chats.
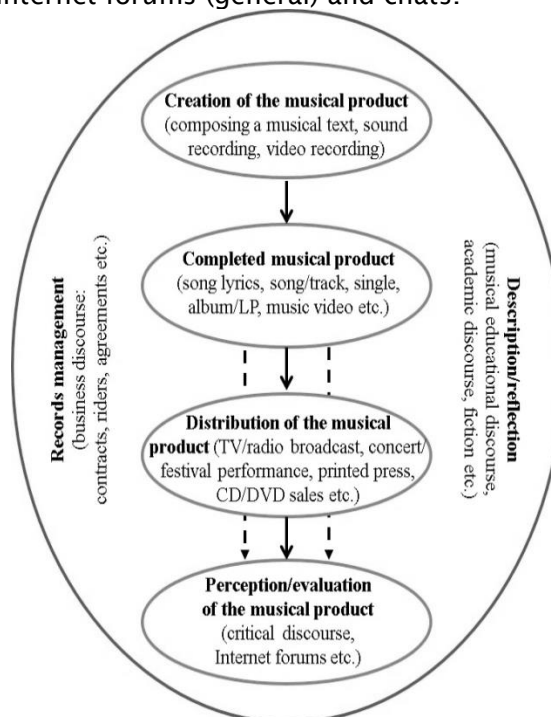

Figure 1. General view of musical discourse.

To the main four stages I added the 'description/reflection' of musical products, represented by educational discourse, academic discourse, fiction, in other words films/books/biographies, musical quizzes, lessons and workshops, TV/radio (educational) programs, textbooks, dictionaries, encyclopedias, and finally by professional Internet forums; and 'records management' comprising negotiations, contracts, correspondence, riders, and other aspects of musical business discourse. They can enter musical discourse at any of the four main stages. For example, professional forums include expert discussions of technical subtleties of the music-making process ('creation'), elements of musicological analysis ('completed musical product', 'perception/evaluation') and expert advice/opinion on records or artists ('distribution').

4. Genre as a combination of text-external and text-internal factors

Bhatia (2004, 2010) underpins the importance of context in genre theory and defines genre as "a configuration of text-internal and text-external factors". Lexico-grammatical, rhetorical and organizational

properties are viewed as text-internal resources. Text-external factors are discursive practices, discursive procedures and disciplinary cultures. Discursive practices include factors such as the choice of a particular genre to achieve a specific objective, the appropriate and the effective mode of communication associated with such a genre. Discursive procedures are the characteristics of participants, and participatory mechanism, which determines and with regard to the peculiarities of musical discourse. As a result, 14 factors were formulated (see Figure 2). The text-external factors identified in this study include: activity (purposes of activity), communication technology, level of formality, situation type, place of communication, normative expectations, roles performed by the social agents, types of communication and social relations between the communicants. The social context determines specific textual features of genres with respect to the text type, structure and style, and the use of specialized language vocabulary and nonverbal language. Genres of musical discourse are shown as various combinations of text-external and text-internal factors. Moreover, the 14 factors specified in this study act as criteria of differentiation between genres of musical discourse.
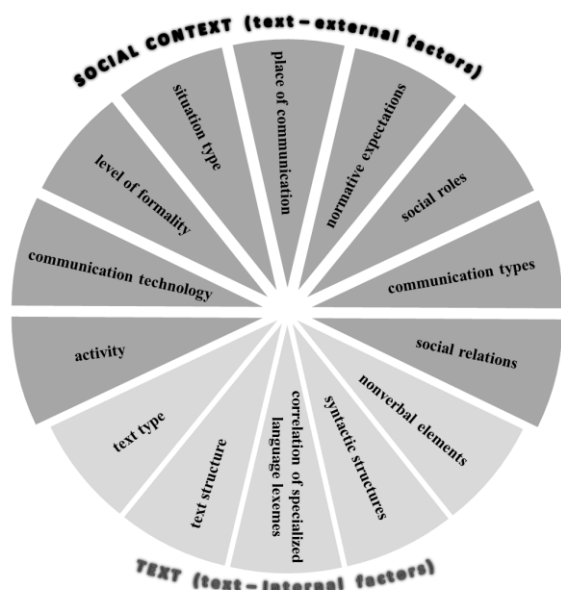

Figure 2. Text-external and text-internal criteria of differentiation between genres of musical discourse.

what kind of contribution participants are allowed to make and at what stage of the genre construction process. Disciplinary and professional cultures include generic norms and conventions, and professional and disciplinary goals and objectives (Bhatia 2010: 35-36).

The analysis of authentic texts representing various genres of musical discourse helped define the factors outlined by Bhatia (2010) more precisely

In order to represent different levels of communication, I have chosen three texts relating to three genres of musical discourse: (1) a live performance by an English indie-rock band "Keane" at ACL Live in Austin, Texas (January 17, 2013) retrieved from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ImzuSU5 kw1g; (2) a musical review of an album by an American alternative rock band "Wilco", published in the "Rolling Stone" magazine, issue 1150 (February 16, 2012); and (3) a thread from the "Acoustic Guitar Forum" on the topic of overdrive pedal effects (http://www.acousticguitarforum.com/forum s/showthread.php?t=292742). The texts which comprise the data for the present study exemplify many of the common features found in texts relating to live performances, musical reviews and professional discussion forums, and they will be described from the point of view of their text-external and text-internal properties as genre indicators.

4.1. Text-external factors
Activity. Pavlovová (2013) views the communicative purpose(s) as a crucial genre determinant, since it influences the content, shapes the structure and determines the linguistic features. Fairclough (2003: 72) insists that we should avoid centering our view of genre on purpose, as some genres like a friendly chat do not necessarily preclude purpose-driven strategies. He refers to the communicative purpose as the activity (or purpose of activity) and formulates it in a question "What are people doing discoursally?" Thus, in the musical review from "Rolling Stone" the author is evaluating a new album by an alternative rock band "Wilco"; through the live performance at ACL Live an English indie-rock band "Keane" are promoting their forth studio album "Strangeland" (2012); finally, on the Acoustic Guitar forum professionals are discussing a sound effect produced by a new overdrive pedal.

Communication technology. Fairclough (2003: 77) suggests further differentiation of discourse with respect to communication technologies in terms of two-way/one-way and mediated/non-mediated communication. This gives us four possibilities: two-way non-mediated (face-to-face communication), two-way mediated (telephone, email, video conferencing), one-way non-mediated (lecture), one-way mediated (print, radio, television, Internet, film). The professional forum and musical review under analysis represent two-way non-mediated communication and one-way mediated communication respectively. The live performance is viewed as an instance of two-way non-mediated communication between the band members and the audience at a live music venue.

Level of formality. The level of formality suggests formality or informality of communication within a particular genre and is related to the place of communication and the situation type. Musical reviews are generally formal (official), professional forums are informal (unofficial), and live performances are semi-formal, as they are characterized by informal conduct on the part of the band and the audience, while the conventional forms of ceremony (e.g. encore) are observed.

Situation type and place of communication. The situation type is represented by either institutional or everyday (routine) situations, depending on the place of communication. The live performance by "Keane" took place in the live music venue Austin City Limits Live (ACL Live), and it is an example of an institutional situation. By contrast, situations like writing messages on an Internet forum or reading musical reviews in a journal are everyday situations, because they are not limited by musical institutions and can take place almost anywhere (at home, on a bus etc.).

Normative expectations. Genres as reflections of professional cultures have conventionally accepted patterns (norms) of conduct, which facilitate communication within each genre. These conventions are usually expressed in rules (e.g. rules on the Acoustic Guitar forum, terms of entry to ACL Live) or can be given as recommendations (e.g. blogs devoted to musical reviews). In other words, communicants are expected to act in a certain manner, which is normal, appropriate for this genre.

Musical reviews are supposed to verbally show what music sounds like, so they are expected to have an original style and convey the sense of music in words through the use of poetic descriptions, alliterations, metaphors etc. However they are not supposed to be absolutely negative, and journalists are advised to always find something positive to comment on. The Acoustic Guitar forum is a place for guitar enthusiasts to discuss their favorite instruments, so communicants are expected to act in a thoughtful and respectful manner, avoiding vulgar, obscene, or otherwise inappropriate language or content. In contrast with classical music performances, at a live rock concert it is quite normal to expect audiences to dance, sing, shout, whistle or interact with the performers in other ways. Tom Chaplin, the frontman of "Keane", in order to build a rapport with the audience at ACL Live, encourages them to make even more noise: *"I say, you can make more noise than that! C'mon!"*

Social roles. In the selected texts the social roles performed by communicants are as follows: a journalist and readers in the musical review; several guitarists (guitar enthusiasts) in the professional forum; a frontman (lead vocalist), a keyboardist, a bass player, a drummer, stagehands and audience in the live performance. For example, the roles of the lead vocalist of "Keane" as a frontman during the concert at ACL Live are to introduce the songs, sing, sometimes accompany himself on the keyboard/guitar, and engage with the audience.

Types of communication. Social agents may differ in their levels of expertise (Bowker & Pearson 2002: 27-28) being professionals, semi-professionals or non-professionals. Professionals share a common background, special knowledge and specialized language, while semi-experts may be familiar with some of the terms and concepts in question and non-professionals have a low level of expertise. Therefore there are three levels (types) of communication within different genres of musical discourse: 'professional – professional' (e.g. communication in professional Internet forums and between musicians and audience in live performances), 'professional – semi-professional' (musical reviews) and 'professional – non-professional' (communication between musicians and audience in live performances).

Social relations. Social relations may be either symmetrical (horizontal) or asymmetrical (vertical). Horizontal relations

are peculiar to professional Internet forums, while vertical relations are typical of musical reviews. The live performance by "Keane" is characterized, on the one hand, by asymmetrical relations between the band leader (keyboardist) and the rest of the band, between the band members and stagehands, the band and audience; and on the other, by symmetrical relations between the lead vocalist, the bass player and the drummer.

4.2. Text-internal factors

Text types. According to Fairclough (2003: 21), some social events, like lectures or interviews, may have a highly textual character, while others may not: although a football match does contain talk (for example, a player calling for the ball), "it is a relatively marginal element, and most of the action is non-linguistic". In relation to musical discourse, I differentiate between three main types: 'verbal texts', 'musical texts' and 'multimodal texts'. Verbal texts relating to music appear in various types of sources: journals, websites, interview records, contracts, riders etc. They can be written (musical reviews, professional forums) or spoken (announcement of a song in a live performance). Musical texts include different kinds of notation, tablature, CDs/DVDs, tracks, singles etc. Musical texts can be written (scores, notation, tablature) or performed (tracks/songs played at a concert or recorded on a CD/DVD etc.). Multimodal texts include language in combination with other resources, such as images, gesture, action, music and sound. Thus, the live performance at ACL Live combines verbal texts (talking to the audience, song lyrics), musical texts (songs melodies, arrangements, rhythm), body language (eye contact, gestures used by the musicians for synchronization) and visual elements (scenery, visual effects, lighting).

Text structure. In order to communicate their intention, social agents follow specific conventions when they organize messages/texts, and these specific patterns constitute recognizable genres. For example, musical reviews in musical journals (see Figure 3) are basically organized in the following sequence: (1) release details (name of the artist/band, album title, musical genre (optional), producer, label, release date); (2) the introduction contains some background information about the artist/band; (3) the main body is a short description of the album as a whole and some of its tracks; (4)

the conclusion gives the overall impression of the album. The overall impression of the album is also graphically expressed in the star rating ($3^{1}/_{2}$ stars) to the right of the artist's name.
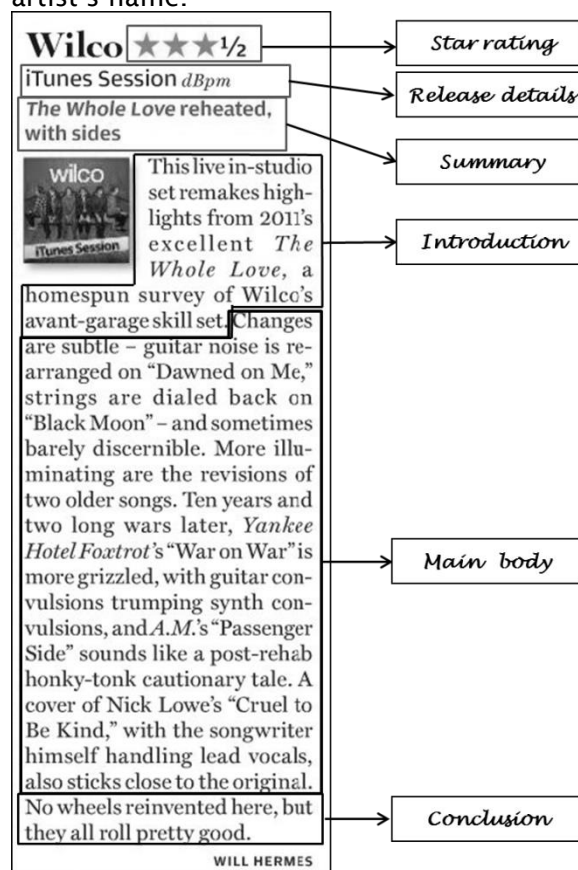
Figure 3. Structure of the "Wilco" musical review.

The live performance under analysis consists of 21 blocks containing the frontman's introductions to each song and the songs performed by the band (see Figure 4). The function of the frontman's talk is to engage with the audience and at the same time give the other band members time to prepare for the next song on the set list (change the equipment, tune up or simply take a breath and drink water).
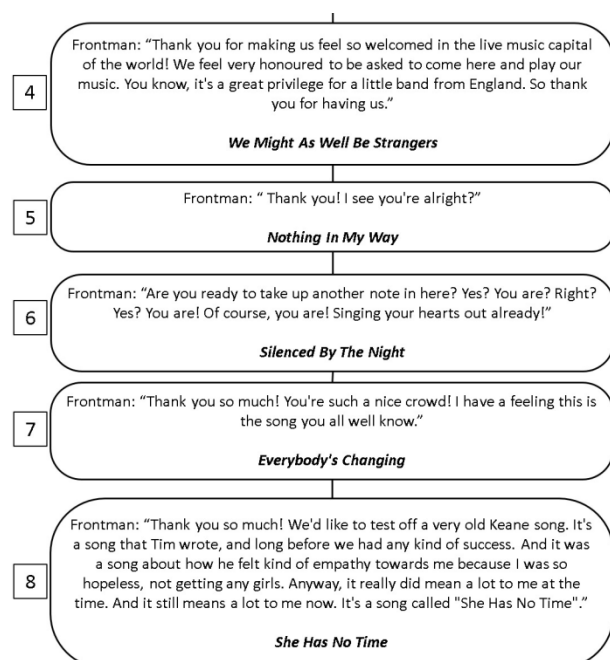
Figure 4. Structure of the "Keane" live concert at ACL Live (fragment).

Finally, the Acoustic Guitar forum has a hierarchical structure: it consists of a number of sub-forums (e.g. "General Acoustic Guitar and Amplification Discussion"), and each of them also contains sub-forums ("Electric Guitars"). The text sample for the present study was drawn from the posting and replies to the discussion forum on the topic (thread) "Overdrive Pedal Question" in the sub-forum "Electric Guitars" (see Figure 5).
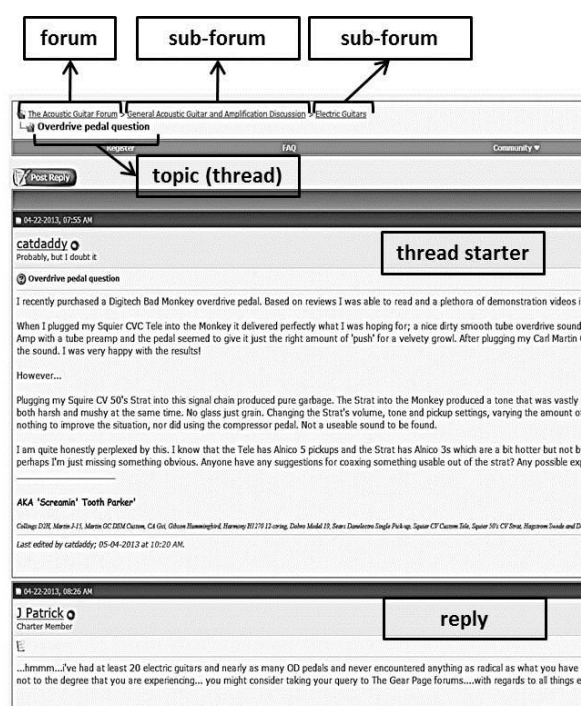

Figure 5. Structure of the Acoustic Guitar forum (fragment).

The thread consists of 13 messages posted to the website, and they can be divided into three categories: problem messages, advice messages and thanks messages (Morrow 2006). The problem message initiates the discussion and is followed by 8 advice messages and 4 thanks messages. It is possible to see some kind of organization in the problem message (containing an opening, background information, a problem description, and a request for expert advice), while there is considerable variation among the advice messages and thank messages in structure due to their spontaneous character.

Style. In accordance with Skrebnev's (1994) theory of sublanguages, style is a set of features specific to a text type (or an individual text). In other words, style is what differentiates between the three texts under consideration.

The messages on the professional forum are written in an informal style characterized by avoidance of capitalization, use of icons ("*Strat and Monkey live happily ever after!!*"), expressive use of punctuation ("*Thanks to everyone who offered their expertise!!!*"), frequent use of contractions (*that's, didn't*), ellipsis of subjects and auxiliary verbs ("*glad to have it resolved!*"; "*Anyone have any suggestions...?*"), extensive use of personal pronouns (*I, you*), and informal lexical choice ("*I'm a relative **newbie** when it comes to electrics*": "*I'm no **pro** here*"; "*I'm continuing to try new **stuff**"). The frequent use of technical terms (see below) indicates the style of the expert, at the same time the problem messages are notable for a rather frequent use of metaphorical language, which enables their author to describe the sound qualities for which there are no corresponding terms ("*a **velvety** growl*", "*It was both **harsh** and **mushy** at the same time. **No glass just grain**").

The style of the musical review is a combination of the academic and journalistic (formal) styles characterized by an impersonal, objective, factual tone, and complex vocabulary, grammar and structure. The author make use of a fresh simile ("'*Passenger Side' sounds **like a post-rehab honky-tonk cautionary tale**") and delicately plays with the idiom "*to reinvent the wheel*" in "*No wheels reinvented here, but they all roll pretty good*", and the song title "*War on

War" in *"Ten years and two long wars later…"* to add flavor to the review.

Most of the 'blocks' in the live performance are instances of the informal conversational style: *"Everybody doing alright?"*, *"I say, you can make more noise than that! C'mon!"* However, some of the extracts can be referred to the formal style due to the formal lexical choice: *"We feel very **honored** to be asked to come here and play our music"*; *"It's a great **privilege** for a little band from a small town in England"*.

Correlation of specialized language lexemes. Different proportions of specialized language lexemes (terms or jargonisms) are peculiar to different genres of musical discourse. The highest proportion of terminology (18%) was found on the Acoustic Guitar forum. However most of the terms are relatively specific (Skrebnev 1994) as they relate both to music and electrics: *gain*, *knob*, *humbucker*, *to plug*, *amplifier*, *high output*, *input jack* etc. The musical review, targeted at audiences without professional knowledge of musical details and special terminology, contains well-known terms like *remake*, *cover*, *synth*, *lead vocals* (9%). And addressing his talk to a wide audience with a presumably low level of expertise, the "Keane" frontman deliberately avoids musical terminology and uses thematically colored lexemes like *song*, *note*, *music*, *band* instead: *"We'd like to test off a very old Keane **song**"*; *"Are you ready to take up another **note** in here?"*

Nonverbal elements. Nonverbal elements in musical discourse encompass nonverbal terms (graphical signs such as ♪ or ◁‗‗‗‗‗ for loudness), body language (gestures, eye contact, facial expressions), image (objects, settings, visual composition, color), and sound (melody, modulation, arrangement, rhythm).

The "Wilco" musical review has two graphical objects: an image of a CD cover and the star rating showing the overall impression of the album (see Figure 3). The examined messages on the Acoustic Guitar forum contain two icons. By contrast, the performance by "Keane" abounds in nonverbal elements like body language, images and sound. Some of the nonverbal signs employed by the band members to synchronize with each other are illustrated in Figure 6.
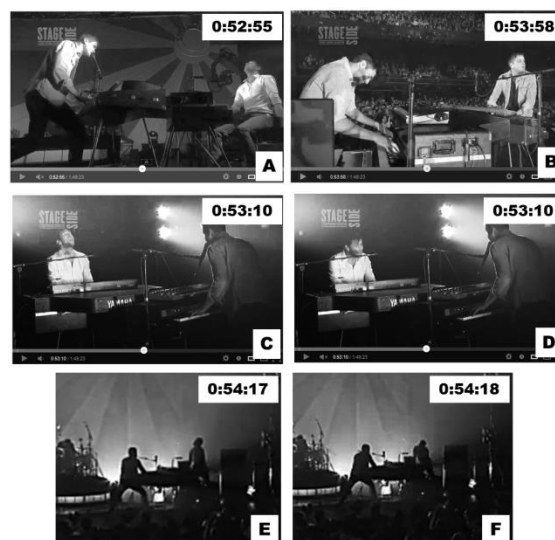

Figure 6. Nonverbal interaction between the musicians during the concert at ACL Live.

Synchronization (simultaneity) is achieved primarily through eye contact: if musicians cannot see each other, their coordination attempts will be in vain (Doffman 2011). When performing "A Bad Dream", the frontman has little confidence in the rhythmic pattern, so he either gazes at the keyboardist (Figure 6a) or the drummer (Figure 6b) not to get out of the rhythm. Gestures are also widely used for synchronization. Thus, the keyboardist (the band leader) nods his head to conduct his bandmate (Figure 6c, d) and finally rises from his seat and bends his body to conduct the other musicians to the final chord of the song (Figure 6e, f).

Conclusion

The basic analytical framework, employing the genre theory and the theory of critical discourse analysis, allows to define genres as various combinations of text-external and text-internal factors. The present study has identified semiotic properties (including language, visual images and body language) peculiar to the texts and contexts of three genres of musical discourse, in particular professional Internet forums, musical reviews, and live concerts. The three genres vary, first of all, in their social contexts, comprising different activities, communication technologies, levels of formality, situation types, places of communication, normative expectations, social roles, communication types, and social relations. The different social contexts condition different text-internal properties of the genres in question. These are text types,

structures and styles, use of specialized language lexemes and nonverbal elements (images, body language). The 14 text-external and text-internal factors identified and described in the present study are shown to act as reliable criteria in distinguishing between genres of musical discourse.

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Metaphor and the Political Identity of a Writer (on the Basis of Elizabeth Gaskell's Mary Barton)

Elena Glotova
North Ossetian State University named after K.L. Khetagurov, Russia

Abstract

Political identity is a set of beliefs about a social and political system, parties, organizations etc. (Winterich 2012). The two dominant political identities in Western states are liberal and conservative (Brooks 2006; Reyna et al. 2005, pp. 109–128). Metaphor is a linguistic, cognitive and cultural phenomenon. The principles of the author's conservatism and liberalism in Elizabeth Gaskell's novel Mary Barton are estimated on the basis of cognitive metaphor theory (CMT). Based on the analysis of the conceptual metaphor models we suggest that Gaskell displays her liberal political attitude in her social problem novel. In the final part of our study we consider the question whether Gaskell's liberalism might be taken for a socialist positioning, and demonstrate the writer's relations and attitude to socialism. In Mary Barton Gaskell voiced the formulated concerns and accurate warnings for common workmen, and stated the individualizing foundations of liberalism and Christian approach to inequality appealing to both social classes.

Keywords

Conservatism, liberalism, metaphor, concept, cognitive metaphor theory, social problem novel, Victorian Britain, Unitarianism.

Introduction

The famous British Victorian novelist Elizabeth Cleghorn Gaskell (1810 – 1865) is known for her outstanding narrative skills, directness and distinct female characters. Her first novel *Mary Barton* (1848) features the hardships of the poor in the city of Manchester and is a fine example of a political piece of writing representing two important institutions – the working class and the upper middle class. One of Gaskell's biographers, P. Stoneman, believes that the novel "offers a critique of confrontational politics", seeing family as a mechanism that reproduces and influences class attitudes. It is a novel that exposes how "the personal becomes the political" (Stoneman 2006, p. 46).

This study explores the question of how metaphor in the political fiction novel *Mary Barton* reflects the political identity (liberal and/or conservative) of its writer Elizabeth Gaskell. Our central hypothesis is that examination of an author's figurative language in general and metaphors in particular can reveal hidden meanings, views or ideological positions. Accordingly, we aim to reveal what the writer's choice of images in metaphorical content can tell us about her political attitude. We analyse metaphors that are typical for the liberal working class that the writer advocated, and the conservative upper class to which she belonged to a certain extent. In the preface to *Mary Barton* Gaskell says that the aim of her novel was to "give some utterance to the agony" of the poor in Manchester, which makes her a spokesperson for the oppressed. Therefore, we attempt to reconstruct the political identity of Elizabeth Gaskell that predominated in the novel and is brought to the reader through the protagonists she mostly advocated and equated with.

When referring to *political identity* we presuppose a set of beliefs about a social and political system, parties, organizations etc. (Winterich et al. 2012). The two dominant political identities in Western states are *liberal* and *conservative* (Brooks 2006; Reyna et al. 2005, pp. 109–128). J.T.

Jost et al. proposed two relatively enduring dimensions to separate liberalism and conservatism: "(a) advocating versus resisting social change (as opposed to tradition), and (b) rejecting versus accepting inequality" (Jost 2009, p. 310). The principles of conservatism and liberalism in the novel *Mary Barton* are estimated on the basis of cognitive metaphor theory (CMT). We argue that by reflecting the psychological and social experiences embodied in the conceptual domains and correspondences metaphors make the writer's "self" more pronounced. The study is supposed to contribute to the explication of the 'political self' of Elizabeth Gaskell as one of the contradictory types of her 'many mes' – that is, divergences in her identity. In the final part of our study we consider the question whether Gaskell's political stand might be taken for a socialist positioning, and demonstrate the writer's relations and attitude to socialism. Consequently, we assume that Gaskell deliberately abstained from socialism to suggest specifically liberal solutions to the existing socio-political problems. Indeed, Gaskell's solutions included a more structural than empowered approach that would appeal both to the lower common and upper capitalist layers of society.

Our method consisted in a) identification of conservative or liberal trends in *Mary Barton* on a contextual level; b) explication of Gaskell's socio-political attitude through metaphor analysis.

1. Cognitive metaphor theory and its application in fiction analysis

Metaphor has been equally successful regarded as a linguistic, cognitive and cultural phenomenon. In the classical general understanding metaphor can be defined, following Turner (1987), as an *expression of similarity*. Cognitive metaphor theory developed by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in a now-classic study "Metaphors We Live By" (1980) states that metaphor is a fundamentally conceptual phenomenon "experiencing one concept in terms of another" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The scholars claim that conceptual domains are expressed by conceptual metaphors (e.g. ARGUMENT IS WAR, LOVE IS A JOURNEY, MORE IS UP, etc.). Metaphor serves as a correlation between abstract concepts and embodied experiences, which makes it "much as part of our functioning as our sense of touch, and as precious" (ibid, p.

239). The usage of conceptual metaphors is driven by "implicit or unconscious habits of the mind", which makes it possible to facilitate the understanding of "ontologies embedded in them" (Lim 2009, p. 258).

Metaphor becomes a tool to comprehend our development, thoughts and actions. It is a fundamental part of the language system that offers a unique window on how we construct knowledge and reason about complex issues (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011, p. 10). It is as inherent in our functioning as the ability to express positive or negative emotions. The ability to metaphorize evolves with the growth and development of human capacities and experiences. Here we can remember Paul Ricoeur saying that if metaphor is a talent, it is then a talent of thinking.

We initially undertake the distinction between metaphors and similes on the one side and metonymy on the other. This differentiation is based on dissimilarity in the types of conceptual domains they are represented by. When dealing with metaphors and similes we assume identical devices where the target is understood in terms of the source (although there are studies suggesting differences between metaphors and similes (see: Semino 2008, p. 16; Israel et al. 2004). On the whole, simile is "an explicit statement of comparison between two different things, conveyed through the use of expressions such as "like", "as", "as if" and so on" (ibid:16). Within CMT simile and metaphor can be seen as the same phenomena or as "twin manifestations of a single basic phenomenon" (Israel et al. 2004, p. 123). Metonymy in turn is a mapping within the same complex conceptual domain: "... a metonymic mapping occurs within a single conceptual domain which is structured by an ICM (= an Idealized Cognitive Model) (Lakoff 1987, p. 288).

2. Findings and discussion

Metaphor analysis of *Mary Barton* showed the conceptual constituents of the novel and allowed to support the literary studies of the novel with linguistic data. Among 1002 metaphor models identified in the novel we singled out 223 metaphor models in five major groups for further analysis of the writer's social and political attitude. The fifth group representing workmen as mechanical objects is considered in connection to Gaskell's relation to socialism. In terms of identification of socio-political position it is

the content and qualitative value of conceptual metaphors that prevail over quantity.

Cognitive scientist George Lakoff identified "strict father" versus "nurturant parent" models as the corresponding reflection of conservative-liberal values (1996). Likewise, in our study we aimed to reveal other conceptual indicators that would give an insight to Gaskell's political attitude, and singled out the groups of metaphor models in support of her *liberal* position.

Table 1 summarizes the findings for 223 metaphor models that have been found to examine Gaskell's political stand (in %):

Table 1

№	Model		Number in %
1	*Human life as a supernatural phenomenon*		46,6
2	*Working class grown-ups as children*		10,8
3	*Industrial relations*	*as war*	9,9
		as illness	2,7
4	*God*	*as a Punishing Authority*	4,5
		as a Caring Master	5,8
5	*Workmen as mechanical objects*		19,7

2.1. "Human life as a supernatural phenomenon".

This model is in contrast with a conservative attitude to religion, which focuses on order and dogmatism. Conservatism in religion normally condemns the "supernatural" forms of existence, such as ghosts, witchcraft, and mystery: "Do not turn to mediums or necromancers; do not seek them out, and so make yourself unclean by them: I am the Lord your God" (Leviticus 19:31). Gaskell represents the lives of her characters and their socio-political and industrial relations in the Gothic terms of mystery, haunting, spirits, parallel worlds, ghosts and visions that are outside the aspects of Christian religious experience. We tend to see it as a *liberal* trend and suppose that a Christian writer with a dogma-adherent conservative

mindset would abstain from such images or use them less frequently. Gaskell dares to challenge the patriarchal view of religion and changes the focus of Christian symbols to supernatural spheres. One of the vivid examples is the image of Frankenstein as a model of the "uneducated behaviour" of common people:

(a) "The actions of the uneducated seem to be typified in those of **Frankenstein, that monster of many human qualities, ungifted with a soul**…
The people rise up to life; they irritate us, they terrify us, and we become their enemies. Then, in the sorrowful moment of our triumphant power, their eyes gaze on us with mute reproach. Why have we made them what they are; **a powerful monster**, yet without the inner means for peace and happiness?" (p. 170)

(b) So he tried to banish the **phantom voices and shapes which came unbidden to his brain**, and to recall his balance of mind by walking calmly and slowly, and noticing everything which struck his senses. (p. 492)

The metaphor *Frankenstein, the monster* in Example (a) exploits ideas of callous, rough force that appeared in unbearable conditions. In Example (b) the metaphorical utterance is *phantom voices and shapes which came unbidden to his brain*, and the target domain is unpleasant, unwanted thoughts and images that come to the protagonist's mind. Analogy is observed between the frightening phantom voices and annoying reminiscences.

The first impression with Frankenstein in example (a) is that Gaskell made a common mistake by attributing the creator's name to the monster. However, we can assume that Gaskell made a deliberate reference to equate the images of workers and their masters and emphasize the fault and responsibility of the "creator" (i.e. the upper social class) for what it "produced". Although the "supernatural" component of the model is close to the "mechanical" character of the Frankenstein metaphor, we favour the first interpretation considering the original text, and namely the doctor's fascination by the supernatural upon creating the monster: *"Nor were these my only visions. The raising of ghosts or devils was a promise liberally accorded by my favorite authors, the fulfillment of which I most eagerly sought…"*

(M. Shelley, *Frankenstein: or, The Modern Prometheus*, p. 55).

In fact by addressing supernatural images Gaskell not only challenges conservative Christian regulations, but also surpasses what is permissible by her personal religious choice of Unitarianism, one of the most "liberal" branches of Christianity. The main characteristic of Unitarianism is that it undertakes to emphasize the humanity of Jesus Christ in a rather liberal way: "More than a religious sect they were often described as a political group, radical in temperament and reformers by design" (Marroni, Verzella et al. 2011, pp. 35-48). Its adherents believe in the abiding goodness of human nature, and are critical of orthodox doctrines of the Fall, the Atonement and eternal punishment (Cross 1978, p. 1408). At the same time, according to Ephraim Emerton, Unitarianism condemns human aspiration to the magic and marvelous: "The wicked and adulterous generations still go on seeking after signs and wonders; but the mind that can see clearly, the heart that can feel warmly, the soul that responds promptly to all the influences of the Spirit, needs no appeal to the wonder-seeking impulse… It seems to them pitiable that people should be asked to spend their wonder upon the abnormal when the normal and regular is so vastly worthier of their regard" (Emerton 1916, pp. 54-55). That is, by bringing the supernatural images to *Mary Barton* Gaskell commits to what might seem radical even in her in her liberal-biased religion.

Eleonora Sasso in her analysis of Gaskell's supernatural tales confirms that the writer was "always ready "to allow her mind to hover on the borders of the supernatural", and often employed uncanny tropes and figures in her realistic stories" (Marroni 2011, p. 197). In fact, Gaskell was obviously intrigued by fantastic medievalism and sensual images of Pre-Raphael artists when writing her own ghost stories. This, as well as the supernatural tales of William Morris influenced Gaskell's short story characters, their speech and language (ibid, p. 212), which was appropriate to the occasion with Gaskell's "ghost fiction" but produces a strange effect in her political novels.

2.2. "Working class grown-ups as children".

This model reflects household and industrial worker-employee relations, and is a curious example of the novel meaning that Gaskell gives to paternalism. Not only common workmen, but the main protagonists Mary Barton, John Barton, Old Alice and Mrs. Davenport become "childish" in time of hardships and disease. The metaphors exploit ideas of ignorance, parental care, helplessness and naivety on the part of common people. For example, this is how Gaskell describes a meeting between the masters and the workpeople, where both sides were supposed to develop a set of measures to prevent further strikes:

(a) Some were for a slight concession, **just a sugar-plum to quieten the naughty child**, a sacrifice to peace and quietness. (p. 240)

(b) There was **the childish delight** of seeing London—that **went a little way**, and **but a little way**. (p. 116)

Example (a) refers to the meeting of the masters with the deputation of the workpeople, whereas in (b) we see John Barton's emotions when he was going to leave for London as one of Manchester delegates. By analyzing the connections between the source and target domains, we can understand how Gaskell metaphorically showed the gap between the two social classes, the inability to communicate in the same language, or the reluctance of masters to let the workmen "grow up" to the level of the owners. As a consequence, change in the attitude and acceptance of workmen as a mature class with equal rights are supposed to be simple and non-violent methods to restore the relations and find solutions to political issues by means of constructive dialogue. This model contains an interesting message that contradicts the conservative view on traditional social structures (including the institute of family) residing on rank and authority. By showing workers as children Gaskell gives a metaphorical representation of conservative social hierarchy, shows its failure in the existing form and suggests its immediate structural change.

2.3. "Industrial relations as war" versus "Industrial relations as illness".

The transfer of lexical items from the semantic fields of war and illness to politics shows that understanding of political events can be formed by how the writer comprehends military and medical processes. The choice of metaphors is stipulated by the author's message – the challenges she highlights and the answers

she suggests. Previous studies on the correlation between the type of metaphorical reasoning and political stand (Thibodeau & Boroditsky 2011) confirm a relationship between affiliation and the tendency to emphasize enforcement. Thus liberals prefer less "aggressive" reasoning in terms of "medical treatment" of problems in comparison with conservatives, who for the most part adhere to the "assaultive" scheme. In this regard our analysis has explicated that *difficulties* in socio-political relations are shown as "a battle (struggle)" (a) in the first part of *Mary Barton*, whereas their *solutions* are re-conceptualized in less aggressive and more constructive and caring notions of "remedy" (b 1, 2). These notions find a special and emphasized usage in the final chapters of the novel. In other words, in the end of the novel both the conservative upper class and the liberal workmen protagonists operate with the "solution as a cure/remedy" concept.

(a) The indigence and sufferings of the operatives induced a suspicion in the minds of many of them, that their legislators, their magistrates, their employers, and even the ministers of religion, were, in general, their **oppressors** and **enemies**; and were **in league** for their prostration and enthralment. (p. 114)

(b.1) *Mr. Carson*: "Thank you both for coming,—and for speaking candidly to me. I fear, Legh, neither you nor I have convinced each other, as to the power, or want of power, in the masters **to remedy** the evils the men complain of." (p. 516)

(b.2) *Job Legh*: "I'm loth to vex you, sir, just now; but it was not the want of power I was talking on; what we all feel sharpest is the want of inclination to try and help the evils which **come like blights** at times over the manufacturing places, while we see the masters can stop work and not suffer. (p. 517)

... If we saw the masters try for our sakes **to find a remedy**,—even if they were long about it,—even if they could find no help, and at the end of all could only say, 'Poor fellows, our hearts are sore for ye; we've done all we could, **and can't find a cure**,'— we'd bear up like men through bad times. (p. 517)

... To those who have large capability of loving and suffering, united with great power of firm endurance, there comes a time in their woe, when they are lifted out of the contemplation of their individual case into a searching inquiry into the nature of their calamity, and **the remedy** (if remedy there be) which may **prevent its recurrence** to others as well as to themselves. (p. 518)

The conservative metaphors *enemy, oppressor,* and *league* feature the aggressive attitude of common people to the authorities. As the story develops more military items are introduced to represent the target domain of relations between the masters and the employees: *soldier, musket, ground down to dust*. Nevertheless, the source domain of illness consequently replaces that of war to promote social change in Manchester. The metaphors *remedy, cure, prevent* explicate a more constructive approach that can satisfy both parties in a liberal way. On the whole, Gaskell had a choice of what pattern to follow with her final message to the readers, and her solutions turn out to be more within the *liberal* than the conservative subset.

2.4. "God as a Punishing Authority" versus "God as a Caring Master".

In this study we wanted to find the explanation of why some literary critics referred to Gaskell's discourse as "conservative" (Guy 1996; Harman 1988). In *Mary Barton* the liberal/conservative opposition is analogous in content with "nurturant parent"/"strict father" models of G. Lakoff (1996), and can be followed where Gaskell touches upon human relations with God. We identified two basic images in which the writer represents God through her lower-class protagonists: God as a *Punishing Authority* and God as a *Caring Master*. The mappings for the model "God as a Punishing Authority" (a 1, 2) constitute *punishment* (suffering as a punishment), *teaching* and *control*, whereas the model "God as a Caring Master" (b) includes the sub-groups "God as a Friend", "God as a Merciful Judge", and "God as a Kind Father":

(a.1) "Why, sir, I've been on the point of killing myself this many a time to get away from my own thoughts. I didn't! and I'll tell you why. I didn't know but that I should be more haunted than ever with the recollection of my sin. Oh! God above only can tell the agony with which I've repented me of it, and

part perhaps because I feared **He would think I were impatient of the misery He sent as punishment**—far, far worse misery than any hanging, sir." (p. 486)

(a.2) "Eh, dear, dear! No one knows what I've lost. When my poor boys went, I thought the **Almighty had crushed me to th' ground**, but I never thought o' losing George; I did na think I could ha' borne to ha' lived without him. And yet I'm here, and he's"—A fresh burst of crying interrupted her speech. (p. 160)

(b) "It's not often I pray regular, though I often speak a word to God, when I'm either very happy or very sorry; I've catched myself thanking Him at odd hours when I've found a rare insect, or had a fine day for an out; but I cannot help it, no more than I can talking to **a friend**. But this time I'll pray regular for Jem, and for you. (p. 348)

 The metaphors for group (a) *misery, punishment, crush to the ground, stricken, afflicted, curse of Heaven* and others explore the ideas of hardships and crisis. In contrast, when analysing the metaphors *blessing, Friend, Father lulling away to sleep, comfort, the orphan's Friend*, etc. in group (b) we can compare religious experiences with human relationships that bring freedom from worries and disappointment. Gaskell employs this liberal trend and advocates it through her protagonists.

As the story progresses we see the crucial questions that Gaskell raised in response to her own inner conflict and the place of religion under the developments in science and technology in Victorian Britain: God in the light of Darwinism and naturalism, faith in time of hardships, man and its role in social change. The symbolic figure of Job Legh who brings together both conservative and liberal representations of God (an allusion to the Biblical Job who never lost faith during an ordeal and was rewarded for it) seems to mirror Gaskell's own ideas on spiritual faith, community and social justice: woes and ordeals are inevitable but bring out a higher good, and the duty of the happy is to help the suffering:

 "It's true it was a sore time for the hand-loom weavers when power looms came in: them new-fangled things make a man's life like a lottery; and yet I'll never misdoubt that power-looms and railways, and all such-like inventions, are *the gifts of God.* I have lived

long enough, too, to see that it is *a part of His plan to send suffering to bring out a higher good*; but surely it's also *a part of His plan* that so much of the burden of the suffering as can be should be lightened by those whom *it is His pleasure to make happy, and content in their own circumstances.* Of course it would take a deal more thought and wisdom than me, or any other man has, to settle out of hand how this should be done. But I'm clear about this, when God gives *a blessing* to be enjoyed, He gives it with *a duty to be done*; and the duty of the *happy is to help the suffering to bear their woe.*" (p. 515).

As a true Christian Gaskell gives one more prompt to solve the question of social inequality without any contradiction to Christian values and with reconciliation to both social strata: "…to acknowledge the Spirit of Christ as the regulating law between both parties" (p. 518).

Gaskell makes use of both conservative and liberal images of God, and again concludes in favour of a liberal scheme. She appeals to "God as a punishing authority" metaphors when describing the periods of extreme tribulation, when her characters were facing threats or even death. This observation can prompt an answer to the question whether a conservative or liberal position can change and what factors promote this change. As we see it, sometimes a liberal attitude to God may become conservative under the influence of threats and hardships. We might also suggest that Gaskell experienced this conservative insight in terms of personal troubles, and consequently introduced her observations into the plot.

2.5. "Workmen as mechanical objects", and Gaskell's relation to socialism.

Conceptual metaphor analysis in *Mary Barton* argues in favour of the liberal political philosophy of Elizabeth Gaskell. At the same time, when exploring Gaskell's liberal attitude we need to estimate her relation to socialism and communism. These political trends are addressed in the novel through reference to Chartism and Trade Unionism. This borderline between liberalism and socialism is important since Gaskell herself noted with bitter irony that people called her "true Christian "me" "socialist and communist".

Elizabeth Gaskell acutely felt the condition of society, and consequently couldn't help noticing the oppressing dehumanization of

workmen. Here her ideas correlate with the views of Karl Marx on the commoditized market: "Production does not simply produce man as a commodity, the *human commodity*, man in the role of commodity; it produces him in keeping with his role as *a mentally and physically dehumanized being*" (Marx 1844). Gaskell's workmen in *Mary Barton* are conceptualized in the metaphorical lexicalization of machinery or an automated workforce that can be mercilessly *loaded, wornout, screwed, stamped*, or *turned*:
He went **mechanically** and sat down on the first chair. (p. 33)
The mills were merely worked **to keep the machinery, human and metal**, in some kind of **order** and **readiness** for better times. (p. 79)
Machine metaphors were common for Victorian writers, and together with Charles Dickens (*Hard Times*, 1854), Benjamin Disraeli (*Sybil*, 1845), George Eliot (*Felix Holt*, 1866) and others, Elizabeth Gaskell criticized the destruction of nature and "the artificial character of industrialization" (Rowan 2003, p. 35). At the same time, Gaskell doesn't go further with that imagery and withdraws from Marxist radical solutions, finding them inadequate to the existing problems. As Carolyn Lesjak says, the writer's sympathies are driven "by reform rather than the supersession of capitalist relations" (Lesjak 2006, p. 47).
Elizabeth Gaskell in principle treats socialism with utmost prudence and restraint, and this fact can be seen though her attitude to Owenism. Gaskell's critical regard to Owenism and trade-unionism is explicit in Job Legh's dialogue with Carson: "You mean he [John Barton] was an Owenite; all for equality and community of goods, and that kind of absurdity?" (p. 513). Here, Carolyn Lesjak has noticed that Job Legh often echoes Gaskell's own statements about her knowledge of politics and in particular about political economy – "the narrative equates Job with Gaskell herself" (Lesjak 2006, p. 59). Another reason for Gaskell's detachment from socialism is her specific understanding of capitalism. For Gaskell personal wealth is a given that should not be robbed or taken *by force* anyway. As for the subsistence of the lower social class, for Gaskell it becomes a moral and political but not an economic issue (see Guy 1996, p. 160).
The capitalist ideology of an individual in Victorian Britain was at odds with itself in its

attempt to bring together the concepts of individualism, self-effacement and self-sacrifice (Koustinoudi 2012, pp. 21-22). We might suggest that Gaskell was in agreement with this policy and saw non-aggressive liberalism residing on Christian values as a crossover point between the socialist foundations of equality and capitalist principles of religious order. Moreover, Gaskell's political intuition certainly prompted her to stay away from any radical outcomes favouring a more moderate and liberal way that might attempt to accommodate the principles of both parties.

Conclusion
Metaphor can give an insight into the writer's creative technique and serves as a tool to reveal his cognitive capacities, emotional state, social stand, and political attitude. It's a fundamental part of language and thought that is not only specific for life experiences, emotions and culture (Lakoff, Johnson and others), but identity-specific as well. Furthermore, metaphor mappings both supplement and guide literary studies; they indicate the spheres that stand out in the writer's plot and reasoning and promote further enquire due to the capacity of metaphor to represent the phenomena that are of specific cognitive and narrative value.
It is well known that the purpose of political discourse is to persuade others of one's opinion, and Gaskell's political fiction doesn't go far from this purpose, bringing to us the writer's ideas in an imaginary but highly masterful and convincing context. Gaskell's mastery of language allowed for equal distribution of metaphors in the novel. The particularities of metaphorical groups that were selected to reveal Gaskell's liberal attitude can be accounted for two factors. First, the models *"God as a Punishing Authority"* versus *"God as a Caring Master"*, and *"Human life as a supernatural phenomenon"* can be accounted for the writer's religious background and upbringing, and mirror her ideas on the spiritual world, strength and faith. Gaskell's liberalism made it possible for her to use "supernatural images" despite the strict border of religious dogma, whereas by representing God as a "Punishing Authority" and "Caring Master" she prompted the formula for reconciliation between the two opposing social classes. Second, the metaphor models *"Industrial relations as war"* versus *"Industrial relations as illness"* and *"Working class grown-ups as children"*

occur due to Gaskells' intention to voice the concerns of common people, focus on the neglect of the poor, and show the peril of aggression and the merit of constructive reform. Although the images of *"workmen as mechanical objects"* in *Mary Barton* may have features of socialism, Gaskell abstained from socialist revolutionary solutions to deliver her moderate liberal regards. These were addressed to the capitalist layer and with consideration to the capitalist position in society.

Gaskell's political "me" remained an object of dispute mainly due to the fact that the writer herself preferred to be rather reserved about her political ideas. However, metaphor models that we identified in "Mary Barton" and used as the guiding vehicles to her political thought, allowed for a certain clarification of this issue. Elizabeth Gaskell is a liberal at heart, who despite the conservative constraints of the role of a woman in family and society, tried to bring home to her readers the simple solutions to the challenging socio-political problem of class inequalities. These solutions are empathy, care for others and change that a person should start within his own self.

Speaking about the explication of an author's identity in political fiction altogether, we suggest that metaphorical data should be analysed with reference to biography and context in order to get a comprehensive view of the selected models.

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"I think my own view is that…" On the Linguistic Construction of Evidence in Courtroom Discourse

Magdalena Szczyrbak
Jagiellonian University, Poland

Abstract
The article reports on a study demonstrating how selected epistemic lexical verbs (Hyland 1998) are used by respective trial participants. Relying on the notions of epistemicity and evidentiality, the analysis reveals the ways in which certainty and uncertainty are communicated in the courtroom setting as well as highlights the distinction between a speaker's own point of view and reported points of view. The study draws on data from the Irving v. Lipstadt case, at the core of which lay the misrepresentation of historical evidence by David Irving, a revisionist WWII historian. The findings seem to indicate that in the adversary procedure, epistemic lexical verbs are used to communicate moderate certainty rather than uncertainty and that they are less frequently used to mark explicit doubt.

Keywords
Courtroom discourse, epistemicity, epistemic lexical verbs, evidentiality.

Introduction
Often approached from the typological perspective (e.g. Aikhenvald 2004), the grammatical and functional category of evidentiality has only recently attracted discourse analysts' attention, resulting in research which stresses the interactional potential of evidential strategies (e.g. Nuckolls and Lev 2012). The notion of epistemicity or epistemic modality, on the contrary, has received extensive coverage in socio-pragmatic (e.g. Biber *et al.* 1999, Coates 2003) and rhetorically-oriented (e.g. Hyland 2005) studies. Still, both evidential and epistemic devices play a prominent role in communicating certainty and uncertainty, especially in the courtroom setting, where the source and the reliability of information are often questioned and contested. This being said, this article will focus on the deployment of selected devices with a view to revealing their role in the linguistic construction of evidence and control over argument by respective trial participants. However, given the limited length of the article, its scope will be narrowed down to an analysis of the most frequent epistemic lexical verbs (Hyland 1998) associated with varying degrees of speaker commitment,

with the prototypical stance marker *I think* resurfacing as the most frequent item in the corpus. The study will also highlight recurrent knowledge attribution patterns, i.e. different perspectives from which information is presented and evaluated.

1. Linguistic expression of speaker commitment
The literature abounds in analyses focusing on the linguistic expression of attitude and speaker commitment to the truth of the proposition conveyed. Most frequently, a speaker's attitude is linked to two interrelated notions of evidentiality and epistemicity. Among the studies dealing with evidentials, in turn, two clear viewpoints can be identified; the so-called broad view and the narrow view. For supporters of the broad definition, evidentiality refers to any expression of attitude towards knowledge, its reliability, the mode of knowing and the adequacy of its linguistic expression (cf. Chafe 1986). By contrast, advocates of the narrow understanding of this phenomenon hold that evidentials denote only fully-grammaticalised elements pointing to the source of information (cf. Aikhenvald 2004).

Epistemicity, on the other hand, clearly involves a speaker's attitude to the information presented and, what follows, their certainty or uncertainty regarding the reliability of this information. As held by Biber et al. (1999: 972, emphasis mine), for instance, epistemic stance devices "can mark *certainty* (or *doubt*), actuality, precision, or limitation; or they can indicate the *source of knowledge* or the *perspective* from which the information is given." Also for Keisanen (2007: 257, emphasis mine), stressing the dialogic potential of epistemicity, the concept refers to "interactional and linguistic means by which discourse participants display their *certainty* or *doubt* toward some state of affairs or a piece of information in their own turn, or in the turns of others." In line with such reasoning, for the purpose of the present discussion, epistemicity will be understood as subsuming the category of evidentiality and, hence, the epistemic lexical verbs under discussion will be seen as including "an evidential supplement" (Plungian 2001: 354). Yet, before a detailed analysis of the deployment of epistemic resources in courtroom interaction is attempted, it is vital that the communicative context of the adversary procedure be introduced.

2. Adversary procedure revisited

Unlike the inquisitorial system which is in force in civil-law countries, the adversary (or accusatorial) procedure is typical of common-law jurisdictions and, accordingly, it applies to English libel law cases like the one providing data for this analysis. Essentially, in the inquisitorial system, "the truth is revealed by an inquiry into the facts conducted by the judge" (*A dictionary of law*, 1997: 235). The adversary procedure, by contrast, requires the opposing sides "to press their respective viewpoints within the constraints of the rules of evidence while the judge acts as an impartial umpire, who allows the facts to emerge from this procedure" (ibid. 7). Yet, as held by Solan (2010: 395), even though "the legal system is designed to uncover truths", in the case of the adversary procedure, it is done not by "disinterested research, but rather through the vigorous presentation of evidence slanted toward different positions." As a consequence, in civil-law cases, private attorneys of both sides use skilful questioning techniques to produce, not necessarily sincerely, evidence in support of the position they espouse. Moreover,

regarding the role of expert witnesses, it should be stressed that, as reminded by Solan (2010: 396), during the litigation process, lawyers seek to discredit opposing experts, or even to ridicule them, with the aim of "finding holes" in their testimony and altering the judge's perception of the evidence.

Gibbons (2005: 88), in turn, reveals that coercive questioning – during which the counsel controls the discourse and the turn-taking – reveals power asymmetry in the courtroom. Among the indicators of powerless language, he mentions, for instance, the use of hedges and mitigating devices, hesitation, uncertainty manifested by asking frequent questions or the time taken to say the same things. Interestingly, the scholar (ibid. 88) observes that the use of intensifiers such as *definitely* and *surely* in fact lessens the strength of the statement and the convincingness of the person uttering it.[11] Also idiosyncratic language behaviour affects personal credibility: with less powerful trial participants' narratives being perceived as less convincing than those of speakers enjoying a high social status (ibid. 93).

Again, it is important to note that the quest for truth is not the actual goal of questioning, which ordinarily is "not intended to elicit new information, but to supply a particular *prepared* account of events to the judge (and jury)" (Gibbons 2005: 96, emphasis mine). To this end, witnesses are merely used to corroborate the lawyers' version of events, with the judge being the intended addressee of the communication conveyed. More importantly, new information is effectively introduced in the form of questions for the witness to confirm (ibid. 98).

Not surprisingly then the fact that the data used for analysis are sourced from adversarial proceedings has implications for the structuring of courtroom interaction as well as the choice of specific linguistic resources and communication strategies. As is apparent, there is a clear imbalance of knowledge in the courtroom talk analysed. Thus, the counsel and the witnesses know the details of the case (however not the complete trial narrative), as does the Claimant, who offers his account of the

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11To illustrate his point, Gibbons (2005: 88) contrasts the qualified sentence "I definitely saw him" with the unqualified assertion "I saw him."

events. At the same time, the disinterested judge, though not totally unfamiliar with the facts, needs to gain knowledge from the narratives presented by the opposing sides. Importantly, while both the counsel and the judge know the rules of procedure and the rules of evidence, neither the witnesses, nor the Claimant (representing himself) share this knowledge and are, therefore, at a disadvantage.[12] Bearing this contextual background in mind, an attempt will be made to explore the pragmatic meanings of the epistemic lexical verbs selected for analysis.

3. Data and research focus

The corpus used for this study, comprising approximately 230,000 words, consists of five transcripts from the Irving v. Lipstadt libel case. At the core of the trial lay the misrepresentation of historical evidence by the British WWII revisionist historian, David Irving, suing Professor Lipstadt and her publisher, Penguin Books Ltd, for calling him, in his view unjustifiably, a "Holocaust denier." To provide a representative sample of courtroom interaction, the dataset selected for analysis includes the parties' opening statements (Day 1), the examination-in-chief and cross-examination of the Claimant (Days 2 and 3) as well as the cross-examination of two expert witnesses (Days 10 and 18). The transcripts were downloaded from the HDOT site: http://www.hdot.org/en/trial (date of access: 31 January 2013). Thus, the language samples analysed were those of the Claimant (who chose to represent himself), the defence counsel (a leading British libel lawyer), the presiding judge and, finally, two expert witnesses, specialising in cultural history and the history of Germany, respectively. It might also be mentioned that since, under British law, the burden of proof rests with the defendant, it was up to Lipstadt's team of lawyers to prove to the court that what the scholar wrote in her book was true. The transcripts were annotated manually with a view to identifying the most salient epistemic lexical verbs related to *knowing*, *not knowing* and

believing,[13] which would be worthy of note in a finely-grained quantitative and qualitative analysis of the whole body of transcripts.

As for the research focus, general questions guiding the investigation, intended to grow into a bigger research project, are as follows:

- How is evidence linguistically constructed in courtroom discourse?
- How are certainty and doubt communicated (negotiated) in courtroom interaction?
- What is the functional spectrum of evidential and epistemic devices in the context of courtroom talk?

Yet, for the purpose of this study, the scope of the analysis has been narrowed down and, consequently, the aim of this article is threefold: to identify the most common epistemic lexical verbs in the corpus; to explore their pragmatic meanings and, finally, to determine the perspective(s) from which the trial participants present information. Intended as suggestive rather than generalisable, the findings are expected to provide a point of departure for the subsequent examination of the interplay of evidential and epistemic resources in all the transcripts documenting the 32-day trial.

4. Discussion

Despite the plenitude of research into epistemic phenomena, to date no consensus has been reached regarding the arrangement of epistemic markers on a certainty-uncertainty scale. Whereas some scholars opt for a five-level distinction into *absolute certainty, high certainty, moderate certainty, low certainty* and *uncertainty* (Rubin 2010), others propose four categories, i.e. *absolute certainty, high certainty, moderate certainty* and *low certainty* (Thompson *et al.* 2008) or just three: that of *knowing*, *not knowing* and *believing* (Bongelli and Zuczkowski 2008). Bearing in mind that the strength of epistemic verbs and the commitment they convey depend on the syntactic environment (Marcinkowski 2010: 51) and that, therefore, epistemic lexical verbs defy straightforward categorisation, I will focus only on selected uses of these verbs with the first-person pronoun *I*, and not on distinguishing the different shades of meaning between certainty and doubt. In my analysis, I will follow Bongelli and Zuczkowski's (2008)

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12 It is interesting to note after Luchjenbroers (1991), studying Australian murder trial data, that in the courtroom setting "questions are asked by people who (generally) KNOW the answers, to people who KNOW that they KNOW the answers."

13 The Known-Unknown-Believed concept will be explained later in the article.

model, referred to above, implying that all statements can be reduced to three basic assertions: *I know*, *I don't know* and *I believe*, which, in their view, communicate *certainty*, *uncertainty* and *neither certainty nor uncertainty*, respectively.[14]

As has already been indicated, epistemic lexical verbs contain not only the epistemic component, but also the evidential one and, principally, they serve to convey one's (attitude to) knowledge and present evidence. Yet, more often than not, speakers rely on them for reasons not necessarily related to the assessment of their own or their interlocutor's knowledge. It can therefore be argued that epistemic verbs have dialogic potential and that they perform, by analogy to adverbs of certainty, rhetorical functions of "persuasion, manipulation, challenging, confrontation or acceptance" (Simon-Vandenbergen and Aijmer 2007: 42). With this assumption in mind, it will be shown later in this article how the most common epistemic lexical verbs are exploited by respective trial participants.

A preliminary examination of the corpus – including the most likely candidates for analysis based on similar research on epistemic lexical verbs in academic discourse (cf. Hyland 1998) – revealed that the interactants favoured verbs like *think*, *not think*, *know*, *understand*, *believe* and *not know*, which are considered to be high or moderate certainty verbs (see Table 1). Less frequent items not accounted for in this discussion, whose occurrences were sporadic, included the verbs: *find*, *assume*, *presume*, *feel* or *suspect*. For obvious reasons, *I doubt* (with just 0.55%) was not a favourite choice, either. Similarly, its negative counterpart *I do not doubt* was attested only by two tokens (0.22%). Thus, the data seem to suggest that epistemic lexical verbs are rarely used to mark explicit doubt, at least in the adversarial context.

Verb	Percentage of all epistemic lexical verbs analysed
think	61.40%
not think	9.39%

know	8.38%
not know	6.25%
understand	5.92%
believe	5.48%

Table 1. The most frequent epistemic modal verbs in the corpus (used with the first-person pronoun *I*)

Furthermore, were we to map the tokens analysed onto the Known-Unknown-Believed matrix, we would see, somewhat unexpectedly, that most of them are verbs associated with belief, rather than accurate knowledge, and thus communicating neither certainty nor uncertainty (Table 2).

I know (certainty)	I don't know (uncertainty)	I believe (neither certainty nor uncertainty)
know	*not know*	*think, not think, understand, believe*

Table 2. Epistemic lexical verbs associated with *knowing, not knowing* and *believing*

A similar conclusion can be reached following an examination of the verb-per-participant data. As can be seen in Table 3, *I think* was clearly preferred by all the parties involved. Remarkably, in the case of the judge, the phrase represented 70.30% and a similarly high figure (71.56%) was noted in the case of Expert Witness 2. Expert Witness 1, on the other hand, was the only participant who frequently (19.40%) admitted, during his cross-examination, to not knowing the answer expected of him. As regards the other verbs analysed, those were used with varying frequencies and, therefore, no significant co-occurrences were revealed.

Verb	Judge	Claimant	Counsel	Witness 1	Witness 2
think	70.30%	50.84%	59.83%	56.71%	71.56%
not think	8.87%	8.89%	5.73%	11.94%	11.76%
know	6.48%	10.16%	13.11%	8.20%	3.92%
not know	2.38%	2.11%	7.37%	19.40%	5.88%
understand	8.19%	9.32%	1.63%	2.98%	0.98%
believe	1.02%	16.10%	3.27%	--	2.94%

Table 3. The most frequent epistemic lexical verbs per participant

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14 Bongelli and Zuczkowski (2008) use the label "KUB" to indicate that, in their theory, lexical and morphosyntactic indicators are associated with the Known, the Unknown and the Believed.

4.1 The case of *I think*

Since the phrase *I think* emerged as the most salient item in the data, it merits a more thorough discussion and a section of its own. It is even more justifiable given the fact that, depending on the context in which it appears, *I think* can perform a variety of pragmatic functions. As established by Brinton (2008: 219), "epistemic parentheticals" such as *I think* or *I guess* are associated with hedging, politeness and discourse organisation and, further, they are used to express authoritativeness and conviction, on the one hand, and uncertainty and tentativeness, on the other (ibid. 219). In a similar vein, Aijmer (2002: 71) notes, in agreement with Hyland (1998), that *I think* can be deployed not only as a hedging, but also as a boosting device and, further, that the phrase can serve as a pause filler or as "a marker of certainty and authority." Finally, Kärkkäinen (2007: 185) contends that the phrases *I think* and *I guess* should be viewed as "stance frames" which "display and project an upcoming stanced action and organize the stancetaking activity between participants" rather than index stance themselves.

Because of such multifunctionality, it was presumed that not all the occurrences of *I think* identified in the data carried epistemic meanings. Consequently, a more focused analysis of the syntactic environment of this phrase was carried out with a view to revealing its possible functional interpretations. As shown in Table 4, 39.89% of the tokens were in sentence-initial position, with 57.01% in sentence-medial position and, finally, a mere 3.09% in sentence-final position.

Sentence-initial position	Sentence-medial position	Sentence-final position
39.89%	57.01%	3.09%

Table 4. Sentence position of *I think*

However, it must be acknowledged that since the individual functions of *I think* were not always clearly distinguishable, it was not possible to account unambiguously for these functions in each instance and, therefore, the data were not amenable to quantitative analysis. It is interesting to note, though, that the judge tended to opt for the sentence-initial position associated with authoritative claims (e.g. *I think it is accepted...*; *I think it is right...*; *I think we all know...*), while the other participants

frequently used *I think* in sentence-medial position associated with mitigation or pause filling (e.g. *...but I think...*; *...so I think...*; *...because I think...*; *..., I think,...*), and occasionally in sentence-final position (e.g. *That is very speculative, I think.*). Accordingly, Example 1 demonstrates how *I think* is used by the judge as a marker of authority, whereas Example 2 illustrates its hedging function.

18 Can I just see what Mr Rampton would suggest as
19 the appropriate course? **I think my own view** *is that*
20 Mr Irving ought to go into the witness box from now on (Day 2, P-117)
Example 1[15]

12 MR RAMPTON: Yes, so I understood, at Frankfurt. The last
13 document in this little clip is, **I think***, not connected.*
14 It is a letter, **I think***, from Hans Frank to Heinrich*
15 Himmler dated 23rd June 1942. (Day 18, P-11)
Example 2

Also relevant to this analysis of various uses of *I think* are instances of leading questions, in which the judge suggests the information to be confirmed (Examples 3 and 4).

11 MR JUSTICE GRAY: Well, they were German Jews, **I think you**
12 **agreed earlier on?** (Day 3, P-59)
Example 3

2 MR JUSTICE GRAY: In other words, there is some force in Mr
3 Irving's point? **I think you are conceding that?** (D 10, P-113)
Example 4

Finally, it might also be added that of all the occurrences of *I think*, 7.28% were represented by *that*-full forms, whereas 92.72% were accounted for by *that*-less forms. It may be posited then, following Brinton (2008: 13), that only about 7% of all the occurrences of *I think* denoted real thought operations, while the remaining tokens were subjectivity markers. Strikingly, close to one-third of all the uses of *I think*

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15 The examples contain the original line numbering as it occurs in the transcripts. The emphasis is mine.

(30.26%) by Expert Witness 1 was attested by *that*-full forms linked to cognitive processes. In the case of Expert Witness 2, on the other hand, the figure was much lower and it stood at 9.58%.

4.2 Negotiation of the status of knowledge

Among the epistemic lexical verbs used with the first-person pronoun *I* was, unsurprisingly, the verb *know* as well. Though not as frequent as the verb *think*, it was specifically deployed in connection with sources of knowledge. As can be seen in Example 5, the phrase *I know* is preceded by the speaker's justification of his knowledge claim, i.e. his reference to the documents he has seen. Note should also be taken of instances, in which the trial participants used the phrase *I know* to restrict the validity of their claims, as illustrated by Example 6.

2 (…). I have seen the
3 papers. I have copies of the documents. I shall show
*4 them to this court. **I know they did it and I now know***
5 why (Day 1, P-22)
Example 5

15 MR RAMPTON: What do you know of General Bruns?
16 A. [Mr Irving] -- what do I know of him?
17 Q. [Mr Rampton] What do you know of him, yes.
*18 A. [Mr Irving] **Only what I know from this document and from the writings***
*19 **of Gerald Fleming**. (…)* (Day 3, P-85)
Example 6

As has already been mentioned, the phrase *I do not know* had very few attestations – 6.26% of the epistemic lexical verbs analysed – and was used mostly by the expert witnesses, who weighed their words carefully when testifying under oath (see Example 7). The other participants, conversely, avoided confessions pointing to their lack of knowledge and preferred to communicate expertise rather than uncertainty.

*26 A. [Professor Robert Jan van Pelt] **I do not know** what happened. I already told you*
*1 yesterday. **I do not know** what happened in that room where*
*2 Jan Sehn was interviewing Mr Tauber. **I know** there were*
3 witnesses there because the original report mentions other

*4 people being present. **That is all I know.***
(Day 10, P-82, P-83)
Example 7

In line with the adversarial nature of libel trials, the data analysed indicate that the knowledge claims and the status of knowledge were frequently questioned and challenged. As might be expected, a wide range of epistemic lexical verbs (used with different personal pronouns), such as *accept, dispute, infer* or *believe* (to name but a few), was used to negotiate the significance and the reliability of the information presented in the courtroom. Accordingly, Example 8 illustrates Mr Irving's cross-examination, during which the counsel attempts to expose the Claimant's Holocaust denial and impose his view of events in an exchange of words which ultimately leads to what might be described as "sarcastic mock agreement."[16] The counsel only seemingly agrees with the Claimant that there were no gas chambers, whereas, in fact, he believes the opposite to be true (*So there are no gas chambers, I think we know that, do we not…*).

10 Q. [Mr Rampton] Let us break down your Holocaust denial then, so far as
*11 **you will accept** that you have made it. **You dispute** the*
12 word "millions"
*13 A. [Mr Irving] **I dispute** the word "millions"*
14 Q. [Mr Rampton] Yes
*15 A. [Mr Irving] No. **I do not think I have disputed** the word "millions"*
16 Q. [Mr Rampton] So "millions" is only wrong so far as the gas chambers are
17 concerned, is that right
18 A. [Mr Irving] Yes
*19 Q. [Mr Rampton] So there are no gas chambers, **I think we know that, do we***
*20 **not*** (Day 2, P-234)
Example 8

In a different sample of Mr Irving's cross-examination, the counsel, again, aims to undermine the justifiability of the statements made by the Claimant and to demonstrate their groundlessness (Example 9).

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16 I use this term after Hopkinson, based on his presentation "Keyboard warriors: Antagonistic facework in online discussions" delivered at the 5th Nitra Conference on Discourse Studies on 21 March 2013.

20 Q. [Mr Rampton] **What I put to you** *is this, that you inserted an order from*
21 Hitler without evidence?
22 A. [Mr Irving] **I inferred** *an order from Hitler with very strong evidence.*
23 Q. [Mr Rampton] **You state it as a categorical fact?**
24 A. [Mr Irving] In my introduction to the book, yes, **I draw conclusions***.*
25 Q. [Mr Rampton] And also in the text, if I may say so.
26 A. [Mr Irving] No, in the text **I state exactly what the documents say***. (Day 3, P-49)*
Example 9

4.3 Knowledge attribution and perspective

Critical, as it seems, in the negotiation of knowledge was also the perspective from which the source of information was presented. Therefore, to account for the various points of view recognised in the data, the Perspective dimension from Rubin's (2010) Explicit Certainty Categorization Model (intended for news discourse analysis) was adopted.[17] Yet, to suit the context of the present analysis, the model was extended and, as a result, the "Reports about reports" section was added. As demonstrated in Table 5, the perspective from which evidence was presented during the trial can be classified as belonging to one of the two general categories: that of "Speaker's own point of view" or "Reported points of view." The latter category, in turn, is subdivided into: "Direct participant's account", "Expert's view" and "Reports about reports", as mentioned above. It is believed that the model helps to categorise knowledge claims and information attribution patterns found in courtroom talk as well as to associate them with various degrees of certainty.

SPEAKER'S OWN POINT OF VIEW (Claimant, defence counsel, judge, expert witnesses)	REPORTED POINT OF VIEW		
	Direct participant's account (Witnesses to and victims of Nazi crimes, SS officers)	Expert's view (Historical documents, history books, legal sources, expert reports, experts' opinions)	Reports about reports (Normative viewpoints, hearsay)
First-person pronoun + active voice: e.g. *I think, I believe, I feel* **Passive voice:** e.g. *as can be assumed, as can be presumed*	e.g. *X said, X testified, in X's testimony*	e.g. *as Professor X indicates, according to Professor X, in X's report we read*	**Normative viewpoints:** e.g. *it is commonly believed, it is generally understood/ agreed* **Hearsay:** e.g. *people say/think, they say, I hear, X told Y*

Table 5. Sources of information (adapted from Rubin 2010)

Following the categories outlined above, Examples 10, 11 and 12 illustrate the speaker's own point of view, manifested by the presence of first-person pronouns (*I, we*) as well as object (*me*) and possessive pronouns (*my*). Interestingly, in Example 12, the counsel resorts to the inclusive use of *we* (**we in this court**) to assert the validity of his claim and to strengthen his authority.

16 A. [Professor Richard John Evans] **That is my understanding***, yes, because they were deemed to*
17 be relevant to the case. (Day 18, P-46)
Example 10

16 MR JUSTICE GRAY: **Take it from me** *it is right.* **We went** *through*
17 it and it is obviously right. (Day 18, P-26)
Example 11

14 Q. [Mr Rampton] That is a possible interpretation, **we in this court***, and*
15 **I do not know** *about the court of history,* **we in this court**
16 when **we say** *"evidence"* **we mean** *"evidence" not "inference". (Day 3, P-42)*
Example 12

On the other hand, an interesting shift of perspective can be observed in Example 13, where the Claimant initially adopts the *I* perspective only to abandon it (**one**

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17 In Rubin's model, "Perspective" is one of the organising principles of news production and presentation, alongside the "Focus" and "Time" dimensions.

occasionally makes slips of the memory...) when explaining why he may not remember certain things. This allows him to distance himself from what might weaken his testimony.

*22 A. [Mr Irving] Mr Rampton, **may I explain** to you that in the last four*
23 days I have had six hours sleep? Is this a satisfactory
*24 answer to why **one occasionally makes slips of the memory***
*25 in the witness box? If not, then **I will go into it in***
26 greater detail. (Day 3, P-31)
Example 13

Unsurprisingly, since "drawing on the words of others" is a way of creating powerful evidence (Buttny and Cohen 2007), the trial participants often attributed their knowledge to authoritative and reliable, in their view, sources of information. In the narratives supported by third-party evidence, the counsel and the testifying witnesses relied on direct participants' accounts, experts' views or, least frequently, they referred to reports about report events (i.e. normative viewpoints and hearsay).

A direct participant's perspective can be seen in Example 14, where the Claimant cites the words of Mr Bruns describing Hitler's alleged order to terminate the liquidation of Jews. An expert's view, in turn, is shown in Example 15, where Professor Evans refers to his own report drawing on a historical book about Hitler.

*12 A. [Mr Irving] Yes. **In which there is talk in the Bruns Report of Bruns***
*13 **saying we sent an urgent message to Hitler's Headquarters,***
*14 **how could we do it, then the word comes back to the Riga***
*15 **front to the young SS man, he said, we received orders,***
*16 **this kind of thing has to stop.** This is the kind of*
17 extraneous information one takes on board when one draws
18 inferences from documents. (Day 3, P-54)
Example 14

24 Q. [Mr Irving] Are you aware that the Second Defendant said that my
25 admiration of Hitler went so far, by imputation, by
26 inference, that I had a portrait of Adolf Hitler hanging

1 on my wall in my study?
*2 A. [Professor Richard John Evans] **I do in fact cite I think in my report a book by Robert***
*3 **Harris called "Serving Hitler" where I think he mentions** (Day 18, P-64, P-65)*
Example 15

Finally, the label "Reports about reports", referring to hearsay, can be applied to Example 16, where the Claimant questions the evidentiary value of a statement which turns out to be a recollection by a German officer of what his inmate had said a few years before. Similarly, Example 17 demonstrates how Expert Witness 1 explains that a Red Army war correspondent, Mr Polivoy based his vision of Auschwitz installations partly on what he heard from the camp survivors and partly on his own imagination.

7 A. [Mr Irving] We have been over this, but we will attack it from a
*8 different angle. **We are dealing not with a verbatim***
*9 **transcript of what Altemeyer said, we are dealing with the***
*10 **recollection by a German army general four years later of***
*11 **what Altemeyer had said.** (Day 3, P-106)*
Example 16

*17 I think Mr Polivoy, **partly probably on what he heard***
*18 **people say** who had remained there which was largely sick*
19 people, and partly on the basis of his own imaginings,
20 tried to imagine what such a place would have been. (Day 10, P-58)
Example 17

Example 18, in turn, shows what might be referred to as a "normative viewpoint", i.e. something which is "generally understood, accepted and perceived." As can be easily noticed, Mr Irving questions the purposefulness of the reference to the general perception of the Holocaust (*one version of the Holocaust which is generally understood, accepted and perceived...*), demanding that the active voice be used in the description of the common understanding of the Holocaust.

*16 Q. [Mr Rampton] Would you accept that **one version of the Holocaust which***
*17 **is generally understood, accepted and perceived** ---*

18 A. [Mr Irving] **Will you avoid using the passive voice so we know**
19 **precisely who is generally accepting, understanding and**
20 **perceiving**
21 Q. [Mr Rampton] Call it the public at large, the audiences to whom you
22 speak
23 A. [Mr Irving] Have you stood in Oxford Street with a clip board asking
24 them, the public at large
25 Q. [Mr Rampton] **You will not commit yourself to a generally understood**
26 **sense of the Holocaust then** (Day 2, P-250)
Example 18

In sum, the trial participants relied on a variety of sources when providing their accounts of events. While some of their claims were justified by first-hand evidence, others were based on less credible secondary sources. Needless to add, the perception of information offered as evidence depended on the type of source and the manner in which it was communicated.

Concluding remarks
As has been shown, epistemic lexical verbs, and in particular the phrase *I think*, were frequently deployed to convey subjective meanings and to communicate various degrees of certainty in courtroom talk. Even though the strength of the verbs analysed was not measurable in absolute terms, and as such it did not lend itself to quantitative analysis, the examination seems to indicate that the trial participants avoided verbs marking doubt or pointing to their lack of knowledge as well as suggests directions which may be followed in a more thorough investigation of the trial data. Therefore, it appears that a detailed study of the co-occurrence of epistemic lexical verbs, adverbs of certainty, modal verbs, speech-act verbs and evaluative adjectives may provide new insights into the role which epistemic and evidential markers play in the negotiation of the status of knowledge in adversary courtroom encounters.

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Adresy/Addresses

Zsuzsanna Ajtony, PhD.
Department of Humanities
Sapientia Hungarian University of
Transylvania
530104 Miercurea Ciuc
Piata Libertăţii nr.1, Romania
Phone: +40 266 311038
E-mail: ajtonyzsuzsa@yahoo.com

Elena Buja
Department of Theoretical and Applied
Linguistics
Faculty of Languages and Literatures
Transilvania University of Brasov
Bd. Eroilor 25, 500030, Braşov, Romania
Phone: +40 268 474059
E-mail: elena_buja@yahoo.com

Linda Fraňová
Department of English and American
Studies
Faculty of Arts
Constantine the Philosopher University in
Nitra
Štefánikova 67
949 74 Nitra, Slovak Republic
Slovakia
Phone: +421 37 6408455
E-mail: linda.franova@gmail.com

Kais A. Kadhim, PhD.
English Department
Faculty of Language and Linguistics
University of Malaya
50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Phone: +603 7967 3177
E-mail: Kaisamir2009@yahoo.com

Ghayth K. Shaker al-Shaibani, PhD.
Faculty of Science
University of Malaya
50603 Kuala Lumpur, Malaysia
Phone: +603 7967 4379
E-mail: ghayth@usm.my

Evgeniya Aleshinskaya, PhD.
Lobachevsky State University of Nizhniy
Novgorod
Gagarina Prospekt, 23.
603022 Nizhniy Novgorod, Russia
Phone: +7 831 4623008.
E-mail: aleshinskaya_jane@yahoo.co.uk

Elena Glotova
Faculty of Foreign Languages
North Ossetian State University of K.L.
Khetagurov
Vladikavkaz , Russia
Phone: +7 8672743191
E-mail: elena.glotova@gmail.com

Magdalena Szczyrbak, PhD
Institute of English Studies
Jagiellonian University
ul. Kanonicza 14
30-001 Kraków, Poland
Phone: +48 12 422 7955
E-mail: magdalena.szczyrbak@uj.edu.pl