FOREWORD

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UNITY IN COMPLEXITY:
THE CENTRAL ROLE OF LANGUAGE PLAY

Complexity

It is perhaps a truism to say that there is no aspect of human be-
haviour more complex than language, but it is nonetheless worth re-
flecting on just what this means in relation to English. First, in terms of
structure. We are talking about a sound system consisting of (for most
accents) 44 individual vowel and consonant phonemes, which combine
into over 200 syllable types (*pa*, *pat*, *spats* etc). These syllables op-
erate individually or combine to produce morphemes (roots, prefixes,
suffixes) out of which are created words. Nobody has ever counted,
or could ever count, the number of words there are in English, but the
largest general dictionaries include between half a million and a million
headwords. Individuals know less than a tenth of these, but that still
amounts to a passive vocabulary of between 50,000 and 100,000 words,
and a somewhat smaller – but still substantial – active vocabulary. All
these words can be spoken with a large (not easily countable) number
of prosodic variations (notably intonation and stress), as can the strings
of words that produce phrases, clauses, sentences, and discourses. We
are now into syntax. There are some 3500 entries in the index to *A Com-
prehensive Grammar of the English Language* (Quirk, Greenbaum,
Leech, Svartvik 1985) describing what happens when words combine
syntactically into grammatical sentence structures and sequences. Then
of course, all these features have their equivalents in writing, adding
an orthographic set of variables in the form of spelling, capitalization,
punctuation, and graphic design.

Second, in terms of contexts of use. As people learn the structures of
a language, they also learn how to use them – which means taking into
account such variables as when, where, why, and to whom. Variation
in time includes our awareness of language change, both long-term (as
when reading a Shakespeare play) and short-term (as when new words
arrive and old words fall out of use). 'Where' variation has both geo-
graphical and societal dimensions, giving rise to the proliferation of
regional, social, and occupational accents and dialects within a country
and across countries. Then there is the variation that arises from prag-
matic factors: the choices that we make when we use language, the rea-

sons for those choices, and the effects that those choices convey. This brings us into the area of personal and professional style.

Words

Within this complexity, words have a special place, partly because there are so many of them: I call vocabulary 'the Everest of language', because of the scale of the challenge it presents to learners. But it is not just a matter of quantity. There is something psychologically salient about the notion of a 'word', which makes people think of it as a metonym for language in general. When people want to talk about 'language', they often use 'word' instead. What is Hamlet reading? Not 'sentences, sentences, sentences', but 'words, words, words'. The first recognizable utterances from a baby are actually 'first sentences', but parents always talk about their child's 'first words'. And in 2019, Washington DC will open the doors of its new language museum: it is about all aspects of spoken, written, and signed language, but they are calling it 'Planet Word'.

Worlds

When words are connected with worlds, we are again prompted to think in terms of both structure and use. Words never exist in isolation: they are learned and used in pairs, sets, families, as part of semantic fields. A semantic field is a domain of meaning identified by its constituent words (more technically, lexical items, or lexemes) – the field of colour, for example, or kinship, or furniture. Sense relations bind these words together. One word is used as a synonym of another (*mad - lunatic*) or an antonym (*mad - sane*) or a hyponym – the relationship of inclusion, as seen in definitions, when we say that 'an X is a kind of Y' (*red is a colour*, *a chair is a piece of furniture*). We learn new words by relating them to the words we already know, and gradually build up a semantic 'world'.

This way of looking at words carries over into the world of use. The lexical identity of a variety of language – in science, law, religion, weather-forecasting, sports commentary... – comprises all the words it contains. This may seem obvious until we encounter cases where this principle has not been observed. An example is the world of Internet advertising. In the 1990s, I was asked for help by an American advertising agency. CNN had published an online article about a street stabbing in Chicago, and the ad at the side of the screen was from a cutlery firm: 'Buy your knives here'. Both CNN and the firm were horrified. What

had happened? The naive software had clearly found the word *knife* in the article and automatically associated it with any instance of that word found in its store of ads, ignoring the fact that 'knife = weapon' and 'knife = cutlery' are two very different senses. What should have happened, of course (and this is how the ensuing research project operated) was for the software to analyse all the words in the CNN article, to discover what it was really about – in this case, city security and policing – thereby prompting a rather different advertising context.

Culture

Where does culture fit in to all this? In a word: everywhere. It is another truism to say that language is influenced by culture; but this statement is revitalised when we consider it in the context of English as a global language. We now know what happens when a language achieves a global status: new varieties (dialects) quickly emerge. Any country that adopts English as a medium of communication (either for historical reasons or simply as a functional tool) immediately adapts it to make it meet the needs of the society that wants to use it. The adaptation chiefly affects vocabulary, which grows to reflect what people want to talk and write about – local plants and animals, myths and legends, landmarks, travel locations and problems, political and media events and personalities, literary history, and much more. They do this without thinking in their first language, and when they learn a second, they automatically transfer this cultural knowledge into the new medium. The consequence is that visitors from outside the country can be having a conversation with locals – everyone using perfectly comprehensible pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary – yet fail to understand what is being talked about, because they have no awareness of the cultural background that the locals take for granted.

An example: you notice my watch, and I say, self-effacingly, 'It's actually not very Bond Street'. Unless you know the cultural associations of Bond Street in London – a street containing the most expensive shops – you will not be sure how to react. The uncertainty is often passed over in silence, but there can be occasions where it leads to confusion and embarrassment, as when a visitor responds with an inappropriate remark or fails to make an expected response. It can also be the opposite – a source of social solidarity, when a shared cultural awareness is used to create empathy or humour, and people learn to play with these cultural associations.

Very few cultural dictionaries have been compiled, but when people do write one (as in the *Longman Dictionary of English Language and*

Culture) it is surprising how many cultural entries accumulate. The entries in world regional dictionaries are by their nature culturally specific. I open the *Dictionary of South African English* (Branford and Branford 1991), for example, and see *melkkos* (a traditional dish), *mfezi* (a type of cobra), and *mgosi* (a gossip column), and 5000 or more other items used in or around South Africa. Some are false friends: on my first visit to that country, I knew the word *robot*, but was surprised to encounter it in road signs, until I learned that it meant a traffic light.

Conventionality and Creativity

Given all this variety, can we find a unifying principle? Yes, because in all cases we are encountering rule-governed behaviour. Everyone is familiar with the conventions that govern linguistic structure – we usually call them 'rules', and think of them chiefly in relation to grammar and pronunciation. But conventions also govern our use of vocabulary (and thus culture-specific vocabulary) as well as our use of English in all the contexts of variation I mentioned above. Whenever we recognize that a usage is appropriate or inappropriate, polite or impolite, formal or informal, popular or technical, and so on, we show we have learned the relevant conventions.

The basic principle of linguistic creativity is that we are able to depart from these conventions, in order to achieve a particular effect. My favourite quotation here is from novelist Robert Graves, in a letter he wrote to the press in the 1960s: "A poet has to master the rules of English grammar before he attempts to bend or break them". I would generalize this to all literary authors, whatever their genre (and gender), and to all aspects of language, not just grammar. The originality of writers lies not only in their ability to think up novel themes, plots, characters, and atmospheres, but to manipulate sounds, word structures, word order, vocabulary, and patterns of discourse to produce a style that we appreciate as personal, vivid, dramatic, moving, ingenious, beautiful – and a host of other adjectives that form the basis of our literary critical response.

Literature and Language

The principle is much broader in its application than solely in relation to literature. It applies, in fact, to any use of language. Everyday conversation is at times as creative, in its rule-breaking, as literature. We joke, pun, adopt a funny tone of voice, create nonce words, and perform a raft of other activities that can all be grouped under the heading

of *language play*. This ludic function of language complements the other well-recognized functions – the need for intelligibility (which fosters the growth of a standard English) and the need for identity (which fosters the growth of accents and dialects) – and it can be a notable feature of many varieties, such as advertising slogans and newspaper headlines. It can be seen also in the way non-literary English feeds on literary English for effect. "To be or not to be" is a famous quotation, but its impact extends well beyond its use in *Hamlet*. It is the source of "To diet or not to diet", "To clone or not to clone", and many other article headlines – a contemporary instance being "To Brexit or not to Brexit". For me, the notion of language play best interrelates the terms in the conference title, for it brings together literature and language, motivates linguistic creativity, and enters into cultural identity. Ludicity, for me, is at the centre of our worlds of words.

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PREFACE

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PREFACE

The articles collected in this volume draw inspiration from the papers presented at the 28th biannual Conference of the Italian Association of English Studies, which promoted a lively debate on complexity, conventionality and creativity in English language, literature and culture.

The role of the opposing forces exerted by conventionality and creativity in shaping all levels of the linguistic system has represented a crucial topic for discussion in the history of linguistics (see Jones 2005 for an overview). Norms and conventions are constantly exploited and manipulated through the creative behaviour of language users. This may lead to unpredictable synchronic effects and variation and, ultimately, to diachronic innovation.

Complexity is a way of looking at the world that places emphasis on the observation that apparently simple phenomena often emerge out of profound intricacies, and that small changes may result in unexpectedly large effects. Complexity theories are a rich research paradigm attempting to describe and explain the dynamics which emerge in the many forms of situational adaptation of natural systems. Such approaches to the study of the world, as developed by the empirical sciences, highlight that understanding phenomena and processes never rests on single-factor accounts and may instead call for creative processes, in which a great number of variables mutually influence each other following non-linear paths of interaction.

Complexity models have been successfully applied to explain linguistic phenomena (Ellis and Larsen Freeman 2006; Holland 2006; Bertuccelli and Lenci 2007; Bertuccelli *et al.* 2007; Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008; Beckner *et al.* 2009; Cappelli 2010; Massip-Bonet and Bastardas-Boada 2012, Baicchi 2015; Ellis 2016, 2019). The language system may be described as a complex system adapting dynamically to the ever-changing context and made up of sub-systems (e.g. the phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic systems). Each sub-system is in turn characterised by a complex interplay of variables and components which interact with the context. From such interaction, meanings and forms emerge in more or less predictable ways. In this view, conventions (in the broadest possible sense

of the term) ensure the system's temporary stability, while creativity operates in ways which make meanings, forms and new conventions emerge dynamically, sometimes in unexpected fashions.

The concept of complexity, thus, provides an articulated framework through which language dynamicity and language adaptivity in their various manifestations (i.e., lexical, grammatical, cultural, historical and cognitive) may be looked at from a new angle, and by means of which new phenomena may be brought to the fore to be more finely or newly analysed in the light of the constraints imposed by conventionality and the temporary entropy resulting from creative operations.

Conventionality and creativity may be ideally placed at the two extremes of a continuum along which various degrees of complexity can be identified.

The effects of conventionality can be investigated in the default ways with which we express meanings (including formulaic expressions), in highly codified text types and genres, conversational routines, grammar rules and social norms, to name but a few domains. Creativity, on the other hand, involves bending rules and eroding the boundaries of norms in language, deliberately manipulating its forms and enhancing its meaning-making potential. Conventionality and creativity are not mutually exclusive. They are rather inextricably intertwined, since for phenomena to be interpreted as an expression of creativity, they need to be matched against conventional, internalised, known and stereotypic patterns. Creative figures of speech, unusual collocations, violations of word formation rules, unpredictable compounds, the bending of syntactic rules emerging from language contact or from the use of English as a lingua franca exemplify the reorganisation of the system under the pressure of speakers' creativity. In time, emergent form-meaning associations may become crystallised through repetitive use and produce common patterns, thus providing quick access to meaning and reducing inferential and memory load. The reorganisation of the system over time becomes increasingly more evident when investigated in a diachronic perspective.

For its global nature, the diversity of its speakers and of the contexts in which it is used, the English language is a privileged domain of observation for understanding the complexities of verbal communication between conventionality and creativity. The articles in the volume explore these issues from multiple theoretical and applied perspectives.

The contributions from Section 1 by Marina Bondi, Belinda Crawford, Giuliana Garzone, Maurizio Gotti, and Rita Salvi stem from a research project financed by the Italian Ministry for the University (PRIN 2015 no.2015TJ8ZAS). Their papers aim to investigate the strategies

of dissemination to various audiences in a range of different settings and how they reflect the complexities of verbal communication and the tension between conventionality and creativity. Special attention is paid to how specific genres have been tailored to the addressees' needs. The focus is on different communicative environments, ranging from the press to the world wide web, with its growing level of participation and interaction, as well as the wide repertoire of meaning-making resources. The contributions are based on comparable corpora and electronic collections of texts, which will show how domain-specific knowledge is mediated in specialised and popularising discourse to address different stakeholders.

Section 2 encompasses a series of studies dealing with knowledge dissemination in bioethics and medicine. More specifically, Emanuele Brambilla investigates a corpus of online news reports published by Greenpeace between 2012 and 2017 in order to analyse the dissemination strategies whereby the NGO has expounded a complex, scientific topic as that of pesticides being the main cause of bees' decimation to the benefit of non-experts. In her paper, Roxanne B. Doerr carries out a combined quantitative corpus linguistics and qualitative critical discourse analysis of the Defense Health Board's 2015 *Ethical Guidelines and Practices for US Military Medical Professionals*. The study aims to shed some light on the military community's knowledge dissemination in relation to the activity of its medical professionals and proposals on how to deal with their conflicting roles. Kim Grego's qualitative analysis focuses on some texts collected from companies selling cryopreservation services with the purpose of investigating the language used to report and to disseminate the (pseudo)scientific knowledge and technology behind this practice (cryonics). Dermot Heaney's paper presents a case study of online mainstream print media accounts of the issue of doping within sport by comparing the transcripts of the Parliamentary Select Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee on Combating Doping in Sport (House of Parliament 2006-2018) with the news print media coverage of the committee's proceedings. The aim is to identify the discursive strategies employed to re-contextualise institutional face-to-face interactions in the form of mainstream online print news about doping. Finally, Maria Cristina Paganoni highlights a few perspectives from which the global news media have been reporting on the topic of big data in connection with novel ethical issues, by stressing the importance of the Cambridge Analytica data scandal at the end of March 2018.

Section 3 focuses on discourse analysis in different media and genres. The first part of the present Section is quite varied. Jacqueline Aiello's

paper describes the ways in which participants (re)position and (re)negotiate self-conceptions of proficiency, attitudes towards language and accents, and their selves during interviews. Sara Gesuato examines the content, structure and formulation of 193 online BBC news alerts. Silvia Masi explores the interplay between verbal and non-verbal strategies (i.e., gestures) in meaning-making in a sample of TED Talks (*www. ted.com*). The multimodal analysis aims to identify possible indices of complexity in the mapping of words with gestures for a better understanding of the role of different semiotic resources in the talks and, ultimately, contributing to the development of multimodal literacy. In the paper co-authored by Walter Giordano and Martina Perrone a series of 1960s car advertisements are analysed multimodally in order to identify gender issues and stereotypes. The second part of Section 3 is devoted to film language and audiovisual translation (AVT), starting with Pierfranca Forchini's study, which within the frame of Biber's Multi-Dimensional Analysis offers an empirical description of film conversation by comparing superheroes movies with other movie genres in order to ascertain whether the spoken traits that have emerged in previous investigations also characterise movies containing larger-than-life characters. Francesca Raffi highlights the function of on-screen texts in the film *Love & Friendship*, focusing in particular on the introductory intertitles, and applying the evaluative approach of Appraisal Theory. Annalisa Sandrelli's paper deals with the screen adaptation of one of Jane Austen's most famous novels, namely *Pride and Prejudice*. Two screen versions are analysed, both in the original English and in dubbed Italian, focusing on the transposition of a number of selected conversational routines. The last contribution in this Section is by Paola Clara Leotta, who addresses the issue of the cross-cultural transferability of English varieties into Italian by analysing some selected scenes from three British and American films and their dubbed Italian version.

Section 4 includes a series of contribution on English for Specific Purposes (ESP) in various domains, ranging from health and medicine, to finance, tourism and politics. Tatiana Canziani's contribution focuses on English for Medical Purposes (EMP) and proposes an EMP teaching model for lexical verbs extracted from the *Medical Academic wordlist for clinical cases* (MAWLcc). Such verbs are relevant for the development of medical students' academic linguistic competence in their professional con-text. Rosita Maglie explores the impact of virtual encounters on the evolution of English by analysing a corpus of health posts composed of messages posted by adolescents and the answers they received from a team of Columbia University healthcare providers. The purpose is to identify patterns of communication and to

provide a linguistic profile of contemporary post usage. In her interdisciplinary work, Olga Denti investigates a corpus of financial analyst reports issued by Goldman Sachs Research between November 2009 and November 2011 in order to determine how analysts employ linguistic strategies to mitigate or enhance certain events and to affect investors' behaviour. Maria Teresa Giampaolo's paper examines a corpus of online English texts used to promote tourist facilities and local products in Salento. Maria Grazia Guido, Pietro Luigi Iaia and Lucia Errico's contribution reports on an experiential-linguistic and multimodal model applied to a comparative ethnopoetic analysis of non-western migrants' traumatic accounts of tragic sea-voyages across the sea, reported in their variations of English as a 'lingua franca' (ELF), and epic narratives of Mediterranean dramatic odysseys towards 'Utopian places' translated from Ancient Greek and Latin into modern ELF variations, in the context of an Experiential Place-Marketing plan in Responsible Tourism. In her paper, Cristina Arizzi analyses multimodally the impact of two complex metaphors that characterised the 2016 US National Parties Conventions. Finally, Denise Milizia investigates the metaphor 'pull up the drawbridge', which is often employed in relation to immigration and Brexit. Her study relies on a large corpus of politicians' speeches from Tony Blair's to Theresa May's government in order to identify whether conventional or creative linguistic patterns are used.

The studies in Section 5 deal with legal and EU discourse from translation and discursive perspectives. In her corpus-based study, Jekaterina Nikitina investigates the complex relationship between conventional and creative legal phraseological units in authentic written pleadings before the European Court of Human Rights. Her results provide confirmatory evidence about the combination of creative and conventional phrasemes in translated Russian-to-English and Italian-to-English pleadings. From the same perspective, Francesca Seracini's paper investigates the strategies adopted in the translation of EU legislation in the light of the various types of constraints influencing the translators' choices. In particular, she focuses on the translation of the passive voice in a bilingual parallel corpus of EU legislation in English and in Italian. Her investigation shows that translated laws tend to be clearer and more readable compared to the original laws in English, thus providing evidence in support of the simplification hypothesis in translation. Mariarosaria Provenzano adopts a Critical Discourse Analysis approach to examine European legal texts, whose accessibility can be viewed as a gradual tension between conventionality and creativity, because of the complex levels of knowledge required for intercultural mediators to be understood by a global audience. The analysis shows that creativity

occurs both in text production and in text reformulation. Giulia Adriana Pennisi instead adopts a diachronic perspective to explore the legislative techniques used by drafters of English-speaking countries, who are asked to write legal sentences aiming at gender-symmetric representation of men and women. In general, the lexico-grammatical study addresses the issue of whether more creative techniques used to implement gender-neutral drafting can actually improve the original product.

Section 6 includes studies on language learning and language teaching. In particular, in their papers, Letizia Cinganotto and Cristina Guccione investigate the role of the English language in a CLIL environment, from both learner's and teacher's perspectives. Maicol Formentelli focuses on the use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in university courses, specifically on direct questions, more frequently used in Italian ELF lectures than in comparable lectures by English native speakers. Results from his corpus confirm the prominence of direct questions in foregrounding the complex dynamics of power and social distance, and uncover linguistic patterns that diverge from native speakers' norms of usage. Lucilla Lopriore and Enrico Grazzi's paper discusses the challenges and preliminary findings of a research project which aims at devising an ELF-aware pedagogical model for ELT education. Luciana Pedrazzini and Andrea Nava instead explore interlanguage complexity in language-related episodes during a collaborative output task (dictogloss). Their data analysis highlights the key role of the 'restructuring' stage of the task, with its open dynamic structure which encourages learners to adapt and develop their linguistic resources in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative context provided. Nicoletta Simi finally reports on the results of a comprehension task assessing the interpretation of intra-sentential anaphora and cataphora in English by a group of typically developed Italian L1 speakers and a group of Italian L1 speakers with dyslexia, both learning English as a second language. From her results significant differences emerge between the groups, especially in the processing of cataphoric sentences, and these are confirmed by reaction time measurements.

Section 7 is devoted to studies in the realm of English varieties and accents. Annalisa Bonomo specifically reconsiders language variation in the light of complexity, thus allowing cross-disciplinary overviews concerning global and local changes within World English(es). Giuliana Regnoli instead considers the complex interplay of sociolinguistic variables and developing dialectal features in a transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg. Her results demonstrate that the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor in the fostering of in-group affiliations and distances.

Massimo Sturiale explores in his paper a corpus of newspaper articles to show how, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the keywords related to the standard language debate (i.e. 'vulgar pronunciation/accent', 'provincial pronunciation/accent') acquired new connotative meanings, and words ending in *-ism*, such as *provincialism*, *vulgarism* and *accentism*, were coined as analogy-based examples of language creativity.

Section 8 is devoted to creative phenomena of the lexicon and word formation. In the lexical area, Paola Attolino investigates the interplay of conventionality and creativity in Black Semantics, showing how Black formulaic language has evolved and taken roots over time and space, especially thanks to the global spread of Hip Hop Music, and highlighting to what extent it permeates any register, from daily language to specialised discourse. In a similar vein, Cristiano Furiassi offers a historical overview of the term *Super Tuscan*, with the aim of reconstructing the origin of this false Anglicism by considering the word formation processes involved in its coinage. His corpus-based results suggest the possibility that the worldwide success of Super Tuscan wines might have turned *Super Tuscan* from a specialised term employed by (wealthy) wine enthusiasts or professionals into a word also known and used by non-connoisseurs. Anna Mongibello investigates lexical creativity around the word *Nunavut* in Canadian news discourse through a qualitative and quantitative analysis conducted on a subcorpus of the *News On the Web Corpus* (CaNOW). Her analysis shows that news discourse is a fertile ground for new vocabulary, since productive word formation processes are used to popularise new items. Silvia Cacchiani's paper focuses on proper names and appellative nouns as prototypical categories with fuzzy boundaries and the way they acquire commemorative, classifying and epithet functions in complex English Name-Noun constructs. Elisa Mattiello's paper rather focuses on the use of splinters in the creation of new words in English and uses a corpus-based approach to explore some case studies, with the aim to demonstrate the evolution from creative local mechanisms of surface analogy to more extended phenomena of analogy via schema. Finally, Jodi Sandford adopts a cognitive linguistic approach and corpus analysis to verify both the synchronic and the diachronic conceptualisation of the lexeme *sense*. Collocations and constructions that occur with *sense* suggest that the metaphorical extension of the word departs from the original meaning of 'sense' to a complex metaphor that includes 'perception is reception' and 'understanding is perceiving'.

The contributions in Section 9 create a bridge between linguistics and literature, by examining creativity and stylistics in literary works.

Steve Buckledee, in particular, analyses the creative use of linguistic deviation in Alan Bissett's novel *The Incredible Adam Spark*, in which the narrator speaks an idiolect that deviates from linguistic norms and introduces innovative coinages allowing him to communicate with his fellow humans. Antonella Luporini presents a corpus-assisted analysis of Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea*. Her quantitative and qualitative analysis focuses on the appraisal patterns involving the adjective *white* in Rhys' novel and examines their role in symbolically articulating part of the text's deepest meaning. Daniela Francesca Virdis lastly analyses the dialogic structure of Wordsworth's "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) and the complex system of interactive and creative strategies employed by the writer to construct his own individuality and identity as an innovator, as well as to directly address his reader.

The contributions collected in this volume provide a frame for complexity-inspired research and jointly demonstrate how complexity and the chaotic dynamics of creativity, on the one hand, and conventionality, regularity and predictability, on the other, constitute a prolific ground for linguistic enquiry and investigation.

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KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION ACROSS MEDIA

Rita Salvi

KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION:
THEORIES AND PRACTICES IN ENGLISH COMMUNICATION[1]

Abstract

This contribution gives a short survey of knowledge dissemination in English, assuming it is generally considered a lingua franca in international settings. The presentation starts from some definitions of 'knowledge dissemination' and its meanings within specialized domains, ranging from sociology to legislation. Different interpretations of the same concept have implied the application of a variety of strategies adopted to transmit knowledge at various layers, in each field. The migration of knowledge across contexts and disciplines is also presented, as this process has progressively led to a focus on the effective use of the transferred knowledge.

The relevance of "linguistic capabilities" (Renn and Hyman 2012) in knowledge dissemination is amply recognized by scholars of disciplines other than linguistics and has caught the attention of high-level business developers such as Georgopouls (2008), who states that knowledge dissemination takes place throughout the 'knowledge triangle' (which includes research and innovation, but also 'education').

The position of linguistic studies is therefore significant in that quantitative and qualitative analyses can contribute to better identify and describe the features of language in different contexts and genres as well as across multimedia and multimodal channels of knowledge transmission.

Keywords: knowledge dissemination; contents and contexts; knowledge dissemination in scientific and social domains; discourse and knowledge dissemination.

1. *Towards a definition of knowledge*

Although there is no universally agreed upon definition of 'knowledge', dictionaries usually associate the concept of knowledge with understanding, experience, awareness and learning. Philosophy stress-

es the epistemological dimension of knowledge, being principally the study of how we know something. Psychology insists on the analysis of cognitive processes (such as perception, association and reasoning) which support the acquisition of knowledge. Sociology is concerned with the relationship between knowledge and the social context (individuals, social groups and organizations), whereas in law knowledge is correlated with understanding (legislation) and awareness (of facts and circumstances). Sciences, instead, are involved in the way in which the physical world and its phenomena are acquired. This wide scenario, which for the sake of brevity is only sketchy here, has been expanded by the advancements of management and corporate governance studies, a field where the acquisition and distribution of know-how are essential to the survival and expansion of a company.

As linguists we seek to observe the features of English in its communicative perspectives, bringing into the fold different methodological approaches resulting from both soft and hard sciences, to have a fine-grained picture of how language is used to share knowledge and how, and to what extent, it varies according to contents and contexts.

Given the migration of knowledge across contexts, a complex process which has involved different disciplines, it is impossible to ignore the impact of technology on the language used to create and develop knowledge, overcoming proximity and altering the frontiers of science.

It is not by chance that, among the many definitions of knowledge, the one which can be adopted also by linguists comes from an economist, Professor Joanne Roberts, who traces a distinction between knowledge, information and data (2000: 430). She reckons that data is "a series of observations, measurements, or facts"; information is "data that have been arranged into a meaningful pattern"; knowledge is "the application and productive use of information […] it involves an awareness or understanding gained through experience, familiarity or learning".

The dichotomy between 'tacit' and 'codifiable' knowledge as theorized by the economist and philosopher Michael Polanyi (1960) can be of interest for linguistic analysis: he argued that tacit knowledge is often context dependent and localized, based on a common language, culture and value system, whereas codifiable knowledge can be expressed in various forms and disseminated through various user communities (Pinch *et al.* 2003: 375), supported by modern telecommunication systems.

As linguists, we observe language collecting data by quantitative analysis borrowed from corpus linguistics, explore the potentialities of English adopting qualitative methods of analysis, and focus on codifiable knowledge shared in different communities.

2. *Implicatures in knowledge dissemination*

Following the studies carried out at the Southwest Educational Development Laboratory, four functional types of knowledge dissemination have been identified: 'spread', which is defined as the one-way diffusion or distribution of information; 'choice', a process that actively helps users seek and acquire alternative sources of information and learn about their options; 'exchange', which involves interactions between people and the multidirectional flow of information; and 'implementation', which includes technical assistance, training, or interpersonal activities designed to increase the use of knowledge or R&D or to change attitudes and behavior of organizations or individuals.

As Marina Bondi (2017: 64) states, "Knowledge dissemination is the transfer of knowledge within and across communication settings. The expectation is that knowledge will be used by the receiver to change practices or viewpoints or for intellectual growth". Tellingly Bondi refers to the two basic variables of knowledge dissemination, the passage from one context to the others on the one hand, and the effective use of the transferred knowledge on the other.

According to Georgopoulos (2008: 5), knowledge dissemination is achieved throughout the 'knowledge triangle' of education, research and innovation. The transfer of knowledge, as Renn and Hyman underline (2012: 18), requires "frameworks of ideas" based on the ongoing globalization processes and, at the same time, "linguistic capabilities". Indeed, knowledge dissemination in a globalized society essentially implies the development of communicative skills and represents an active dynamic process in which information is elaborated and targeted to a specific receiver. In the website of the Canadian Health Services Research Foundation we read: "Dissemination goes well beyond simply making research available through the traditional vehicles of journal publication and academic conference presentations. It involves a process of extracting the main messages or key implications derived from research results and communicating them to targeted groups of decision makers and other stakeholders in a way that encourages them to factor the research implications into their work". Moreover, the "societal flows of knowledge through time" (Jäger 2013: 42) has to be considered, so much so that "if one wants to identify the knowledge of a society (e.g. on certain topics) one has to reconstruct the history of its evolution or genesis" (*ibid.* 35).

This perspective obviously involves all the disciplines and can be applied to institutions, organizations and companies. It also paves the way for both diachronic and synchronic linguistic analysis.

3. *Discourse and knowledge dissemination*

It is significant that a lot of journals out of the areas of communication and linguistics, mainly in the field of corporate organization, such as *Journal of International Business Studies*, *Management International Review*, *Academy of Management Review* and *International Studies of Management and Organization*, include articles and even special issues dealing with the importance of language in knowledge transfer. Not only is it generally recognized that language affects a wide range of knowledge transfer factors, but also models of transmission are provided.

Many of the topics discussed in this type of journal inspire the linguists' discourse analysis: the features of English in international contexts and its role as a lingua franca, the relationship between language and culture in a global English perspective (local/global/glocal settings), the possible forms of discrepancy in the language of a virtual community in contrast with the potential asymmetries in face-to-face communication. Moreover specialized literature, in both the institutional and corporate sectors, underlines the relevance of language skills necessary to construct identity, to transmit ideology, to generate trust.

All these elements have become part of linguistic systematic and systemic exploration. There is no doubt that corpus linguistics has given an impetus to retrieving and analysing large amounts of data. Researchers are given new insights by the latest text analysers that detect specific features of language, from lexical indexicality to phraseological constructions, not only in terms of frequency but also in view of possible collocations. The blended methodology of analysis adopted throughout our project, that is combining the tools of corpus linguistics with the principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (cf. Garzone in this volume), has produced original results.

Assuming that knowledge is "the consensual beliefs of an epistemic community" and that "epistemic communities are not merely social groups or institutions, but also communities of practice, thought and discourse" (van Dijk 2003: 86), and considering that the 'democratization' of knowledge entails new ways of re-writing and re-contextualizing knowledge, our project has followed several research strands: genre analysis, for example, as the basis to elicit forms of codified patterns in comparison with the hybridization of genres across disciplines (Wodak 2011); models and practices of knowledge transmission from expert to expert and from expert to layperson (Linell 2009); multimedia and multimodal channels of knowledge transmission (Baron 2008, Bateman 2014, Crawford Camiciottoli in this volume).

4. *Final remarks*

These few thoughts are by no means exhaustive and no conclusion can be expected from an ongoing research project. The challenge is to investigate the most possible varieties of 'discourses', enlarge the data collected in small/medium corpora and compare the findings at a semantic and pragmatic level.

Discourse related to knowledge dissemination encompasses 'what is said' together with 'how it is said' under certain conditions, accompanied by other elements, such as images and non-verbal behaviour which in any case establish a discursive interplay. The strategies adopted inevitably influence individuals, communities and society as a whole. Therefore, the role of discourse analysis "is not (only) about interpretations of something that already exists, […] but about the analysis of the production of reality which is performed by discourse – conveyed by active people" (Jäger 2013: 35).

This is the type of knowledge we would like to transmit to our students.

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USING CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS (CDA) TO EXPLORE THE COMPLEXITIES OF DOMAIN-SPECIFIC KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION[1]

Abstract

This study focuses on the suitability of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the investigation of various aspects of knowledge dissemination discourse in domain specific areas of communication. It is first argued that on account of its ability to lay bare ideological slant in discourse, CDA is especially useful in the analysis of the knowledge dissemination process as the transformation of specialised knowledge into 'lay' knowledge and its re-contextualisation (Calsamiglia 2003; Calsamiglia and van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006) inevitably leave scope for manipulation, bias, or alterations. Secondly, it is shown that because of its interest in the relationship between evolutions in discourse and social change, CDA can also be useful to describe how discourse evolves in time reflecting developments in specialised knowledge and at the same time it plays a role in triggering and/or reinforcing associated social changes (Fairclough 1992: 4). It is concluded that the use of CDA in the analysis of knowledge dissemination discourse contributes to highlighting the social interface (van Dijk 2003: 85) between knowledge, discourse and the process of dissemination in its social dimension, and does so using linguistic analysis to lay bare any ideological bias or slant and to understand the impact of the elements identified on social representations and social cognition.

Keywords: knowledge dissemination, specialised knowledge, critical Discourse Analysis, CDA, popularization, ideological slant.

Introduction

This brief study focuses on the suitability of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) for the investigation of various aspects of knowledge dissemination discourse in domain specific areas of communication. Here knowledge dissemination is intended as the transfer of knowledge from

the sites where it is created or expanded to other specialised fields and to the general public, or specific swathes of it. Today this process is especially pervasive and salient on account of the important role played by science and technology in the contemporary world.

While in the past popularising discourse was considered a poor relation of "real" specialised communication, the view prevailing today does not see it simply as a self-standing group of popularising genres, but rather as part of "an order of discourse, a terrain of competing discourses and practices" (Myers 2003: 267-269) alongside 'expert' specialised communication.

A variety of analytical tools have been used so far in the study of knowledge dissemination discourses – terminological, lexico-grammatical, textual, rhetorical and discourse analytical – as a function of the specific object of investigation and the aim in each single piece of research.

Critical Discourse Analysis

It is generally agreed that CDA cannot be understood as a single method, but rather as an approach based on "a theoretical synthesis of conceptual tools developed in different theoretical schools" e.g. Foucault's *discursive formations*, Bourdieu's *habitus*, or Halliday's *register* (Weiss and Wodak 2003: 7). A distinctive trait shared by its various versions is that it typically brings together linguistic analysis and social theory, it is inherently interdisciplinary, and incorporates linguistic categories into the analysis (Meyer 2001: 15-16). Given the heterogeneous character of methodologies included in CDA, the toolkit presented here as useful for the analysis of KD discourse is rather eclectic and introduces principles and analytical tools shared by most scholars in CDA as well as others which are peculiar of specific models within CDA.

Like some other discourse-oriented theoretical frameworks, CDA rests on the basic notion that discourse not only reflects reality, but also contributes to categorizing and constructing it, and to shaping associated social practices.

Having originally emerged from critical linguistics, based on a broadly Marxist-inspired theory of language as aimed at exerting and maintaining power, CDA regards language as a social practice and is especially interested in its relation with power. Wodak (2001: 2) sees it as aiming "to investigate critically social inequality as it is expressed, signalled, constituted, legitimized and so on by language use (or in discourse)". This has often led critical analysts to focus on social discrimination playing an advocatory role (Meyer 2001: 15), but in time a more flexible notion of power has emerged. As Fairclough (1995: 2)

points out, power can also be conceptualized in terms of asymmetries between participants in discourse events, and of unequal capacity to control how texts are produced, distributed and consumed in particular socio-cultural contexts.

Within the general landscape of discourse studies, CDA is ideally relied on when certain specific questions are asked about the possible – and more or less apparent – ideological slant or alterations conferred on knowledge in the dissemination process. These are very important questions to be posed as, within the order of discourse of specialised communication, discourses at the popularising end of the spectrum involve not only the transformation of specialised knowledge into 'lay' knowledge through a variety of operations – simplification, reduction or condensation, omission, rephrasing, and explanatory strategies, i.e. definition, denomination, generalisation, exemplification, recourse to similes and metaphors: cf. Calsamiglia and van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006) – but also, more importantly, its recontextualisation requiring a change in semiotic co-ordinates: for scientists a discovery or a break-through has an *immanent* value, for the general public what counts is its utility and the consequences of its use in people's lives (Calsamiglia 2003: 140). Hence the need for a discursive organisation of knowledge to suit the needs of a non-expert audience. In synergy with the strategies listed above, this transformation inevitably leaves scope for slant, inaccuracies, or alterations, and a shift in focus, especially when it is aimed at mass communication.

On account of its interest in the relationship between evolutions in discourse and social change, CDA can also be useful to describe how discourse evolves in time reflecting developments in domain specific knowledge and at the same time it contributes to triggering and/or reinforcing associated social changes. In this case the focus is on "how different discourses combine under particular social conditions to produce a new, complex discourse" (Fairclough 1992: 4).

Applying these notions to the analysis of knowledge dissemination means seeing it as comprising a group of dynamic discursive practices which relay specialised conceptualisations from experts (usually academic or institutional researchers) to the lay audience (or an audience with a different specialisation) in a situation of total asymmetry in terms of competence. This puts disseminators in the position of making a specific version of the relevant knowledge prevail over other versions, in many cases supported by other popularisers with different, and competing views. Needless to say, often the versions promoted are characterised by ideological slant – political, social, religious ethical, sometimes even simply professional (e.g. in journalism, cf. Garzone 2014).

Meaningful examples are news articles, TV programmes and websites giving contrasting versions of the benefits and side effects of vaccines, or of the anthropogenic origins of climate change, or of the risks involved in primate cloning. These are obvious cases of knowledge dissemination being the site of struggles over the prevalence of certain stances.

But ideology is often conveyed in a much more implicit, concealed manner. For instance, in an ongoing research (Garzone 2017) it has been shown that in communication by commercial surrogacy organisations linguistic and discursive choices are orchestrated for the purpose of normalizing the perception of complex, and often uncertain, Artificial Reproduction Techniques, and the complex kinship situations ensuing from such practices. Results also indicate that the commercial character of the organisations involved and the bioethically and legally controversial status of the practice are downplayed.

Tools of analysis used in CDA tend to rely on a limited range of linguistic categories, e.g. features of vocabulary and metaphors, actor and agentivity analysis, pronouns, attributes and the verbal mode, time and tense (Meyer 2001: 16), to which Fairclough (1995: 2) adds presuppositions and implicatures, politeness conventions, generic structure, and style, which in his view can also be "regarded as potentially ideological". As regards micro-linguistic analysis, one of the main objections to CDA's typically qualitative approach concerns the selection of representative discourse samples for analysis, which according to some critics (e.g. Henry Widdowson and Martin Phillips) can be influenced by the scholars' political commitment; in addition the samples analysed tend to be too small. In many cases, the problem is solved by recourse to corpus linguistics, involving the collection and analysis of large corpora of data. This not only guarantees that hypotheses are tested against an adequate quantity of text, but thanks to computer queries (e.g. frequency lists, keywords search) it can also provide indications about areas to be explored which may not have been identified simply by means of the qualitative analysis of small amounts of text, albeit representative (cf. Hardt-Mauntner 2009; Garzone and Santulli 2004; Baker 2012).

The results of the micro-analysis carried out with these tools can help identify the ideological threads underlying discourses about a given issue and understand the ways in which texts contribute to the formation of social representations, i.e. "socially or culturally shared, general knowledge" (van Dijk 2003: 92-93) about that issue. Thus in the research on surrogacy discourses mentioned above the analysis of vocabulary, agentivity and metaphors reveals an underlying ideology centred on the unconditional extension of the right to parenthood and

highlights the effort to adjust the definitions and social representations of parenthood and kinship relations to the situations determined by new reproductive technologies (Garzone 2019).

Final considerations

According to van Dijk (2003: 85) "one of the major challenges of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is to make explicit the relations between discourse and knowledge", which he sees as very complex phenomena. The use of CDA in the analysis of knowledge dissemination discourse measures up to this challenge: it contributes to highlighting the social interface (van Dijk 2003: 85) between knowledge, discourse and the process of dissemination in its social dimension, and does so using linguistic analysis to lay bare any ideological bias or slant and understand the impact of the elements identified on social representations and social cognition.

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KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION ON THE WEB[1]

Abstract

This contribution centres on how the development of digital technologies has influenced knowledge production, distribution, and use. The wider study looks at different digital environments, websites and blogs in particular, across different domains ranging from the humanities and the social sciences (art, business and economics, law) to technology (engineering and architecture), science (physics) and health (medicine and biology). Blogs, for example, are shown to provide opportunities for the dissemination and the construction of knowledge, as well as for taking position on controversial issues in public debate. Different dimensions of variation can be explored: types of expert sources (individual/ institutional), communicative strategies adopted, orders of discourse involved (academic, institutional, media).

Keywords: knowledge dissemination; digital discourse; blogs.

1. *Introduction*

Digital tools have greatly influenced communication, cognition and human relations in general (Baron 2008). In the fast-changing environment of the Web, the development of digital technologies has influenced the way knowledge is produced, distributed, and used. Digital media – websites, blogs, open source materials, wikis, tweets, and other social media – are increasingly used by researchers in the process of knowledge construction and dissemination (cf. Salvi in this volume). These new media have helped researchers to extend their network with colleagues from all over the world and to open up knowledge to wider audiences.

Web genres have become the focus of increasing attention in discourse studies and applied linguistics (Garzone *et al.* 2007). Different features have become prominent, most notably perhaps remediation – "the formal logic by which new media refashion prior media forms"

(Bolter and Grusin 2000: 273) – and the nature of genres on the Internet (Giltrow and Stein 2009). More recently, great attention has also been paid to the extended participatory framework of the Web (Herring *et al.* 2013) and its influence on language choice and communicative practices. Virtual communities are communities of practice, rapidly created, extended and maintained through shared knowledge and forms of communal bonding (Yus 2011: 110). On the Web, the context creates the genre and the genre determines the community, rather than counting on a pre-existing community (Mauranen 2013: 30).

The Modena unit of the PRIN project on knowledge dissemination is currently studying different digital environments, websites and blogs in particular. The discourses involved are thus multiple, in that we look at the interplay between academic discourse (cf. Gotti in this volume) and both institutional and media discourse: expert communication originates from research but often reaches the audience through the media or institutional websites. Economists, for example, often disseminate their research through blogs that are supported by the websites of institutions or newspapers.

We consider six domains: three 'soft' domains, representing the humanities and the social sciences (art, business and economics, law), and three 'hard' domains, including technology (engineering and architecture), science (physics) and health (medicine and biology).

Websites are explored for intercultural and intergenerational issues. When focusing for example on legal knowledge dissemination in digital texts for children, the aim is to describe popularization strategies associated with the dissemination of legal knowledge for children. This means considering the needs of multiple audiences (children and parents) with their identities (gender, national etc.).

Blogs are explored in their relation to other forms of expert writing, such as academic papers. Starting from an overview of the nature of blogs, we focus here on the role they appear to play in specialized communication and on the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the design of corpora for the study of digital communication (in relation to print publications).

2. *Blogs in knowledge communication*

Blogs – personal, regularly updated web spaces with posts linked to relevant material and open to readers' comments (e.g. Myers 2010: 2-7) – have certainly attracted the attention of applied linguists right from the beginning for their peculiar combination of subjectivity (the conspicuous position of the blogger) and dialogic interactivity.

The significant role of the writer's self has drawn attention to the phraseological realizations of explicit subjectivity. The evaluative nature of blogs' posts and comments has suggested analyses of their use of evaluative language (Bondi and Seidenari 2012; Bondi and Diani 2015; Luzón 2012). Among the language features studied, first person pronouns and adjectives have an important role (Bondi and Seidenari 2012), with their linguaculture-specific phraseology (Bondi and Diani 2015). Interactivity also becomes prominent, with concessive patterns (Bondi and Diani 2015) suggesting that blogs are particularly interesting for the study of writer/reader interaction. Puschmann (2013: 87-101) also mentions deixis (contextual reference to a specific time, space or person), addressivity and audience design ("the way bloggers integrate their conceptualization of the readership into their style") and relative freedom from politeness minimizing face-threatening acts.

Blogs have had significant impact on academic communities, providing opportunities for both the dissemination and the construction of knowledge (Mauranen 2013), as well as for taking position on controversial issues in public debate.

Knowledge dissemination typically requires adjusting information to different knowledge backgrounds and information needs, focusing on the relevance of recontextualized knowledge (Luzón 2013). The context of the Web inevitably changes the nature of expert writing, which should not only account for different reading purposes, but also for the different language and cultural backgrounds of a widely undetermined audience. The reader's interpretations, reading sequences, interests and background knowledge are hardly predictable in conditions of "context collapse", i.e. "the loss of a definitive separation between audiences and discussants" (Puschmann 2015: 32).

This unpredictability and the reader's possibility to comment and engage in conversations with the writers determine the need to establish room for negotiations and predictions and to foster a higher sense of community (Yus 2015).

Academic blogs can also become sites for knowledge construction. Academics engage in debate with other academics and the wider audience, who "may participate in co-constructing research debates" (Mauranen 2013: 30-31). Researchers engage in new collaborative practices, somehow blurring the distinction between science and public science, between internal communication and external communication.

3. *Preliminary focus: language variation*

Within this framework, the aim of the project is to explore different dimensions of variation.

On the one hand we aim to see how these issues vary across blog types by comparing individual and institutional blogs. What are the differences in managing an individual blog and an institutional blog? Are different identities at play in the process of identity management when this is individual (e.g. the blog of a famous volcanologist) or institutional (the National Science Foundation)? What changes in the way commenters participate?

On the other hand, we aim to look at comparing strategies associated with the dissemination of knowledge in blogs with the strategies used in research genres. Is academic discourse on the Web still "academic"? How far does the extension in the participation framework influence the nature of discourse?

The corpora developed within the project are modular and allow different types of analyses. For each domain we look at two individual blogs and two institutional blogs and we build a comparable module representative of academic and professional print publications. This allows us to study authorial voice, dissemination strategies and argumentative techniques across genres and types of participants (individual bloggers, institutional bloggers and the whole range of commenters).

Preliminary studies of two major American economists (Paul Krugman and Tyler Cowen) have provided interesting results in profiling different genres they have produced – research articles, columns, blogs (Bondi 2018: in press). The analysis has shown that research genres often take dialogic debates as their starting point and thus contextualize the internal argument within the debates that involve the expert community. The emphasis is on epistemic evaluation and values such as generality, simplicity and novelty. The use of inclusive *we* emphasizes alignment between expert writer and expert reader.

Knowledge dissemination genres, on the other hand, recontextualise expert argument in a wider participation framework. Columns tend to highlight the authoritative stance of the author by presenting a self-contained representation of the argument, using first-person reference and second-person pronoun *you*, often in the representation of potential counter-discourse. Blog posts present themselves as opening moves in polylogues, addressing the interests of different types of participants. They certainly give great prominence to the writer's voice, but also use the reader as partner in an ongoing dialogue. Their dialogicity appears to be clearly based on forms of self-mention and reader's engagement explicitly suggesting actual turn-taking and highlighting their persua-

sive and argumentative structure. The presence of organizational units managing textual interaction on matters of epistemic or attitudinal evaluation is in line with the need for greater explicitness that characterizes communication with an undefined audience.

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THE ANALYSIS OF (SMALL) CORPORA

WITHIN THE PRIN PROJECT[1]

Abstract

The paper examines the role played by small, specialised *corpora* within a PRIN project on knowledge dissemination in ESP contexts. Indeed, most of the research initiatives within this project explicitly place themselves within the field of corpus linguistics studies, showing an emphasis on the potential of small corpora for register studies referring in particular to specific genres pertaining to knowledge dissemination, thus contributing to the study of language variation across disciplines, both from a descriptive as well as from a didactic point of view.

The paper then takes into consideration the main lines of research of the Unit operating at the University of Bergamo, whose focus is on how and to what extent recent developments in technology have impacted on the language of academia used for knowledge dissemination in the sciences and humanities. In recent times there has been a growing tendency across disciplines to take full advantage of new infrastructural opportunities, such as multimedia content and social networking platforms.

The final part of the paper outlines the main features of a specific corpus – CADIS, a Corpus of Academic Discourse – which is being updated and widened for the purposes of this research project.

Keywords: knowledge dissemination; corpus analysis; small specialised corpora; CADIS, a Corpus of Academic Discourse.

Introduction

The PRIN Project is based on comparable corpora and electronic collections of texts, which are meant to show how domain-specific knowledge is mediated in specialised and popularizing discourse to address different stakeholders. Although the six research units focus on different aspects of knowledge dissemination – (principally but not exclusively)

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disciplinary strategies of recontextualization in webgenres (webpages and blogs) (Modena, cf. Bondi in this volume), journal websites and the impact of digital publishing on generic hybridization (Bergamo), audiovisual genres of knowledge dissemination in ESP contexts (Pisa, cf. Crawford Camiciottoli in this volume), the construction of credibility in specialised knowledge dissemination (Rome-Sapienza, cf. Salvi in this volume), critical discourse analysis of a thematic issue (bio-ethics) (Milan, cf. Garzone in this volume) and diachronic perspectives in news discourse (Florence) – the analysis carried out by all units within the project focuses on a number of features of knowledge dissemination using tools offered by corpus linguistics. The affordances made available by corpus analysis, especially of small, specialised corpora, have greatly contributed to the study of language variation across genres and across disciplines, both from a descriptive as well as from a didactic point of view. Several publications on corpus linguistics have devoted relevant sections to issues of language variation and change (Biber, Conrad and Reppen 1998; Ghadessy, Henry and Roseberry 2001; Bowker and Pearson 2002; Hunston 2002).

The specific basis of many of the investigations envisaged by the project units is the analysis of (small) corpora consisting of principled collections of texts that may be taken as representative of one or more genres in the field of knowledge dissemination. Some of the research initiatives explicitly place themselves within the field of corpus linguistics studies; others show an emphasis on the potential of a (small) corpus for language studies in general, as well as register studies in particular referring to specific genres pertaining to knowledge dissemination.

Within the national research project, the Bergamo unit seeks to investigate how and to what extent recent developments in technology have impacted on the language of academia used for knowledge dissemination in the sciences and humanities. The gradual shift from print to digital is by any standard a significant turning point in the recent history of academic publishing. Over the years, it has become almost mandatory for journals to maintain an online presence in order to promote, disseminate and market their content. Journal websites provide therefore a unique showcase for the latest policies and strategies pursued by their editors and publishers. At the same time, there is a growing tendency across disciplines to take full advantage of new infrastructural opportunities, such as multimedia content and social networking platforms. The result is a digital environment shaped by a combination of scholarly, technological and commercial concerns.

Adopting a combination of quantitative and qualitative research methods, the unit plans to identify ongoing trends in a range of representative academic genres, with special attention given to:

- the communicative purpose and discoursal construction of emerging genres;
- The extent of linguistic variation / hybridisation in well-established genres.

In particular, the following issues will be investigated:

1. *Emerging trends and features in online publishing*

This investigation aims to identify how English-medium academic journals exploit the affordances of online publishing platforms to engage readers and promote their content internationally. A representative sample of journal homepages has been selected; their content is being examined to highlight commonalities and discrepancies across a range of disciplinary fields. Relying on a well-known Internet archive resource (WayBack Machine), the corpus is designed to cover a time frame of approximately 15-20 years, which should help to contextualise recent changes within individual websites. The results are expected to shed light on how different journals use language, hypertext and other digital resources in the pursuit of their scholarly and commercial goals.

2. *Knowledge Dissemination through Digital Legal Journals*

This investigation aims to identify how digital legal journals exploit the affordances of online publishing platforms to promote knowledge dissemination concerning legal concepts and terms. The main issues of specific investigation are: titles used, text structuring, lexical anchors for web-searches.

3. *Knowledge dissemination through electronic bulletins among researchers collaborating in an international research centre (CERN)*

This investigation aims to examine how knowledge is disseminated through electronic bulletins among researchers collaborating at CERN. The corpus consists of bulletins published from 1965 to the present date, downloaded from CERN Document Server in pdf format. The corpus thus allows both synchronic and diachronic analyses.

4. *Knowledge Dissemination through medical academic posters*

The aim of this investigation is to show how scientific communication is constructed on the basis of the evidence provided from findings. It also aims to detect how the reasoning path of scientists is reproduced in the written (and condensed) language of posters. Specifically, the focus is on the way in which scientific claims are validated by issues of evidentiality in electronic medical posters available on line.

5. *Knowledge dissemination by means of PowerPoint (PPT) presentations both in academic conferences and in University lectures*

This research activity investigates the linguistic, metadiscursive and semiotic features of PPT presentations both in academic conferences and in University lectures. This analysis is meant to highlight the disciplinary and genre-related conventions of knowledge dissemination in both symmetric (expert-expert) and asymmetric contexts (expert-training expert). The project aims to single out possible differences in the corpus due to content (speculative vs. practice-oriented), type of approach (observation vs. interpretation), audience (experts vs. training experts) and pragmatic purpose (informative, persuasive, pedagogical).

The analyses envisaged here are all corpus-based in that they rely on corpora of specialised texts in electronic form and have been put together with the aim of creating (small) samples of the genres that are to be examined. The aim is to combine suggestions derived from quantitative data with considerations of a more qualitative nature.

For the purposes of this research project, the Bergamo unit will also rely on and update a specific corpus – CADIS, a Corpus of Academic Discourse – previously created for the identification of textual variants arising from the use of English as a first language, second language, or lingua franca of the scientific community (Gotti 2012). It is a corpus formed by English – and in part Italian – texts for academic communication, produced by scholars and academic institutions in various parts of the world. Besides including two alternative languages and representing native as well as non-native speakers, CADIS also represents four different disciplinary areas:
- Applied Linguistics
- Economics
- Law
- Medicine

For each disciplinary area, four different textual genres have been considered:

- Abstracts
- Book reviews
- Editorials
- Research articles
- Academic posters

Moreover, CADIS has been widened to include a subcorpus of 50 research letters from the field of Medicine. Both areas and texts will be integrated and expanded in the present research project.

The texts collected in CADIS are taken from a total of 54 peer-reviewed journals available freely or by subscription through the University of Bergamo library. Complying with the main principles of corpus formation, most of the journals selected for the English subcorpora have a high impact-factor so as to assure the representativeness of each disciplinary community.

Through the study of the data obtained from the (small) corpora compiled specifically or updated for this project, the Bergamo unit is willing to cooperate with the other units to show how specialised knowledge is mediated in popularizing discourse in order to address various stakeholders. The aim is to trace the emergence of new genres in the field of knowledge dissemination or to identify relevant changes in existing genres, deriving in particular from intercultural challenges and technological advances.

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HARNESSING MULTIMODAL LITERACY FOR KNOWLEDGE DISSEMINATION IN ESP SETTINGS[1]

Abstract

Ongoing progress in digital technology continues to have a growing impact in all areas of life and the field of language teaching is no exception. With particular reference to ESP, it is now crucially important to incorporate multimodal digital resources in the classroom that can be leveraged to help learners construct knowledge in specialized discourse domains and exploit the interplay of verbal and non-verbal meanings for a deeper understanding. Towards this goal, researchers at the University of Pisa have compiled a multimodal corpus of video clips representing disciplinary areas of particular interest to ESP students (i.e., business/economics, political science, law, medicine, tourism), as well as a variety of web-mediated genres that can be adapted for classroom use, including OpenCourseWare lectures, TED Talks, and digitally available films, television series, documentaries, interviews, and docu-tours. This contribution provides an overview of the methodological issues involved in designing, collecting, and analysing a multimodal corpus to be exploited by linguists and practitioners working in ESP in higher education.

Keywords: specialized discourse; ESP; multimodal literacy; multimodal corpora; multimodal discourse analysis.

1. *Introduction*

Over the last two decades, rapid developments in digital technology have had an enormous impact on how we communicate and interact with others in all aspects of life. In the field of education, these changing social practices have led to an enhanced awareness of the important contribution of semiotic modes beyond verbal language in materials that students encounter during learning activities. This recognition can be conceptualised as *multiliteracies*, a term coined by the New London Group (1996), a group of scholars (including Norman

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Fairclough, James Paul Gee, and Gunther Kress) who proposed a new agenda for education that surpasses the traditional interpretation of literacy as the ability to read and write. They argued that teaching must respond to society's changing forms of communication by utilizing new technologies characterised by multiple semiotic resources. Since then, the concept of multiliteracies has been widely and successfully applied in both elementary and in secondary educational settings (Jewitt and Kress 2003).

In higher education, there has been as similar even if somewhat belated trend. To this regard, O'Halloran, Tan, and Smith (2016: 256) noted that "Changes in higher education, especially in the use of digital technology, have revolutionised traditional academic practices, with an increasing recognition of the need for students and teachers to develop multimodal competencies across a range of communicative platforms". To become multiliterate, learners must "develop proficiency in meaning-making in linguistic, visual, audio, gestural, spatial, and multimodal designs, with multimodal being a combination of the other modes" (Cloonan 2008: 159). Walsh (2010) further defined this specific competence as *multimodal literacy*, i.e., the ability to construct meanings through "reading, viewing, understanding, responding to and producing and interacting with multimedia and digital texts" (p. 213). In the language classroom, multimodal literacy translates into helping learners become aware of and exploit visual, aural, gestural, and spatial cues to understand and produce texts in the target language more effectively (Crawford Camiciottoli and Campoy-Cubillo 2018). With specific reference to ESP contexts, the multimodal approach can provide learners with a wider set of semiotic resources beyond verbal language to cope with the linguistic, discursive, and pragmatic challenges of domain-specific language.

An ongoing challenge for both linguists and practitioners working in area of ESP is to find ways to leverage the ever-growing influence of digital platforms for learning specialised language. Indeed, if we hope to keep pace with and effectively engage today's sophisticated and digital-savvy learners, it is imperative to incorporate into the ESP curriculum the multimodal and multimedial resources that they so expertly use in their daily lives, both inside and outside the classroom (Street, Pahl, Rowsell 2011). Thus, it becomes crucially important to utilise digital audiovisual resources that accurately capture authentic and contextualised communication relevant for ESP settings. Such resources can assist learners in constructing knowledge in specialized discourse domains through a deeper understanding of the "discursive interplay" between the verbal and the non-verbal (Salvi in this volume).

In the next section, I describe the contribution of the Pisa research unit within the interuniversity project entitled *Knowledge dissemination across media in English: continuity and change in discourse strategies, ideologies, and epistemologies* towards this goal.

2. *The ESP Video Clip Corpus: Methodological Issues*

The Pisa research unit aims to explore the interface of knowledge dissemination, multimodal literacy, and ESP. To accomplish this objective, a corpus of video clips has been compiled to represent disciplinary knowledge of particular interest to ESP students, i.e., business/economics, political science, law, medicine, and tourism. It includes a variety of genres, such as web-mediated versions of more traditional instructional formats (e.g., OpenCourseWare lectures, TED Talks), but also digitally available films, television series, documentaries, interviews, and docu-tours containing specialised language that can be leveraged for knowledge dissemination in highly asymmetrical classroom interactions. From this perspective, the research of the Pisa unit is positioned at the low end of the 'expertise continuum', thus complementing the work of the other research units in the interuniversity project focusing on various types of popularised discourse across a range of settings encompassing both expert-to-non-expert and expert-to-expert communication (cf. Bondi, Garzone, and Gotti in this volume). The corpus will be annotated and analysed with special attention to challenging verbal elements (e.g., specialised lexis, as well as key phraseological, rhetorical, and cultural features), but also non-verbal features (e.g., prosody, gestures, proxemics) that contribute significantly to meaning.

On a methodological level, the compilation of a corpus of audio-visual materials presents considerable differences with respect to more traditional corpora that are limited to the textual dimension. As Adolphs (2013, p. 1) points out, there is a need to analyse natural speech as an "embodied phenomenon" that includes other semiotic resources such as prosody, gestures, facial expression, and body posture/positioning, which often emerge simultaneously with verbiage when we observe people engaging in oral communication. Thus, collecting such multimodal data presents three key challenges, referred to by Adolphs (2013, p. 2) as the "three R's":

- Recording: the act of preserving speech for future analysis, which entails not only the technical aspects linked to the recording itself, but also important issues related to participants, such as

ethical concerns, informed consent, and copyright when using material recorded by third parties;

- Representing: how to align and display simultaneous audio, visual, and verbal codes;
- Replaying: how to store and search multimodal data for analytical purposes, also involving the insertion of metadata, coding or annotation schemes.

From an analytical perspective, multimodal corpora present some unique challenges with respect to corpora of exclusively written and/ or spoken data. It is necessary to adopt a layered or tiered approach in order to represent the simultaneous interaction of multimodal elements, such as video images, speech representation, prosodic features, hand/ arm gestures, direction of gaze, and facial expressions, as well as the marking of any particular linguistic features of interest. This is typically accomplished through standoff annotation, which is created and stored separately from audio/visual sources.

Scholars working with multimodal data have devised various analytical options. For example, Baldry and Thibault's (2006) system of multimodal transcription places a series of still images captured from streaming video in a tabular format in which each image is accompanied by the corresponding verbiage, as well as descriptions of the various semiotic resources that may come into play. Wildfeuer (2013) adapts a similar tabular approach for the multimodal analysis of filmic discourse, but also includes camera positioning and shot description which are important elements in this genre. Multimodal annotation software, such as ELAN (Wittenburg *et al.* 2006), allows for an extremely accurate representation of a whole event. Under a streaming video, it is possible to set up multi-tiered analytical components that include the audio wave form, the transcript of the speech, and then other layers that can be personalised according to features of interest.

The above criteria for designing and compiling multimodal corpora have been taken into account in the collection of the ESP Video Clip Corpus, which entailed the following steps:

- Identification of appropriate sources that represent specialised discourse within a given genre covered in the corpus design (see above);
- Careful viewing of sources to identify clips that contain features relevant for ESP teaching (e.g. specialised vocabulary, idioms, humour, figurative language, culture-specific references), as

well as any non-verbal features of interest), and preparation of separate text file with descriptive/pedagogic notes for each clip);
- Cutting of clips and saving them into individual mp4 files;
- Transcribing the speech of the clips and saving it into corresponding plain text files;
- Annotation within the transcript files for linguistic features of interest, using *ad-hoc* codes similar to POS tagging, e.g., SVTO (specialised vocabulary for tourism).

The corpus thus contains three distinct and layered components (video files, transcript files, teaching notes files), meaning that it will be searchable on various levels. It can then be used to develop audio-visual materials that can be leveraged in the ESP classroom. This will help learners develop the kind of multimodal literacy that will serve them not only for their immediate academic objectives, but also for their future professional careers in their discipline of choice.

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LET'S BEE FRANK.
COMPLEXITY, ARGUMENTATION AND CREATIVITY IN GREENPEACE NEWS REPORTS ON BEE-KILLING NEONICOTINOID PESTICIDES[1]

If the bee disappeared off the surface of the globe,
man would have only four years to live.
No more bees, no more pollination, no more plants,
no more animals, no more man.
(Albert Einstein)

Abstract

Albert Einstein once said: "If the bee disappeared off the surface of the globe, man would have only four years to live". Now that the world's bee population is being decimated, the prime suspect is a class of pesticides named neonicotinoids. Over the last few years, scientific research has linked these newer chemicals to the decline of bees and proved their detrimental effects on wildlife and human health. The issue has reverberated through the news media, but environmental NGOs have been the most active subjects involved in the popularisation of scientific evidence regarding neonicotinoids. Building on a corpus of online news reports published by Greenpeace between 2012 and 2017, the paper turns to discourse and argumentation studies to analyse the dissemination strategies whereby the NGO has expounded a complex, scientific topic to the benefit of non-experts. The findings indicate a tendency towards simplification of scientific data and de-scientification of specialised terms and concepts, enacted not only by means of recurrent discursive strategies but also through *hapax legomena*, isolated and unconventional lexical items that exemplify the linguistic creativity sought in activist contexts.

1. *Introduction*

The above quotation is generally attributed to Albert Einstein, but its origin is actually uncertain; what is not uncertain is, instead, the truthfulness of the content of the sentence, as the steep decline in world bee populations over the last few years is now an agreed fact. The phenomenon is known as Colony Collapse Disorder (CCD), occurring when the majority of worker bees abruptly disappear, leaving behind a queen and a few adult honeybees in the hive.

The causes of CCD are the subject of a heated debate in the scientific community (Watson and Stallins 2016). Among them are climate change, diseases, parasites, the destruction of bee foraging habitats and, especially, the large-scale use of pesticides in agriculture. Particularly, one class of pesticides named neonicotinoids[2] is widely believed to lie at the basis of this 'bee crisis'. Over the last few years, scientific research has linked these newer chemicals to the decline of bees (Whitehorn *et al.* 2012) and proved their detrimental effects on wildlife (Hallmann *et al.* 2014; Gibbons *et al.* 2015) and human health (Cimino *et al.* 2016). By either killing bees and birds or impairing the neurological system of the former (Baines *et al.* 2017; Fischer *et al.* 2014), neonicotinoids threaten pollination services to wildflowers and crops, and consequently disrupt the food chain and jeopardise food security, production and diversity (Wood and Goulson 2017).

The complex bioethical debate around the causes of CCD and the domino effect triggered by large-scale neonicotinoid use has not remained confined within the scientific community, but has gradually echoed through the news media, especially owing to its relevance to the general public. However, the discoveries regarding neonicotinoid effects on the environment have particularly raised concerns in activist contexts; in recent times, environmental NGOs have devoted their efforts to the dissemination and popularisation (Garzone 2006) of scientific evidence regarding the toxicity of this class of pesticides. Particularly, Greenpeace has risen as the most active and authoritative pub-

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[2] Neonicotinoids are a group of insecticides which can be applied to seed prior to planting. They are systemic, i.e. they enter the plant system and will then be present in all its parts.

lic-sphere subject involved in the debate on the relationships between neonicotinoids and bees.

Over the last few years, the environmental NGO has been campaigning and publishing scientific reports and online news reports alike. While the former have aimed at addressing the CCD crisis at the intraspecialistic and interspecialistic levels (Garzone 2006: 11), the latter (published on the official Greenpeace website) have sought to disseminate knowledge at the popular level (Garzone 2006: 11) by keeping the wider public informed. The present paper focuses on these latter reports to gain insights into the popularisation tactics enacted in activist contexts. Drawing on discourse and argumentation studies, it aims at analysing the knowledge-dissemination strategies (Bondi, Cacchiani, Mazzi 2015) whereby Greenpeace has tried to expound the complex, scientific neonicotinoid issue to the benefit of non-experts, involved as anyone else in the CCD crisis.

2. *Corpus and methodology*

Since activist campaigns "find in the Web their privileged site of discourse" (Degano 2017: 292), scientific reports and news reports are both accessible from the official website of *Greenpeace International* (*www.greenpeace.org*). The relevant news reports published between 2012 and 2017 have been retrieved using the search terms *bee* and *neonicotinoid*. This text selection process (facilitated by the configuration of the website, organised into thematic sections) has resulted in a small corpus containing 9 reports and counting 7516 words.

The analysis of the corpus has drawn on Critical Discourse Analysis and Argumentation Theory. Particularly, the corpus texts have been examined in the search for meaningful discursive and argumentative strategies used to expose the toxicity of neonicotinoids and convince a wide and diversified audience of the need to ban them. Particular attention has been paid to linguistic creativity (Jones 2016), understood as the "bending and breaking of rules that is at the heart of originality in style" (Crystal 2017: 260), the prerequisite for the implementation of unconventional communicative strategies that act as attention-seeking devices and find fertile ground online (Crystal 2006: 177).

3. *Findings*

Broadly, the news reports appear to be strewn with discursive strategies aiming at the deconstruction of complexity through more or less creative solutions. Particularly, the analysis has unveiled strategies of

pragmatic argumentation (Garssen 2001: 92), recourse to the simple argumentative pattern problem-solution (Bortoluzzi 2010: 167) and varied strategies aimed at the linguistic de-scientification of pesticides.

3.1 Pragmatic argumentation

First of all, explication of the causes of CCD is primarily codified by resorting to pragmatic or instrumental argumentation (Garssen 2001: 92). It is causal argumentation, qualifying an action on the basis of its consequences. Take the following examples, governed by verbs or nouns denoting a relation of cause or effect.

1. a) But the declines in common species have a dramatic *impact* throughout the web of life.
   b) These massive declines, even if the species survive, *effect* the functioning of the wider ecosystem.
   c) Most of the food served on our tables greatly *depends on* insects such as bees and their crucial pollinating role in agriculture.
   d) Our food production *relies* heavily *on* pollination services provided by bees and other pollinators.
   e) These [sub-lethal, low dose effects] include physiological *effects*, disturbance to the foraging pattern, interfered feeding behaviour and neurotoxic *impacts* on learning processes.
   f) Toxic pesticides used on crops and flowers are contaminating pollen and nectar sought by bees, with adverse *effects* on their health. *The cause?* A destructive, chemical-intensive agricultural system promoted by several multinational companies.

The verbs and nouns in italics are used to establish and highlight relations of strict causality, either between the decline of bees and the resulting difficulties for other species (*1a*, *1b*, *1c*, *1d*) or between exposure to neonicotinoids and bee health (*1e*, *1f*). The verb and noun *effect* is the most-frequently recurring, with seventeen occurrences in the corpus, but various causal verbs and nouns alternate and proliferate. In *1f* the reader is even guided to the comprehension of the bee-neonicotinoid relation through the rhetorical question "The cause?", which emphasises the simple fact that chemicals (and, apparently, only chemicals) are killing the bees. The pragmatic arguments, thus, result in very simple formulations that do not do justice to the actual chain reaction engendered by neonicotinoids and the multiple and interrelated causes of CCD, topics that are still debated in the scientific sphere (Watson and Stallins 2016). The other causes of CCD are only hinted at in the corpus (as in "Our report Bees in Decline shows how the global decline in bee

populations can be attributed to diseases and parasites as well as climate change but, most importantly, industrial agricultural practices"), but neonicotinoids are systematically denounced as the major factor determining the decline in bee populations. In this respect, the examples show that scientific evidence is certainly not distorted, but they also suggest that Greenpeace news reports tend to "defend […] a restrictive search for a singular cause" or (as the following sections will demonstrate) "a return to a utopian agrarian past" (Watson and Stallins 2016).

3.2 Argumentative pattern problem-solution

This expressive simplicity observed in instances of pragmatic argumentation is also attested by recourse to another strategy: the implementation of the simple argumentative pattern problem-solution (Bortoluzzi 2010: 167), whereby the complex and multi-layered CCD issue is presented as a problem triggered by a single cause and, thus, requiring a single solution.

In the corpus texts, the identification of the problem frequently hinges on the *topos of threat*, positing that "if specific dangers or threats are identified, one should do something about them" (Wodak 2009: 44). The premises of argumentation are mainly conjured up by the iteration of the nouns *threat* and *risk*, respectively occurring ten and seventeen times in relation to pesticides; the argument is not fallacious but based on solid scientific groundwork, often retrievable by clicking on links which redirect to scientific reports (as in *2a*).

2. a) A <u>European Food Safety Authority</u> (EFSA) scientific report determined that three widely used pesticides […] pose "high acute *risks*" for bees.
    b) Neonicotinoids are not only a serious *threat* to honey bees, but also for a broad range of other animals, including bumble bees, butterflies, birds and even water insects.

Only rarely does the identification of the problem rely on more creative formulations, such as "Bee colony collapse now joins global warming, forest destruction, and species extinctions among our most urgent ecological emergencies". Generally, the problem lying at the heart of CCD is highlighted by means of the above-specified nouns, while its gravity is emphasised through negative attributive adjectives, such as *high acute* (*2a*) or *serious* (*2b*).

The identification of the solution, instead, mainly relies on the iteration of specific action verbs, especially *to protect* and *to save* (with

twenty-two and seven occurrences respectively), whereby the imperative of safeguarding the bees is expressed.

3. a) *We need* to start *protecting our* pollinators against the threat pesticides like neonicotinoids pose.
    b) *We must* act together to *protect* the food *we* grow, harvest, and put on *our* tables, but to do this *we* cannot allow the buzzing bees to fall silent.
    c) *Saving* the world's bees appears as one more *necessary* link in restoring Earth to ecological balance.
    d) Join *us* in *saving* the bees.

The urgency to reach a solution to the neonicotinoid problem is often emphasised by means of the deontic modals *need* (*3a*) and *must* (*3b*) or, more rarely, by the adjective *necessary* (*3c*), whereby the tasks *to protect* and *to save* are turned into moral obligations. Incidentally, the above examples do not only highlight the key verbs at issue but also testify to the non-casual use of personal pronouns and adjectives; *3a*, *3b* and *3d*, where *we*, *our* and *us* can be found, are indicative of the discursive orientation of these texts. Thirty-eight occurrences of *we* and thirty-eight of *our* stand out. The object pronoun *us* occurs less frequently (five times), but it contributes to establishing commonality with the audience, helping the reader identify the problem and feel part of a concerted solution, epitomised by the various inflected forms of *to protect* and *to save*. Despite the recurrence of the two verbs in question, however, the need to counter the problem of Colony Collapse Disorder is primarily determined by the frequent explicit mention of the solution whereby bees will be protected and saved, namely *ecological farming*. There are twenty-six occurrences of this noun phrase in the small corpus, testifying that a shift away from chemical-intensive agriculture is seen as a prerequisite for reversing the domino effect triggered by large-scale use of pesticides.

4. a) A *solution* and a way out of the current industrial agricultural crisis does exist; it's called *ecological farming*. *Ecological farming* works with the diversity of nature to produce healthy food for all, and at the same time *protects* the planet and bees.
    b) *Ecological Farming* is the over-arching new policy trend that will stabilise human food production, preserve wild habitats, and *protect* the bees.
    c) The elimination of these bee-killers is only the first step in *protecting* bees and agriculture in Europe. The only long-term *solution*

is a shift away from chemical-intensive agriculture to *ecological farming* practices.
d) *Ecological farming* is a real path out of poverty. […] *Ecological farming* without chemicals is the most promising, realistic and economically feasible *solution* to the current destructive agriculture model.

The goal of a world agricultural model based on ecological farming practices is subordinate to the elimination of neonicotinoid pesticides, a mission promoted through the iteration of the term *ban* (thirty occurrences).

5.   a) Only a *complete ban* on bee-killing pesticides and a change towards ecological farming, in both agriculture and horticulture, will put things right.
b) If we're going to take the protection of our pollinators seriously, we must *fully ban* bee-harming pesticides, starting with the three neonicotinoids.

Both the noun (*5a*) and the verb (*5b*) are used to identify the goal to be pursued, i.e. a permanent ban and certainly not the partial or temporary ban currently adopted by the European Commission. The imperative of rendering the ban permanent is codified by means of the adjective *complete* (*5a*), the adverb *fully* (*5b*) and by other expressive choices (e.g. *longer-term ban*, *immediate ban*, *the urgent need to ban bee-harming pesticides*) that render discourse univocal in meaning but varied in its formulation.

More broadly, the examples proposed in this section suggest that, coupled with a predilection for pragmatic argumentation, the 'dilution' of the complexity of the CCD crisis into a problem that stems from a single cause and, therefore, requires a single solution contributes to the creation of a very simple discourse, catering for the communicative needs of the non-expert. Yet, the systematic deconstruction of complexity also depends on other discursive strategies whereby neonicotinoid pesticides are somehow deprived of their scientific nature, personified and attacked on moral grounds.

3.3 Linguistic de-scientification of pesticides

The most famous and widely used neonicotinoid pesticides are Imidacloprid and Clothianidin, produced by Bayer, and Thiamethoxam, commercialised by Syngenta. Curiously, the virtual absence of these scientific/commercial names first stands out in analysing the corpus of

news reports. Instead of these commercial denominations, the generic noun *pesticides* is usually found, frequently premodified by negative attributive adjectives, including *deadly* (*6a*), *dangerous* (*6b*), *toxic* (*6c*), *bee-killing* (*6d*) or *bee-killer* (*6e*), *bee-harming* (*6f*) or *insect-harming* (*6g*).

6. a) Meanwhile, the US dithers and supports the corporations that produce and market the *deadly pesticides*.
    b) Experienced bee keepers, apiculturists, farmers, the European Commission, and the Greenpeace report have outlined these solutions. In summary: ban the seven most *dangerous pesticides*.
    c) *Toxic pesticides* used on crops and flowers are contaminating pollen and nectar sought by bees, with adverse effects on their health.
    d) We tested flowers and plants bought at gardening centres, supermarkets and DIY-stores from across Europe, exposing that the samples contained *bee-killing pesticides*, including those of the neonicotinoid group.
    e) A first crucial step that needs to be taken right now is banning *bee-killer pesticides*. […] While agriculture multinationals like Syngenta and Bayer care only about profits, their *bee-killer pesticides* put bees and other pollinators at risk.
    f) We urge retailers to eliminate all *bee-harming pesticides* from their entire supply chain.
    g) Ecological farming produces food without the use of *insect-harming chemicals*.

Besides the negative adjectives highlighted in the above examples, the adjective *neonicotinoid* is widely used to qualify the generic noun *pesticide* (twenty-four occurrences can be found in the corpus); although it does not explicitly point to the risk, threat, danger or harm inflicted upon bees, it can also be considered negative, as it conjures up the association with nicotine and, consequently, addiction and death. Actually, neonicotinoid means 'new nicotine-like', because these pesticides act on the central nervous system in a similar way to nicotine. The noun *nicotine* also occasionally crops up in the noun phrases highlighted in italics in examples *7a* and *7b*:

7. a) A European Food Safety Authority (EFSA) scientific report determined that three widely used pesticides – *nicotine-based clothianidin, imidacloprid and thiametoxam* – pose 'high acute risks' for bees.

b) A Greenpeace scientific report identifies seven priority bee-killer pesticides – including the three *nicotine culprits*.

The noun *nicotine* only occurs twice in the corpus; while in *7a* it sheds light on the nature of the three pesticides at issue, in *7b* it qualifies the negatively-connoted noun *culprits*, which directly blames neonicotinoids for CCD by triggering an evocative metaphor that elicits an affective response in the reader (Charteris-Black 2005: 20). The exploitation of the affective dimension of metaphoric language, not new to Greenpeace discourse (Brunner and DeLuca 2017), is also attested by the non-casual recourse to the verb *to kill* and the noun *killer* (*6d, 6e, 7b*), whereby bees are transformed into the victims of a heinous crime. Notably, the presence of these affective lexical items also suggests that the de-scientification of pesticides is also determined by more creative solutions than the sole premodification via negative attributive adjectives.

Creativity does come into play especially in those sporadic cases in which the scientific and commercial names of chemicals are used. In these cases, they are generally accompanied by a generic noun, such as *pesticide* or *herbicide*, and de-scientification is achieved through the creative premodification of this generic noun. For example, Thiamethoxam is labelled a *blockbuster pesticide* (*8a*), with the adjective evoking the profit-driven logic of multinationals. Or, herbicide Atrazine is qualified as *gender-bending* (*8b*), with a qualifier drawn from a non-scientific field and used to denote the hormone-disrupting properties of the pesticide.

8   a) Syngenta's *blockbuster pesticide* thiamethoxam.
     b) Syngenta […] paid out $105m to settle a class-action lawsuit for contaminating the drinking water for over 50 million citizens with its '*gender-bending*' *herbicide* Atrazine.

These creative adjectives function as metaphors, helping the reader understand the impact of chemicals on wildlife by means of referents and concepts 'borrowed' from other, less specialist and more accessible semantic fields. In other cases, creative nicknames are attributed to neonicotinoids to shed light on their specific lethal and sub-lethal effects on bees.

9.   a) *Slow Killer*: Thiamethoxam, pesticides commonly used in flowering crops like oilseed rape, maize or sunflower.
      b) *Queens Killer*: Imidacloprid, member of the neonicotinoid group, registered for use on over 140 crops in over 120 countries.

For example, Thiamethoxam is named *slow killer* because bees that come into contact with it often get lost on their way back to the hive and die within a day. Thiamethoxam is, thus, personified by means of the -*er* suffixed noun *killer*, and a sense of cruelty is conferred on it thanks to the adjective *slow*. Imidacloprid is, instead, labelled *queens killer* for its particularly harmful effects on queens, but the reasons why this pesticide is particularly noxious for queens are not explained in detail; the explanation of the specific effects Imidacloprid has on honeybees would certainly have sounded more complex and less riveting than the vivid, albeit merely evoked, story of a queen's murder.

4. Conclusions

The discursive patterns encountered in the corpus suggest that Greenpeace's communicative aim in disseminating scientific evidence on CCD to a wide, non-specialised audience does not rely on the scientific method or sophisticated argumentation. Rather, the explanation of the scientific topic to the audience appears to be oriented towards establishing a communicative relationship based on informal frankness. The CCD crisis is not presented as a complex or multi-layered phenomenon stemming from a variety of causes, and the bioethical debate underway in the scientific community appears not to be reflected in activist contexts. This discursive and argumentative orientation is likely to be determined by the nature and purpose of online news reports, i.e. reaching out to an audience larger than the scientific community to disseminate scientific results in a simple and comprehensible fashion. In this regard, Greenpeace has engaged in a process of knowledge dissemination whereby the complexity of the discourse on the bioethical implications of neonicotinoid use has been systematically de-constructed and 'dressed up' in a more attractive form.

In considering the findings, another non-neglectable fact stands out. While the argumentative strategies described in Sections 3.1 and 3.2 are recurrent and shape discourse within the whole corpus, the creative definitional strategies outlined in Section 3.3 are not recurrent, with some of them being *hapax legomena*; in this respect, they testify to the language creativity characterising Greenpeace news reports, which constantly engage in the "bending and breaking of rules" (Crystal 2006: 270) to rephrase the content of scientific texts and seek the attention of a wide but indistinct audience. The outcome of this popularisation effort is a fascinating discourse merging scientificity and readability,

and guiding the readership in a process of knowledge acquisition that is seen as a prerequisite for change.

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INTERSECTING WARDS AND RANKS:
A LINGUISTIC AND DISCURSIVE ANALYSIS
OF MILITARY MEDICAL BIOETHICS

Abstract

As the military conducts research and experiments that advance technological and medical progress, the multifaceted status of its medical professionals and the challenges they face provide new parameters that test its standard operating procedures. There is, in fact, a blurred line between the aspirations of medical research/practice and the Department of Defense's directives, especially since the legal standing of military healthcare has become an international concern due to the war on terrorism. As a result, military physicians deal with a variety of pressing ethical and moral issues in treating patients with diverging legal statuses, working in environments that range from combat to humanitarian zones, and solving situations in which they are compelled to make life changing and potentially controversial decisions, often without assistance. Moreover, they must do so while adhering to the military's strict regulations and restrictions, as well as its professional language and genres. To analyse the military community's knowledge dissemination in relation to the activity of its medical professionals and proposals on how to deal with their conflicting roles, the Defense Health Board's 2015 *Ethical Guidelines and Practices for US Military Medical Professionals* will be the focus of a combined quantitative corpus linguistics and qualitative critical discourse analysis.

Keywords: military medical professionals; military discourse; bioethics; medical ethics; knowledge dissemination; corpus assisted critical discourse.

1. *Introduction*

Since the Nuremburg Military Tribunals (Rothstein 2010) and the introduction of the *Belmont Report*, the military environment has been a testing ground for scientific and medical research on (bio)ethics. There is, however, a blurred line between the aspirations of medical research and the safeguarding of medical practice and DoD (Department of Defense) directives that attempt to protect vulnerable subjects like soldiers

(Parasidis 2015). The legal standing of military healthcare has become an international concern due to the war on terrorism and new, unforeseen legal subjects (Moreno 2003; Moreno 2008; Annas 2008; Jed A. Gross 2008; Miles 2013; Annas and Crosby 2015). This has serious implications for the discourse of bioethics in terms of power (Fairclough 2003), for "both the CIA and Department of Defense reframed the duty of non-maleficence into a duty only to obey the law" (Rubenstein *et al.* 2016: 2-3). Such arbitral determination is addressed and contested in the Defense Health Board (DHB)'s *Ethical Guidelines and Practices for US Military Medical Professionals Guidelines*, requested by the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Health Affairs to review challenges in (bio)ethical matters stemming from military health professionals' dual roles as military officers and medical providers. The presentation of the pre-decisional draft of the *Guidelines* took place in February 2015, but there have been no announcements or steps to implement the document's proposals since then due to the change in presidential administration but perhaps also, as the present study underlines, because of inherent linguistic and discursive ambiguities and contrasts that impair the message's efficacy.

2. *Data set and methodology*

The corpus consisted in the *Defense Health Board's Ethical Guidelines and Practices for US Military Medical Professionals* (word tokens: 40244; word types: 3772), which was reduced by excluding non-discursive sections (table of contents, list of board members, references and appendixes), thus resulting in a compact corpus (word tokens: 29643; word types: 3089).

The adopted methodology was that of corpus-assisted (using AntConc 3.4.4w) critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1995; 2001), to retrieve and observe relevant occurrences and collocations regarding the position of military medical providers and the (im)balance in the presentation of the military and medical ethics.

3. *Role of military medical healthcare providers*

The first research question may be phrased as: *RQ1: How is the position of military medical professionals framed in the guidelines?* and approached by considering:

There are unique challenges faced by military medical professionals in their *dual hatted* positions as a *military officer* and a *medical provider*. Such po-

sitions require them to *balance* and *prioritize* their role as an officer in the military, and their role as a medical professional with ethical responsibilities to their patients. (DHB Guidelines: 2)[1]

Moreover, in military and emergency contexts, matters like resource allocation, triage, detainee treatment and medical humanism emerge and are further complicated by the changes introduced by terrorist activities (Scroggs 2000; Howe 2003; Gross 2013).

Military medical professionals are distinguished from other physicians by their "dual loyalty" (Sessums *et al.* 2009). They must take a 'double oath' as members of the armed forces and as physicians but the army oath has greater connotative strength, in that the person must "*solemnly swear*" to "*support and defend* the Constitution of the United States" and "*bear true faith and allegiance* to the same […] *without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion*" to "*well and faithfully discharge the duties* of the office"[2]. The Modern Hippocratic Oath, on the other hand, appeals to the aspiring professional's discretion and personal values, for "*warmth, sympathy, and understanding* may outweigh the surgeon's knife or the chemist's drug" and that person remains "a *member of society*, with *special obligations to all my fellow human beings*".

This duality is also emphasised by the fact that the medical sections of the document focus on universal medical ethics principles (autonomy, beneficence, non-maleficence, justice) as opposed to core military values (loyalty, duty, respect, selfless service, honour, integrity, personal courage) (Mehlman and Corley 2015: 4-5).

4. *Balance between medical and military spheres*

The second part of the analysis starts from: *RQ2: Do the guidelines present a balance between the medical and military environments from a linguistic perspective?*

There is a lack of such a balance from a linguistic and discursive perspective. One important aspect is the number of passive tense expressions, which is greater in sections regarding military ethics. Moreover, the most common collocations are composed of the auxiliary be + participle of verbs indicating obligation (ex. may be required, is expected, are obligated, be asked, be maintained) that are commonly found in legal English (Garzone and Salvi 2007).

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[1]   All italics in quoted texts have been added by the author
[2]   Department of the Army Form 71, July 1999, for officers.

Another common but unconscious reference to professionals' dilemma consists in war metaphors that "stress the use of force and domination as appropriate means to solve problems and gain political power" (Kraska and Kappeler 1997 in Parsi 2016). Expressions like "moral injury", "conflict", "salvage", "to be outside the fight", are common in healthcare (Compton 2006; Chovanee 2011; Nie *et al.* 2016; Parsi 2016), but mostly found in the section on military ethics.

The main problem, i.e., the excessive rigidity of military ethics, is implicitly criticized in light of Hunston and Thompson's evaluation (2001) and the juxtaposition between medical ethics – associated with flexibility, discretion, morality, conscience – and military ethics, which is linked to rigidity, directions and law. Despite this, military ethics discursively hold the upper hand when it comes to precision and confidence in the conveyed information by observing indexicality in the case studies presented in relation to both medical and military ethics. The former is vague and simply mentions "some cases" or "in both the military and civilian settings", while the latter is much more persuasive and refers to specific rules and regulations that are explained in great detail.

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THE PSEUDO-SCIENTIFIC DISCOURSE OF CRYOPRESERVATION

Abstract

A small but increasing number of companies currently offer cryopreservation services to people intending to preserve their bodies totally or partially after their death, in the hope that scientific progresses may revive them in the future. The topic is complex both for the overlapping specific domains it involves and for the ethical concerns it raises.

The aim of this study was to highlight what creative ways of conducting a complex discourse emerge from the actors involved. This study analysed the language used a) to report and b) to disseminate the (pseudo)scientific knowledge and technology behind this practice (cryonics).

A qualitative investigation was carried out on texts on the topic collected from companies selling cryopreservation services.

Preliminary results point to cryonics providers employing a mix of specialised terminology and epistemic modality, appearing scientific to the public in spite of not providing any solid evidence.

Keywords: cryonics, pseudo-science, critical discourse analysis, domain-specific discourse, online dissemination.

1. *Background*

Cryopreservation, a technique that has long and successfully been used to store organs and tissues, including for reproductive purposes, is now being offered by some companies to people intending to preserve their bodies totally or partially after their death. The scientific rationale behind this new application of the same technology is that, by cooling a body to very low temperatures immediately after death, this can be preserved indefinitely until a moment in the future when medical progress allows returning it to life by treating the condition – including mere ageing – that caused its life to end.

The topic appears to be complex both for the overlapping specific domains it involves (health and medicine, local and international law, business marketing and advertising) and for the ethical concerns it

raises (the public debate on this practice has only just recently begun). It also challenges conventionality and stirs creativity in the way the new application of a by now conventional technology, dealing with the cross-cultural taboo of death, is explained to people. Indeed, while a large number of articles are increasingly being published by traditional and online media about the fascinating promises of cryonics, the number of scientific-academic studies devoted to it is very limited (2,482 English-language newspapers articles worldwide between 21/11/1971 and 23/08/2017 as retrieved from *LexisNexis*, compared to 17 texts between 1979 and 23/08/2017 on *PubMed*).

2. *Aim, methods and material*

This study has analysed the language used to a) report and b) disseminate the (pseudo)scientific knowledge and technology behind this practice (cryonics).

A small, qualitative critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1992, 2003; Wodak and Meyer 2001) has been carried out on texts on the topic collected from companies selling cryopreservation services, with the aim of highlighting what creative ways of conducting a complex discourse emerge from the actors.

This initial study took into consideration the three main companies offering cryonics services, Alcor (US), Cryonics Institute (US) and KrioRus (Russia, (which has just a one-page English version), concentrating on the text present in the homepages of their public websites.

3. *Discussion of findings*

All the three companies considered in the study make reference to scientific-technological knowledge in their homepages. Examples of this are reported in the following Table 1.

Alcor (US)

- Cryonics is an experimental procedure
- using the best available technology
- We believe medical technology will advance
- enabling it to heal damage at the cellular and molecular levels
- Banking of transplantable organs at low temperature is a recognized specialty
- Alcor applies breakthroughs in organ banking research to reduce cryopreservation injury
- making it easier for future medical technology to revive our patients
- Alcor encourages and supports evidence-based research such as these new memory preservation study results.
- cryonics is, in fact, simply an extension of critical care medicine

Cryonics Institute (US)

- Cryonics Institute - Technology Extending Life
- Providing Hope while advancing Science and Medicine
- using existing cryogenic technologies
- provides suspension at cryogenic temperatures also known as cryonics
- in hopes that future medical technology may be able to someday revive and restore them to full health
- provides an ambulance ride to the high-tech hospital of the future
- present medical science has given up
- Cryonic science has the potential to preserve or revive endangered or extinct species

KrioRus (Russia)

- We constantly develop:
- Improve perfusion and storing technologies for our patients;
- Work hard to increase our storage safety;
- Master and design new equipment for cryonics;
- Support and carry on scientific research in the domain of cryobiology.

Table 1 - Scientific-technological references

In the references to the scientific-technological knowledge connected to cryonics reported in Table 1, we find instances of specialised lexicon, e.g. in the phrases, with collocation-like value, "transplantable organs" (Alcor) "evidence-based research" (Alcor), "critical care medicine" (Alcor), "endangered or extinct species" (Cryonics Institute), "perfusion and storing technologies" (KrioRus), "storage safety" (KrioRus), "scientific research" (KrioRus). We argue that the use of such phrases,

lexically built according to the word formation strategies employed in specialised terminology (Gotti 1991; Garzone 2006) and actually very frequent in scientific discourse, contribute to enhancing the idea of science being behind the cryonics services offered. This is indeed true, as far as the freezing aspect is concerned. What is also achieved linguistically by the recurrent use of these phrases, however, is the extension of the idea of scientific soundness from the freezing technique (viable) to the prospects of resuscitation from it (not yet proven).

Two companies also include short, specific references to the dissemination they make of such knowledge, listed in Table 2.

Cryonics Institute (US)
· We specialize in full-body cryo-preservation of humans and pets, DNA & tissue storage as well as cryonics outreach and public education about the cutting edge science we are engaged in.
KrioRus (Russia)
· We keep informing people about the possibilities of cryonics

Table 2 - References to dissemination practices

The other relevant feature to be highlighted in the texts considered is their insistence on what emerges as pseudo-scientific knowledge dissemination. This occurs not only in the self-declared disseminating purposes listed in Table 2 ("outreach and public education", Cryonics Institute; "we keep informing people about the possibilities of cryonics", KrioRus), but especially at the syntactic level. Modality is one way this is achieved, e.g. "may be able to someday revive" (Cryonics Institute), with the modal verb used epistemically and not for hedging purposes (Gotti and Dossena 2001), and the use of the adverb 'someday' adding a degree of vagueness not in line with scientific discourse. Verbs of opinion are also employed, e.g. belief / hope + will, as well as conditionals and adverbial clauses of time, "when technology becomes available" (Alcor), and a number of prepositional phrases that introduce non-finite embedded or -that clauses, e.g. "with the intent of" (Alcor), "with the goal of" (Cryonics Institute), "in hopes that" (Cryonics Institute). All these syntactic choices also contribute to the construction of an epistemic tone of expectation, based on faith and not on facts, that makes the constructed discourse pseudo-scientific.

4. *Conclusions, limits and developments*

This communication reports initial, limited aspects of the research being conducted on the discourse of cryonics, only considering the homepages of three cryonics providers' webpages (of which one is in Russian and has a one-page English version), and looking exclusively at how scientific knowledge is being reported in and disseminated through them. As a preliminary conclusion, a mix can be identified of specialised terminology and epistemic modality, which creates a hybrid and therefore ambiguous discourse that sounds scientific in its formulation while actually not stating facts but possibilities based on hopes. Mimicking specialised language is a well-known communication strategy employed to market health (life)-related products and services (e.g. Chandra, Sikula, David 2004; Schenker, Arnold, London 2014); a surprising facet is that here it is applied to death-related services. The extension of the scientific knowledge behind viable technology to unproven possibilities of resuscitation is what, in particular, raises ethical concerns as to how the discourse of cryonics is conducted.

Further research on the topic is underway, extending the investigation to all cryonics providers worldwide (five, currently) and to all the texts featured in their websites. Two more corpora are also being collected and investigated, about cryonics in the media and in academic publications. Finally, the marketing, legal and ethical aspects of the discourse of cryonics are being researched, with accepted communications at upcoming international conferences and for publications. The results of the research project as a whole are hoped to return insights into the discourse of bioethically relevant issues by exploring the expanding role of technology not just in but after life.

Primary sources

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ONLINE PRINT MEDIA COVERAGE OF A PARLIAMENTARY SELECT COMMITTEE'S INVESTIGATIONS INTO ALLEGATIONS OF DOPING IN BRITISH CYCLING[1]

Abstract

This paper presents a case study of online mainstream print media accounts of the sensitive issue of doping within sport. Specifically, it investigates press coverage of the enquiry of the Parliamentary Select Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee on Combating Doping in Sport (House of Parliament 2006-2018). Adopting a discourse analytical approach, the analysis entails comparison of two data sets, one comprising the transcripts of the Select Committee hearings; the other composed of news print media coverage of the committee's proceedings. The purpose is to gain insights into the prevailing discursive strategies involved in the recontextualization of institutional face-to-face interactions in the form of mainstream online print news about this charged and controversial issue.

Keywords: political discourse; online print media; discourse analysis.

Introduction: The issue

This paper is concerned with the work of the Parliamentary Select Digital, Culture, Media and Sport Committee on Combating Doping in Sport, specifically within cycling. Within this sphere the inquiry focused on possible abuse by the elite cycling outfit Team Sky of Therapeutic Use Exemption, which allows athletes to take otherwise banned substances to treat a certified medical condition; it also inquired into the delivery of unregistered medication to the Team Sky rider Bradley Wiggins. The purpose of the paper is to investigate how this often sensationalized aspect of bioethics is reported in the press and also to

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[1]   The following summarizes a paper presented during the panel session on mainstream press coverage of bioethical issues, organized by the Milan unit (Ideology in the Dissemination of Knowledge about Bioethical Issues) of the PRIN "Knowledge Dissemination across Media in English: Continuity and change in discourse strategies, ideologies and epistemologies".

gain insights into how such an institutional, face-to-face interaction is recontextualised as mainstream online print news (see NewsTalk&Text Research Group 2009: 4).

Data

To do so two corpora were constructed. The first, the Parliamentary Committee Corpus (PCC), comprising transcripts of two hearings of the Parliamentary Select Committee (House of Commons 2016, 2017), amounted to 57,432 tokens. The second, the Online Press Corpus (OLPC), comprised coverage in articles from a spectrum of British and Irish online dailies, provided a corpus of 214,629 tokens. Both corpora were interrogated using the keyword tool on the Antconc concordance software (Anthony)[2].

Findings and interpretation

Many of the key words in the OLPC refer to the reformulation of the evidence into a narrative form. Indeed, the token 'story' is significantly key (117, 168)[3]. What is more, once the narrative is under way it becomes a 'saga' (253, 34), and the issue is transformed not just into a 'story' but into a special kind of one, deserving prolonged attention. This narrative slant explains the relatively high keyness of time markers: 'since' (136, 135), 'initially' (229, 37). Additionally, the time markers 'yet' (263, 132) and 'still' (271, 181), largely occurring in 'yet to' and 'still to' structures, also increase the staying power of the story, suggesting that the revelatory business of the press is unfinished and that the affair will yield further interesting twists. A significant number of other key words also stress the continued relevance of the narration. Readers and journalists alike are always in *media res*, on the brink of important developments. For example, 'amid' (320, 26) collocates with 'furore' and 'controversy', indicating that the reports are coming from a prolonged crisis-point within a narrative; 'pressure' (236, 60) collocates with 'mounting' and 'increasing', generating a sense of impending climax that provides longer legs for the story; 'continues' (423,31), occurring preponderantly in 'the case continues', is yet another confirmation

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[2]   Anthony, Laurence. Antconc. Available at: *http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/an*, last accessed April 5, 2018.
[3]   The first figure in brackets refers to the word's keyness ranking; the second to the number of hits.

of sustained relevance and newsworthiness (Bell 1991); a similar function is performed by the verb 'remain' (276, 44).

Unsurprisingly, the various 'characters' emerge with high keyness, particularly witnesses, like David Bailsford, Shane Sutton, Nicole Sapstead and Dr Freeman. These proper nouns frequently collocate with the keywords 'principal' (79, 156), 'boss' (96, 167), 'chief' (106, 190) or 'director' (144, 112). Such noun phrases also contribute to newsworthiness by underscoring the high profile of those called as witnesses.

As the corpus is composed of reports of an oral interaction, verbal processes are highly prominent. An extensive repertoire of reporting verbs is prominent. On balance, though, these are far from neutral and disendorsement is frequent. These processes are ranked as follows: 'claimed' (67, 139), 'claims' (141, 95) 'claim' (149, 127) ahead of 'confirmed' (168, 74), 'described' (231, 61), 'questioned' (254, 48), 'criticised' (27), 'responded' (235, 25), 'conceded' (411,1 9). 'Admitted' (106, 93) collocates with 'Brailsford' and 'mistakes', indicating the press's predilection for a negative evaluation (White 2003) and for attributing and stressing blame. Overall, keyness indicates a strong element of disendorsement and also a tendency to magnify aspects that are prejudicial to the Team Sky and British Cycling witnesses. This effect is augmented by the key nouns 'allegations' (121, 128), 'claims' (141, 95) and 'claim' (149, 127). On the other hand, though hedges like 'appear' are quite key (158, 116), 'appears' (404, 32) and 'seemed' (404; 32) are much less so. This overview indicates that disendorsement prevails over hedging forms that might convey greater detachment.

The lexis of revelation is relatively key in the OLPC, reflecting a common dynamic, whereby the press enshrines its privileged position in this process as one of the organs through which revelation is achieved. This is evident in such expressions as 'The Sunday Times can reveal'. Related to this is the use of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) that convey an ability to penetrate, see, and direct our attention to the crux of the matter: 'centre' (188, 99) occurs with a very high frequency in 'at the centre'; 'heart' (424, 39) occurs mainly in the collocation 'at the heart'; 'close' (472, 42) frequently occurs in 'a source close to the rider', etc., confirming the papers' privileged access to information.

Analysis of lexis also reveals a predilection for an explicitly evaluative stance when reporting such institutional procedures. Take, for example, the high keyness of 'doping' (58, 942) in the OLPC, a socially and culturally loaded word (de B. Clark 2006) that does not occur within the 500-keyword threshold of the PCC, where the more neutral term 'enhancement' (236, 6 – collocating with 'performance') is

used, an option that is not key within the 500 threshold of the OLPC. A further foregrounding of negative connotation is reflected in the high keyness of 'wrongdoing'. In the OLPC it is ranked 89 with 226 instances, while it is not key within the 500 threshold of the PCC. It is true that in roughly half the concordances it collocates with 'deny' or 'no', but in the other half it collocates with 'alleged', which may attenuate the negative semantic load of the word without fully neutralizing it. A lexical item like 'package' provides an indication of how evaluation is achieved through collocation, particularly within noun phrases. 'Package' and 'jiffybag' collocate variously with 'mystery', 'notorious' and 'infamous'. It will be noted that these collocations exist to forefront newsworthiness, but also to shape negative attitudes towards the issue. 'Scandal' (234, 36) works in a similar way, occurring in noun phrases like 'doping scandal', 'team sky doping scandal', 'jiffy bag scandal'; 'jiffygate scandal', 'Bradley Wiggins Scandal'. From Fowler (1991) on, noun phrases resulting from reification have been recognized as a particularly persuasive means of evaluation, reformulating opinion (more easily detectable in verb phrases) as a given fact (Billig 2008; Cichocka *et al.* 2006). Such collocations also confirm the press's role in creating self-sustaining newsworthiness.

Concluding observations

Reviewing these findings, they appear to confirm established media practices: the construction of an ongoing narrative, consolidation of the press's role as a source of revelation; the generation of newsworthiness and sensation, often through negative evaluation in the form of loaded lexis or marked reporting forms that convey disendorsement.

This is not to imply that media coverage is a travesty of the institutional discourse in question. In its final report, the Committee acknowledges a debt to the investigative journalists who helped bring these matters to the fore (House of Commons 2018: 9), noting of journalists, "rather than their work being tantamount to a 'declaration of war' on sport […] it should be seen as a warning light that was acted upon too late". Such media practices may also be prominent when politicians and the press share a similar stance. When this is so, the preliminary results of this paper indicate that the press can be relied on to further the political agenda in fairly predictable ways (van Dijk 1995).

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BIG DATA ETHICS IN THE NEWS MEDIA

Abstract

This research highlights a few perspectives from which the global news media have been reporting on the topic of big data in connection with novel ethical issues. It observes that the overview of the big data debate in the news media brings out an uneven landscape, with recent coverage showing a marked discontinuity since the end of March 2018 in the wake of the Cambridge Analytica data scandal. Disrupting the largely unchallenged storytelling about big data as most progressive and desirable in all sectors of society – from business to healthcare – the exposure of privacy violation appears to have raised public perception of contradictions in the use of big data and generated a peak of awareness about ethical breaches and loss of control over digital information. The emergence of widespread criticism about data misuse marks a turning point in the rhetoric of big data and its impact on social imaginaries that a linguistic and discursive investigation of the news media manages to capture and describe in its unfolding.

Keywords: Big Data; news media; narrative.

Introduction

Just a few years after big data became mainstream in public discourse and, consequently, in the news media, it is still hard to find consensus about its use. Big data, for example, is represented as central to business success because of consumer profiling, required in the implementation of smart city initiatives, and announced as a big promise in healthcare. At the same time, big data management raises several questions about privacy, consent and accountability that see all involved actors – from tech industries to ordinary citizens – faced with new opportunities and dilemmas.

Materials and methodology

To search for linguistic and discursive information about the ways in which the big data issue is handled in the news media, an electronic study corpus was collected from multiple news sources from the UK, US and Australian quality press from January 2016 to June 2018. A representative selection of articles (news stories, columns, editorials, op-eds, blog posts) was compiled, reflecting the articulated nature of contemporary publics' media exposure within mainstream journalism and covering a range of geographical locations, cultural backgrounds and political stances. The resulting study corpus of 350 articles can be described as topic-specific and user-defined (Bednarek and Caple 2014: 137).

The UK titles include *The Economist*, *The Financial Times*, *The Guardian*, *The Independent*, *The Telegraph*, *The Times* and *The Sunday Times*. The US broadsheets gather *The Los Angeles Times*, *The New York Times*, *USA Today* and *The Washington Post*. *The Age*, *The Australian*, *The Australian Financial Review*, *The Canberra Times*, *Guardian Australia* and *The Sydney Morning Herald* are the Australian papers. Some of the selected sources have international or country-specific editions, which results in a mix between global coverage and regional and local perspectives. The presence of a technology section on each and every news website was also checked.

Blending quantitative and qualitative approaches, Corpus-Assisted Discourse Studies (CADS) allows a multi-perspective focus on the linguistic and discursive make-up of texts, as it involves the application of the theory and methods of both Corpus Linguistics and Discourse Analysis, a strength which has been repeatedly confirmed (Partington, Duguid, Taylor 2013; Baker and McEnery 2015). By using corpora and software, Corpus Linguistics guarantees an empirical description of natural language. It allows to query large amounts of text through computer-enhanced tools, test hypotheses quantitatively and elicit broad discursive patterns through staple techniques like word frequency, keyness and concordances. The Corpus Linguistics software used for this analysis is the latest version of Laurence Anthony's freely downloadable and recently released AntConc version 3.5.5 (2018).

In its turn, by exploring how actors, processes and representations are encoded in language, Discourse Analysis complements the findings of Corpus Linguistics. In the case of news discourse, among the strong points of the dual approach is the ability to expose "how media texts might be *repeatedly* framing issues or events that are reported over a significant period of time" (O'Halloran 2010: 563, *original emphasis*), thus positioning descriptive and interpretive findings within a larger social context and, possibly, being able to assess their ideological

import by way of Critical Discourse Analysis (Tannen, Hamilton, Schriffin 2015).

News corpus analysis

The querying of the corpus by means of AntConc elicited keywords, concordances and collocations that were used to probe complex discourse meanings and draw a mapping of the ideological content of the texts, later discussed through the tools of Discourse and Critical Discourse Analysis. The big data narrative appears to be polarised between enthusiasm for the adoption of new technology and fear for privacy loss, with a number of terms related to the technological domain and the information superhighway, as well as references to economic subjects like Silicon Valley tech giants, banks, companies and industries and collective actors like people, consumers and governments occupying the middle ground. Among the top thirty keywords by keyness, *security* and *risk* allude to the instability that data misuse may cause, while *privacy* has a greater semantic scope and resonates with wider ethical implications.

Before Cambridge Analytica, nonetheless, an overall very low frequency of *ethic** lemmas (*ethics*, *ethical*, *ethically*, *ethicist* and their opposites with 'un' prefix), synonyms and antonyms (e.g. *moral* and *immoral*) is observable in the corpus. Mounting cultural and political anxieties about the actual use of big data repeatedly surface in news discourse, for example by means of new compounds (i.e. *data broker, data evangelist, data-hungry*) and figurative language ('data is the new oil', 'the data deluge') that try to make sense of the phenomenon and translate it for the lay public. However, the risk of data breaches and leaks is not fully framed as a serious violation of basic rights, while human responsibility in the use of data appears generic rather than binding.

The adoption of big data in the healthcare domain is reported even more positively and stands out for its less marked discursive polarisation. Media coverage credits biomedical big data with the potential to yield unprecedented diagnostic and prognostic insights into patient treatment thanks to Artificial Intelligence and machine learning. In addition, predictive analytics models are of fundamental assistance in healthcare allocation, decision-making and delivery. Bioethical issues are cursorily introduced in the discussion and generally underestimated, neglecting the fact that technology makes the healthcare industry more efficient but also more vulnerable to cyberattacks.

The main divide is marked by Cambridge Analytica, after which the news media record a surge in the use of terms like *manipulate,*

scandal, threat and *unethical* and the misuse of big data is connected to voter profiling and "nudging" (Puaschunder 2017). The fraudulent data breach reveals that the impact and fallacies of big data analytics undo any attempt to circumscribe the topic to the realms of science and technology. It exposes, instead, the deep interconnectedness of technological innovation with the world of business and finance, healthcare and politics.

Concluding remarks

The analysis has shown that the big data debate appears to be framed between two poles – data and information as opposed to rights and privacy – whose gap has of late been emphasised by a number of data scandals affecting business, health and politics and culminating in the major unforeseen event of Cambridge Analytica and Facebook. This violation, whereby big data was 'weaponised' to influence voters in the 2016 US presidential election, materialised the worst suspicions about the emptying out of democracy.

Arguably, the scandal managed to give momentum to the emergence of ethical reflections with regard to big data in public discourse and not just within expert communities. Before March 2018 these reflections, still in a relatively nascent state, were often obfuscated by the big data hype. Though disgracefully, the current public debate on data ethics was set in motion exactly by what the news media reported as a grossly unethical privacy breach. This happens while national and international legal frameworks – especially the General Data Protection Regulation (GDPR) in the European Union – are seeing the light and law makers are working to address the issue of individual privacy rights, corporate compliance and, ultimately, the digital divide and its unequal distribution of knowledge, access and power (van Deursen and Mossberger 2018). Once again, it can be observed how discourse responds to the fault lines along which society is constantly reshaped and actively engages in the mapping of contested knowledge fields on the spur of novel events.

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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, MEDIA AND AVT

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POWER AND PARADOX:
POSITIONING ENGLISH PROFICIENCY, ACCENTS
AND SELVES DURING INTERVIEWS

Abstract

The research interview has been subjected to increasing scrutiny as a widely-used yet under-theorised methodology in language studies. Too often, interview data are taken at face value and treated as a 'report' that accurately and objectively represents an outside 'reality' (Talmy 2010). In reality, interviews occur within situated spaces that involve relations of power, agentive negotiations, and the intermingling of the identities and subjectivities of both the interviewer and the interviewee(s). Informed by these theoretical considerations, this paper conceptualises the interview as a space of social practice in which interlocutors collaboratively construct and enact their positions, identities and beliefs to provide evidence for the analytical advantages of this conceptualisation. Specifically, utilising the tactics of intersubjectivity the present paper aims to describe the ways in which interview participants (re)position and (re)negotiate self-conceptions of proficiency, attitudes towards language and accents, and their selves during interviews. By drawing on selected excerpts of interviews with one English language user, the interconnectedness of these constructs and how their construction hinges on agency, creativity, and complexity are brought to the fore.

Keywords: language and identity; language attitudes; qualitative interviews; reflexivity; tactics of intersubjectivity.

1. *Interviews as Sites of Co-construction and Agency*

The research interview has been subjected to increasing scrutiny as a widely-used yet under-theorised methodology in language studies. Too often, as Talmy (2010) maintains, interview data are displayed in language research publications as "decontextualized, stand-alone quotes of respondents' answers" (p. 136), a practice that takes interview data at face value and treats them as a 'report' that accurately and objectively

represents an outside 'reality' (Talmy 2010). Although this approach to the interview persists as a practice in applied linguistics, it is a patently simplistic and reductive view that presupposes that interviews occur in a social vacuum. In reality, as Eppler and Codó (2016) maintain, interviews are "situated in particular linguistic, socioeconomic, historical and political regimes" (p. 307). The interview occurs in a space[1], and each space, as Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) assert, "*does something* to people" when it comes to communicating and, concurrently, "people in interaction semiotically create and modify space" (p. 203, emphasis in the original). Seeing interviews within these situated spaces is advantageous because it recognises that they are neither neutral nor empty (Miller 2012): they involve relations of power, agentive negotiations, and the intermingling of the identities and subjectivities of both the interviewer and the interviewee(s).

In short, researchers cannot extract information from participants without it being filtered and processed through the interviewer and the interview setting. As Prior (2014) argues, when interviews are considered as jointly-constructed processes between the interviewer and interviewee, researchers can see how interview interactants employ agency, draw from all of their communicative resources, and "dismantle the assumption that roles and procedural norms are pre-determined or unchallenged" (p. 506). Indeed, through this novel lens, the interviewer's identity, subjectivity, and endeavours to build a "rapport" (Prior 2017) with interviewees, play an integral part in the data, its analysis and representation[2]. An 'interview as a social practice' orientation (Talmy 2010; see also Talmy 2011; Talmy and Richards 2011) takes on a discursive perspective through which interviews become socially-situated speech events "in which interviewer(s) and interviewee(s) make meaning, co-construct knowledge, and participate in social practices" (Talmy and Richards 2011: 2). Thus, both the content of the interview and the process involved in the (co-)construction of meaning are analysed.

Informed by these theoretical considerations, this paper conceptualises the interview as a space of social practice in which interlocutors

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[1]   Blommaert, Collins and Slembrouck (2005) define space as "an active, agentive aspect of communication" that influences "what people can or cannot do"; "the value and function of their sociolinguistic repertoires"; and "their identities, both self-constructed (inhabited) and ascribed by others" (p. 203).

[2]   Foregrounding this role has resulted in a call for greater researcher reflexivity that "enables the researcher to demonstrate accountability and transparency during the research process, especially in how they have interpreted the information gathered, given that information is always interpreted through the researcher's positionality" (Savvides, Al-Youssef, Colin, Garrido 2014: 416).

collaboratively construct and enact their positions, identities and beliefs to provide evidence for the analytical advantages of this conceptualisation. Specifically, utilising the *tactics of intersubjectivity*, a framework "for describing the social relations established through semiotic processes" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 382), the present paper aims to describe the ways in which interview participants (re)positioned and (re)negotiated self-conceptions of proficiency, attitudes towards language and accents, and their selves during interviews. By drawing on selected excerpts of interviews with one English language user, the interconnectedness of these constructs and how their construction hinges on agency, creativity, and complexity are brought to the fore.

2. *Contextualising the interviews: The study*

The data discussed in the present paper were part of a larger sequential explanatory mixed-methods study which explored issues of identity, ownership and attitudes among English learners and users in their last year of high school in Italy. During the qualitative phase of the study, the English classes attended by eight case study participants across four schools were observed weekly for six months, and three in-depth, semi-structured interviews were conducted with each participant. All participants were given the option of speaking either Italian or English during the interviews, and all participants chose to speak primarily in English. The interview excerpts in this paper draw from three interviews with Giovanni[3], an 18-year-old student enrolled in a science-oriented lyceum in Naples. In line with the aims of the larger study, the interviews generally concerned the relationship between English(es) and Giovanni's identity, and they sought insight into Giovanni's English learning experiences, uses of English, and attitudes towards different English varieties and accents.

Adhering to the call to be mindful of the complex ways in which researcher identities can mediate data collection and analysis, before delving into the interviews with Giovanni, I will briefly delineate some of the "baggage"[4] (Scheurich 1997) that I – the researcher – brought to the interview. In my research about English in Italian schools, I was an 'outsider' who spoke English 'natively' and had lived most of my life

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[3]   This and all names are pseudonym.
[4]   The term *baggage* is a reference to what Scheurich (1997) calls the "considerable conscious and unconscious baggage" that researchers carry into the research process, which includes their biographies, training, social positionality, and individual idiosyncrasies, as well as the research framework and other related research (p. 73).

in the United States, but I also felt that I had 'insider' knowledge of the Italian context and educational setting because I was born in Italy and I had spent a year in Italian schools as a Fulbright English teaching assistant before beginning my research. The language dimension was perhaps the most noteworthy 'baggage' that I brought to the interview. As a language teacher and doctoral student, I was aware of the linguistic hierarchy that governs languages but, before arriving at my research sites, I had underestimated the extent to which my language would impact on interviews. Firstly, I was surprised to find that all of my interviewees chose to speak in English and I learned that they chose to do so to practise speaking English with a 'native speaker'. Then, my linguistic identities – as a 'native' English speaker but also as a speaker of English with an American accent – proved to be critical in conversations about attitudes towards English varieties.

3. *The Interviews*

The following sections each draw on interview excerpts to serve as illustrative examples of how interlocutors enact agentive moves within the space of the interview, taking close heed of the (re)positioning of self-perceived proficiency, English accents, and identities.

3.1 A Stance on Accents to Construct Legitimacy

During the exchange about English pronunciation reproduced in Excerpt 1, which occurred during our second interview, Giovanni reveals that he prefers a British English accent[5], an he occasions Brianna, an American 'native' English speaker who was his conversation instructor, to typify his dislike for the American accent. Even though Brianna "[speaks] perfect English" (line 6), the way in which she pronounced key sounds was not only undesirable but "terrible" (line 5). To explain his stance on her accent, Giovanni contrasts the phonological features of Brianna's speech with British English, thereby establishing "a dichotomy between social identities constructed as oppositional or contrastive" and enacting the tactic of *distinction* (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 384). Then, by citing how a "British guy" would speak (line 10) to serve as the ideal to emulate, laughing when mimicking the American accent (line 7), and assigning grammatical accuracy to British English (preference is linked to being "a grammar Nazi", line 14), Giovanni enacts *illegitimation,* or "the process of removing or denying power"

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[5]   English as a native language (ENL) accents are not singular but 'accent' here is used to coincide with Giovanni's usage.

(Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 387), and strips any power (or validity) from Brianna's aforementioned position as a "perfect" speaker of English.

line 1	JA:	So you're interested in differences in pronunciation?
2	Giovanni:	Yes, because, not to be rude, but I prefer a British accent.
3	JA:	Yeah, no no! ((laughs))
4 5 6 7	Giovanni:	Because, uh, your accent is still good but Brianna, our mother tongue, her accent [is] bah! Terrible! Of course she [speaks] perfect English, but when she says my name is Brianna [heavily nasalised] ((laughs)) […]
8 9	JA:	But her specific accent, why is her specific accent, why was it-
10 11	Giovanni:	Because a British guy, I think [he] would say Brianna, Brianna [not nasalised] […]
12 13	JA:	((laughs)) So why do you think you prefer the British accent?
14 15	Giovanni:	((laughs)) Because when I hear it, I prefer it. I am a grammar Nazi even in English!

Excerpt 1

The analysis of this interview is partial without addressing the elephant in the room: I too speak English with an American accent. Although, as maintained by Cormier (2017: 1-2) "the researcher's dominant language becomes a form of power he or she holds over the participants", in this excerpt Giovanni strips me of this power and positions me as an English speaker who does not have a preferred or accurate accent. Even before expressing his opinion, Giovanni says "not to be rude" (line 2) at once bringing my identity as an American English speaker into play and evidencing that he recognised he was doing so. In response, I displayed discomfort, indexed by my hesitancy, repetition and laughter (line 3). The fact that Giovanni articulated his disapproval for American English without including me in his narrative can be seen as an attempt to avoid having me lose face. I in turn sensed this so, following his lead, I requested more information by asking Giovanni to describe Brianna's speech. The use of Brianna as the object of conversation became a resource through which both Giovanni and I aimed for *adequation,* or "the pursuit of socially recognized sameness" (Bucholtz and Hall 2004: 383). In so doing, we created a space in which we harmoniously discussed a face-threatening issue.

3.2 English Proficiency, Accents, and Identity

Immediately before the ensuing conversation reproduced in Excerpt 2, which also occurred during the second interview, I had asked Giovanni whether he was satisfied with his level of English, to which he replied his spoken English was "more or less" good, suggesting a connection in his understanding of English proficiency to spoken English alone. Moreover, as seen below, Giovanni declares competence in British English pronunciation (when he said "it's not that I can't pronounce English with an English accent" lines 2-3) but is unwilling to use this accent even though doing so would constitute an improvement to his English.

line 1	JA:	Is there anything that you'd like to improve?
2	Giovanni:	I'd say my accent. It's not that I can't pronounce En-
3		glish with an English accent, but when I do I feel stu-
4		pid ((laughs)). It's weird to hear my voice with an En-
5		glish accent.
6	JA:	So what accent are you using when you're talking
7		now?
8	Giovanni:	I'm just using the accent I know, my accent, my Italian
9		accent…
10	JA:	So tell me more about this idea of not wanting to use
11		the British accent, can you tell me why-
12	Giovanni:	It's not that I don't like [it]. [The] British accent is fun-
13		ny. When I say something in British accent [and] I hear
14		my voice, I say 'oh my God!' I feel like a- it's so weird
15		because it's not my accent, of course, and when I use
16		British accent, I feel like I'm playing something, so
17		it's strange

Excerpt 2

In Excerpt 1 Giovanni positioned British English as preferred and grammatically accurate, but when it comes to his use of his preferred accent he says that "it's not my accent, of course" (line 15). More poignantly, when he pronounces English with a British English accent he says that he "feel[s] stupid" and he associates it with the terms "funny", "weird" and "strange", which index British English as a more marked mode of discourse than Italian-accented English and *illegitimise* it by

stripping it of its power. Giovanni, a self-defined "grammar Nazi" who strongly favoured British English (to American English), does not want a British accent when he speaks English.

An interpretation of this formulation points to the relationship between accent and identity for Giovanni: even though British English is the variety he has studied and prefers, he cannot construct an authentic English-speaking identity if he uses a British English accent because it is discordant with his identity. Moreover, Giovanni positioned himself as having multiple Englishes available in his linguistic repertoire. Not sounding like a British English speaker, albeit recognised as the ideal and model for English accuracy, is a choice and an expression and/or performance of agency. This interview interaction can be viewed as an opportunity that Giovanni seizes to negotiate his position as an English speaker, in contrast to powerful language ideologies that dictate that native-like English speech is the objective of English language learners and users.

3.3 Positioning Identity and Repositioning Power

During our third interview, I asked Giovanni whether English was part of his identity, a critical point for the purposes of my research. In his response and the interaction that followed, displayed in Excerpt 3 below, Giovanni positions himself as an English speaker ("I speak your language", line 1), but speaking the language does not mean that English is part of his identity ("it's not part of my identity, no", line 1). The reason he uses to support this stance is that, although he has studied 'English' culture[6], it is not his culture (line 6). In pointing to this difference, Giovanni enacts the tactic of *distinction*.

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[6]   "English" likely denotes ENL. Nonetheless, because of its ambiguity, the term English is presented within single quotations.

line 1	Giovanni:	I'm not English so I speak your language but it's not part
2		of my identity, no.
3	JA:	Why don't you think it's part of your identity?
4	Giovanni:	I think that when one studies a language, [one] studies
5		also the culture, and I'm not against English culture,
6		but it's not mine culture, my culture. So, for example,
7		the very fact that you have egg and bacon for breakfast
8		it's unbelievable. How can you wake up? ((laughs)) The
9		thought that you have to eat egg! ((laughs))
10	JA:	((laughs)) Not everybody does that, but I understand.

Excerpt 3

In addition to producing this salient difference between his culture and 'English' culture through this agentive move, arguably at odds with the assertion that he is "not against English culture" (line 5), Giovanni draws on the example of having "egg[s] and bacon for breakfast" (line 7) as emblematic of the culture of the 'English'. When he occasions it, he laughs and labels the practice "unbelievable" (line 8) thereby positioning both it and the culture it represents as silly and absurd. This positioning may be viewed as a tactic of *illegitimation* in that it resists and challenges the position of power and prestige held by the 'English'.

Indeed, this tactic is highlighted ever more starkly by the direct implication of my identity, beginning at the start of the exchange when Giovanni concedes the ownership of English to me using the possessive pronoun "your" with reference to English (line 1). Then, in lines 7 and 8, Giovanni uses the pronoun "you" (lines 7 and 8). Although it is not clear whether the second-person pronoun is singular or plural, this pronoun use has nonetheless the effect of situating me as someone whose culture can be described as 'English' and who participates in the unbelievable breakfast practice. In my reply to this ascribed positioning, I utter the face-saving "not everybody does that" but I also use affiliative laughter (Prior 2017) and say the evaluative comment "I understand" (line 10) to align myself with Giovanni's claim and position myself as a receptive and understanding interlocutor (Miller 2012).

In short, in contrast to a larger context in which official language policy and practices generally uphold and authorise 'standard' and/or 'native' English as the ideal, the interview setting became a space in which Giovanni employed tactics not only to distinguish his identity

from that of the 'English' but also to challenge their legitimacy and position his identity more favourably. Moreover, in this exchange, my identity as a member of 'English' culture takes on a leading role when it is explicitly occasioned by the use of "you" and "your". The interview cannot be interpreted merely as the participant's unilateral description of the relationship between English and his identity. My identity and the nature of my response to this face-threatening scenario impact on the course of the interaction and have the potential to affect the interviewer-interviewee rapport.

4. *Discussion and Conclusions*

The interview both exists within a larger space and creates a space itself. According to Blommaert (2010), "spaces are always someone's space, and they are filled with norms, expectations, conceptions of what counts as proper and normal (indexical) language use and what does not count as such" (p. 6). A given space legitimates some linguistic acts (and not others), places a value on aspects of multilingual repertoires, and designates (self- and other-ascribed) identity options (Blommaert, Collins, Slembrouck 2005; Miller 2012). Legitimacy and the rules that dictate the way in which speakers can be recognised or perceive themselves as linguistically competent shifts between spaces (Miller 2012). The interviews in the present paper were administered in a school in Italy, a macro-context in which English is a foreign language and a micro-context that hones 'standard' English skills, usually with British English as the phonological ideal. And yet, within governed spaces, individuals enact tactics, which de Certeau (1984) defines as agentive acts of appropriation and reconfiguration, to exert agency, (re)position their identities, and (re)negotiate meaning. As Miller (2012) holds, "individuals participate in practices which (re)constitute the reality of and the social meanings attached to such spaces" (p. 447).

The present paper drew on three excerpts of interviews concerning interconnections among the English language, attitudes towards the language, and learner/user identity that a 'native' speaker of English conducted in Italy with an Italian English language user. The analysis of these interview excerpts displayed that the nature of Giovanni's attitudes towards and understandings of English (accents) was complex, nuanced and closely connected to his identity, and his articulation of these concepts was bound to agentive acts and the enactment of tactics. Indeed, the analysis of the interview excerpts highlighted the agentive discursive moves, described utilising the tactics of intersubjectivity framework (Bucholtz and Hall 2004), enacted to (re)position and (re)

negotiate self-conceptions of proficiency, attitudes towards language and accents, and selves during interviews. That is, Giovanni defined British English as the grammatical ideal to emulate and mimicked the American accent to debunk the notion that the American accent is on par with the British accent. In spite of his strongly expressed preference for the British English accent, his declared ability to use the accent and his placement within an ELF context, he was unwilling to employ this accent when he spoke English because it was incongruous with his identity. In contrast to prevailing ideologies, he positioned his identity as desirable and even superior to that of the 'English' and challenged the legitimacy of practices characteristic of ENL communities. Instead of ascribing identities to English learners and users, we must enquire into L2 learners' identifications with the target language and how they shape their identities to position themselves as legitimate speakers of English(es) and/or members of English-speaking communities.

Further insight can be gleaned from interviews when their collaborative nature and resultant co-construction of meaning are accentuated. The way in which I was positioned with respect to the language I spoke provided insight into Giovanni's language attitudes and into the variability in conceptions about language and identity. While in Excerpt 1, as an American English speaker, I was not situated among speakers of the grammatically-accurate and desirable British English, in Excerpt 3 Giovanni ascribed an 'English' or 'ENL' identity to me. Oftentimes my identity and my language were used as explicit tools within the interaction but they arguably acted as an undercurrent that impacted interactions across the interviews. A 'native' American English-speaking researcher conducting qualitative research about English with language learners in this setting inevitably influenced the course of the interview, in particular by bringing deep-rooted language ideologies about what constitutes language mastery to the fore and by drawing attention to the variation among 'mother tongue' speakers. In language research in particular, the language spoken by the researcher is a critical part of the data.

Identities, attitudes and languages – particularly English given its role in globalising processes – can be described as paradoxical in that they are characterised by fluidity, creativity and complexity, and their construction, context-dependent and discourse-based, is also grounded in issues of power. Interviews are an opportunity for these features of these key constructs to be brought to the fore. When interviews are viewed as (agentive) spaces that act as a collaboratively-constructed and mediating element rather than a "backdrop or a context for language use" (Miller 2012: 446), fruitful insights may be gleaned from sensitivity to the creativity and agency of language users, as well as

the analysis of the different constituting phenomena. The interview excerpts in this paper serve as illustrative examples of how understanding interview data as discourse in social practice, marked by relations of power and negotiation, and therefore neither neutral nor independent of subjectivity, can allow researchers to achieve a deeper and more insightful analysis of the data that foregrounds agency, creativity, and complexity. This approach to the representation and analysis of interviews is beneficial not only because it allows language researchers to paint a fuller, more complete picture of the interview event but it also prevents the loss of important notions, or worse, drawing inaccurate conclusions due to partiality.

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NEWS FRACTALS:
LINGUISTIC AND DISCURSIVE PROPERTIES
OF BBC NEWS ALERTS

Abstract

This study examines the content, structure and formulation of 193 online BBC news alerts (about 30,000 words). Each alert comprises an email message with a briefest news update and a link to an expanded news update. These main components include sub-components which recycle and expand on the 'same' content, zooming in on details of a fractal-like narrative. The alerts therefore instantiate a spiral rhetorical arrangement: within a conceptually unitary structure, news items are thus presented in incremental steps, in graphically distinct mini-texts, each displaying distinctive syntactic-discursive properties. The redundant and fragmented nature of the alerts allows newsmakers to frequently update (parts of) news items within a stable yet flexible textual structure and enables news consumers to interrupt or restart the flow of incoming information at multiple "exit/entry points" of an expandable narrative.

Keywords: news alerts; discourse analysis.

1. *Introduction*

Since the advent of the Internet, the form, content, and delivery and consumption practices of newsmaking have changed dramatically. Nowadays, online newsmaking is multi-dimensional (i.e. consisting of different parts), co-authored (i.e. shaped by newsmakers and readers) and dynamic (i.e. subject to change). It is multi-dimensional because it is multimodal and trans-generic (i.e. combining verbal, visual and audio material in various genres; Johansson 2014. It is co-authored (i.e. interactive and polyphonic) because it allows for readers' involvement in the newsmaking process through comment sections. It is dynamic because it is intra-textual (i.e. with internal, navigational links), inter- and hyper-textual (i.e. with external, functional links) and self-reflective (i.e. indicating the extent of user participation in news consumption).

The above features show how journalists and readers have moved from providing and consuming news 'products' to flexibly co-contributing to an on-going newsmaking process. This may be due to a commitment or claim, respectively, to end user satisfaction. Multidimensional news caters to the heterogeneous preferences of readers, who can choose from various verbal and non-verbal news genres. Co-authored news offers readers the opportunity to have a say in what counts as news(worthy). Dynamic news enables readers both to explore the breadth and depth of news coverage – by accessing detailed information through links to additional reports – and to construct their own news stories – by monitoring and choosing content (Deuze 2008), assembling new items in a personalised way (Johansson 2014).

Scholars have described various aspects of online news discourse. However, to my knowledge, no research has been carried out on online news updates. These are notices on current events delivered by news agencies one right after the other to keep the public constantly informed. In this paper I describe the discursive-rhetorical specificity of news alerts. The questions I address are: 1) What are the rhetorical components of online news alerts? 2) How are these formulated, and to what extent do they resemble one another? In the rest of the paper, I first give a brief overview of the literature on online newsmaking. Then I present my study method. Finally, I present the findings of my research and draw some implications from them.

2. *Background*

Previous research has examined the properties of online news discourse, its context of reception, and the interrelationship between the two.

Several studies have highlighted the multifaceted features of online news. Boyd (2001) described its compositional nature (e.g. the combination of all channels of information retrieval into one); Chovanec (2014) and Monsefi and Sepora Tengku Mahadi (2016) outlined the grammatical and rhetorical features, respectively, of its headlines; O'Donnel, Scott, Mahlberg and Hoey (2012) revealed the preferential positioning of given words at the beginning of its texts or text segments; and Fruttaldo (2017) accounted for the lexico-grammatical, rhetorical and pragmatic strategies of news tickers.

Other studies have considered the varied forms of digital news consumption. Johansson (2014) described readers' participation activities, while Magdaleno and Gutiérrez-Rivas (2013) identified the pragmatic functions of audience comments to online news. Also,

Strömbäck and Kiousis (2010) gauged the predictive power of news consumption practices on perceived issue salience across media channels and types, and Piotrkowicz, Dimitrova, Otterbacher and Markert (2017) measured the correlations between headline features and news popularity on social media.

Still other studies have considered the correlations between structural (Mansfield 2004), content-related (Strömbäck and Kiousis 2010) and formal (Piotrkowicz, Dimitrova, Otterbacher, Markert 2017) features of online news and the reading strategies adopted by the readers.

Overall, research shows that online news is multi-faceted, subject to change and polyphonic.

3. *Method*

In this paper I examine a set of online news alerts published on the BBC news site (*http://www.bbc.com/news*) between March and July 2016. I collected them by subscribing to the BBC news update email service. Every day, this service delivered a random selection of alerts. Of the 245 I received, I excluded 52:

a. One erroneous and internally inconsistent news alert, immediately rectified by another one;
b. 16 news alerts whose text was completely identical, or identical in their body, to that of other alerts;
c. 35 news alerts comprising only a list of links instead of a discursive report in their text body.

To analyse the remaining 193 news alerts (30,186 words), I proceeded inductively, by familiarising myself with them through repeated readings. In this I was guided by the layout of the texts. That is, I formulated hypotheses about the content, structure and formulation of the typographically distinct components of the news alerts by considering: their length, surface encoding and the level of detail of the information provided. I also identified the general communicative functions of given news units by devising question prompts clarifying their interactional role within the news delivery process. At first, I examined 38 exemplars (i.e. one every 5). Then I checked the suitability of my observations against the rest of the corpus, refining or redefining them as necessary.

4. *Findings*

The news alerts I examined comprise two main components: an email message consisting in a briefest news update, and a link to an expanded news report. Both include sub-components.

Each email message itself is made up of the subject heading and the body of the text; e.g.:

1a. *Email heading*: Huge leak reveals elite's tax havens;
1b. *Email text body*: Huge leak of files from Panama law firm Mossack Fonseca reveals how the world's wealthy hide their money.

The expanded news update accessible through a link includes five sub-components:

a.   A main telegraphic title, which may coincide with the email subject heading;
b.   A photo/video-clip with an optional caption;
c.   A secondary expanded heading;
d.   A longer report, with further details;
e.   Additional optional material of various length: photos/videos, links, headings and text.

From my analysis I disregarded sub-components e), which were optional, extremely variable in length, and not focused on the specific topics of the news alerts like the other sub-components.

Example 2) shows the realisation of components a) through d) in a news alert.

2a. *Main title*: Government climbdown over forced academies plan in England;
2b. *Image caption*: Nicky Morgan's forced academisation plan was mocked by head teachers;
2c. *Expanded heading*: Plans to force all of England's schools to become academies are being abandoned in a government climbdown;
2d. *Longer report*: Education Secretary Nicky Morgan hopes the concessions will meet the demands of Tory rebels opposed to compelling high-performing schools to convert.
This was about the government listening, she said, adding ministers understood top schools should retain the choice on whether to convert.
The move comes days after threats of industrial action by head teachers.

Academies are independently run – but state-funded – schools, over-
seen by a not-for-profit business, known as an academy trust. They
are often part of a chain.
The controversial plans to require all schools to convert to academy sta-
tus, or have plans to do so, by 2022 were announced in the Budget,
but details followed in a white paper.

4.1 Email subject headings

Email subject headings are extremely succinct news announcements.
They provide a relevant answer to the implied question "Put brief-
ly, what happened?". The shortest of the news alert components (5-6
words, on average), they are mostly realised as single-clause full or
ellipted sentences, or, much less frequently, as phrases or combinations
of clauses. All their noun phrases but one have no determiners, and their
verb phrases are mostly in the present tense or unmarked for tense; e.g.:

3. BCC boss resigns over "Brexit" support;
4. Facebook to pay millions more in tax;
5. Munich gunman acted alone, say police;
6. 'Gunshots' at US Capitol in Washington.

4.2 Email text bodies

The email text bodies are 16-17 words long, on average. They pro-
vide slightly more informative versions of the news items announced
in the email headings. They may refer to: background data that makes
it easier to retrieve the referents of given noun phrases; contextual
circumstances of the events being reported and/or the sources of infor-
mation about them. They thus appear to answer the implied question
"What happened in a little bit more detail?". Like the email subject
headings, their noun phrases seldom include articles, and their predi-
cates are often in the present tense, although predicates in embedded
clauses are typically in the past tense. However, unlike the email head-
ings, they stand out for their nominal pre- and/or post-modification,
adverbials, and more elaborate syntax, characterised by coordination,
subordination, embedding and/or reporting formulae; e.g.:

7. Work and Pensions Secretary Iain Duncan Smith resigns, citing
    concerns over changes to disability benefits;
8. Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic found guilty of genocide
    and war crimes charges, sentenced to 40 years in jail;
9. Syria's President Assad hails recapture of ancient Palmyra from Is-
    lamic State militants as "important achievement".

4.3 Expanded report main titles

The main titles of the expanded reports accessible via links are typically longer than the email subject headings, but shorter than the email text bodies (about 8-9 words). They recycle and reformulate, rather than developing, the content of the email components of the news alert. They therefore constitute new beginnings of the news alerts, answering the implied question "So, once more, what happened?". These titles can be realized as phrases, or, much more frequently, as (ellipted) clauses or combinations of clauses, with subordination, embedding and/or reporting structures; e.g.:

10. Tributes to Coronation Street creator Tony Warren;
11. Voters head to polls across UK for 'Super Thursday' elections;
12. SNP claims victory in Scotland as Labour holds on in local elections;
13. Net long-term migration to UK was 333,000 in 2015, up 20,000 on 2014, official figures show.

About 41% of them exemplify a topicalisation structure, with a noun phrase setting the context for a news item, and a full or ellipted sentence presenting the news item proper; e.g.:

14. US election: Trump set for Republican nomination as Cruz pulls out;
15. Welsh Assembly Election 2016: UKIP claims first assembly seats.

4.4 Expanded report picture captions

The main titles of the extended news reports are accompanied by photos or videos. About 81% of the time, these come with captions providing contextual information on the events being reported: they describe what is shown in the image, comment on details of the events in question or report specific people's comments on them. These captions can be defined as descriptive, backgrounded asides to the main narrative thread, providing relevant answers to such questions as "What was the situation like at the moment the picture was taken?", "What had happened before?" and "Under what circumstances did event X happen?"; e.g.:

16. Both candidates are vowing to have a unifying influence;
17. William Roache, who plays Ken Barlow in the soap, said Warren would be "desperately missed";
18. Footage uploaded to Twitter shows the moment Leicester players watching the match at home celebrated winning the title;

19. "We have tonight made history" – SNP's Nicola Sturgeon.

Picture captions are on average 11-12 words long, and encoded in single or multi-clause sentences with possible embedding and subordination. They contain definite noun phrases – there are 122 occurrences of the definite article, making up 6.6% of their text material – which represent specific sub-topics of the news alert as known. They also instantiate predicates in the perfect, progressive and simple aspect, through which it is easier to provide 'backgrounded/contextualising' information; e.g.:

20. The man was injured after the booby-trap device exploded under his van;
21. Judge Rose told Adam Johnson he had been given "every opportunity" to enter guilty pleas to the charges he finally admitted;
22. The prime minister said the government was "working urgently" with Electoral Commission;
23. Thousands of migrants are stuck at the Greek border.

4.5 Expanded report secondary headings

The secondary headings that come after the pictures and their optional captions are reformulations and expansions of the main titles. They start again the news narrative, apparently answering the implied question "So, again, what happened in a little bit more detail?". They are longer than picture captions (about 20-21 words on average), but similar in their formulation: they are encoded in single or multi-clause sentences (characterised by coordination, subordination, embedding, including reporting constructions); they exemplify noun phrases with determiners (*the*: 220 [5.6%], *a(n)*: 171 [4.3%]); and they display varied tense and aspectual choices; e.g.:

24. Nineteen residents have been killed in a knife attack at a care centre for people with mental disabilities in the Japanese city of Sagamihara.
25. The front-runner in the Republican presidential nomination race, Donald Trump, won a decisive victory in the key state of Florida but lost to John Kasich in Ohio.
26. Stephen Crabb has been appointed as the new work and pensions secretary, after Iain Duncan Smith resigned on Friday.
27. A key suspect in the attacks in Brussels has been arrested, Belgian media say, quoting judicial sources.

4.6 Expanded report text bodies

The main sections of the expanded news reports are more informative and complex than the other news alert components: they elaborate on the news items over three or more one-sentence-long typographic paragraphs (average length: 95-96 words). They instantiate two types of information units. One involves both re-presenting and expanding on the gist of the news alert, thus providing relevant answers to these questions: "So, again, what happened?" and "What were the causes, consequences and/or circumstances of what happened?" (see example 28). The other, more frequent, involves taking the gist of the news alert ('what happened') for granted and expanding on it, which answers the implied question "What were the causes, consequences and/or circumstances of what happened?" (see example 29):

28. Prosecutor Francois Molins said Adel Kermiche, 19, was arrested twice last year trying to reach Syria.
    Kermiche and a fellow attacker stormed the church in Saint-Etienne-du-Rouvray, a suburb of Rouen, during morning Mass.
    They slit the throat of the elderly priest before being killed by police.
    One of four people taken hostage – said to be an elderly parishioner – suffered severe knife wounds, Mr Molins said.

29. William Roache, who has played Ken Barlow since the first episode, said he [who?] would be "so desperately missed".
    The Air Accident Investigation Branch (AAIB) also said they failed to carry out a proper risk assessment [of what?].
    He [who?] made the endorsement [which one?] at a joint news conference in Florida with Mr Trump, ahead of primaries there on Tuesday.

These text bodies are conceptually arranged as: a) a list of paragraphs, each relevant to a different sub-topic (example 30); b) a sequence of topically connected paragraphs, the first one introducing a sub-topic, and each subsequent one expanding on the content of the one immediately preceding it (example 31); and c) a sequence of pairs of paragraphs such that, within each pair, the content of the second paragraph can be fully understood only with reference to the previous paragraph, while the sequencing of the pairs is not (chrono-)logically motivated (example 32):

30. Mr Trump won seven states while his closest rival, Ted Cruz, took three. The third-placed Republican, Marco Rubio, came in with one.

Speaking in his home state of Texas, Mr Cruz urged other Republicans to quit the race and join him against Mr Trump.
Democrat Bernie Sanders had wins in four states.

31. After heavy criticism that it was avoiding tax, the BBC can reveal that profits from the majority of Facebook's advertising revenue initiated in Britain will now be taxed in the UK.
It will no longer route sales through Ireland for its largest advertisers. That includes major businesses such as Tesco, Sainsbury's, consumer goods firm Unilever and advertising giant WPP.
Smaller business sales where advertising is booked online – with little or no Facebook staff intervention – will still be routed through Ireland, which will remain the company's international headquarters. […]

32a-i.   The 52-year-old man was seriously hurt after a booby-trap device exploded under his van in east Belfast on Friday, 4 March.

32a-ii. It is understood the father-of-three was rushed back into hospital on Tuesday morning.

32b-i.   A dissident republican group widely referred to as the new IRA said it carried out the attack.

32b-ii.The group said he was targeted for training officers at Maghaberry Prison near Lisburn, County Antrim.

32c-i.   First Minister Arlene Foster said that she was "personally devastated" by the news and that her thoughts were with the man's family.

32c-ii. Mrs. Foster said that she had been in contact with him in the aftermath of the attack.

Like the picture captions and secondary headings, the text bodies occasionally instantiate definite noun phrases which represent their referents as known (*the*: 1,221 [6.6%]); e.g.:

33. The comments come amid fresh peace talks in Geneva aimed at resolving the five-year Syrian conflict;

34. The pullout was "in accordance with the situation on the ground", the statement said.

5. *Conclusion*

This study has explored the rhetorical arrangement, content and, partly, the formulation of online news alerts. An examination of 193 exemplars of the genre has revealed that they are arranged in a cyclical and spiral fashion: they are redundant in content and forms of delivery,

and characterised by incremental expansions which gradually provide more details. As in a classic inverted pyramid, they repeatedly present and reinforce the gist of given news item. However, each of their components shows a distinctive linguistic-textual profile.

First, the news alert components play slightly different rhetorical roles. The email subject heading announces, and the main title of the extended report re-announces, a given news item, succinctly informing the readership of what happened. Then both the email text body and the secondary heading of the extended report minimally (re-)expand on that news content, providing a little bit more detail about it. Finally, the body of the extended report fully develops the news item, explaining how the event in question came about. Instead, the picture caption, if provided, informs of a related detail or aspect of that event.

Second, the discursive role of the news alert components is also differentiated. The email subject heading, the email body of the text, the link's main and secondary headings qualify as self-standing news-breaks: each presents the news item without taking any background information for granted. Instead, the photo/video caption functions as an aside, understandable only with reference to the previous content. The body of the extended news report makes sense as a narrative, which seems to unfold '*in medias res*', since the main event it is relevant to is often implicit.

The formulation of the news alert components is further indication of their specific communicative functions. The email subject heading, and the link's main and secondary headings are maximally informative in their brevity. Like labels, they tend to display phrasal/reduced syntax (see Chovanec 2014: 119-120). The email body of the text and the link's body of the text are complete, though succinct, representations of events. Like accounts, they tend to display sentential syntax. The email body appears to provide a live commentary with its frequent recourse to an explicit or implicit vivid 'real-time' narrative present tense, as in the case of breaking news. The link's text body is detailed and represented as part of the past. Finally, the picture caption is variable in type of content delivered and syntactic encoding.

Overall, the BBC news alerts are stretchable, yet segmented 'news pills'. Virtually each new portion of the news alert recycles and enriches the previous content, zooming in on details of a repeatedly presented fractal-like narrative structure. Yet, the conceptually unitary longer reports present content in incremental steps, each narrative-descriptive segment being graphically realized as a distinct self-standing mini-text.

The rhetorical structure of news alerts can be motivated with reference to the expected delivery and consumption practices of news providers and news consumers, respectively.

First, the fragmented format of the content makes news delivery faster, since news chunks can be easily produced and edited. It also makes news updating easier, since text segments can be quickly disposed of, replaced or recombined. By repeatedly delivering updates, newsmakers can keep news-avid readers informed on current events as they unfold.

Second, reading news on line may be tiring and unfocused. News thus needs to be immediately clear (i.e. cognitively accessible) and complete (i.e. unified, self-contained). Short online news bites (Knox 2007) in their fragmented format (Johansson 2014) satisfy readers' expectation to easily process and understand news items, especially if accessed under tight (self-imposed) time constraints. This meets the fast-paced needs of a digital news consumer. Information chunks are a) minimally distracting: they require a short attention span; b) mutually reinforcing: each cyclically provides more of the same content; and c) complete mini-texts: the flow of incoming information can be interrupted at any of the multiple 'exit points'.

Finally, compact yet expandable news alerts, adaptable to specific readers' interests, enable newsmakers' to commit to news consumer satisfaction: different preferences in news consumption can be catered for with news units and/or or links recurrently expanding on the same news narrative.

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COMPLEX MAPPING OF WORDS
AND GESTURES IN TED TALKS

Abstract

The article explores the interdependence of the verbal and the physically embodied – here gesture-related – subsystems in the creation of meaning in a sample of TED Talks (*www.ted.com*), an increasingly popular genre for scientific popularization largely exploited in education. My goal is to identify and illustrate possible indices of complexity in the mapping of words with gestures, thus paving the way for a better understanding of the role of different semiotic resources in the talks and, ultimately, contributing to the development of multimodal literacy. In fact, the hybrid nature of the genre legitimises a holistic approach to the analysis of its discourse as a complex multisemiotic system. Multimodal ensembles (Kress 2003; 2009; 2010) are viewed as a special case of complex systems, and modal density (Norris 2009) and modal coherence (cf. Valeiras Jurado 2017) as indices of complexity therein. Data description is based on multimodal transcription through an integrated method (Lazaraton 2004), which makes it possible to advance hypotheses about the interpretation of different gestures (NcNeill 1992). Indeed, several gestures in the talks under analysis complement verbal information in no redundant ways and appear to serve various functions on different discourse levels, both locally and more globally, and in more or less predictable (hence more complex, context-dependent) ways.

Keywords: TED Talks; gestures; multimodality.

Introduction

This contribution focuses on the interplay of words and gestures in the creation of meaning in the TED Talks (Technology, Entertainment and Design), a nonprofit organisation devoted to knowledge dissemination through short, powerful talks on various topics and in more than

100 languages. A website hosts the videos of the talks[1], thus also enabling asynchronous access. They display extensive coverage of different semiotic resources including gestures (van Edwards 2015) and are an example of how the use of digital technologies reshapes genre conventions (Jewitt 2013).

The talks are enjoying considerable online success, probably due to an appetite for ideas communicated in inspirational ways (Meza and Trofin 2015), and are also increasingly being exploited in educational settings (Takaesu 2013; Carney 2014; among others)[2]. In fact, the hybrid nature of the genre legitimises a holistic approach to the analysis of its discourse as a complex multisemiotic system. My goal here is to identify and illustrate possible indices of complexity in the mapping of words and gestures, thus paving the way for a better understanding and detailed coding of different semiotic resources in this genre of popularisation and ultimately contributing to the development of multimodal literacy.

Background and methodology

The present study draws on past research on co-speech gestures and on TED Talks. On the one hand, research on gestures, especially in SLA and foreign language learning and teaching (cf. Littlemore and Low 2006; McCafferty and Stam 2008; Macedonia and von Kriegstein 2012; Taleghani-Nikazm 2008; Littlemore, MacArthur, Cienki, Holloway, 2012; O'Halloran, Tan, Smith 2016; Church, Alibabi, Kelly 2017) has underscored their roles in helping comprehension, memorisation and production, among other functions.

On the other hand, research on TED Talks so far (cf. Caliendo 2012; Laudisio 2013; Caliendo and Compagnone 2014; Compagnone 2014; Scotto di Carlo 2013; 2014a,b,c; 2015; D'Avanzo 2015; Rasulo 2015; Mattiello 2017; Anesa 2018; *inter alia*) has devoted relatively little attention to non-verbal aspects (for some exceptions, see Meza and Trofin 2015; Sugimoto *et al.* 2013) and to gestures in particular, despite their pervasive presence in the genre (for some more exceptions, see Masi 2016; Valeiras Jurado 2017; Masi 2018).

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[1]   *www.ted.com*.
[2]   Also cf. *Keynote*, i.e. a multi-syllabus ELT course, National Geographic Learning (Dummett, Stephenson, Lansford 2016), the Learn English with TED Talks app, National Geographic Learning (2018), *https://ngl.cengage.com/sites/support/app-resources/learn-english-ted-talks* (last accessed April 23, 2016), and TED-Ed, lessons worth sharing, *https://www.ted.com/watch/ted-ed* (last accessed June 28, 2017).

As for complexity, and closely-related difficulty, these notions are of crucial importance in language learning and teaching, most obviously in the grading of the materials students are to be exposed to. As the TED Talks, along with other audiovisual products (Crawford and Bonsignori 2015), are largely used in contemporary educational settings, the contribution of non-linguistic aspects to the complexity of such materials should be taken into account too. Indeed, non-linguistic aspects like gestures can enhance understanding but could also locally represent an obstacle to comprehension.

Several references to complexity can be found in the literature on multimodality. A useful notion is Norris's (2009) modal density, which can manifest itself through modal intensity or through modal complexity, the latter being referred to in terms of intricacy of intertwined multiple modes (pp. 82-83). As for gesture, this is regarded as a complex system (Adolphs and Carter 2013: 158), and more precisely, "the gesture and its synchronized co-expressive speech express the same underlying idea but do not necessarily express identical aspects of it. By looking at the speech *and* the gesture, jointly, we are able to infer characteristics of this underlying idea unit that may not be obvious from the speech alone" (McNeill 1992: 143; in Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 170, emphasis in the original).

The notion of complexity here taken into account is indeed indebted to theories of complex dynamical systems as employed in empirical sciences (Elman 1995; Collier and Hooker 1999) and as applied to different linguistic fields of research and phenomena[3]. Following Bertucelli Papi and Lenci (2007), two interdependent variables that account for the complexity of a system (e.g. language at large or a more specific linguistic phenomenon) are the amount of information necessary to describe the system at a given time of its development and organisational properties of the system itself. The more regular and predictable the organisation, the lower the quantity of information necessary to describe its status, i.e. the lower its complexity.

For the purposes of the present investigation, multimodal ensembles (Kress 2003; 2009; 2010) are viewed as a special case of complex systems, and modal density as an index of complexity therein. In more detail, modal density refers to the quantity of modes involved at a giv-

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[3]   Cf. applied linguistics (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008), second language development (Verspoor, de Bot, Lowie 2011) and construction learning (Baicchi 2015). For examples of application to diverse phenomena, cf. esp. lexical complexity (Bertucelli Papi and Lenci 2007), as well as preceding research on text complexity (Merlini Barbaresi 2003).

en time in the meaning-making process of a given ensemble. An even more revealing index of complexity taken into consideration is modal coherence (cf. Valeiras Jurado 2017), referring to the way these modes are orchestrated, i.e. organised into meaningful ensembles. Indeed, the contribution realised by different modes may be at times 'aligned', complementary or contradictory / in tension (Jewitt 2013: 255), which can be interpreted as involving patterns whose coherence is progressively less predictable or directly identifiable, thus correlating with higher complexity levels.

The analysis of the variables mentioned above (esp. modal coherence) covered fifteen talks by American and British English speakers, recorded during the period 2012-2017 and centred on different topics within the domains of Business and Economics, Law, Medicine, Political Science and Technology. It was of a qualitative type and especially focused on deictic and metaphoric gestures (McNeill 1992). Modes can in fact be viewed as forms of organisation (within ensembles) which involve norms that realise well-acknowledged regularities within any one community at a given time (Jewitt 2013: 253). Indeed, among gestures, emblems (McNeill 1992) display a conventional, hence regular and predictable mapping with their meaning (within a given community or across several communities). Other types are iconic, deictic and metaphoric gestures, whose interpretation tends to be progressively more context-dependent, and in the case of metaphoric gestures in particular, meaning is less transparent to grasp due to their abstract referents. As for the methodology employed, I used a multimodal transcription through an integrated method (Lazaraton 2004), which made it possible to advance hypotheses about the conceptual schemas represented by metaphoric gestures (Cienki and Müller 2008) and the interpretation of their functions in the talks (for more details about the methodological framework, see Masi 2016).

Findings and some illustrative examples

The findings highlight a variety of functions of gestures (e.g. representational, social, parsing, performative, cf., e.g. Kendon 2004; Müller 2008), many of which are fulfilled simultaneously in dense ensembles (cf. Masi 2016). A range of examples are provided below. They show a more or less obvious mapping with words, also depending on the scope of the analysis. In the examples, the words accompanied by relevant gestures are in italics and are followed by the description of the gesture, the speaker's name, the time at which the segment occurs within the talk and its domain (in parentheses).

A broad distinction can indeed be made between co-expressive ('aligned') gestures and complementary gestures involving only a partial overlap or no overlap at all, i.e. in tension with concurrent words, in which the mapping is locally less consistent or obvious. The first set (from the same talk) displays co-expressive patterns with a representational function on the semantic-referential level:

1. Politicians find it easier to *throw* the red meat out to the base (Right hand moves outward from the body, from left to right, loosely open hand facing audience); (Bynum, 03:50, Political Science)[4];

2. To win an election you have to *dumb it down* and play to your constituencies' basest, divisive instincts (Open right hand palm facing down and slightly moving down at front); (Bynum, 03:57, Political Science).

The excerpts above illustrate metaphoric gestures which have the potential of assisting in the comprehension of opaque linguistic expressions, i.e. an idiom referring to demagogic rhetoric and a phrasal verb, via embodied schematic representations (motion away from the centre of the body and vertical motion, respectively).

The next case, instead, shows slightly higher modal density with a complementary effect:

3. Actually health of employees is something that business *should treasure* (Both arms are half-raised at front, hands closed in fists, tension involved; speaker bends over slightly); (Porter, 11:28, Business and Economics)[5].

Here the closed configuration of hands can be interpreted as representing the act of keeping or preserving something valuable (i.e. health), and the tension involved appears to complement the mapping with emphasis on evaluation (i.e. high value of health). Body posture and prominent prosody (especially accompanying the words in bold) also add to the effect.

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[4]   Bynum, G. T., "A Republican mayor's plan to replace partisanship with policy", *https://www.ted.com/talks/g_t_bynum_a_republican_mayor_s_plan_to_replace_partisanship_with_policy*, last accessed July 15, 2017.

[5]   Porter, M., "The case for letting business solve social problems", *https://www.ted.com/talks/michael_porter_why_business_can_be_good_at_solving_social_problems*, last accessed July 15, 2017.

The example below displays a complementary pattern where a deictic gesture endorses the evaluative statement of the speaker via an act of visual self-mention (a simile as if to say 'like myself'):

4. We know that the Criminal Justice System disproportionately affects *people of color* (Both hands turned towards speaker); (Foss, 05:17, Law)[6].

In the following passage, a metaphoric gesture is inserted in between words and visually represents an idea (drug-drug interactions) fully expressed verbally only at a later stage in the talk:

5. How much have we studied (two different pillboxes, held by speaker in each hand, repeatedly hit each other high at front) these two together? (Altman, 01:18, Medicine)[7].

In the next case, the gesture co-occurs with a silent pause after the following:

6. Let's take pollution (left arm is bent at front, with thumb supporting chin, index and middle finger touching mouth; right arm folded around chest and supporting left elbow); (Porter, 10:39, Business and Economics).

Rather than represent referential content, the configuration appears to have a pragmatic-performative function. It is reminiscent of the emblem used to call for silence (upright index across mouth, lip rounding) but signals the act of pausing and thinking about the subject that is being introduced, thus leading into its discussion.

Another case of gesture complementing the message with a performative interpretation is offered by the next excerpt:

7. And really *is there any role for business* (Both hands are open at front, moving repeatedly from right to left) and if so, *what is that role*? (Approximately same configuration and motion as before) (Porter, 01:23, Business and Economics).

Repeated motion sideways appears to visually hint at indecisiveness, which is compatible with a search for answers (verbally expressed through questions and supported by intonation).

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6   Foss, A., "A prosecutor's vision for a better justice system", *https://www.ted. com/talks/adam_foss_a_prosecutor_s_vision_for_a_better_justice_system*,   last   accessed July \5, 2017.

7   Altman, R., "What really happens when you mix medications?", *https://www. ted.com/talks/russ_altman_what_really_happens_when_you_mix_medications*,   last accessed July 15, 2017.

In the following passages (accompanied by screenshots), the gestures appear to be locally in tension with the meaning of words they co-occur with, although the tension soon disappears as a plausible interpretation can be identified thanks to the co-text. The next case is subdivided into two parts (8a, 8b):

8a. *Businesses* (Fingers of both hands are first closed in bunches touching speaker's head) (Porter, 14:48, Business and Economics).

Fig.1. Example of gesture co-occurring with 'businesses'

8b. *got trapped* into the *conventional wisdom* (Speaker's hands repeatedly move at front, away from the body); (Porter, 14:50, Business and Economics).

Fig. 2. Example of gesture co-occurring with 'got trapped'
and 'the conventional wisdom'

The metaphoric gesture in 8a, if taken in isolation, is momentarily obscure as it anticipates, and emphasises thereby, the representation of businesses as 'a mental condition' (viz. their incapacity to adopt a different perspective), which is then verbally expressed through the metaphor of a trap in the passage in 8b. The gesture in 8b then physically locates businesses to the front of the speaker as the site of the trap-conventional wisdom.

In the final excerpt below, outward motion (implying unbounded space) is used for the representation of the concept of reduction, which appears to be somehow counterintuitive if compared, for instance, to inward motion (bounded by the speaker's body):

9. We've learned today that actually *reducing pollution* and *emissions* is *generating profit* (Left arm repeatedly turns over outward from the speaker's body); (Porter, 10:41, Business and Economics).

Fig. 3. Gesture co-occurring with 'reducing pollution',
'emissions' and 'generating profit'

In fact, the same gesture is used in the talk to represent the positive ideas of profit and progress. The gesture thus superimposes the idea of positive value with pollution reduction through the visual equivalence with the motion representing those concepts elsewhere.

Concluding remarks

Although limited in number, the selected cases above show the potential of gestures to variously enrich and assist in discourse comprehension in the talks, for instance by illustrating possibly unknown phraseology, placing emphasis on and conveying evaluation (more or less directly) along with other speech acts (for more examples – also of multifunctional configurations, see Masi 2016). However, the understanding of a complex mapping which involves a dense configuration, abstraction and especially complementarity or local tension may require more inferential work. Experimentation is obviously needed to corroborate this claim. Indeed, further research is needed on the evaluation of the complexity of multimodal teaching materials in general, and on the basis of analyses of apparent mismatches between verbal and nonverbal signs in particular, also by taking into account a broader perspective (see Masi 2018) and other interdependent modes.

Acknowledgments

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GENDER ISSUES, DISCRIMINATION AND
STEREOTYPES IN 1960S AMERICAN CAR ADS[1]

Abstract

Advertisements are the mirror of a society; ideals, points of view, prejudices, customs, values and *status quo* are expressed directly and indirectly in ads. In this study, 1960s car ads are investigated in order to detect, and eventually discuss, the presence of gender issues. Gender research focuses on advertising, especially to single out the woman's role in the context to which the advertisement refers. The car market is predominantly recognised to be a 'masculine' one. Thus, gender has been a distinctive issue present in car advertising from the very beginning to the present time. Although some gender reference is positive, as in the case of the launch of the Dodge la Femme in 1956, a car designed and marketed to women only, other gender reference in the advertising message is usually connected to sex discrimination and stereotypes. This work is part of a wider diachronic research project of over 50 years of car advertising, starting from the 1950s.

Keywords: gender; multimodality; advertising; stereotypes; car advertising.

1. *Introduction*

Print ads can be considered a discourse genre (Swales 1990; Bhatia 2004). Cook (1992) defines the discourse types that include non-verbal forms of communication and range over a number of categories. Advertising is a prominent discourse type, and because of its relevance to the societies we live in, it can reveal a great deal about values and psychology (Cook 1992). Car ads are, thus, reliable and valid tools to understand social, sociological and economic values, as the item adver-

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[1]   The general structure and contents of the paper were discussed by the two authors. Walter Giordano wrote Sections 1, 2, 4, and 5; Martina Perrone wrote Section 3.

tised, the car, has been long considered the litmus test of the expression of people's social status (Giordano 2014). This article aims to investigate such values, in particular, gender issues, such as sex discrimination and social acceptance.

2. *Theoretical background*

The study of gender in advertising, and especially in car advertising, has been investigated over the years (Walsh 2010, 2011; Nixon 2003; Artz, Munger, Purdy 1999; Sivulka 1998; Wernick 1991; Scharff 1991; Goffman 1979). Advertising is quite a fertile ground to generate gender issues and car advertising renders the clearest examples. In automobile advertising, cars are often linked to female bodies, suggesting a man can control both the car and the woman. This is the depiction of the woman's position in the automobile culture, under the control of men (Clarke 2007).

Cars are considered a masculine field where women are incidentally accepted (Landström 2006). They are often seen as desirable objects and they have been often used to eroticise the car, to affect the decision of male customers or to persuade women to become independent drivers. In advertising, the perspective of masculine dominance prevails according to the way women are portrayed. Thus, cultural historians have singled out feminine stereotypes in order to understand modern society (Walsh 2016). The representation of the woman is either positive, as an independent user or, more frequently, negative, as a sexual object, fashion-driven consumer or unconscious driver (Walsh 2016).

Wachs (2000) recognizes that such patterns are also dependent on income, age, ethnicity, and educational levels: these elements help understand the social changes of that decade and reveal the persistence of gender roles in society. This is also confirmed by Walsh (2010):

> Income has not been the only influence shaping the modern car culture of American women, though it seems to have been the dominant one. Racial and ethnic differences suggest variations in women's propensity either to drive or to access automobiles, while senior citizens of all origins still diverge from younger women. A multicultural and aging society cannot expect there to be a universal gender norm, even though the white middle-class woman has been the role model in the past.

In particular, in the 1960s, women started to be employed, or self-employed, in higher professional positions. Women began to be aware of their active presence in society, while the traditional paradigms drawn on female social roles and life choices faded. Advertising agencies had

to cope with this, under the pressure of feminist criticism. The upshot was a draft of a checklist including gender issues. Ad makers, thus, had to ask themselves to monitor potentially sexist and gender stereotyped ads. This included the possible reference to the "weaker sex", belittling language, as in "her kitchen", "lady professor", or actions where women were downgraded, for example, women serving coffee to male bosses, the presence of a "dumb blonde" cliché, etc. (Sivulka 1998: 322-326).

3. *Methodology and the corpus*

The research questions we have decided to answer are the following:

1. Are gender issues present in the car advertising in the 1960s?
2. What kind of perception does the gender reference in car advertising deliver?
3. Can gender issues be linked to other external variables (i.e., economic cycles, social values, marketing strategies, etc.)?

In order to answer these questions, we have carried out a visual analysis and a textual analysis of the ads. Since we believe that the visual and textual parts are intimately connected, we have conducted the analysis conjointly; we have referred to Kress and van Leeuwen's principles of multimodality, which allow us to understand the message implied in the images and in the form of text: "[...] we move towards a view of multimodality in which common semiotic principles operate in and across different modes, and in which it is therefore quite possible for music to encode action, or images to encode emotion" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 2). The visual part plays a fundamental role in ads. It includes the study of colours, size, font, position of words and images in the ad. Nothing is chosen arbitrarily: everything is meaningful. At least three quarters of the ad is made up of visual communication, which is often colourful, and generally completed by a caption. According to Kress and van Leeuwen (2006), in visual communication the meaning can be affected by the choice of different uses of colour or different compositional structures. Images provide not only information about the car style, beauty and accessories, but also help place the car in social settings and give implicit reference to the economic situation and status (Giordano 2014).

The analysis of the verbal part was carried out referring to Grice's cooperative principle (Grice 1967), which is based on four maxims (1967: 45):

• Quantity: "Make your contribution as informative as is required";
• Quality: "Do not say what you believe to be false";

- Relation: "Be relevant";
- Manner: "Avoid ambiguity".

Maxims can be flouted or violated in order to achieve communicative aims. When maxims are violated, a meaning is inferred in order to convey something without saying it explicitly. Referring to Grice's theory, Baker (2011: 227) defines the implicature as "pragmatic inferences, aspects of meaning that are over and above the literal and conventional meaning of an utterance and they depend for their interpretation on a recognition of the Co-operative Principle and its maxims".

It is often difficult to grasp the meaning of such implicit messages. The meaning of implicatures depends on various factors such as culture, social class, and shared knowledge of the participants (Baker 2011). Indeed, in interpreting car ads of different countries, it is necessary to contextualise each element: words, images, colours and references to politics, economics and social issues. Both multimodality and the cooperative principle theory have allowed us to identify gender discrimination issues, as well as stereotypes, social status expression and misrepresentations of reality.

The corpus we have investigated consists of 172 1960s print car ads retrieved from online websites, from private collectors (cut from original magazines) or bought from online sellers. They usually consist of a single sheet, where images are always present, with a variable portion of text. The corpus is a fair representation of the market over the 1960s decade. Most of the brands, both domestic and foreign, marketed in those years are present. Another distinctive element of the print ads in the 1960s is creative advertising, and our corpus is generally a faithful representation of this brand-new communication strategy. We have selected the ads on the basis of the message, either implicit or explicit, containing gender reference, discrimination or stereotypes. The reason for choosing the 1960s for this kind of analysis, lies in the social change turmoil of that era. The 1950s were a decade of strong economic and social trust in the USA, driven by the post-war boom. Society headed into the 1960s at the climax of consumer confidence. Unfortunately, the financial crisis of 1961, the Kennedy assassination in 1963 and, especially, the Vietnam war, lowered people's trust and confidence. This emerged also in the shape of cars: while in the 1950s the embellishments, the size, and the engine power showed off wealth and abundance (Giordano 2014), in the 1960s, the shape and the aesthetic of the car became less relevant, more linear, less sumptuous. It seemed to reflect the mood of the decade, full of woes and uncertainty, which burst into the social turmoil of 1968.

4. *Analysis of the ads*

In this section, the analysis of seven ads from the corpus is presented. These were chosen as some of the most representative ones in terms of gender-biased communication.

Fig.1[2]

The woman in the ad in fig. 1 embodies the traditional stereotype of women of the previous decades: she is not driving the car, she is showing her flowers and her shopping. The car is in the background and it is seen from the back. What the advertiser seems to want is to set

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[2]   The pictures in this paper are the authors' property, as they materially own the print ads.

the car as functional to the process of recognition of the woman in the social context. The message seems to point out that the car is a functional tool, to frame the woman in her housewife context and role, a role which is subject to social scrutiny and judgement. Some representative statements, taken from the body copy of the ad, seem to corroborate this argument:

(1) *Your Mustang with its 'getaway' six races to the* market, drops off the kids, *picks up the man in your life*.

In this first example, the woman is not at the wheel, she is not doing anything. In this ad Grice's maxim of quality is violated in order to convey irony: it is the car that takes care of everything, including kids and husband. The audience knows that it is not true, and the implicature is that the woman just steps out of the car to be admired and judged:

(2) *step out of this one in the parking lot and* the whole supermarket recognizes you as a girl who's as smart as she is pretty.

Women are framed in a social context where people's positive attitudes are the goals to be attained.

(3) *you earned your A in* Home Economics (our emphasis)

The woman's job, then, is basically to appear. The colours of the flowers and purchases are gaudy: yellow and orange are the most noticeable colours. The concept of appearance is all over the ad, conveyed by words such as *pretty, good looks, elegant*, etc. The car being advertised implies that the woman is "recognized as a girl who's as smart as pretty" and her car as "The Sweetheart of the Supermarket set", as the headline reads. This car ad addressing women does not seem to refer to intrinsic, mechanical and performance information, and the message that can be inferred is that women use cars to be noticed only. From a visual point of view, this ad can be seen as a 'demand image': the flowers hide half of the woman's face, except the woman's eyes to establish a point of contact with the viewer.

Fig. 2

In Fig. 2, both visual and verbal elements aim to produce a cliché which conveys the idea that women cannot drive. The image of the broken car is placed on the top of the figure; there is nothing else but the car. Although very often colours are used to highlight images or words, or to remark any other peculiar element, the lack of colours is meaningful because nothing must be noticeable but the dented car. It can be considered as an offer image, since it gives information about the broken car without establishing contact through human gaze. This ad is one of the most important creative ads of the 1960s Beetle ad campaign: both images and words are used to convey a stereotype, that is, women cannot drive, and this is easily inferred from the headline, "Sooner or later, your wife will drive home one of the best reasons for owning a Volkswagen", namely replacement parts. The maxim of manner is violated in order to convey ironically a culturally-biased interpretation.

Such interpretation wants to confirm the idea that wives, all wives, sooner or later, will damage their car: "They hit things" we read in the body copy of the ad. This ad addresses men only and this is clear by observing the use of pronouns in the body: "if your wife...". Here, the car is not advertised per se, but what seems really important is how easy it is to replace car parts. As expressed in the body copy: "It may make you furious, but it won't make you poor […]. You can conveniently replace anything she uses to stop the car. Even the brushes".

Fig. 3

The ad in Fig. 3 is divided into two equal parts. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) state the three principles of composition: information value (placement of elements), salience (viewers' attention) and framing (framing devices). The perspective is different in the two images. In the top section the position of the tiger and of the car is relevant. The communicator aims at emphasizing the visual correspondence between the car lights and the eyes of the tiger. In the lower section, the position of the car and the woman is perpendicular: whilst the woman is staring straight at the reader, the picture of the car is taken from the side. In the first image, the car seems to threaten the observer; in the second image, the car seems to be there to be noticed, appreciated, admired. Unsurprisingly, the tiger is used to 'frighten', while the woman is used to be noticed. In this ad, the "lead role" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 187) is played by the visual part. The woman, instead, represents the weaker character, as she stands in the lower part of the page, in a secondary range position. Finally, as a last point of investigation, the colour of the car is faded in the second image: in the first image it is more vivid and brilliant. This is a strategy to make the top image more salient than the bottom one. As regards the textual analysis, the maxim of manner is violated: "Drive it" is ambiguous. It is not clear whether it refers to the woman or to the car. As a matter of fact, neither the tiger nor the woman are in the driver's seat: this idea is confirmed by the last sentence "Get out and drive a tiger". Tiger and car are used as synonyms: they are both powerful, strong, brave. The choice of "pussycat" as an antonym of *tiger*: "to tell a tiger from a pussycat" in the lower image, conveys the concept of woman as weak, inferior, seductive.

Fig. 4

In contrast to the previous ads, the colour in the ad in Fig. 4 is relevant, as it is the colour of the lipstick. In this ad, the girl can be the winner of a Mustang that matches the *nuance* of her lipstick. The position of the woman is unusual: she is not at the wheel, not standing near the car, nor sitting as a passenger. She is lying on the car.

According to Kress and van Leeuwen, "images involve two kinds of participants: represented participants and interactive participants" (2006: 115). Different relations can be established between these two kinds of characters; in this ad the relation is established between the woman (represented participant) and the interactive participants (readers) through the woman's gaze. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) refer to Halliday's definition of demand images, which are images where

represented participants demand something from the interactive participants. By applying Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) theory, it seems that, in this image, the woman's facial expression is seductive in order to be desired. What links all demand images is the aim of asking for something from the viewer. According to Halliday's definition (1995), most of the ads we have identified (Figg. 3, 4, 5, 6) can be classified as "demand images", as the woman is staring at viewers. As Halliday states: "Demanding means 'inviting to give' [...] The speaker is not only doing something himself; he is also requiring something of the listener" (1985: 107). Kress and van Leeuwen developed the concept of "give" in Halliday's definition: they redefine "offer" images:

> For this reason we have, again following Halliday (1985), called this kind of image an 'offer' – it 'offers' the represented participants to the viewer as items of information, objects of contemplation, impersonally, as though they were specimens in a display case. (2006: 119)

The ad in Fig. 4 addresses only women. It is interesting to see that the headline "Wear a Mustang..." is used here to convey the concept of being an automobile user and might also be the signalling device of a stereotype: women do not drive cars, they *wear* them. The statement "Wear a Mustang" can be a violation of the maxim of relation since the verb 'wear' is not used appropriately. Another interesting aspect is that, since the message is directed to women, the communicative paradigm of advertising a car changes: the main advertising character here is the lipstick, which is a definitely unusual tool in marketing cars in the commonly recognized masculine car industry.

The car advertisement shows a man leaning against a 1969 Dodge Charger R/T with a woman sitting on the ground beside it. Text on the image reads:

Dodge

CHRYSLER
MOTORS CORPORATION

The Eternal Triangle.

You'd think Ralph's new love would have been curtains for me. I mean, it was all he talked about. Well, I learned to live with it. As it turned out, I think his new Charger R/T really brought us closer together. He's taught me how to shift the 4-speed synchromesh. He lets me pick out the stereo tapes. And clean the vinyl buckets. It's not all bad. He even mentioned marriage once.

DODGE *fever*
The Catch of The Year

Fig. 5

The relationship between the visual and the verbal part is complementary, as words can complete the meaning of the image (i.e., anchorage) and vice versa. In the ad in Fig. 5, it seems that the "lead role" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 187) is played by the visual part. In the upper section there is the image of the car with the man leaning against the car and the woman sitting on the ground. The different positions of the man and the woman are not chosen accidentally: the man is placed in a position of power and superiority compared to the woman. The woman wears the man's jacket and a very sensual white dress. The choice of her clothing is apparently sexist, conveying vulnerability and sensuality. In addition, the advertiser used a contrasting colour to highlight the woman's aesthetic side, while the colour of the man's

trousers is not easy to distinguish from the colour of the background. The stereotype of the man who loves the car as if it were his woman is conveyed by the headline "The Eternal Triangle". This phrase deliberately violates the maxim of manner: who would be loved more in this *ménage à trois*? The woman or the car? Once again, the woman is 'at the same level' of the car.

Fig. 6

As in the previous ad, the woman's dress in Fig. 6 is white and sensual. She is portrayed alone and the car is seen from the back, regardless of its function. She is not there to drive the car, her role is not active: she is standing outside the car, right at the opposite of the driving position, as to communicate her distance from the main technical function of the car. It seems that there is no connection to the intrinsic quality of the car, but the communicative aim is to compare the woman's beauty to the car's appeal. The text in Fig. 6 presents the car as the tool to spot the right man, who has, ironically, a very "intelligent face"; the maxim of manner is violated to convey ambiguity and irony. The caption starts with "Mother warned me", but it finishes with "My name's Julia", reinforcing the stereotype of women who are only interested in the kind of car a man drives: in this view, the car conveys power, independence, wealth, social status. This ad is an example of 'demand image': a contact between viewers and the woman is established through the woman's gaze, expressing seduction and sensuality.

Fig. 7

In Fig. 7, the car is placed in the background in order to place the undressed woman in the foreground. The woman's body is S-shaped: once again the role of the woman is purely aesthetic, sexist and limited to a tool to market the car. She is there to be admired, she has nothing to do with the car. She is outside the car in front of it and she does not seem to have an active role in the car function. Based on Kress and van Leeuwen's theory, in this ad the "lead role" (2006: 187) is played by the textual part. The visual part is placed in the lower part in order to explain what the text refers to. In this ad, the maxim of manner is apparently flouted, as the text is intentionally opaque. It is not clear whether the headline "The second best shape in Italy" refers to the car or to the woman. The ambiguity arises from the term 'shape': car body or woman body? This ad can be seen as an 'offer' image since its aim is merely to inform, without establishing a direct contact with the viewers.

5. *Conclusion*

Our analysis has enabled us to identify a number of clear gender discriminatory acts, as well as stereotypes, social status misrepresentations of reality. In the seven ads investigated here, "demand" images, according to Halliday's definition, are preferred over "offer images", in order to connect viewers with the represented participants. Furthermore, as we carried out the textual analysis, we have found out that Grice's maxim of manner is, in our opinion, deliberately violated, in order to make viewers infer the real meaning, which frequently aims at enforcing the 'sexist' view of women. The analysis of the verbal part has also shown a large use of implicatures, which make the message opaque and open to interpretation, a typical feature of advertising. The common thread is that the presence (or the absence) of the woman is 'functional' to the promotional message, as she might not be interested in the technical car features, price, mileage, etc.

The outcome of the overall corpus analysis is that women seldom have an active role: they are not usually placed in ads to advertise the car to the woman herself, but they are generally presented as the 'beauty tool' to better promote the car to men. The car is usually placed in the background, while the women portrayed in their typical 'female' activities, such as doing the shopping, are placed in the foreground. Eventually, ads sometimes tend to reinforce stereotypes about women: they cannot drive, they aim for men with powerful cars, they 'use' cars to be admired and noticed.

As regards external variables, it seems that the investigated ads follow the economic cycles, historical events and social structures, por-

traying the role of the woman accordingly: family housewife, not neglecting her femininity (Fig.1), or the stereotype of the incompetent driver at the beginning of the decade (Fig. 2), when women were still not fully committed in equal rights movements. The society needed a shot of confidence, after the destabilizing events of the first half of the decade. In the wave of the economic recovery of the second half of the 1960s, the so-called 'muscle cars' were marketed, and, consequently, ads portrayed a more confident consumer, a woman, independent in her active role (Fig. 4). Yet, there were also more gender discriminatory ads, with a strong image of the man, either with a pretty woman by his side, or comparing the woman to the car (Figg. 3, 5. 6 and 7). Further research will investigate the following decades, in order to link the presence of gender issues, social status representation, identity and culture with exogenous economic and social variables.

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DIMENSIONS 'ASSEMBLED':
THE NATURE OF MOVIE CONVERSATION

Abstract

The present study aims to offer an empirical description of an intrinsically creative text-type, i.e. the conversation in a movie. The investigation takes its origin from preceding studies which have demonstrated not only a rather unexpected linguistic similarity between the conversation in movies and real life, but also the surprising presence of linguistic items and textual dimensions which mark both non-specialised and specialised movie language. In this same line of investigation, superheroes movies from *Marvel* and *DC Studios* are examined to determine whether movies of this genre differ from other movie genres and to see whether the spoken traits which have been found in previous investigations also characterise movies containing larger-than-life characters. The methodology adopted is Biber's Multi-Dimensional Analysis and accordingly the data are retrieved from the *American Movie Super Heroes Corpus* and then compared to the *American Movie Corpus* and to the *American Movie Trials Corpus*. What emerges is a clear picture of the nature of movie language which is confirmed to appear to be *Involved*, *Non-narrative* and *Situation-Dependent*, like face-to-face conversation, regardless the genre. The findings, thus, confute the various claims about the inadequacy of movies to represent the general usage of conversation and confirm the potential use they may have in those features of conversation which many authoritative linguists describe as being neglected by the syllabus.

Keywords: conversation; movie language; multi-dimensional analysis.

1. *Introduction*

As observed in Forchini (2013), the application of Biber's (1988) Multi-Dimensional Analysis (henceforth MDA) in the study of movie dialogues has introduced a new perspective on their linguistic nature. In the last decades, however, there have been rather contrasting views on how to categorize this type of conversation. In particular, during the pre-MDA era (i.e. when scholars did not use MDA for movie investiga-

tions) there were both claims highlighting its fictitiousness and studies starting to point out its spontaneity. On the one hand, for example, there were scholars such as Nencioni (1976), Gregory and Carroll (1978), Taylor (1999), Pavesi (2005) and Sinclair (2004: 80) who defined movie conversation as prefabricated speech which could not be considered as "representative of the general usage of conversation". This view was conceived on the basis of the presence of some artificial features in movie dialogues which highly compromise their spontaneity (Taylor 1999). On the other hand, some of these same works, such as Taylor (1999) and Pavesi (2005), together with other studies of a quantitative nature, such as Forchini (2010), started to identify features of spontaneity.

Although these pre-MDA studies managed to grasp the great complexity of movie conversation, they were rather unsuccessful in determining its linguistic nature. Such a lack of success was probably due to data and methodology issues: pre-MDA scholars generally based their investigations either by relying on their intuition or by investigating movie webscripts, rather than exploring transcriptions of actual movie dialogues (Forchini 2012). Also, in terms of methodology, pre-MDA scholars applied either qualitative and/or quantitative procedures which, although they started spotting some level of spontaneity, were not exhaustive enough to provide an accurate picture of movie conversation. On the contrary, with the application of MDA to these studies, the textual type and the linguistic features of movie conversation, which appeared to be similar to face-to-face conversation, could be identified. More specifically, the first results achieved by Forchini (2012), who investigates movie conversation in comedies and non-comedies by comparing movie transcriptions to face-to-face conversation, were iterated and confirmed by Zago (2016), who analyses comedies and crime films by comparing original movies and remakes, and then by Forchini (2017), who explores the interaction of courtroom discourse by comparing movie and real trials.

By following the same line of investigation and methodology, the present analysis aims to offer a step forward in the exploration of movie conversation by considering superheroes movies from *Marvel* and *DC Studios*. For the purpose, it will be first verified whether this genre differs from previously investigated movie genres and, then, whether the spoken traits which have been found in previous investigations also characterise movies containing larger-than-life characters. The hypothesis behind the study is as follows: a) if the present MDA results do not differ from those regarding other movie genres, it can then be concluded that the linguistic nature of movie conversation has been brought to light; b) if also this type of movie conversation does not differ from real

conversation, then it can be concluded that any type of movie conversation can be used to learn those spoken features which many authoritative linguists (Hunston 2002; Reppen 2010) describe as being neglected by the syllabus.

2. *Methodology and corpora*

Although the challenge facing linguistic research about capturing and storing data has been relatively minimised due to the advancement of technology, some issues concerning linguistic research still exist. These issues especially affect the ability to gain relevant insights into such data. In this regard, Biber's (1988) Multi-Dimensional Analysis has marked a significant step in language investigation, bringing several advantages with it. First of all, thanks to MDA (especially factor analysis), it has been possible to reduce a large number of linguistic features to a small set of factors interpreted as a dimension of variation. This means that MDA has enabled the description of the linguistic variation of various text types starting from Biber's own work on register variation in speech and writing (1988; 2006) and in cross-linguistic comparison (Biber 1995). As a result of the application of MDA in language studies it has also been possible to investigate data via procedures which are not only time-saving, but which have also reduced the rate of erroneous interpretations. Indeed, MDA has been verified by a large number of experiments which have also led to the hypothesis of the existence of universal dimensions of register variation[1] and have contributed significantly to the development of linguistic research. Just to mention few of them, Biber and Finegan (2001a) have investigated the historical evolution of register, Atkinson (2001) has explored scientific discourse across history, and Reppen (2001) has analysed register variation in speech and writing. Various studies have also focused on more specialised domains such as textbooks and journal articles in biology and history (Conrad 2001), medical research articles (Biber and Finegan 2001b), dialect variation in spoken British and American English (Helt 2001), and cross-cultural interaction related to the language of outsourced call centres (Friginal 2009). A few investigations, such as Rey (2001) and Quaglio (2009), have also focused on the language of TV series and, as mentioned in the introduction, Forchini (2012; 2017) and Zago (2016) have explored the interaction present in movie language.

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[1]   This has been demonstrated by the fact that some dimensions seem to occur across languages and across general and restricted discourse domains (Biber 2004: 17).

For all these reasons, for consistency with previous research, and also because MDA has been shown to work both on big and on small corpora[2], which is the case of the current analysis, the present work adopts such a methodology. More precisely, before being explored via MDA, the data had to be first tagged with Biber's grammatical tagger and, then, processed with the SAS software package (Forchini 2012). Besides, to show that the results concerning the most significant dimension are confirmed by the type of lexical bundles present in the movies, *AntConc*[3] has been used to retrieve 2-grams. With respect to factor analysis, the following factors and dimensions have been taken into account:

- Factor 1, which represents Dimension 1 (*Informational* versus *Involved Production*), namely a dimension which marks "high informational density and exact informational content versus affective, interactional, and generalised content" (Biber 1988: 107). In other words, this Factor is related to the primary purpose of the writer/speaker (which can be either informational or interactive, affective, and involved) and the production circumstances (which can be characterised by either careful editing, precision in lexical choices and an integrated textual structure, or by generalised lexical choices and fragmented presentation of information);
- Factor 2, which represents Dimension 2 (*Narrative* versus *Non-Narrative Concerns),* which "can be considered as distinguishing narrative discourse from other type of discourse" (Biber 1988: 109);
- Factor 3, which represents Dimension 3 (*Explicit* versus *Situation-Dependent Reference*), which distinguishes "between highly explicit, context-independent reference and nonspecific, situation-dependent reference" (Biber 1988: 110);
- Factor 4, which represents Dimension 4 (*Overt Expression of Persuasion*), which "marks the degree to which persuasion is marked overtly" (Biber 1988:111);
- Factor 5, which represents Dimension 5 (*Abstract* versus *Non-Abstract Information*), which "seems to mark informational discourse that is abstract, technical, and formal versus other types of discourse" (Biber 1988: 113).

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[2]   And to provide nearly the same dimensions of variation even when they are split into small parts provided that the samples of the corpora include an equivalent range of register variation (Biber 2004: 16).

[3]   Cf. *http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/.*

For the purpose, the *American Movie Super Heroes Corpus* (henceforth *AMshC*, which contains around 73,000 words) was built and then compared to the MDA of the broader *American Movie Corpus*[4] (henceforth *AMC2012*, which contains around 95,000 words, Forchini 2012) and of the *American Movie-Trial Corpus* (henceforth *AMtC2017*, which contains around 39,000 words of movie trials, Forchini 2017). More specifically, the *AMshC* is made up of the transcribed dialogues of the following movies: *Captain America: The First Avenger*, *Catwoman*, *Iron Man*, *Iron Man 3*, *Man of Steal*, *The Amazing Spiderman*, *The Avengers* and *The Dark Knight*.

3. *Movie Conversation Textual Type*

By looking at Table 1, which compares the MDA data from the *AMC2012* (in the table: *AMC* is the whole corpus; *Comedies* refers to the AMC comedies subcorpus; and *Non-comedies* refers to the AMC, non-comedies subcorpus) and the *AMtC2017* (*Trials only* in the table) to the ones from the *AMshC* (*Superheroes* in the table), it emerges that Dimensions 1, 2 and 3 (i.e. D1, D2 and D3) display the same polarity in all corpora, whereas Dimension 4 (D4) is different in the *Trials* corpus and Dimension 5 (D5) is different in the *Superheroes* corpus.

	AMC	Comedies	Non-comedies	Trials only	Superheroes
D1	35,31	35,86	36,68	12,50	26,95
D2	-0,97	-1,11	-1,15	-0,13	-1,03
D3	-5,72	-5,68	-5,93	-0,33	-4,72
D4	0,64	0,24	1,59	-1,32	1,77
D5	1,66	2,20	0,87	0,34	-0,3

Table I

Mean scores[5] of movie conversation according to movie genre.

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[4]   The *AMC* movies in Forchini (2012: 55) are categorised as follows: "four movies are considered to be 100% comedies, which is in tune with both Morandini *et al*. (2006) and the IMDB classifications. Similarly, four others are considered to be 100% non-comedies. Three movies are labeled as not genre specific, since the two reference works selected characterize them in different ways. Due to this ill-defined status, these movies are referred to as borderline movies in the analysis".

[5]   The 'mean score' is the mean (average) frequency of items: the higher the mean score is, the more frequent the linguistic items are.

There are three main interpretations of these data:

1. The various polarities show that movie conversation is *Involved*
    (i.e. positive polarity in D1), rather than *Informational* (i.e. neg-
    ative polarity in D1); *Non-narrative* (negative polarity in D2),
    rather than *Narrative* (positive polarity in D2); and *Situation-De-
    pendent* (negative polarity in D2), rather than *Explicit* (positive
    polarity in D2), disregarding the genre. By contrast, the degree to
    which persuasion is marked overtly (D4) and the way informa-
    tional discourse is marked by being more or less abstract, techni-
    cal, and formal (D5) vary depending on the movie genre.

2. The fact that the positive D1 and negative D2 and D3 are steady
    in all the movie corpora means that these polarities (together
    with the linguistic features characterizing them; cf. Section 3.1)
    must be significant traits of movie conversation. This translates
    as follows: by resulting *Involved*, it means that movie conver-
    sation displays a type of linguistic content which is affective,
    interactional, and generalised; the lexical choices which mark
    it are generalised; and the information in it is presented in a
    fragmented way. By being *Non-narrative*, instead, it means
    that movie dialogues are not descriptive; and by being *Situa-
    tion-Dependent*, it means that they are marked by a nonspecific,
    situation-dependent reference.

3. In terms of similarity with face-to-face conversation, which
    displays the same polarity of the *AMC2012* apart from D5 (i.e.
    face-to-face conversation is negative and has a mean score
    equals to -2,04, whereas movie conversation is positive and has
    a mean score equals to 1,66; cf. Forchini 2012: 64), the movie
    genre which is closest to it is that of superheroes, whose mean
    score is negative (it corresponds to -0,3 cf. Table I). This makes
    superheroes movies the only genre here to have a textual type
    which is totally identical to that of face-to-face conversation,
    which is positive in D1 (35,04) and D4 (0,6) and negative in
    D2 (-0,84), D3 (-7.04) and 5 D5 (-2.04) (Forchini 2012: 64).

As regards mean scores, the data in Table I show that movie dialogues
display the highest one always in D1, ignoring the genre: the whole
AMC2012 has a D1 which corresponds to 35,31 and displays mean scores
which vary from -5,72 (i.e. D3) to 1,66 (i.e. D5); the *AMTC2017* has a D1
which corresponds to 26,95 and displays mean scores which vary from
-1,32 (i.e. D4) to 0,34 (i.e. D5); and the *AMshC* has a D1 which corre-
sponds to 12,50 and displays mean scores which vary from -4,72 (i.e. D3)
to 1,77 (i.e. D4). Thus, the textual type which emerges mirrors the one

of face-to-face conversation, which also has its highest mean score in D1 **(35,04)**. This means that the most significant textual trait found both in movie and face-to-face conversation is affective, interactional, and generalised, that their lexicon is generalised and their information is delivered in fragments. The textual similarity with face-to-face conversation, which includes also other dimensions, is illustrated by Figure I, which represents all the genres considered here and a table adapted from Forchini (2013: 100) which compares the *AMC2012* (i.e. *AMC* in the figure) to the *Longman Spoken American Corpus*[6] (*LSAC* in the Figure), to written documents and prepared speeches (data from Biber 1988). The textual curves of movie dialogues are extremely similar to that of the *LSAC*, they differ when compared to prepared speeches and are significantly different when compared to written documents.
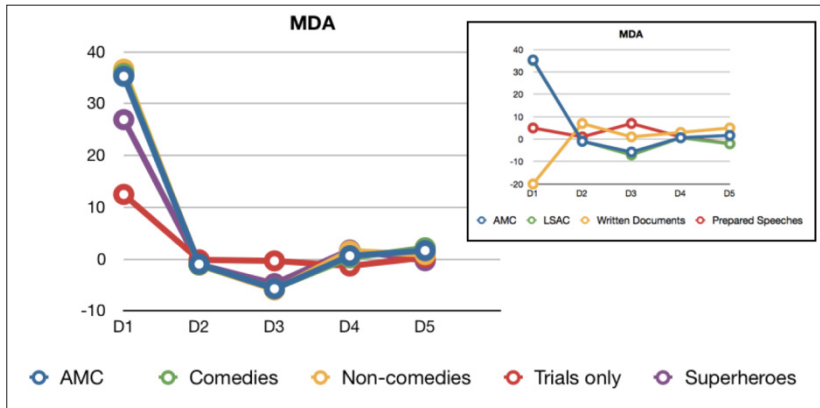

Fig. I. MDA of movie conversation, face-to-face conversation,
written documents and prepared speeches

3.1 Movie Conversation Linguistic Features

This section investigates the linguistic features which contribute to the textual type of movie conversation and which have allowed us to define it as being regularly *Involved* (D1), *Non-narrative* (D2) and *Situation Dependent* (D3). Considering that there are other studies on other movie genres, examples will be given here from the *AMshC* only.

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[6]   The *LSAC* is owned by Pearson Education. I was kindly given access to it by Douglas Biber and Randi Reppen from Northern Arizona University, who I deeply thank also for the MDA of my works.

The textual type of movie dialogues mathematically depends on the high frequency of spoken traits present in them: resulting highly *Involved* means that movies are highly marked by verbs in the imperative and third person form (cf. bold in Example i), private verbs (e.g. *think* – 206 occurrences, *believe* – 39 occurrences, and *feel* – 33 occurrences), first and second person pronouns and possessives (cf. Example ii) and by *it* pronouns and discourse particles (i.e. discourse markers, gap fillers, time stallers, vocalisations, etc. – cf. Example iii), which together contribute to a type of language which is interactive and affective, as face-to-face conversation also is.

The Joker	Well, hello, beautiful. You must be Harvey's squeeze, hm? And you are beautiful. You look nervous. Is it the scars? You wanna know how I got'em? *Come here*. Hey. *Look at me*. So I had a wife. Huh, she was beautiful, like you. Who *tells* me I worry too much. Who *tells* me I ought to smile more. Who *gambles* and *gets* in deep with the sharks. Hey. One day they carve her face, and we have no money for surgeries. She *can't take* it. I just wanna see her smile again. Hm? I just want her to know I don't care about the scars. So I stick a razor in my mouth and do this to myself. And you know what? She *can't stand* the sight of me. She *leaves*. Now I see the funny side. Now I'm always smiling. You got a little fight in you. I like that.
Batman	Then you're gonna love me. *Drop the gun*.
The Joker	Oh, sure. You just *take off your little mask* and *show us all who you really are*. Hm?
Batman	*Let her go*.

Example i

Batman	Then why do *you* wanna kill *me*?
The Joker	Aha aha ha! *I I* don't wanna kill *you*. What would *I* do without *you*? Go back to ripping off mob dealers? No, no. No. No, *you*… *you* complete *me*.

Example ii

Pvt. Lorraine	Of course, you're welcome to wait. I *uhh* read about what you did.
Captain America	*Oh*, the... *Yeah. Well*, that's, *you know*, *uhh*, just doing what needed to be done.
Pvt. Lorraine	Sounded like more than that. You saved nearly 400 men.
Captain America	Really, *it*'s not a big deal.
Pvt. Lorraine	Tell that to their wives.
Captain America	*Uhh* I don't think they were all married.
Pvt. Lorraine	You're a hero.
Captain America	*Well*, that.. *you know*.. that.. that depends on the definition, really.

Example iii

The fact that these features are the most frequent linguistic items in the corpus (as a consequence of D1 having the highest mean score) emerges also by checking its most frequent lexical bundles (i.e. 2-grams in Table II), which highlight that the primary purpose of the speaker is interaction, as in face-to-face conversation (Forchini 2012).

Frequency order	*# of occurrences*	*2-grams*
1	599	i m
2	488	it s
3	425	don t
4	328	you re
5	256	that s
6	184	he s
7	182	are you
8	170	you know
9	164	i don
10	155	in the
11	144	on the
12	141	do you
13	141	this is

Frequency order	# of occurrences	2-grams
14	137	can t
15	136	we re
16	135	come on
17	129	s a
18	125	i can
19	119	i ll
20	116	s not
21	112	of the
22	109	didn t
23	104	you can
24	103	and i
25	100	i know
26	100	to be
27	99	have to
28	97	there s
29	94	to the
30	93	let s

Table II. Lexical bundles (2-grams) from the *AMshC*

Resulting *Non-narrative*, instead, means that movies are also marked by immediate time and attributive nominal elaboration, whereas they are not marked by a frequent use of past time, third person animate referents, reported speech, and details. It is worth pointing out, however, that speakers may tell stories and use past time and third person animate referents (cf. *got*, *had*, *was*, *needed*, *sounded*, *were*, *she* and *they* in the examples above); consequently, it is not surprising that this mean score is not particularly high. In much the same way, the examples above also show how movie language is characterised by a type of reference which is nonspecific and *Situation-Dependent*, as the one marking face-to-face conversation. The following extract from the *AMscH* (cf. bold) well illustrates this situation dependency, which does not allow people outside a specific context to understand what the situation is:

| **?**[7] | *Whatever* happens *tomorrow*, *you* must promise *me one thing*. That *you* will stay *who you are*. […]. |
| **?** | *To the little guys*. |

Example iv

4. Conclusion

The aim of the present study has been to offer an empirical description of an intrinsically creative text-type, i.e. the conversation in a movie. The investigation has taken its origin from preceding studies which have shown not only a rather unexpected linguistic similarity between the conversation in movies and real life, but also the surprising presence of linguistic items and textual dimensions which mark both non-specialised and specialised movie language (Forchini 2012; 2017). In this same line of investigation, movies within an extremely inventive genre, that of superheroes, have been examined; first, to determine whether this genre differs from other movie genres; second, to see whether the spoken traits which have been found in previous investigations also characterize movies containing larger-than-life characters (i.e. superheroes). What has emerged is a clear picture of the nature of movie language which has been confirmed to be *Involved*, *Non-narrative* and *Situation Dependent*, like face-to-face conversation, regardless of its genre. As a matter of fact, movie conversation can be thus defined as being marked by a double level of conventionality, which is suggested both by the scarce variation which emerges cross-genre and by its similarity with real conversation. This conventionality, which is determined by the linguistic features characterising the different genres considered, by the textual dimensions they belong to, and by the significantly high frequency of spoken items present in them, on the one hand has confirmed the linguistic nature of movie conversation; on the other hand, it has re-confuted the various claims about the inadequacy of movies to portray reality (Machura and Ulbrich 2001: 118) and represent "the general usage of conversation" (Sinclair 2004: 80). This implies that any type of movie conversation, and especially superheroes movies which have resulted to be close to face-to-face conversation in all their dimensions, could be used as a source to boost spoken language competence and to teach those linguistic features of interaction which are usually neglected by the syllabus.

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[7]   The speakers are Dr. Abraham and Steve Rogers, respectively, from *Captain America: The First* A*venger*.

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ON-SCREEN TEXTS AND THEIR DYNAMIC FUNCTIONS
FROM CONVENTIONALITY TO CREATIVITY:
LOVE & FRIENDSHIP AS A CASE STUDY

Abstract

This paper aims to uncover the function of on-screen texts in *Love & Friendship*, focusing in particular on the introductory intertitles. Considering that these introductory texts provide a description of the film's characters, we propose that the analysis of these short texts would benefit greatly from an evaluative approach, namely Appraisal Theory (Martin and White 2005), and particularly the semantic dimension of *attitude* which is concerned with our feelings, including emotional reactions, judgements of behaviour and the evaluation of things (pp. 42-69). While such descriptions may at first glance appear to be simple introductions to the film's characters, the analysis shows that these short texts are deployed as a means of judging and scrutinising the characters before the film has even started, thus depicting a society in which everyone knows each other and has opinions about each other, as Jane Austen did in her novels by way of social commentary and moral judgement (Lodge 1966).

Keywords: conventionality; creativity; intertitles; Appraisal Theory; attitudes.

1. Introduction

Technological advances and cultural change have established novel ways of communicating. Screens permeate every aspect of modern life, and new forms of interactive communication – such as instant messaging, text messaging, blogging, and tweeting – have spread to create new textual forms and frameworks (Dwyer 2015). These transformations challenge the presumption that films should primarily tell their stories with the soundtrack, and directors are trying to increasingly incorporate the text medium into their works. Therefore, the paper begins with a rapid overview of how extra-diegetic texts have evolved as dynamic systems in media products, from silent cinema to modern times. Then, the corpus and the actual analysis of *Love & Friendship*'s floating texts

and introductory intertitles are presented in paragraph 2 and paragraph 3, respectively. Finally, some conclusions are discussed in paragraph 4.

The use of text on screen harks back to silent cinema's intertitles, which can be defined as "[...] shots of texts printed on material that does not belong to the diegesis of a film and, therefore, are distinct from textual inserts such as calling cards, letters, posters, etc." (Abel 2005: 326). They were introduced at the beginning of the 20th century, when the length and complexity of silent films increased and the need to provide audiences with short narrations to facilitate the development of the story-telling on screen emerged. They either took the form of "expository intertitles" (Thompson 1985: 183) which helped the audience understand the organisation of the plot, summarising entire sequences or introducing the main characters, or "dialogue intertitles" (p. 185) which illustrated the actors' lines, thus giving voice to the characters on screen. With the coming of sound, on-screen texts have undergone a continuous evolution (Crafton 1999: 13): from traditional title cards giving geographical and background information (e.g. 'Paris, five years later…') to more dynamic solutions, such as depicting text messaging or interaction on Twitter (as in the British teen soap *Hollyoaks*, the American TV series *House of Cards* and *Glee*, or the BBC's *Sherlock*). In fact, directors have constantly cast around for new ways to incorporate the written word onto the screen, not only to complement and further the storyline naturally but also to make their films more visually interesting, thus increasing audience engagement[1].

The fact that the intertitle tradition is somehow experiencing a renaissance is mainly due to the changes which have occurred in our modern society, not only because people are constantly engaged in silent conversations on WhatsApp, Twitter, and chat forums, but also because heavy multitasking has led to a different way of consuming visual products, whether on public transport or in rooms with other people. Furthermore, a recent study has reported that 85% of Facebook videos are watched with the sound off and that "despite still being an option, sound (on Facebook) is not required"[2].

Against this background, Whit Stillman's clever use of on-screen texts in his film *Love & Friendship* (2016), the latest adaptation of a Jane Austen novella, has received high-profile write-ups in, among oth-

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[1] One of the most recent solutions in this sense is the deployment of "bullet screens" (Dwyer 2017: 578) which allow cinemagoers to write comments about the film which are then projected onto the big screen, for a more interactive viewing experience.

[2] Sahil Patel, "85 Percent of Facebook Video is Watched Without Sound", *Digiday UK*, May 17, 2016, *http://digiday.com/media/silent-world-facebook-video/*.

ers, *Screen Daily* and the *Guardian*, where film critic Peter Bradshaw praised the director's ability to use on-screen texts "as a kind of visual archaism, almost like a literary silent movie"[3]. Stillman obviously needed to alter the original epistolary form of the narrative, thus transforming letters into well-flowing dialogue and action, but much of the dialogue in *Love & Friendship* comes straight from the novel. Although its title has been taken from another of Jane Austen's works, *Love & Friendship* is based on *Lady Susan*[4], an epistolary novel divided into forty-one letters and followed by a final section which is narrated in the third person and entitled "Conclusion". It was written in 1794 but first published posthumously, in 1871, nearly fifty years after Jane Austen's death. Set in the 1790s in Victorian England, the film centres on widowed Lady Susan Vernon (Kate Beckinsale), a beautiful and calculating woman who uses her charm and intelligence to manipulate others. She invites herself to stay at Churchill, the country estate of her brother-in-law, where she craftily engineers suitable marriages for both herself and her debutante daughter Frederica (Morfydd Clark), who she matches with the wealthy Sir Martin James (Tom Bennett).

The most overt and literal dramatisation of Austen's original lines is manifest in the use of on-screen texts, first with what film reviewers have called "archaic intertitles"[5] to introduce and describe the characters, and then with floating words when characters read letters aloud. Bearing all this in mind, the present paper investigates how on-screen texts are structured as part of a broader polysemiotic text in order to uncover their multiple and dynamic functions – which go well beyond the silent arts of translating sound into visual elements – in the frame of a cinematic adaptation of a literary text. In fact, despite harking back to silent cinema's intertitle tradition, *Love & Friendship*'s on-screen texts are far from anachronistic: they are an incisive reflection of the evolution experienced by our visual society, in which the presumption that screen media are made to be viewed, not read (Dwyer 2015) is challenged, as shown in the following paragraphs.

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[3]   Peter Bradshaw "Love & Friendship Review – Whit Stillman's Austen Drama is a Racy Delight", *Guardian*, May 26, 2016, *http://www.theguardian.com/film/2016/may/26/love-friendship-review-whit-stillmans-austen-drama-is-a-racy-delight/.*

[4]   As the director, Stillman, puts it: "*Lady Susan* was the title Austen's nephew had given her untitled manuscript when her family finally allowed it to be published a half century after her death. For our film, which would involve more characters and a larger canvas, the more Austenian *Love & Friendship* – derived from the title of one of her youthful short stories – seemed better" (Rutter, Reed, Monnier 2016: 10).

[5]   *Ibid.*

2. Love & Friendship's floating texts

The first floating text to appear on screen is partially taken from Letter 11 of the original novel. Catherine Vernon (Emma Greenwell) writes from Churchill to her mother, Lady De Courcy (Jemma Redgrave), conveying her anxious fears that her younger brother, Reginald De Courcy (Xavier Samuel), is being seduced by Lady Susan (Figure I):

Fig. I. First floating text: Catherine Vernon's letter

Upon receipt of the letter, Lady De Courcy (who has a heavy cold which has affected her eyes) asks her husband, Sir Reginald De Courcy (James Fleet), to read it to her *verbatim* instead of simply summarising it. After answering "I'll read every word, comma, and semicolon if that's what you wish" (Stillman 2016: 80), Sir De Courcy starts reading the first part of the letter aloud, including all punctuation. As he reads, the words appear on the screen in imitation eighteenth-century style, covering most of the bottom two-thirds of the screen (Figure I).

If we compare the on-screen text with the original novel, as shown in Table I below, we can detect some interesting differences in the use of punctuation marks.

On-screen text	Original novel (Letter 11)
I grow deeply uneasy, my dearest Mother, about Reginald, from witnessing the very rapid increase in her influence;	I really grow quite uneasy my dearest Mother about Reginald, from witnessing the very rapid increase of Lady Susan's influence.

Table 1. First part of Catherine Vernon's letter (*Love & Friendship*)
vs. Letter 11 (*Lady Susan*).

While in the original letter we only find a comma after 'Reginald' and a full stop at the end of the sentence, the film seems to boost the use of punctuation marks by adding two commas and substituting the full stop with a semicolon. Stillman has therefore cleverly deployed on-screen text to achieve a comic effect by modifying Jane Austen's well-known pristine writing style and exaggerating her use of punctuation[6] to signal the rhythms of the actor's speech rather than the grammatical structure (Sutherland 2011).

Frustrated, Lady De Courcy interrupts her husband, asking him to read "just the words" (Stillman 2016: 81), without punctuation. As shown in Table 2 below, the floating quotations and the original novel now coincide in the use of punctuation marks.

On-screen text	Original novel (Letter 11)
He and Lady Susan are now on terms of the most particular friendship, frequently engaged in long conversation together;	They are now on terms of the most particular friendship, frequently engaged in long conversations together;

Table 2. First part of Catherine Vernon's letter (*Love & Friendship*)
vs. Letter 11 (*Lady Susan*).

However, the comic function of this second portion of text is only apparent when the word "long" flashes for a second time on screen, isolated, as shown in Figure 2 below:

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[6]   Austen's punctuation has recently become a subject of debate. In fact, it seems that Austen's prose was heavily edited for publication by William Gifford, a poet and critic who worked for Austen's second publisher, John Murray (Sutherland 2013).

Fig. 2. Second floating text: the word 'long' flashes on screen

Sir Reginald De Courcy himself grows alarmed at the rapid advancement of Reginald and Lady Susan's friendship and asks his wife how Reginald could not only engage in conversations with Lady Susan Vernon at all, but especially in conversations which are *long* (Table 2). With the word 'long' appearing on screen, the comic effect is created by what can be called a visual oxymoron: the orthographic form of the word 'long', which is composed only of four characters, as well as its short sound express the opposite meaning, namely something continuing for a considerable amount of time (in this context).

The third and final floating text appears at the end of the film, when Reginald De Courcy marries his bride Frederica and reads a poem that he himself has composed for her. The text comes from an actual wedding announcement made in the *Massachusetts Gazette* on June 20, 1774 and in the film, director Stillman quotes the first four lines of the original poem[7]. In order to reinforce Reginald's spoken text, the words appear on screen as he declaims them, as shown in Figure 3 below:

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[7]   Christopher Morrissey, "The Vindication of the Fair: 'Love & Friendship,' American Style", *The Imaginative Conservative*, June 8, 2016, *http://www.theimaginative-conservative.org/2016/06/vindication-fair-love-friendship-american-style-whit-stillman.html*.

Fig. 3. Third floating text: Reginald De Courcy's poem and the word 'mien'

As Reginald reads the word 'mien', the ancient and anachronistic word for "appearance or facial expression"[8], Mr. Vernon (Justin Edwards) explains for the benefit of the other wedding guests that Reginald is not referring to *mean*, the homophone meaning unkind or unpleasant. Therefore, the on-screen text suggests the difference between graphic form and meaning with the aim of achieving a comic effect.

3. *Love & Friendship's introductory intertitles*

The director's decision to open the film with silent-film-like intertitles seems appropriate for a dramatisation of an epistolary novel, where the written word obviously plays a crucial role. Characters are introduced near the beginning of the film in short, but not still, poses: portrait shots with their names and a short description, as shown in Figure 4 below. Interestingly, these portraits are vaguely reminiscent of those created by Cassandra Austen for *The History of England*, Austen's only illustrated *Juvenilia*, as if in further homage to Austen's original novel.

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[8]   *Cambridge Dictionary Online*, s.v. 'Mien', *http://dictionary.cambridge.org/en/dictionary/english/mien*, last accessed May 2, 2017.

Fig.4 . Fourth floating text: 'expository' introduction to Lord Manwaring

Even if here they are merged briefly with performance, these short descriptions are similar to the expository intertitles used during the silent cinema period to introduce the main characters. Of the fourteen descriptions to appear on screen, the present analysis will focus on twelve of them, notably those introducing the film's main characters[9].

Characters	Intertitles
Lord Manwaring	A divinely attractive man
Lady Lucy Manwaring	His wealthy wife
Miss Maria Manwaring	His eligible younger sister
Sir James Martin	Wealthy young suitor of Frederica Vernon & Maria Manwaring
Mrs. Catherine Vernon	Lady Susan's sister-in-law
Mr. Charles Vernon	Her obliging husband, brother of the late Frederic Vernon
Mr. Reginald De Courcy	Catherine's young & handsome brother
Mrs. Alicia Johnson	Lady Susan's friend

[9]   The two excluded characters are: Wilson, the butler at Churchill (in the original novel, Wilson is Lady Susan's maid), and the young curate of the Churchill parish (who is absent in the original novel).

Characters	Intertitles
Mr. Johnson	Alicia's older & respectable husband
Mrs. Cross	Lady Susan's impoverished friend.
Sir Reginald De Courcy	Catherine & Reginald's old father
Lady De Courcy	Their kind mother

Table.3 . *Love & Friendship's* introductory intertitles

As shown in Table 3 above, all twelve intertitles are composed of nominal groups with a largely fixed sequence, although it is possible to detect some minor variations. We always find the Thing that is being talked about, deictics indicating whether or not some specific subset of the Thing is intended and, except for two nominal groups (number 5 and number 8), epithets indicating some quality of the subset (Halliday 2014: 364-376). As far as epithets are concerned, of the fifteen detected instances, five (33.3%) have been coded as experiential epithets ('younger', 'young', 'older', and 'elderly'), indicating an objective property of the Thing, while nine (60%) can be classified as attitudinal epithets ('attractive', 'wealthy', 'eligible', 'obliging', 'handsome', 'respectable', 'impoverished', and 'kind'), expressing the addresser's subjective attitude towards the Thing (Halliday 2014: 376-377). Therefore, from this quantitative analysis, it seems that characters are not simply introduced and described but also scrutinised before the film has even started. Since nominal groups appear to provide the richest lexical resources for expressing feeling, mainly through attitudinal epithets (Martin 2017: 30), we can thus rely on APPRAISAL[10] (Martin and White 2005) to qualitatively investigate the linguistic mechanisms employed in the evaluation of these characters.

3.1 Analysis of introductory intertitles

Developed within the area of the interpersonal social metafunction of language in systemic functional linguistics (see Martin 1992; Matthiessen 1995; Halliday 2014, among others), which fashions social roles and relationships, APPRAISAL is a framework that concerns itself with the "subjective presence of writers/speakers in texts as they

[10]   In Appraisal Theory, small capitals are usually used to indicate the lexical-semantic systems available to the speaker.

adopt stances towards both the material they present and those with whom they communicate" (Martin and White 2005: 1). Considering that attitude resources are the most obvious hints of one's thoughts and emotions, the area of APPRAISAL explored in this analysis is "attitudinal positioning" (Martin and White 2005: 42), which is used to construe the addresser's positive or negative attitude towards experiential phenomena or propositions about those phenomena. More specifically, attitudinal meanings are divided into three broad subtypes: JUDGEMENT (attitudinal response), which deals with resources for evaluating and assessing behaviour according to various normative principles; AFFECT (emotional response), which is concerned with resources for construing emotional reactions; and finally APPRECIATION (aesthetic response), which looks at resources for construing the value of natural and semiotic phenomena (Martin and White 2005; White 2011, 2015). Within each category, which may be further divided into more delicate subcategories[11], the APPRAISAL may be expressed with a positive or negative polarity, relative to the cultural values of addresser and addressee, with more or less intensity, and may either be inscribed (i.e. direct), when it is effectively written into the text, or evoked (i.e. implied), when it is called upon from the reader (Martin 2000: 155).

In exploring the means by which evaluation is expressed in the intertitles, the detected attitudinal epithets have been coded for the kind of attitude expressed: JUDGEMENT (of character and behaviour), AFFECT (of feelings or emotions), or APPRECIATION (of natural and semiotic phenomena). Of the nine attitudinal epithets detected, six (66.6%) have been coded as JUDGEMENT and three (33.3%) as APPRECIATION; none as AFFECT. Therefore, as the categories of JUDGEMENT and APPRECIATION happen to be the only significant ones, only the subcategories within these two systems have been identified and then elaborated with reference to Martin (2000) and Martin and White (2005: 71). A positive (+) or negative (−) value has also been assigned in each instance, as shown in Table 4 below[12]:

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[11]   However, analyses in this study do not apply this level of delicacy. For a full account of attitudinal subcategories, see Martin and White (2005).

[12]   All analyses of APPRAISAL involve a certain degree of subjectivity and must be understood as situated within particular cultural contexts (Martin and White 2005).

Appraising items	Judgement	Appreciation	Appraised
attractive		+reac	Lord Manwaring
wealthy	+norm		Lady Lucy Manwaring
eligible		+val	Miss Maria Manwaring
wealthy	+norm		Sir James Martin
obliging	+prop		Mr. Charles Vernon
handsome		+reac	Mr. Reginald De Courcy
respectable	+prop		Mr. Johnson
impoverished	−norm		Mrs. Cross
kind	+prop		Lady De Courcy

Table.4 . *Love & Friendship's* introductory intertitles

It can be observed from Table 4 above that positive appreciation has been assigned to Lord Manwaring, Mr. Reginald De Courcy, and Miss Maria Manwaring. More specifically, those epithets expressing positive physical qualities ('attractive' and 'handsome') have only been attributed to male characters. Moreover, through the addition of the pre-modifier 'divinely', Lord Manwaring's attractiveness is intensified. Both epithets are attributed to the two men Lady Susan engages in affairs with and have been interpreted as instances of Reaction, dealing with the degree to which the Thing in question captures one's attention and the emotional impact it has (Martin 2000: 160). Both Lord Manwaring and Mr. Reginald De Courcy have a definite emotional impact on some of the female characters of the film, first of all on Lady Susan: she has become the scandal of British high society because of her relationship with the married Lord Manwaring and is thus forced to leave the Manwarings; later, she turns her attention to Mr. Reginald De Courcy and flirts with him intensely, to the disapproval of Reginald's family.

Moving to Miss Maria Manwaring, Lord Manwaring's sister is described as 'eligible', which can be interpreted as an instance of Valuation[13] (Martin and White 2005). Valuation deals with experiential worth and is used to appraise how worthwhile the Thing is. In the case of Miss

[13]   Since the supposed value of a Thing is variable from register to register, Martin and White (2005) stress that instances of Valuation are often dependent on the field of discourse.

Maria Manwaring, she is valued as a suitable future marriage partner thanks to her attractiveness and wealth. This not only suggests that her physical attractiveness and social status are the main (and maybe only) features which make her an eligible woman, but also that she plays a passive role within the network of social relations in the film, since the adjective 'eligible' implies that she is supposed to *receive* the action of being chosen as a wife. In a historic period in which women had little agency, this is not surprising, but it does contrast strikingly with Lady Susan's manipulative behaviour and extremely active scheming. Indeed, Miss Maria Manwaring herself is one of the pawns in Lady Susan's plan: first, Lady Susan diverts Sir James Martin's attention from her to Lady Susan's daughter, Frederica; then, when Frederica refuses to marry him, Lady Susan yet again removes Sir James from Miss Manwaring and marries him for his money herself.

JUDGEMENT proves to be the most significant category (Table 4). More specifically, the detected epithets have been interpreted as instances of either Normality (how unusual someone is) or Propriety (how ethical someone is) (Martin 2000: 156). The first subcategory comprises epithets referring to the economic situation of Lady Lucy Manwaring, Sir James Martin (both 'wealthy'), and Mrs. Cross ('impoverished'). Regarding the only instance of negative judgement, 'impoverished', this lexical choice amplifies a core value of poor and can thus be unpacked as poor + very. Lack of money seems to be one of the worst misfortunes one may experience and the whole film revolves around Lady Susan's search for financial security and status for herself and her daughter, following her wealthy husband's death. As for Propriety, 'obliging', 'respectable', and 'kind' have been attributed to Mr. Charles Vernon (Lady Susan's brother-in-law), Mr. Johnson (husband of Alicia, Lady Susan's American friend), and Lady De Courcy respectively, thus encoded positively to represent good moral values, in sharp contrast to those of Lady Susan.

Therefore, while the film's intertitles may at first glance appear to be simple descriptions of the principal characters, the analysis shows that these short texts are deployed as a means to judge and evaluate the characters before the film has even begun, as if their reputations precede them. The evaluation of characters and their behaviour is also a marked characteristic of Jane Austen's narrative style (Lodge 1966), which is presented to the reader in different ways. In *Lady Susan*, evaluation is realised through the letters exchanged between Lady Susan, her family, friends, and enemies. In these letters, pictures of the characters' personalities are often painted for the reader, especially in the correspondence between Lady Susan and Mrs. Johnson, where we meet and get to know

several characters long before they actually become addressers or addressees themselves (Austen 2013). Therefore, it seems that Stillman has transferred an inner characteristic of Jane Austen's epistolary novella to the film through the deployment of the introductory intertitles, which somehow anticipate, as the original letters do, the peculiarities and also the interrelations of the film's main characters.

4. *Final remarks*

Whit Stillman's film *Love & Friendship* (2016) has received considerable acclaim for being a successful adaptation of Austen's epistolary novella, *Lady Susan*, thanks in part to its creative deployment of on-screen text. Epistolary novels always present serious challenges for directors, since the reading of letters lacks the action that films demand, but Stillman has made the written word the location for high drama with short descriptions introducing his characters and with floating texts that render the contents of letters visible to the audience. Furthermore, by exploiting on-screen texts *Love & Friendship* builds a bridge between Victorian and modern society: while Austen's characters were big letter writers and book readers, Stillman's contemporaries (and primary audience) constantly write and read vast amounts of text messages or blog posts, hunched over mobile phones or tablets. By linking these two worlds through the use of on-screen text, the film also legitimises its status as an adaptation. In fact, despite heavily relying on Austen's lines, Stillman uses on-screen text to direct the focus of attention on his own characters and their network of relations. As we have seen, when Sir Reginald De Courcy starts reading Mrs. Vernon's letter complete with punctuation (making the written nature of the communication explicit), he is interrupted by his wife, who is interested in just the words, as if their daughter (i.e. the film character) was present and uttering them herself (in the manner of direct spoken communication). Meanwhile, in the case of the word 'long', which quickly flashes on screen, its graphic form contrasts not only with its actual meaning but also with the extent of Mrs. Vernon's preoccupation with Reginald's attraction to Lady Susan, thus emphasising it. Moreover, on-screen text connects the written word, that is the world of Jane Austen, to the spoken word, the world of Whit Stillman and his actors. This is symbolised by the word 'mien' (i.e. appearance) which appears on screen to signal that it is a homophone for 'mean' (i.e. unkind or unpleasant).

As one of the film's reviews reports "Stillman and Austen share a delight in the 'comedy of ill-manners' here, having fun with the characters constantly seeking to one-up each other's undercutting comments

or silly personality tics"[14]. This feature is made clear from the outset of the film, thanks to the so-called archaic intertitles. As the analysis has shown, these are not objective descriptions of the film's characters but serve as a way of evaluating and anticipating different aspects of the characters' personalities before the film has even started, thus perfectly representing a society in which gossip and people's reputations (as in the case of Lady Susan) spread quickly. Men are represented as attractive *objects* that Lady Susan, who has an "uncanny understanding of men's natures" (Stillman 2016: 180), exploits to achieve her manipulative motives. Lady Susan's agency and fight against the patriarchal society in which she lives is not shared by other female characters, like Miss Maria Manwaring, who is depicted, as we have already observed, as an additional pawn in Lady Susan's scheme. In the film, money and prestige seem to be paramount and this seems to be confirmed by the analysis of the intertitles. Lady Susan will stop at nothing to get a rich husband and achieve high social status, and the introductory descriptions contribute to representing Lady Susan as an anti-heroine, by highlighting other characters' moral values.

Interestingly, the only missing character in the intertitles is precisely Lady Susan (Table 3) but, as is so often the case, we hear of her before she appears on screen through Reginald De Courcy, Charles Vernon, and Catherine De Courcy Vernon's words: she is accused of being "the most accomplished flirt in all England" but also described as a woman of "beauty, distinction, and fortitude" who is often "victim of the spirit of jealousy" because of her actions or remarks which can be "open to misconstruction" (Stillman 2016: 20). Even if this analysis has not attempted to uncover the identity of the addresser, we may infer from these preliminary results that the subjective presence adopting stances towards the film's characters is Lady Susan. In addition, only three characters are not described with attitudinal epithets and these include two key female figures for whom Lady Susan may have respect, as opposed to other characters: Mrs. Alicia Johnson and Mrs. Catherine Vernon. Alicia is Lady Susan's good friend and the only figure depicted both in the film and in the original novel as being as immoral as Lady Susan, so much so that it is Mrs. Johnson herself who encourages Lady Susan to have affairs with Mr. Manwaring and Sir Reginald De Courcy. Mrs. Catherine Vernon is Lady Susan's sister-in-law and the only female character in the whole film who is not a victim of Lady Susan's manipulation.

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[14]   Daniel Schindel, "Love & Friendship", *The Film Stage*, January 24, 2016, *http://thefilmstage.com/reviews/sundance-review-love-friendship/*.

Before concluding, it is worth mentioning that the film premiered at the Sundance Film Festival, which is considered the largest independent film festival in the United States. As a review in the *Huffington Post* states "When you think of a Sundance movie, *Love & Friendship* isn't what comes to mind", especially because of the film's subtle "sight gags" and "ironic banter", which cannot be wholly appreciated by an audience "that's not as attuned to this sort of film"[15]. Considering that the film is a period drama set in Victorian England and based on a lesser-known work by Jane Austin, the deployment of on-screen text may also have the function of making the film's comic nature more accessible to a wider audience. This seems to be confirmed by Stillman himself, when talking about his introductory intertitles: "[they are] there to set the tone of the film and give the impression of what kind of film we're making"[16].

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[16]   Clayton Dillard, "Interview: Whit Stillman on Jane Austen and *Love & Friendship*", *Slant*, May 10, 2016, *http://www.slantmagazine.com/features/article/interview-whit-stillman-on-jane-austen-and-love-and-friendship*.

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CONVERSATIONAL ROUTINES IN JANE AUSTEN'S FILM AND TV ADAPTATIONS: A CHALLENGE FOR ITALIAN DUBBING

Abstract

Films and TV series based on Jane Austen's books are especially popular period dramas, belonging to the heritage film tradition. This paper analyses two screen versions of *Pride and Prejudice*, both in the original and dubbed Italian versions: the 1995 BBC adaptation and the 2005 film version. The dialogues of the two adaptations have been transcribed, in both the original English and dubbed Italian, to create a small *Jane Austen* parallel corpus. Given the importance of dialogue in Jane Austen's work, the focus of the study is on a number of selected conversational routines and on the challenges of translating them into Italian for dubbing purposes.

Keywords: conversational routines; dubbing; audiovisual translation; screen adaptation.

1. *Introduction*

Films and TV series based on Jane Austen's books fall squarely within the *heritage film* tradition, i.e. quality costume drama which "[…] present the English landscape as a tourist attraction, for scenery and location is key to these texts, and frequently reinforce the Great Tradition of English literature as well, many of them being adaptations of "classic", canonical novels" (Byrne, 2015: 5). Over the past twenty years or so there has been a steady increase in the production of screen adaptations of English literary classics for the screen (including Dickens, Trollope, Gaskell, the Brontë sisters, and many others). The difference between the time of the narration and the present time makes them interesting to modern audiences (Ranzato 2014), and their Englishness makes them 'exotic' in the eyes of foreign viewers. Such films and TV series are ideal vehicles for the English heritage industry, as their key attractions are their strong visual appeal (iconic scenery, pretty villages, quaint cottages and stately homes) and their attention to period detail in furnishings, costumes, and, last but not least, language.

In adapting a literary classic for the screen, scriptwriters are faced with the need to reflect the voice of the author, whilst at the same time crafting dialogue that is both comprehensible to modern viewers and a plausible representation of the historical period in question. The resulting dialogues are usually a mixture of famous quotations and newly scripted lines, and part of their fascination lies in the choice of idioms and conversational routines which best fit the period and the social setting portrayed on the screen (Bruti 2013; Bruti and Vignozzi 2016). The screen adaptations of Jane Austen's novels are especially interesting, since dialogues play a key role in her work. This paper briefly analyses selected politeness features (namely terms of address, introductions and compliments) in the English dialogues of two screen adaptations of her masterpiece *Pride and prejudice*, the 1995 BBC TV miniseries directed by Simon Langton and the 2005 film adaptation directed by Joe Wright, and then the challenges of translating them into Italian for dubbing purposes. The paper begins with a brief overview of audiovisual productions inspired by Jane Austen (§2), then presents the *Jane Austen* corpus and the actual analysis of the above features (§3); finally, some conclusions are presented in §4.

2. *Jane Austen on the screen: a corpus*

Jane Austen's novels are deeply rooted in a specific geographical, social and temporal milieu, the world of the English landed gentry in the late 18th century. At the same time, critics have noted that there are very few references to actual historical events in her work. For example, in relation to *Pride and prejudice* Tanner (1972: 7; my italics) comments: "[…] during a decade in which Napoleon was effectively engaging, if not transforming, Europe, Jane Austen composed a novel in which the most important events are the fact that *a man changes his manners and a young lady changes her mind*". However, despite the writer's seemingly narrow focus, the universal themes explored in her work and her light ironic touch have ensured her unfailing popularity over the centuries.

Recent years have witnessed an increase in the production of books, blogs, fan fiction sites, films and TV series inspired by Jane Austen's work, thus creating a veritable *Austenland* (Saglia 2016). The origins of this Jane Austen craze may be said to date back to the 1995 BBC version of *Pride and prejudice* (Dir. Simon Langton) starring Colin Firth and Jennifer Ehle. The audiovisual products include screen adaptations of her novels, fictional biopics, spin-offs and parodies. *Pride and prejudice*, in particular, has spawned countless screen adaptations:

taking into account only the productions from English-speaking countries, there are at least two noteworthy film versions (*Pride and prejudice*, Dir. Robert Z. Leonard 1940; *Pride and prejudice*, Dir. Joe Wright 2005), two BBC adaptations (Dir. Cyril Cokem 1980; Dir. Simon Langton 1995), and numerous modernisations and parodies of various kinds, including *Bride and prejudice* (Dir. Gurinder Chadha 2004), *Pride and prejudice and zombies* (Dir. Burr Steers 2016), *Lost in Austen* (Dir. Dan Zeff 2013), *Death comes to Pemberley* (Dir. Daniel Percival 2013), and many others. There is even a web series, *The Lizzie Bennet diaries* (Dir. Bernie Su, Margaret Dunlap 2012), in which the episodes are vlogs and the main characters have their own social media accounts to interact with viewers.

All of these screen adaptations have contributed Jane Austen's popularity, but have also emphasised the romance aspect in her stories to the detriment of irony. In an interesting essay on the Italian translations of *Pride and Prejudice*, Morini (2017: 204-205) notes:

> […] there is evidence – both internal and external – that these two audiovisual versions[1] treat *Pride and Prejudice* as romance, rather than as an ironic description of a certain society at a given time. […] the audiovisual tendency to emphasise the romantic and 'costume drama' features of the book must have contributed to a world-wide view of Jane Austen as a tame period writer.

Jane Austen portrayed a society in which reputation was based heavily on what people said in conversation and what others said about you. All plot twists in her novels happen verbally: conversational exchanges (direct speech), reported conversations (free indirect speech) and letters play a key role in sketching characters and advancing the story. Therefore, a significant proportion of screen time in all the audiovisual adaptations of her novels is taken up by social events (balls, dinners, visits, and so on) and related formal conversations, scripted according to the specific rules of 18th century England.

In a study of conversation manuals published roughly at the same time as *Pride and prejudice*, Morini (2008) provides a useful summary of the main rules of polite conversation (turn-taking, roles and topics) followed at the time. Firstly, it was up to people of higher rank to initiate conversation; other-selection was preferred over self-selection, and ladies in particular waited for questions to be asked. Interruptions and overlapping were frowned upon and no speaker was supposed to take

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[1]   Namely, the two versions of *Pride and prejudice* analysed in the present paper.

the floor for too long, to give everyone a chance to talk. Participants in a verbal exchange were expected to take up former speakers' topics rather than change the subject immediately. Acceptable topics tended to be general in nature, while highly personal issues and references to money, physicality and other taboos were to be avoided. Thus, "[C]onversation in Jane Austen's novels is a complex role-playing game, the rules of which are dictated by a general consensus about what can and cannot be said, what can be said openly and what must be hinted at or implied, which moves and acts are allowed and which are not" (Morini 2008: 11).

Flouting social conventions in conversation was dangerous, because it could lead to loss of reputation and respectability. Public occasions such as balls, visits and dinners required the use of the appropriate conversational routines in a wide range of speech acts: greetings, leave-takings, introductions, compliments, apologies, invitations, and so on. Such formulaic expressions were used in combination with specific terms of address and honorifics. As Bruti and Perego (2008: 15) have noted in relation to the film version of S*ense and sensibility* (Dir. Ang Lee, 1995)*:*

> The setting of the story, i.e. 18th century England, determines the choice of types: in fact names, either first or last, and titles are the most frequent form of address. […] [G]eneric names and offensive terms are very few, and terms of endearment, although quite frequent, are quite formulaic and stereotypical in nature. This is perfectly in keeping with the rules of behaviour of British society at the time Austen wrote: social ranks were quite rigid and forms of address necessarily reflected status configurations.

As conversational routines and politeness features are encoded differently in different languages and given that the audiovisual context has a significant impact on translation choices in dubbing (synchronisation constraints vary depending on film editing and type of shot), the rest of this paper presents a small study on the dubbing of selected conversational routines in the *Jane Austen* corpus. The latter is a section of the *DubTalk* corpus, a collection of US and UK films and TV series that have been transcribed according to the conventions illustrated in Bonsignori (2009)[2]. More specifically, the *Jane Austen* sub-corpus is an on-going project which currently includes the two versions of *Pride*

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and prejudice analysed here[3]: a wide range of conversational routines (including greetings, leave-takings, invitations, apologies, requests, thanks, and so on) has been studied, but for reasons of space the analysis below is focused on terms of address, introductions and compliments.

3. *Analysis of conversational routines*

As was mentioned in the previous section, the English and the Italian dubbed dialogues of the TV series and the film have been transcribed to create a parallel electronic corpus. The 1995 *Pride and prejudice* TV miniseries produced by the BBC (Dir. Andrew Davies, 1995) includes 6 episodes, for a total running time of 240 minutes; the 2005 *Pride and prejudice* film (Dir. Joe Wright, 2005) lasts 121 minutes. Table I below includes all the texts in the corpus, i.e. the original novel (indicated as PP 1813), the English dialogues of the TV series (PP1995 en), the Italian dubbed dialogues of the latter (PP1995 it), the English dialogues of the film (PP2005 en) and related Italian dubbed dialogues (PP2005 it). As the table shows, the novel is much more extended than both screen versions, which of course can count on visual means as well as dialogue to convey descriptions and emotions[4]. The selected politeness features and conversational routines have been studied by means of quantitative data obtained via *WordSmith Tools* 6.0 and a qualitative (manual) analysis of the transcripts.

Texts	Tokens	Types
PP 1813	122,546	6,369
PP 1995 en	31,714	3,139
PP 1995 it	29,919	4,370

[3]   UNINT students on the MA in Interpreting and Translation have already produced full transcripts of *Sense and Sensibility, Mansfield Park, Emma, Becoming Jane, Austenland, The Jane Austen's Book Club,* and *Bridget Jones' Diary* as part of their assignments for the Film Language and Audiovisual Translation module. The material will be added to the corpus after thorough revision to check compliance with the project transcription conventions.

[4]   It is also interesting to note that both Italian dubbed versions are slightly shorter than their respective source language texts: this is because a few (unimportant) lines of dialogue were eliminated in the dubbing process. This and other manipulations, including the addition of newly scripted lines when there are indistinguishable words in the source language background, is by no means rare in Italian dubbing practice.

Texts	Tokens	Types
PP 2005 en	11,357	1,886
PP 2005 it	10,513	2,513

Table 1. The *Jane Austen* corpus

Let us start with terms of address, which vary depending on the public or private nature of the social encounter and on the symmetrical or asymmetrical nature of the relationship between the characters involved. In domestic conversations, the Bennet girls use the vocatives *Mamma*, *Papa* and *Father* and address their closest friends by first name (*Charlotte*). Mr and Mrs Bennet address each other by using the honorifics *Mr* and *Mrs*, but use their daughters' first names when talking to them. By contrast, when talking to people with whom they have little familiarity, all the Bennets use a honorific + surname (*Mr Darcy*, *Mr Bingley, Miss Bingley*, *Miss Darcy*, and so on); in addition, when there is difference in rank, they use the required title: for example, Charlotte's father is addressed as *Lord Lucas* and, likewise, Lady Catherine de Burgh is addressed either as *your Ladyship* or as *Lady Catherine*. All of these nuances in the novel are faithfully maintained in the English dialogues of both the TV series and the film.

In the two dubbed versions, the translators were faced with the task of deciding upon the degree of familiarity existing between the characters and then encoding it appropriately in the target language: like most Romance languages, Italian requires the use of either a familiar or a polite personal pronoun. In contemporary standard Italian, familiarity is conveyed by using the *tu* form and deference by using the *Lei* form, while the older politeness pronoun *Voi* is only used in regional varieties of the language (Bruti 2013). However, the latter is a very frequent choice in dubbed period films: "in the public imagination [the *Voi* form] has become the linguistic marker of politeness from earlier times, irrespective of the historical period" (Sandrelli 2016: 59). Therefore, dubbing norm in such products has it that if two characters are on first-name terms in the original English dialogues, the familiar *tu* can be used in dubbing, while if they address each other as "Mr", "Lord", "Lady", and so on, this is conveyed by the *Voi* form in Italian.

One special case to be solved was how to convey the relationship between Mr and Mrs Bennet, who address each other by honorific+surname rather than by first name. The translator of the 2005 film translated *Mr Bennet* as *Signor Bennet,* and opted for the formal *Voi* pronoun

between husband and wife: the result is fully in line with viewers' habits regarding period dramas (Example 1).

MRS BENNET (voice)	My dear Mr Bennett, have you heard? Netherfield Park is let at last. Do you not want to know who was taken it?	Caro *signor Bennet*, *avete* sentito? Hanno finalmente affittato Netherfield Park. Volete sapere chi l'ha preso?
MR BENNETT	As you wish to tell me, my dear, I doubt I have any choice in the matter.	Poiché *ci tenete* a raccontarmelo, cara, dubito di poter scegliere di non saperlo.

Example 1: a family conversation (PP2005)

In the 1995 version, the Italian translator also translated *Mr Bennet* as *Signor Bennet*, but used the familiar *tu* form (Example 2): this creates an unexpected and peculiar mixture which sounds a bit odd to modern viewers.

MRS BENNET	My dear Mr Bennet! Wonderful news! Netherfield Park is let at last!	Mio caro! *Signor Bennet*! Una notizia meravigliosa! Netherfield Park è stata finalmente affittata!
MR BENNET	Is it?	Davvero?
MRS BENNET	Yes, it is, for I have just had it from Mrs Long. And do you not want to know who has taken it?	Sì, davvero! È cosa fatta, l'ho appena saputo dalla signora Long. E *vuoi sapere* chi ha preso in affitto la casa?

Example 2: a family conversation (PP1995)

In line with the above examples, the translator of PP1995 also used the *tu* form whenever the Bennet girls addressed their parents (not an obvious choice in eighteenth-century Italian). In the 2005 version, the *Voi* form is used between daughters and parents, while the *tu* form is only used between sisters and between Elizabeth and Charlotte; by contrast, Mr Bingley and Mr Darcy, who address each other by surname

in the English dialogues and are close friends, use the *Voi* form when speaking to each other in Italian, which makes their relationship appear more detached in the dubbed version.

As regards the honorifics and titles required in formal encounters – such as *Mr, Mrs, Miss, Sir*, *Madam*, *your/his Lordship*, and so on – the translators had to decide whether to replace them with an Italian equivalent (if available) or to retain the English word. Indeed, in dubbed versions of British costume dramas it is not uncommon to find items such as *Lord* and *Lady* untranslated, to convey that "English flavour" that audiences like to find in such products (Sandrelli 2016). Once again, the two versions differ in this respect: the translator of the 1995 version systematically used *signore* and *signora* (with no occurrences of *Mr* and *Mrs*) but used both *signorina* (when time and lip-synch constraints allowed) and *Miss* (in close-ups); in the 2005 film only *signorina* and *signora* are used, but there is a mixture of *Mr* and *signore*, once again owing to lip-synch constraints. In addition, *signore* is used in both versions as a translation of *Sir* (used as a vocative), while the English word is retained when it is accompanied by a surname (*Sir Lucas*). Similarly, *signora* is used as a translation of *Mrs*, *Madam* and *Ma'am*, which means that the nuances of the latter expression (used by persons of lower rank addressing their superiors) are inevitably lost. Finally, *Lord* and *Lady* are retained in English in both dubbed versions; however, while *Your/His/Her Lordship/Your Ladyship* were translated as *Sua/Vostra Signoria* in the TV series, they became *Vossignoria* in the film.

Let us now have a look at an introduction routine from the 1995 TV series (Example 3): the scene provides both an example of an introduction routine performed according to the rules and an instance of Mrs Bennet flouting all social conventions.

MRS BENNET	*This is Jane*, *my eldest*. And Elizabeth, and Mary sits over there. And Kitty and Lydia, my youngest, you see there dancing. Do you like to dance yourself?	Jane, la più grande, ed Elizabeth. E Mary è seduta laggiù. E Kitty e Lydia, le più giovani, sono lì che ballano. E dite, a Voi piace ballare?
MR BINGLEY	There is nothing I love better, Madam. And if *Miss Bennet* is not otherwise engaged, may I be so bold as to claim the next two dances?	Non esiste nulla che mi piace di più. E se *Miss Jane Bennet* non è già impegnata, posso essere così ardito da chiederle i prossimi due balli?

JANE (smiles)	I am not engaged, *Sir*.	Non sono impegnata, *Signore*.
MR BINGLEY	Good.	Splendido.
MRS BENNET	You do us great honour, *Sir*. Thank the gentleman, Jane.	Questo è davvero un grande onore per noi, *Signore*. Ringrazia, Jane.
ELIZABETH	Mamma!	Mamma!
MRS BENNET to MR DARCY	And you, *Sir*? Are you fond of dancing, too?	E Voi, *Signore*? Amate anche voi il ballo?
MR DARCY looks astonished and does not reply		

Example 3: an introduction during a ball (PP1995)

Mrs Bennet eagerly introduces Jane to Mr Bingley, who immediately invites her to dance. Mr Bingley follows the custom of the time and refers to her as *Miss Bennet*, since Jane is the eldest; as Italian viewers are not familiar with this usage, the dubbed Italian version is made more explicit by adding her first name, in order to avoid any confusion between Jane and the other sisters. At the end of the scene, when Mrs Bennet addresses Mr Darcy before she has been introduced to him, she breaks all the rules, since he is a person of higher rank and, to make matters worse, she is a woman: this explains his astonished stare and cold attitude.

A similar instance of a character flouting conversational routines is a blunder made by Mr Collins visiting the Bennets for the first time. In an attempt to pay as many compliments as possible to Mrs Bennet and her daughters, he makes reference to the beauty of the dining-room and then to the quality of the cooking: his remarks, however, sound hollow and false, as both the room and the food are quite plain, and the whole family knows he is there merely to select a wife. In addition, his utterance is misinterpreted by Mrs Bennet as a reference to the family's relative poverty (Example 4).

MR COLLINS	*What a superbly featured room and what excellent boiled potatoes*. Many years since I've had *such an exemplary* vegetable. Which of my fair cousins should I compliment on the excellence of the cooking?	*Che mobili splendidi in questa sala e che gustose patate bollite*. Erano diversi anni che non mangiavo un *simile esemplare di ortaggio*. Con quale delle mie cugine devo complimentarmi per la cucina eccellente?
MRS BENNET	Mr Collins, we are perfectly able to keep a cook.	Signor Collins, siamo perfettamente in grado di mantenere un cuoco.
MR COLLINS	Excellent. I'm very pleased the estate *can affor*d such a living.	Ottimo. Mi fa piacere che la tenuta *possa permettersi* questo tenore di vita.

Example 4: compliments and insults (PP2005)

This example shows that an utterance meant as a compliment may actually be perceived as an insult, thus making it impossible for the speaker to achieve the intended pragmatic effect. The Italian dubbed version accurately reproduces Mr Collins' pompous language and ridiculous compliments, as well as his explicit (and impolite) references to the economic situation of the family in the last line. In this case, the Italian version appears to have reproduced the irony of the scene quite successfully.

4. Preliminary results, conclusions and future prospects

The aim of this paper was to present a corpus-based analysis of selected politeness features from the original English and Italian dubbed dialogues of two screen adaptations of Jane Austen's *Pride and prejudice*. This short analysis, taken from a wider study of conversational routines in the *Jane Austen* corpus, has shown that both adaptations plausibly reproduce both the language used in domestic settings and in the discharge of social duties in 18th century England. As regards the Italian target language versions, they tend to follow established conventions for dubbing costume drama, which do not necessarily reflect actual language usage in the Italy of the same historical period but have become very familiar to modern viewers. Interestingly, it appears that, owing to linguistic and cultural differences, even the translation of

fixed forms such as honorifics and titles often entails difficult decisions, which may have an impact on viewers' comprehension and enjoyment of audiovisual products. Indeed, the analysis found a relative variety of solutions in the Italian translation of formulaic language and politeness features. A future publication is planned to report on other conversational routines in both the English and Italian dubbed versions and further translation patterns.

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THE TRANSPORTATION[1] OF BRITISH, AMERICAN AND INDIAN CULTURES TO ITALIAN-DUBBED FILMS. CONVENTIONALITY AND CREATIVE SOLUTIONS

Abstract

Working on a corpus of selected scenes from 3 British and American films (*Four Weddings and a Funeral*, Mike Newell, UK 1994; *Freedom Writers*, Richard LaGravenese, USA *2007*; *Bend it Like Beckham*, Gurinder Chadha, UK 2002), the original versions with the Italian-dubbed transcripts are compared so to address the issue of the cross-cultural transferability of English-language varieties into Italian. Two perspectives are used as models, Kwieciński's (2001) and Díaz Cintas and Remael's (2007) to explore culture-specific elements (Katan 1999) of British, American and Indian societies, and the creativity with which they are re-contextualized in Italian language and culture. Results show that in the case of linguistic variation, identity is often levelled out and standardised (Pavesi 2005), especially in pronunciation, due to the domesticating strategies preferred to increase the receptivity of screenplays. As regards grammar and vocabulary, instead, conventionality and creative solutions emerge through the use of some conversational routines and new linguistic material.

Keywords: audio-visual translation; dubbing; cross-cultural transferability; humour.

1. *Introduction*

Translating a film interlingually is an extremely intricate process, not only because the verbal codes it contains are inextricably linked to visual codes, but also because translators have to contend both with socio-linguistic markers, such as accent, variety, slang and taboo language (Pavesi 1996; Chiaro 1996, 2000), and with culture-specific references.

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[1]   The term 'transportation' was used by Willet (1983).

As far as socio-linguistic markers are concerned, in Italy, the norm is usually of dubbing according to the "homogeneizing convention" (Sternberg 1981), which levels out all social and regional varieties into a single standard variety of Italian. As a consequence, not only is it quite common on Italian screens to hear a member of a street gang and his/her lawyer speak in the same way, but also one is unable to distinguish, for example, a British speaker from an American. This is probably due to the fact that it is hard to find counterparts of a source language and culture, or a 'geolect', to convey the same connotations and the same stereotypical traits of meaning associated with the geolect in a source text (ST) (Pavesi 2005).

As for culture-specific references, which Chiaro (2009:156) defines as "entities that are typical of one particular culture, and that culture alone", the art of dubbing (or bringing dialogues close to the audience to whom a film is addressed) represents a form of intercultural communication. As Ranzato (2015: 3) writes, culture-specific references "are used by authors to give colour and substance to their scripts and to provide the text with features which are often intimately embedded in the source culture (SC) and to which the audience, or parts of the audience, can relate". This requires treating the text itself as only one of the cues of meaning. Other, 'silent', 'hidden' and 'unconscious' factors, which when shared may be termed 'cultural', determine how a text will be understood. A new text will be created and read/viewed according to a different map or model of the world, through a series of different perception filters (Katan 2009).

In addition, if we tackle the issue of translating humour, which is one of the main expressions of culture, it should be acknowledged that it does not function in isolation, rather, it appears to be an extremely culture-bound phenomenon which enhances a confrontation with alterity, prompting a felicitous cross-cultural dialogue. In other words, humour is not only rooted in a co-text (for instance, the dialogue sequence or scene/sequence in which it occurs) but, above all, in a specific linguistic and cultural context. As such, it must be systematically analyzed as a translation problem, with its capability to 'travel' across cultures through creative solutions and strategies performed by talented translators.

This paper will examine some of the difficulties dubbing scriptwriters meet in films whose dialogues express typical features of British, American and Indian cultures, and therefore are rather unfamiliar to an Italian viewer. In order to do this, working on a corpus of selected scenes from three intriguing and linguistically marked British and American films (*Four Weddings and a Funeral*, Mike Newell, UK

1994; *Freedom Writers*, Richard LaGravenese, USA *2007*; *Bend it Like Beckham*, Gurinder Chadha, UK 2002, from now on referred to as *FWF*, *FW*, *BILB*, respectively), the original versions will be compared to the Italian-dubbed transcripts, also bearing in mind the lip synch dimension and its inevitable constrictions. As previously mentioned, the three films have been chosen for our corpus because they are linguistically marked, i.e. the languages spoken by characters are representative of the three most common English language varieties spoken around the world and, consequently, of their cultures.

It will be clearly illustrated how conventionality or creative solutions on the part of translators can result in successful translations.

2. *Corpus and method*

The data were retrieved from a self-compiled, manually interrogated corpus which comprises transcriptions of the original dialogues of the three films and their dubbed versions in Italian. To address the issue of the cross-cultural transferability of language varieties, two perspectives will be used as models: Kwieciński's (2001) and Díaz Cintas and Remael's (2007).

Kwieciński (2001: 157) proposed a taxonomy based on four procedures: "Exoticising procedure", "Rich explicatory procedure", "Recognised exoticisation", "Assimilative procedure". Later on, Díaz Cintas and Remael (2007) proposed a more clear-cut set of strategies based on Díaz Cintas (2003) and Santamaria Guinot (2001), namely 'loan', 'calque', 'explicitation', 'substitution', 'transposition', 'lexical recreation', 'compensation', 'omission', and 'addition'. This taxonomy of strategies for the translation of culture-bound terms in AVT, conceived for subtitling in particular, has been adjusted to dubbing and used as a basis for this analysis.

These two classifications have the merit of being both detailed and agile enough to serve as valid tools for analysis, although a few adjustments are necessary for them to be applied to such a heterogeneous corpus of dubbed material.

In the limits of this paper, we are obviously not concerned with the social and individual problems that the three films tackle, but only with the role that language plays in portraying the characters and their *milieu*.

3. *British humour and culture:* Four Weddings and a Funeral [2]

Whenever an original dialogue is compared to its dubbing in a target language, we may notice that the dubbing scriptwriter's efforts are evidently directed towards conveying the direct meaning of dialogues. In the case of *FWF*, a double tendency is shown: on the one hand, communicative translation and linguistic neutralisation are favoured, on the other hand, the traditions of Great Britain are left intact or at worst replaced by more familiar and easier to understand terms in the original language. Some examples will be given, followed by comments.

On the occasion of the first wedding (between Angus and Laura), two of the main characters, Charles and Tom, have a conversation during the reception:

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
- Right. Tommy, are you the richest man in England? - Oh, no…no. I believe we are about seventh. The Queen, obviously, and that *Branson* bloke's doing terribly well.	- Tom per caso sei tu l'uomo più ricco d'Inghilterra? - Oh, no…no. Penso di essere al settimo posto! Dopo la regina ovviamente… e dopo i *Rothschild*, che sono al secondo posto.	Bearing in mind the lip synch dimension, the adapters have decided to convey equivalence following whatever holds the same semantic value in the target text culture, such as the substitution of Richard Branson's name by that of the Rothschild family[3]. This is a case of transposition.

(1)

Another hypothesis on how semantic equivalence is achieved throughout the film is based on the belief that idioms in the target language can clearly substitute verbal humour in the source language, as in the following example. At Bernard and Lydia's wedding party, the best man is giving his speech:

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
When Bernard told me he was getting engaged to Lydia, I congratulated him because all his other girlfriends were such complete *dogs*.	Quando il mio amico Bernard mi ha detto che si era fidanzato con Lydia, io gli ho fatto le mie congratulazioni perché tutte le sue precedenti ragazze erano degli autentici *cessi*!	The idiomatic expression *to be a dog* is to be interpreted here as to be a despicable person, which is suitably rendered with a nearly corresponding idiomatic expression in the Italian version.

(2)

Humour reaches its peak when Father Gerald comes on the scene. He is about to celebrate his first Mass on the occasion of Bernard and Lydia's wedding, and his *gaffes* are very amusing.

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
[…] Jesus Christ our Lord, who lives and reigns with you and the *Holy Goat… Ghost*.	[…] Gesù Cristo Nostro Signore che vive e regna con te in unione con lo *Spiritoso* San… con lo *Spirito Santo*.	Humour lies in the noun 'goat', being almost homophone of 'ghost'. An equivalent solution is found in Italian, as 'spiritoso' includes 'spirito', thus being almost homophones and creating a better effect than in the ST ('spiritoso' meaning 'funny').

(3)

of the more famous Rothschild family, who, in the 18th century established the modern banking business.

Moving on to the strategies used in the 'transportation' of cultural references, in the following example, Charles and Carrie comment on Angus and Laura's wedding (before spending a night together) and exchange their opinions on different religious traditions in England and the USA. Carrie is surprised by the fact that the bride and groom did not kiss after exchanging their vows, and Charles replies as follows:

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
"You may kiss the bride" isn't actually in the *Book of Common Prayer*.	"Ora puoi baciare la sposa" è una frase che non compare nel *libro delle preghiere*.	Translating names is problematic, in that names are deeply rooted in the source context. The *Book of Common Prayer* referred to in the ST is translated as "Libro delle Preghiere". This is an example of assimilative procedure.

(4)

Though marriage is a globally intercultural phenomenon (at least in the Christian Western world), some differences exist in the wording of the rite. As demonstrated above, the meaning of the message being communicated is kept intact. Although it could be argued that the Anglican reference, felt as a reception problem, is not conveyed in Italian in favour of a sort of generalization, it is to be noted that the Italian dubbing manages to keep the semantic link with the word 'prayer'. Thus, the audience is still in a position to clearly understand the text.

4. *American humour and culture:* Freedom Writers[4]

Before analysing dialogues, some general considerations on the non-standard American English spoken by most of the characters are in order. The students speak a socially marked variety of US English, an

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[4]   Directed by Richard Lagravenese, 2007, the film was adapted in Italian by Valerio Piccolo only for home video. The film is based on a non-fiction book about a young teacher thrown into a class of at-risk students during the L.A. Riots of 1992. The name comes from the fact the students are given diaries in which to write whatever they want, which can be private or read by the teacher. They write about their family situations, their feelings, and their being at-risk teens.

idiolect which is rich in features denoting in-group identity, often combined with low-social status, such as slang words (generally associated with an urban street culture), cursing and taboo words.

As will be shown, the Italian dubbed version is a more standardized and socially flattened text, characterised by a more neutral language.

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
I give *this bitch* a week	A *questa le* do una settimana	In the Italian dub, the swear word of the original soundtrack is replaced with a more 'neutral' term; however, there are other elements that should be taken into account: 1) 'questa' is used with a disparaging connotation; 2) the use of the double indirect object "a questa le", on the one hand, conveys the same level of informality, but, on the other, the use of 'le' does not, thus producing a weird and artificial effect.
This whole ghetto-ass class has got people in here looking like a bad rerun of *Cops* and shit.	Con questi sfigati sembra di stare in un *reality fatto in un riformatorio*.	The sentence in the original version includes a cultural reference, namely *Cops*, which is an American reality series that follows police officers, constables, sheriffs' deputies, federal agents, and state troopers during police activities. In the dubbed version, this reference is replaced with an explanation.

(5)

The few examples analysed in the previous paragraphs have shown that, although Italian viewers are constantly exposed to a plethora of

foreign cultural references belonging to the source countries of the films they see, they may not have assimilated all the knowledge resources that would allow them to immediately identify and comprehend the customs related to some specific aspects of American culture. Consequently, some compensation strategies may be necessary. In the case of the transposition of the semantic field of Education, for instance, some strategies such as transposition are employed to make sure that the intended message gets across.

| How can I give *an A or a B* for writing the truth […]? | Non si può dare *un 10 o un 8* a chi scrive la verità. | This transposition of the system of evaluation occurs, so a cultural concept from one culture is replaced by a cultural concept from another. |

(6)

The same holds for the case of explicitation:

| This was an *A-list* school. | Questa scuola era *di alto livello*. | An explicative translation of the pragmatic meaning (of being A-list schools) is needed, as this kind of classification is not part of the Italian education system. |

(7)

In the light of these concerns, this case study shows that meaning is not something 'carried' by a language, but something 'negotiated' between viewers from their own contexts of cultures. Each audience is hence bound to receive a text according to their own expectations; this is why translation has to be considered as a form of "manipulation" (Hermans 1985), "mediation" (Katan 1999/2004) or "refraction" (Lefevere 1982/2004) between two different linguacultures (Agar 1994).

5. *Indian humour and culture:* Bend it Like Beckham[5]

An interesting case of transposition of Indian culture into Italian dubbing is represented by the film *Bend it Like Beckham (BILB)*, which has been in fact studied by many scholars so far (Cf. Pernigoni 2005; Bonsignori and Bruti 2008; Minutella 2012). In this film, the main characters (the Bhamras) speak Brit-Asian, a variety of English spoken by South Asian immigrants in the UK. The film is based on a broad cultural clash between race, gender, customs, inherited traditions, religions, prejudice and generations.

The first thing that strikes the viewer is, naturally, pronunciation. In fact, throughout the film, both in the original soundtrack and in the Italian dubbed version, Punjabi youths display a strong London accent, but their parents' language, when not speaking Punjabi, is rather marked, elementary and generic. This immediately shows the young generation's desire and degree of achievement in assimilation and the older generation's lack of it. Obviously, the degree of assimilation can be higher or lower. For instance, within the Bhamra family itself, there are differences between the two sisters' ways of speaking, in that Pinky's ties to her family and traditions are stronger than Jess's, which is also mirrored by the fact that she uses the non-standard tag *innit*, whereas her sister Jess never does (cf. Bonsignori 2012).

Moreover, both in the original soundtrack and in Italian dubbing, we can observe cases of:

- Borrowing from Punjabi, as seen in names referring to food (*dhania*, *achar*, *samosas*, etc.), and to clothes (*choli*, *sari*, etc.) as well as the use of deferential vocabulary (*Baba*, *Babaji*, etc.);
- Appropriation, that is, the use of borrowed Indian terms with English inflectional morphemes (e.g. *chapattis*, *samosas*).

In addition, many expressions of greetings and leave-takings are borrowed from Punjabi, giving rise to a rich code-switching phenomenon which adds to the more familiar code-mixing (Cf. Monti 2009). For

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[5]   Directed by Gurinder Chadha, 2002. Ludovica Modugno was the dubbing director of the Italian version of the film. It is based on the story of Jess Bhamra, a teenager with a real passion for football who dreams of being a great soccer star and whose hero is David Beckham. But as she comes from a traditional, Sikh family, Jess' parents want her to go to law school and learn how to cook Punjabi food so that she can attract a suitable Punjabi husband. This section stems from and develops the analysis carried out in Leotta (2010).

instance, Pinky and Jess greet their aunt saying *Sat sri akal Massi ji* (*Sat sri akal* means 'Venerated Almighty is the Ultimate Truth', followed by *Massi*, which denotes the aunt, which is modified by the inclusion of *ji*, a form that shows respect towards the interlocutor). In addition, whenever the Bhamras meet Teetu's (Pinky's fiancé) parents, they greet each other in Punjabi before conversing in English.

On a lexical level, a few comments on the complexity of the screenplay and its dubbing are in order. When translating from one language to another, the texture of meaning associated to certain lexical items (the result of semantic, syntactic and morphological complexity) must be matched with the resources available in the target language. For instance, one major difficulty which applies to the dubbing of this film is represented by lexical and cultural gaps which inevitably lead to phenomena of explicitation, transposition, compensation, or substitution, just to list some of the most common ones, as in the following examples:

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
Oh, mum, don't do *pickle* as well!	Oh, mamma! Ancora *roba marinata*!	This is the only case of explicitation in which a culinary term has been made explicit in Italian, in favour of a strategy of domestication, (probably for not being so common as the other ones throughout the film).
I got to go to *Ealing* for my *facial*.	Sto andando a fare la *prova trucco*.	This case of transposition is necessary, because in England a facial represents what a makeup trial represents in Italy. In addition, the reference to Ealing (a district in west London) is lost. This omission is necessary when geographical nouns are not so familiar to the target audience.

ORIGINAL	DUBBING	COMMENTS
Yes, *Massiji*.	Si, *ma certo*.	The honorific suffix *-ji* is lost (because it does not exist in Italian), but through a compensation strategy (the addition of the interjection *ma certo*), part of its socio-cultural value is conveyed.
Jesminder Kaur Bhamra, *B.L.L.B.*!	Jesminder Kaur Bhamra, *ammessa a pieni voti*!	This case of substitution is necessary as the education system is different. B stands for a grade. LLB is the short name for the Bachelor of Laws.

(8)

On the whole, we have tried to explain how some culture-bound elements are adapted through the use of compensation strategies. Translating a film is a challenge, not only because it implies finding words and expressions similar in length and meaning, but also because every word has cultural implications on target cultures and contexts.

6. Results and conclusion

Ben Johnson said "Language most shows a man. Speak that I may see thee". To paraphrase Hudson (1996), we will explain this concept stating that whenever a speaker talks s/he makes an act of identity. This act takes place on three different levels, i.e. pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary. The main issue with film dubbing is that, in the case of linguistic variation, this identity is often levelled out and standardised (Pavesi 2005), especially in pronunciation, due to the domesticating strategies preferred to increase the receptivity of screenplays. As regards grammar and vocabulary, conventionality and creative solutions emerge through the use of conversational routines, such as the ones analysed in our corpus.

They have generally preserved the diastratic and diaphasic functions to some extent, (except for *FW*, where the teacher and her ghetto students speak Italian without any difference), but have been less

convincing in expressing the diatopic variation and the values that are attached to them. For instance, the use of the tag question *innit* by one of the characters in *BILB* Pinky Bhamra is indexical of her cultural background and her belonging to the Indian community living in London. Indeed, the fact that *innit* is either deleted or rendered with functional equivalents in the Italian dubbing (Cf. Bonsignori 2012) causes a marked loss of the diatopic variation, together with the loss of social, cultural and ethnic connotations.

The same is true for the two main characters in *FWF*, as they are originally a British man and an American woman, speaking the same dubbed Italian.

Unlike diastratic variations, which are quite a universal phenomenon, diatopic variations represent a big issue especially in audiovisual translation, where the viewer cannot access any translating aid. For instance, in *FW*, the narrator, Eva, a girl of Hispanic origin speaking American English with a Hispanic accent, speaks Standard Italian in the dubbed version, without any diatopic variation, either in accent, or in her use of grammar and vocabulary. Consequently, her identity can be recognized in dialogues among Eva's family and friends, which remain untranslated, even in the dubbed version, thus conveying a foreignizing effect.

In the three films of our corpus, in general, culture-bound references are equally demanding obstacles: their geographical specificity and their conjuring up unique connotations and nuances challenge the screen translators' skills and imagination. The three case studies we have analysed *do* represent this challenge: *FWF* is an expression of British culture and its brilliant use of wordplay and puns; *FW* features a specific and complex American culture with its diastratic and diatopic variations; and *BILB* shows the need to find target language corresponding resources to Desi/Brit Asian. Two more elements that the three films have in common are:

1. The characters' names remain untranslated, according to what we have defined as an exoticizing procedure (Kwiecinski 2001);
2. A great deal of slang and taboo words are lost in translation, either because they are replaced with standard or more formal vocabulary, or because they are completely omitted in the target text.

The cuts and linguistic manipulations carried out by the Italian adapters have even deprived dialogues of a substantial number of the linguistic and cultural specificities of the original texts, to the point that at times the dubbed versions seem to take place in a socio-cultural void.

To conclude, as we have pointed out, it is unlikely that two languages are so similar as to possess, for example, exactly the same homophonous, homonymous or polysemous items upon which to create either lingua-specific rhetorical features (such as puns) or culture-specific features (education, religion, literature), that also create thorny translational problems, especially when source culture (British, American, Indian) and target culture (Italian) share neither the same linguistic, nor sociocultural knowledge. As a consequence, dubbing translators, being intercultural communication mediators, will always need to consider how anchored the intended meaning is to its 'specific social context', and also how clear the meaning from a different model of the world is to the target audience (Katan 2009).

On the whole, dubbing is indeed based on a contradiction: adapting what is peculiar to a culture to the tastes and inclinations of another culture, even by using new (but effective) linguistic material. This adaptation or 'transportation' is the most interesting pattern that has been singled out in our corpus.

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ENGLISH
FOR SPECIFIC
PURPOSES

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LEXICAL VERBS
FOR MEDICAL PROFESSIONALS

Abstract

In recent years, English has become the lingua franca of medicine and the language teaching profession has seen the emergence of implementing English for Medical Purposes (EMP) courses. The needs of EMP learners are very specific and EMP teachers who are language experts and not medical ones need to develop materials that are in line with EMP learners' specific needs. In response to recognizing EMP students' needs, extensive corpus-based research has led to specialized medical wordlists (Chen and Ge 2007; Wang, Liang, Ge 2008; Mungra and Canziani 2013; Hsu 2013; Lei and Liu 2016). Such wordlists have given instructors the opportunity to focus on specific vocabulary facilitating domain specific learning. Among these medical wordlists, the Medical Academic Wordlist for clinical cases (MAWLcc) seems to furnish a good base for medical students, since it identifies the specific lexis of patient care.

The aim of this paper is to propose an EMP teaching model for lexical verbs extracted from the MAWLcc. These verbs are used in different communicative contexts for the development of medical students' academic linguistic competence in their professional context.

Keywords: lingua franca; English for Medical Purposes; corpus-based; specialized vocabulary; EMP teaching; lexical verbs.

1. *Introduction*

English has recently become the international language of medicine and this has led to the implementing of English for Medical Purposes (EMP) courses in medical education programmes. Language teachers face the problem of developing materials that are in line with the academic and professional communicative needs of Non-Native English Speaker (NNES) medical learners (Peters and Fernández 2013; Jahangard, Kondlaji-Rajabi, Khalaji, Cholmaghani 2014; Mungra 2014). Thus, in order to satisfy medical students' linguistic needs and help EMP teachers design the correct field-oriented content of their teach-

ing materials, one strategy that has received attention is that of corpus-based research on medical vocabulary.

Corpus collections of authentic texts produce valuable information for understanding how a specialized language is used in a particular register of the language (Hou 2014). There now exist specific medical academic wordlists based on scientific Research Articles or RAs (Chen and Ge 2007; Wang, Liang, Ge 2008), medical Case Reports or CRs (Mungra and Canziani 2013) and textbooks (Hsu 2013; Lei and Liu 2016), which focus on specific vocabulary in a systemic way facilitating domain specific learning.

Among these medical wordlists, the Medical Academic Wordlist for clinical cases (MAWLcc) seems to offer various pedagogical applications for EMP teaching since it is based on 200 CRs including 24 medical and surgical topics. This genre furnishes ample teaching materials for physician-in-training since its purpose is instructive and its goal is the understanding of the diagnostic process, ranging from the anamnesis to the disease evolution. This genre, thus, contains a detailed description of the entire patient medical experience (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2000; Sobczyk-Żelazowska and Zabielska 2017).

This paper aims to show some teaching applications of the lexical verbs extracted from the wordlist MAWLcc and to evaluate their potential in EMP teaching, but this explanation must be prefaced by a brief comment on needs analysis.

2. *EMP teaching and medical students' needs analysis*

The overriding need of medical students is to be able to communicate in various discursive contexts. According to Shi (2009), language needs may be subdivided into occupational and academic. Occupational needs involve two different abilities: 1) matching the linguistic register when practicing as physicians and addressing different audiences (patients, colleagues and health professionals); 2) reading medical papers to stay up to date with the literature. Academic needs include: 1) participating and speaking in international conferences held in English; 2) preparing articles for publication in widely-read journals.

Thus, EMP courses should focus on the integration of General English with medicine to lead students to use a range of language skills to interact with different medical settings and text-types (Pavel 2014). This integration foresees training in specialized language[1] (e.g. *hyper-*

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[1]   In Romance-speaking countries, medical students have little difficulty with technical vocabulary which is Latin-based but major difficulty with semi-technical vocabulary based on Anglo-Saxon terms.

tension) and semi technical terms (e.g. *high blood pressure*) or verb usage (e.g. *administer an analgesic* or *give a painkiller*).

Among the grammatical and syntactic features of medical English, a key role, considered in this paper, is played by lexical verbs, which are used in different communicative contexts such as during internship or specialisation in hospital. Medical interns are often required to present a clinical history, review the literature and hypothesise a diagnosis and the ability to use verb tenses correctly and appropriately when reporting the chronology of a clinical case and the examination of similar cases is fundamental (Shi and Corcos 2001). Hence, the genre Case Report (CR) represents one of the most important linguistic genres for medical students and it is for this reason we propose the study of lexical verbs in this paper.

3. *Lexical verbs in medical case reports. How lexical verbs are used in clinical cases.*

The case report (CR) is an ancient genre in medicine and mainly focuses on specific discourse functions which include a detailed past, present and future clinical history of a patient affected by a specific disease. There are three main sections in a CR as in Figure 1.

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1. Introduction (I)
   Purpose of the CR
   Merit of the CR by using the literature review
   Introduction of the patient to the reader

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2. Patient Presentation (PP)
   Description of patient (medical, family and social history)
   History of presenting condition
   Physical examination
   Relevant lab/X ray/other tests
   Initial diagnosis and treatment
   Diagnostic process/course of illness
   Expected and actual outcome

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3. Discussion (D)
   Compare the nuances of the CR with the literature review
   Summarise the salient features of the CR
   Hypothesis and Outcomes
   Drug-drug interactions
   Conclusions/recommendations (lessons learned)

Fig. 1. Moves in the Case Report (CR) from McCarthy and Reilly (2000)

The first section highlights the merit of the case report and how it may contribute to medical knowledge presenting background information that provides clarity to the subject of discussion. Patient Presentation describes the case in chronological order and contains detailed clinical information about the patient (present status, the past and present medical history, the initial and differential diagnosis, any tests that provide insight into the current clinical case, the effect of treatment and the patient's final outcome). Finally, the third section evaluates the patient case report and its validity summarizing the essential features of the case report, reviewing the relevant literature in the context of the current clinical case and supporting further research on this topic drawing recommendations to the colleagues. This genre has a pedagogic purpose since it describes new diseases focusing on the patient's clinical history, studying the disease mechanisms and describing therapies and prognoses (Vandenbroucke 1999).

In order to identify the lexis used in clinical publications regarding patient care, Mungra and Canziani (2013) created MAWLcc, a specific wordlist based on 200 CRs prepared by English native speakers randomly selected from 72 journals belonging to 24 medical specialties. This medical wordlist was retrieved by using four reference wordlists. These were the two GSL wordlists by West (1953), which include the 2,000 most commonly used words in English, the Academic Word List (AWL) consisting of 570 word families occurring in an academic English corpus compiled by Coxhead (2000) and the MAWL (Wang, Liang, Cheng 2008) which provides a wordlist of the most frequently used medical academic words in Medical Research Articles. Any words outside the four reference wordlists with an occurrence of 30 times were included in the MAWLcc wordlist.

Starting from this wordlist containing a total number of 246,907 running words, Canziani and Mungra (2018), identified 102 lexical verbs having a frequency greater than 25 which was the median value of total verb frequency. Each verb was then linked to the different parts of the CR sections seen in Figure 1, namely Section 1: Introduction, Section 2: Patient Presentation which includes presenting symptoms, physical examination, and the diagnostic process with clinical investigations and finally Section 3, the Discussion, consisting of the literature review, conclusions and recommendations.

In CRs lexical verbs have a fundamental communicative function because they describe patient or doctor action and are generally used to provide information as in reviewing the literature by citing prior research. They can also express personal stance, such as associating cause and effect, discussing conclusions or in summarizing and contrasting.

Besides these functions, lexical verbs, in association with modal verbs also enable writers to hedge or modulate their position with respect to others' research. Lexical verbs are also influenced by auxiliary verbs which modify the main verb and form a verb phrase signalling time and action or drawing attention to the process rather than to the actor of an action as in the passive voice. Classroom use of these high frequency verbs could be semantically and syntactically compared or better contrasted in various exercises in order to show students their contextual use in relation to a communicative purpose (e.g. making a diagnosis, communicating the results of radiological investigations or describing a patient's condition) as presented in the following section.

3.1. MAWLcc lexical verbs: Didactic considerations

In this paragraph, some didactic applications of the MAWLcc lexical verb classification are proposed to furnish EMP teachers with authentic materials when introducing grammatical features of verbs including examples of sentences of the different contextual usages of the most common verbs used in medicine. These verbs can be used in classroom activity when teaching grammar structures such as tenses and their contextual usage in relation to the patient's clinical history or when reporting the literature about a specific pathology as in Table 1. The inclusion of examples of authentic sentences may help NNES medical students to observe in a critical manner the behaviour of verbs and tenses.

Examples taken from MAWLcc	Use in context
(a) Clinical signs usually *include* fever associated with hepatosplenomegaly. (b) CFS analysis *reveals* pleocytosis.	**Present simple** is commonly used when describing the main characteristics of a disease (a) or the result of an investigation (b).
(c) A 30-year-old woman *presented* to hospital at 32 weeks of gestation with a one-week history of generalised paraesthesia and weakness. (d) The patient *received* a treatment regimen with rifampicin. (e) He *recovered* uneventfully and was *discharged* home on the third post-operative day.	**Past tense** is usually used when referring to the patient's medical history such as symptom onset (c), treatment (d) and course of illness (e).

Examples taken from MAWLcc	Use in context
(f) Previous studies *have shown* that infants exposed to serotonin reuptake inhibitors and tricyclic antidepressants are at significantly increased risk of preterm delivery. (g) We *have recently observed* a number of cases of symptomatic emboli. (h) The patient *has remained* asymptomatic since the operation. (i) She *had also been feeling* sick and vomiting.	**Perfect tenses** are often used to refer to recent studies on a specific topic (f), when describing a recent phenomenon (g) or the continuation of patient's clinical condition (h & i).

Table 1. Tense choices in CRs

This lexical verb list can be also used when introducing modality in relation to a clinical treatment or procedure. According to various authors (Salager-Meyer 1994; Hyland and Milton 1997; Webber, Snelgrove, Mungra 2001), epistemic and deontic modality in medical texts can modulate: 1) the meaning of lexical verbs; 2) the degree of probability of an action. This modulation helps to formulate statements with appropriate accuracy and caution as in Table 2.

Examples taken from MAWLcc	Use in context
(a) Treatment *can* reduce the possibility of long-term complications. (b) As we had the images, we were able to give a more accurate cause of death.	**Modality** is often used to evaluate the efficiency (b) or potential efficacy (a) of a treatment or procedure.
(c) Some patients *may remain* asymptomatic for a long period of time. (d) These medications *may cause* significant caustic injury. (e) The autopsy examination *must be* carefully performed.	**Modal verbs** are usually used to express possibility rather than certainty (c & d) or to give recommendations about a specific procedure (e).
(f) Patients *should be* encouraged to maintain proper oral hygiene. (h) The intensification of chemotherapy *could have aggravated* her symptoms.	**Modality** is also used to give advice about a specific treatment (f) or to introduce a hypothesis (h).

Table 2. Modality in the MAWLcc lexical verb list

Together with modality, another important role of lexical verbs is to report an event or cite the work of others (see Table 3). Reporting verbs consist of about 34% of all the verbs in CRs. They are related to specific CR sections (e.g. when introducing the patient's medical history and when summarising and comparing the nuances of the literature). The issue of citation and plagiarism is a thorny one in the academic world, and concentrating on these verbs may be an excellent opportunity to raise the issue of plagiarism with our students, especially given that honesty and truthfulness are essential qualities of future physicians.

Reporting verbs	Use in context
(a) The woman *reported* no prior personal or familial history of endocrinopathy or other relevant pathology. (b) Radiography of the chest *confirmed* left sided pneumothorax. (c) Recently published reports *have demonstrated* beneficial results with this drug.	**Reporting verbs** are mainly used when introducing the patient and his\her clinical history (a), the confirmation of a diagnosis (b) or when summarising and comparing previous literature (c).

Table 3. Reporting verbs in the MAWLcc lexical verb list

Besides reported speech, one of the main features of specialised written discourse is the passive voice. Recent studies have criticised the use of passive voice because this form is not reader-friendly (Leong Ping 2014) and only a few medical journals and *AMA Manual of Style* encourage the use of the active voice and the first person whenever possible. Although there has been a gradual movement towards the use of the active voice in current scientific writing, it is undoubted that the passive voice is still widely used in scientific papers (Minton 2015). Passive voice expresses scientific objectivity by hiding subjectivity (e.g. depersonalisation), signalling time and action and drawing attention to the process rather than to the actor of an action (see Table 4).

Passive voice	Use in context
(a) LSD *is administered* by drug abusers in oral doses. (b) Multiple surgical debridements *were done* at the bedside. (c) A 30-year-old woman *was admitted* for hypotension and fever.	**Passive voice** is used to describe the patient's treatment (a), surgical procedure (b) or medical history (c) focusing the attention on the action rather than the actor.
(d) It *has been suggested* that warfarin can cause acute kidney injury.	**Passive voice** is also used when reporting previous literature on a specific topic using depersonalisation.

Table 4. Passive voice in the MAWLcc lexical verb list

Classroom activities should also focus on the use and reinforcement of phrasal verbs which represent one of the major difficulties for NNES learners since they are often semantically opaque. These phrasal verbs are frequently used by native speakers in everyday English as well as in specialised discourse as equivalents of technical verbs and they are sometimes preferred to Latin-based ones (Polackova 2008; Rahman and Abid 2014; Năznean 2015) as in examples (a) and (b):

a) Macrophages in lymph nodes can *take up* (syn. *absorb*) 18-fluo-rodeoX-Yglucose, causing cancer.
b) It can *take out* (syn. *excise*) more tissue than CT - guided aspiration.

Another linguistic difficulty for our students is represented by polysemous verbs (see Table 5). In Table 5, we present several examples of the polysemous use of the verb *to appear*, which may be used in different ways when describing a medically observable condition. In (a), it is used as a perception verb, synonymous with *have the appearance of* when describing the diagnostic process and the patient's physical appearance on examination. Instead, this same verb in (b) is also used to report a condition that *starts to be seen* when describing the onset of symptoms. Finally, in (c) it is used as a reasoning verb (syn. *seem to be*) to describe not only the observation but also to introduce an element of personal judgment regarding the author's observation.

Polymesy	*Use in context*
(a) The skin over her face, neck, arms, and upper aspect of trunk *appeared* pebbled with nearly confluent monomorphic yellowish papules. (b) A slight improvement of the general status was first observed but new skin nodules *appeared*.	In examples (a) and (b), *to appear* is used as a reporting verb when the author reports: (a) his/her perception of the patient appearance; (b) the observed onset of a specific event or symptom.
(c) At least five were suicide, together with one further probable suicide; most a*ppear* to have been accidental.	In example (c), the reporting verb *to appear* expresses the author's hypothesis about the clinical cases (reasoning verb).

Table 5. Polymesy voice in the MAWLcc lexical verb list

Moreover, among polysemous verbs (see Table 6), a few verbs such as *recover* may confuse our Italian students since its meaning may be mistaken for the Italian *ricoverare* ('to admit to hospital').

Polymesy	*Use in context*

1. (a) She subsequently *recovered*.
   (b) A 0.5 caliber bullet *was recovered* from the right buttock.
	1. In (a) *recover* is a synonym of *heal*.
	   In (b) *recover* is a synonym of *extract* or *retrieve*.

2. (a) A 30-year-old woman *was admitted* for hypotension and fever.
   (b) The patient *admitted* previous mild left lower quadrant pain.
	2. In (a) the Italian verb *ricoverare* corresponds to the English verb *admit*.
	   In (b) *to admit* has a second meaning: *to confess*.

Table 6. Polysemy and false friends

3.2 Classroom Activities and Testing

Finally, the use of MAWLcc verbs may be also extended to many other classroom activities such as the use of conditionals when hypothesising a diagnosis or when paraphrasing previous literature on a specific disease, all of which are direct applications of contextual information given in Table 1. In testing and discriminating exercises presented in the following

Tables[2], we present gap-fill exercises, for choosing alternative verbs in Table 9 and verb choice in Table 7 and 8 as well as using contextual information in Table 10. Flexibility of language in shifting reader attention from the actor the action is proposed in the final Table 11.

In Table 7 the first sentence requires the ability to select the correct reporting verb in relation to the context and the different CR sections proposed in the original model of McCarthy and Reilly (2000) in Figure 1 and applied in Table 3.

Choose the correct verb	Possible responses
1. He also _____mild clicking symptoms in the contralateral elbow.	(a) *reported;* (b) demonstrated; (c) recognized
2. On examination, the infant _____ pale, dehydrated.	(a) *appeared*; (b) felt; (c) seemed

Table 7. Classroom Activity

The use of *report* is to give information about the patient's health and it is related to a specific CR section (description of the patient). The use of *recognize* is incorrect since its meaning is to identify or to acknowledge the validity of something (e.g. the causative agent of a disease) and it is often used when summarising previous literature.

The second sentence focuses on polysemous verbs as per Table 5 and 6. This verb choice requires not only the ability to correctly use polysemous verbs but also the capability to use perception verbs when describing an event or patient as in a physical examination.

Both *seem* and *appear* are perception verbs and have similar meanings but as per Table 5, *appear* is used when describing a perception based on an observable or direct condition (visual and observable perception of a patient's physical appearance) while the verb *seem* suggests that the perception is based on subjective impression.

A similar exercise on polysemous verbs is given in the following table:

<hr>

[2]   Correct answers are given in italics.

Choose the appropriate verb, given the context	Possible responses
1. A 20-year-old male was _____with a single wound over his left thigh.	(a) recovered; (b) *admitted*; (c) discharged
2. The patient was_____ to the division of orthopaedic surgery.	(a) recovered; (b) *referred*; (c) discharged

Table 8. Gap-filling exercise on polysemous verbs

In the first case (1), the attention is focused on the verb *recover* which, as mentioned in Table 6, may be confusing for Italian students because it is similar in appearance to the Italian verb *ricoverare* but has a different meaning in English.

In the second sentence (2) the verb choice required here reflects not only lexical competence, but also contextual information necessary to identify the correct meaning of this verb in relation to patient presentation.

Table 9 proposes a multiple choice exercise on technical and non-technical verbs. Although not strictly part of the didactic model proposed in this paper, oral exercises may help students choose a technical synonym of a non-technical verb.

Choose the alternative of the underlined verbs	Possible responses
1. Macrophages in lymph nodes can <u>take up</u> 18-fluorodeoX-Yglucose, causing cancer".	(a) maintain; (b) *absorb*; (c) produce
2. It can <u>take out</u> more tissue than CT - guided aspiration".	(a) reduce; (b) produce; (c) *excise*

Table 9. Classroom activity

This classroom activity may help students use alternative verbs when explaining medical procedures or physiological processes to their patients. Communication between patients and doctors is essential and translation exercises should be included in any medical curriculum to improve students' communication skills and prepare them to explain technical terms\verbs using plainer language.

Another useful gap-filling exercise is given in Table 10 and concentrates on tenses and modality.

Choose the correct verb and insert it in the missing space	Possible responses
1. We _____be vigilant in screening for their use and in educating parents in the appropriate and safe administration of these medications.	(a) may; (b) *must*; (c) can
2. Leung *et al.* ____the first case treated by stenting in 2000.	(a) *described*; (b) describes; (c) have described

Table 10. Verb choice

In example 1 students are required to identify the correct modal in relation to the context. In this case the authors are strictly recommending to their readers the adoption of a specific procedure and the use of the modal *must* is therefore necessary.

Example 2 requires the necessary grammatical awareness when citing previous literature to judge whether a sentence is grammatically well-formed in relation to a related context. The grammatical error in using *have described* is evident since the time marker should direct students to the correct answer (*described*).

Finally, an active-passive conversion is given in Table 11 and the verb choice required here reflects not only grammar awareness, but also contextual information given by an understanding of the functions of the different parts of the CR, such as Patient Presentation as suggested in Table 1.

Active or passive? -Convert to active or passive forms of the sentence.	Possible valid responses
1. Examination <u>showed</u> a 5-cm weeping erythematous lesion.	(a) *A 5-cm weeping erythematous lesion <u>was seen</u> upon examination* (Patient Presentation). (b) A 5-cm weeping erythematous lesion <u>was shown</u> upon examination.

Table 10. Classroom testing

In the last example (a) would be considered correct because it reflects awareness of the Patient Presentation but also physician hypothesis, while in (b) the grammar and tense error is obvious.

Similarly, in the active passive conversion (see the example below):

i) Doctors *administered* intravenous antibiotics and heparin. (active)
ii) Intravenous antibiotics and heparin *were administered*. (passive)

students could be asked orally why the passive form would be preferable, and the expected answer would be to focus attention on the action rather than the actor, as indicated in Table 4.

4. *Conclusions*

In conclusion, in this paper some pedagogical applications of a specific lexical verb list based on CRs have been proposed to select and develop teaching materials for EMP teachers. This list can help EMP teachers overcome their lack of familiarity with medical content by focusing on a restricted but exhaustive group of verbs which can be considered specific to the medical domain derived from authentic materials.

In this paper, we presented a didactic model for teaching lexical verbs derived from MAWLcc. This model together with a lexical verb list may be included in a medical task-based syllabus since it reflects the practice of medical professionals equipping medical students with skills to satisfy their occupational and academic needs in peer-to-peer communication and\or during their medical training.

Hopefully, a more exhaustive contextual analysis of these verbs and a more specific teaching model based on them could form the basis for a core of common medical lexical verbs. This verb list, if implemented within medical curriculum, would help both teacher and students in focusing on linguistic and grammatical features which are essential for their teaching materials and fundamental for medical students in their future professional practice.

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CONVENTIONALITY GETS CREATIVE
ON A HEALTH Q&A WEBSITE

Abstract

The virtual encounter with different linguistic communities has increasingly become the norm, and this study examines the impact that this new scenario has had on the evolution of English. Focussing on the messages posted by adolescents and on the answers they receive by a team of Columbia University healthcare providers, patterns of communication are delineated, with the aim of providing a linguistic profile of contemporary post usage. This corpus of health posts – free from external linguistic filtering – becomes an excellent source of material to reflect young people's subjective perspectives and communication routines, on one hand, and the health professionals' attempts to facilitate effective communication, on the other.

Keywords: Computer-mediated Communication; health Q&A websites; Complexity; Conventionality and Creativity; Empathy.

1. *Introduction*

Considering the topic of linguistic complexity in English, the present study explores the conventionality/creativity spectrum by addressing an Internet-based question-and-answer (Q&A) resource for health issues, *Go Ask Alice!*, through an interdisciplinary approach to corpus linguistics, discourse analysis and recent work in computer-mediated communication (CMC). The present research sets out from the assumption that language is a complex dynamic system which preserves internal stability and coherence despite being highly flexible, adaptable and nonlinear (Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2006; Larsen-Freeman 2015). Considering the health Q&A website as a sub-system of the English language characterised by a complex interplay of variables and components dynamically interacting with the context, the analysis focuses on examples of conventionality and creativity which emerge in more or less predictable ways.

Conventionality in *Go Ask Alice!* refers to the typical ways in which we, as service users and healthcare providers, talk about health and illness, including formulaic expressions, conversational routines, grammar rules and social norms, among other aspects. Such a repetitive use of CMC in healthcare produces common speech patterns and enhances reciprocal understanding, thus providing easy and immediate access to meaning. In addition, as the service users are laypeople, communication about health and illness may contain traces of creativity typically involving deviation from the rules and norms of medical language, manipulation of its forms and meaning-making potential, comprising creative figures of speech, unusual collocations, violations of word formation rules and unpredictable compounds, among other things.

In particular, the work first examines both the questions (Q-posts) written by information-and-advice seekers and sent to *Go Ask Alice!*, and the corresponding answers (A-posts) provided by a team of healthcare professionals working for this Internet resource, who call themselves Alice (Maglie 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c). It then examines cases of Q-post writers' creativity and conventionality in reference to the English language in general, and to medical jargon in particular, in order to assess whether they are reciprocated or ignored by the A-post writers. The study thus aims to answer two main questions:

1. Do Q-post writers use their linguistic resources to describe their state of health in a creative or conventional way?
2. In relation to the cases of conventionality/creativity identified in the Q-posts, does Alice converge with/diverge from the speech styles of the Q-post writer?

Such cases of con-/divergence on Alice's part towards/away from the Q-post writer's creativity/conventionality are ultimately measured in terms of empathy. Empathy is recognised in the literature as an important professional skill for healthcare providers (Hojat *et al.* 2002; Piasecky 2003; Bonvicini *et al.* 2009; Pounds 2011, 2016). However, some studies (e.g. Lovejoy *et al.* 2009) doubt whether empathy can be communicated online, particularly when asynchronous communication is concerned as in this case, where Alice does not answer Q-posts immediately but at a later time. On the other hand, other studies (e.g. Locher 2010; Dedding *et al.* 2011; Pounds 2016) show that Internet resources may be considered viable alternatives to traditional face-to-face interaction between healthcare professionals and patients not only for their informative potential but also for their empathic rapport-building function. The present study contributes to this discussion by specifi-

cally considering the core expressive dimensions of clinical empathy given below, as detected by Pounds (2011; List 1), with the aim of adding another dimension as a further parameter to assess the use of empathy. This additional dimension, called *converging with language style(s) previously adopted by patients* (see item d in the List 1), is indeed assumed to break down social distance, enhance patients' trust in the healthcare provider and pave the way for successful treatment.

List 1: Expressive dimensions of empathy (adapted from Pounds 2011):

   i)   Interpreting patients' feelings and views from available cues (explicit and implicit);
  ii)   Eliciting patients' feelings and views (directly or indirectly);
 iii)   Responding to patients' cues (explicit and implicit):
       a) Expressing explicit understanding and acknowledgement of patients' feelings and views
       b) Sharing patients' feelings and views (in appropriate context)
       c) Expressing acceptance as: unconditional positive regard (praise); 'neutral support' (non-judgement of patients as people and support even when approval cannot be granted) (pp. 148-9)
       d) *Converging with language style(s) previously adopted by patients*.

The first part of this contribution offers a brief overview of the current literature on CMC and on empathy on healthcare websites. The following sections present the data and methodology used for an analysis of *Go Ask Alice!*. In the concluding part, results are summarised and discussed with reference to the previously stated methodological assumptions and in consideration of their practical implications for the understanding of language complexity ranging between conventionality and creativity.

2. *Computer-mediated Communication: health Question-and-Answer websites*

This work falls mainly within the tradition of computer-mediated communication (CMC) and specifically within corpus approaches to health communication. Focusing on the genre of writing under investigation, the online Q&A is still something of a novelty, and language research in the expanding field of CMC is in its infancy. Evidence for this claim is that both this study and Harvey's study (2013), which also analyses a Q&A website called *Teenage Health Freak*, rely on exten-

sive research into emails even though these online messages do not constitute emails in the traditional sense. They are like a social media post on the surface as they are sent from an online public platform and, once submitted, they are available for public view. But ultimately, the Q&A post is also akin to emails in some other respects.

In reviewing the literature on emails, particular attention has been paid to social dynamics, format, grammar and style, aspects which are addressed in this study to answer the main research question: in what ways is conventionality tinged with creativity on *Go Ask Alice!*? Starting out from the linguistic profile of contemporary email usage, Baron (2000, 2003a, 2003b) considers emails a communicative hybrid – part speech, part writing – and what should be emphasised in the present study is how these two conventional features, pertaining to speech and writing, creatively interact in the Q&A genre.

Another linguistic assessment of emails is provided by Crystal (2006, 2011): he refers to the uniqueness of the medium. And if the Q&A genre is unique as well, what are the elements that are instrumental in making it stand out? Moreover, speaking of the register and style of language in emails, Crystal states that email should not be thought of only in terms of informality. Rather, as it matures, email will express stylistic formality as well. The question is: How informal or formal is the Q&A genre? Or is it a mix of both styles?

Furthermore, when focusing on graphological deviance, Crystal claims that it is typical of informal emailing exchanges among young people, so we should expect to find it in the questions Alice receives, which are mainly written by young people, but not in the answers she writes. Yet considering another study, the so-called errors in emails are typically not mistakes, as stated by Herring, but deliberate choices on the part of users to economise on typing, mimic spoken discourse features or express themselves creatively (Herring 2001: 617). The present study questions whether even healthcare professionals express themselves creatively.

When narrowing down the literature review of emails sent to a health Q&A Internet service, Harvey (2013) is worth mentioning. Focusing only on the adolescents' questions and not on the health professionals' answers, Harvey argues that adolescents use a conversational tone similar to spoken discourse, but also frequently adopt a "medico-technical register".

The same can be stated for *Go Ask Alice!*, as Q-post writers normally use a mix of formal and informal features marked by specialist terminology, and although the Q-post and A-post writers are strangers who, given the context, might ordinarily speak in formal terms, dis-

cussing personal concerns through an online text-only channel of communication appears suited to informality, the so-called heart-to-heart interaction (Maglie 2015, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c).

Given that the Q&A is a unique, hybrid, partly formal and partly informal communicative genre, real cases of conventionality and creativity on *Go Ask Alice!* remain to be identified and discussed in this study, along with how Alice's possible reciprocation of the language style previously adopted by Q-post writers can be communicatively measured as empathy. In this perspective, the present study follows the research thread started by Pounds (2016), who addresses *Netdoctor* (a British ask-the-expert health site), to focus on healthcare professionals using empathic formulations to acknowledge feelings and express support and encouragement[1]. However, it does not investigate Pounds' empathic speech acts on *Go Ask Alice!* due to page restrictions, but drawing on her methodological assumptions, the analysis considers examples of convergence on the part of Alice toward the Q-post writer's creativity and conventionality as an additional expressive dimension of empathy[2]. This major empathic dimension transmitted online may be considered as breaking down the medical language barrier, shortening the distance between healthcare professionals and patients, and increasing patients' satisfaction and their trust in being able to adhere to treatment. The data and results are detailed in the following sections.

2.1. Go Ask Alice!: a health Q&A website

The health Q&A website *Go Ask Alice!*[3] is produced and funded by the Columbia University and is a global Internet resource that everybody can exploit to contact healthcare professionals for more specific online written advice and information. Using the interactive 'Ask your question' function, contributors post questions for Alice. To do this, they are first invited to insert a title and then to limit the question topics to the categories included in the menu shown on the homepage. Questions are rarely edited (edits are done by *Go Ask Alice!* only to de-identify submissions and occasionally fix major grammar issues since not all of the service users are native English speakers), and so

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[1]   Some of the expressive dimensions of empathy (or empathic speech acts) she detected and analysed are listed below: positive *empathy* (expressions of *acceptance*, especially *unconditional support, expression of encouragement, rejection of negative self-judgement, positive self-judgement, acknowledging feelings / endorsing views* (the core dimension of empathy), *acceptance* (Pounds 2013: 13).

[2]   Gabrina Pounds and the Author are working together to implement the study of empathy on Ask-the-Experts health websites.

[3]   *Go Ask Alice!* (*goaskalice.columbia.edu*). Last visited February, 2015.

almost all of the questions appear in their 'original word choice, syntax and orthography', thus becoming a privileged domain of observation for understanding the complexities of computer-mediated communication between conventionality and creativity.

For the purposes of the present study, Q&As were taken from three of the six categories included in the *Go Ask Alice!* menu, i.e. General Health, Sexual and Reproductive Health and Emotional Health, before being split into about 2,200 Q-posts written mostly by young people, and about 2,200 corresponding A-posts provided by health advisors under the name Alice. The answer sub-corpus amounted to a little over 1,000,000 words, while the question sub-corpus to a little under 200,000[4]. The *Go Ask Alice!* corpus, made up of the question and the answer sub-corpora, was investigated using *Wordsmith Tools* (Scott 1996), version 5, to generate and sort word and frequency lists, to compute and sort concordances, and to produce collocates. The Q-posts are addressed across the three thematic categories, and in relation to the A-post sub-corpus, to detect processes of replication of creative and/or conventional phenomena.

3. *Summary of Results*

The English language on *Go Ask Alice!* was observed in order to understand the complexities of online health communication on the conventionality/creativity scale. On the one hand, Q-post writers show themselves to be productive in creativity (e.g. by using word/compound formations, occasionalisms) and to be conventional in using medical jargon (e.g. collocations, terminology, phraseology) at the same time. On the other hand, Alice always reciprocates not only the conventional use of medical jargon previously used by the Q-post writer, but also his/her creative figures of speech, unusual collocations, unpredictable compounds, etc. Furthermore, Alice deliberately manipulates language, adopting intercultural communication (e.g. formulaic expressions in different languages), using conventional and creative metaphors, and preferring informal to formal and technical language.

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[4]   This study lets the Q&A-post writers "represent and balance the health concerns for themselves" (Harvey 2013: 77). Thus, data were not manipulated – even though questions are shorter and answers are longer – as they represent the natural patterns of communication between Q-post writers and A-post writers.

4. *Discussion of Examples*

4.1. Format: salutations, closings and screen names

Drawing on how Q-post writers devise their salutations and closings (Maglie 2017a), data in Table I reveal that the conventional salutation "Dear" is followed informally by "Alice" in the majority of cases across the three categories. Then there is a friendly salutation (e.g. "Hello", "Hey", "Hi") and the name. Sometimes the greeting is simply the name, "Alice". Alice, on the other hand, reciprocates such a salutation, with a more formal "Dear" followed by "Reader" only when Q-posts do not provide a clear indication of the writer's identity.

Go Ask Alice! Q-post Part *Sub-corpora (number of posts)*	*Occurrences*
General Health (743)	Alice (783), Dear (572), Hello (17), Hey (15)
Sexual and Reproductive Health (1,196)	Alice (1,258), Dear (911), Hi (92), Hey (41)
Emotional Health (292)	Alice (299), Dear (243), Hi (20), Hello (6), Hey (2)
Go Ask Alice! A-post Part *Subcorpora (number of posts)*	
General Health (743)	Dear (743), Reader (410)
Sexual and Reproductive Health (1,196)	Dear (1,196), Reader (527)
Emotional Health (292)	Dear (294), Reader (139)

Table I. Occurrences of salutation patterns in *Go Ask Alice!*

But, in those cases, a sympathetic expression follows the conventional salutation "Dear Reader," which conveys expressive-emotional meaning (see sentences i-v below).

   i) Dear Reader, *Che divertimento*! It sounds like you're in for an exciting trip.

   ii) Dear Reader, *Eye, caramba*! As annoying and frustrating as a contact lens gone awry,

iii) Dear Reader, *Ouch!* Scratches on the cornea, the clear outer layer of the eyeball, can be quite painful.

iv) Dear Reader, *Holy hacking, Batman!* Since it is not too likely that food would remain caught in your tonsils for months at a time,

v) Dear Reader, *Ruhroh! To the Mystery Machine, gang!* Worrying about digestive irregularities could get (...)

We find elation expressed in Italian (sentence i), negative sudden reaction to physical pain either through a pun partly in English and partly in Spanish (evoking the interjection "¡Ay, caramba!", see sentence ii) or through an exclamation completely in English (sentence iii). Other exclamatory examples include famous catchphrases from TV series (*Batman*, sentence iv) and cartoons (*Scooby Doo*, sentence v). All these instances help to build the idea that Alice adopts creative manners to transfer medical knowledge across cultures and to structure her bio-medical agenda.

In the rest of the cases, when the Q-post writer signs his/her question with screen names, Alice re-uses and places them after the traditional "Dear". In so doing, she acknowledges and empathises with communicative styles shown previously by the Q-post writers in devising funny and very creative screen names (see Table II).

Go Ask Alice! *Sub-corpora*	*Screen names*
General Health	Achoo; Afraid of Spiders; Concerned, Confused; Cough, Cough; E-cig; Feeling Crummy Pimples, Worried, Zzzzzzzzz, etc.
Emotional Health	Feelingsuffocatedandconfused; Freaky Follicles; HELP; Klepto; NERVY; Pet-Lover; PMS; Self-Talker; Want to break out of the shell, etc.

Table II – Partial list of screen names taken from
General Health and Emotional Health sub-corpora

Focusing on screen names, they may be onomatopoeic expressions ("Achoo, Cough, Cough", "Zzzzzzzzz"), or ones reflecting the writer's emotional stance: fear ("Afraid of Spiders"), worry ("Concerned", "Worried"), confusion ("Confused") and insecurity ("Feeling Crummy"); physical complaint ("Bad Breath"); physical peculiarity ("Big

Foot"), and abilities ("Computer Nerd"). The screen names may also contain familiar expressions for medical issues ("Pimples"), or abbreviations ("E-cig"). This partial list of some of the screen names taken from the general health sub-corpus attests to the creative capacity of Q-post writers. When addressing the emotional health sub-corpus, they use names coined for this special occasion to immediately and easily enable Alice to understand their emotional turmoil. See for example: "Feelingsuffocatedandconfused" written as a single word to render the idea of the complex emotions he or she is feeling; "HELP" or "NERVY" written in capital letters, as graphological deviance examples in order to communicate his or her profound need of help, and "Klepto" for kleptomaniac, "PMS" for premenstrual syndrome, and hyphenated phrases, such as "Pet-Lover" or "Self-Talker" to mimic conventional medical jargon made up of technical abbreviations, acronyms and stacked noun phrases. Two other examples of screen names well worth considering are "Want to break out of the shell" (an example of figurative language to express the writer's shyness) and "Freaky Follicles", a case of alliteration made up of a technical term, *f*ollicles, associated with an informal adjective, *f*reaky.

4.2 Medical Jargon vs. Informal Language

This section shows how laypeople (Q-post writers) use medical jargon and informal language in their requests for medical advice and information, and how Alice reciprocates the language styles previously used in Q-posts in her answers. In six out of the eight adjectives before the headword "depression", Q-post writers use medical terminology appropriately (sentences vi-xi):

vi)   *I think* I may be suffering from <u>*chronic*</u> **depression**.
vii) *I think* that I am beginning to manifest signs of <u>*clinical*</u> **depression**.
viii) What is the difference between grief and <u>*major*</u> **depression**?
ix)   he was diagnosed with a <u>*mild*</u> **depression** due to losing his job, moving, divorce,
x)   I have that <u>*seasonal*</u> **depression** thing — SAD (I wish I knew what that acronym stands for).
xi)   I spend days and evenings with him and can see that he has <u>*severe*</u> **depression** and extremely low confidence.

Chronic, *clinical*, *major, mild, seasonal, serious* and *severe* are different stages of the depressive state, recognised by medical literature and used by Alice herself as well in the answer section of the sub-corpus on emotional health (sentences xii-xvi).

xii) *Clinical depression* is a complex condition triggered by a variety of genetic, environmental, […] factors.

xiii) *Major depression.* Major depressive disorder often includes feelings of extreme sadness,

xiv) There is *chronic*, *low grade depression*, in which a feeling of sadness may last for weeks

xv) If you think you might have SAD, or a *milder form of seasonal depression*, here are some initial steps

xvi) Antidepressants are one of the most popular and effective treatments for *moderate to severe depression*.

The rest of the collocations used by the Q-post writer (sentences xvii and xviii) draw inspiration from the language of medicine, even though they do not belong to that domain. Concordance lines xvii and xviii use inventive adjectives which are not precisely medical terminology but resemble such terms by morphological peculiarities, i.e. compounding and derivation.

xvii) I was just wondering if there's such a phenomenon of *post-college depression*?

xviii) How can I get over this *post-one-night-stand depression*?

Another case is that of "flu", the abbreviated form but also the informal version of the term "influenza", which occurs once in the question portion of the sub-corpus (Table III).

Go Ask Alice! Sub-corpus	*Occurrences*
General Health (Q-post Part)	Flu (52) vs. Influenza (1); Flu shot (18) vs. Flu vaccine (8)
General Health (A-post Part)	Flu (340) vs. Influenza (54); Flu Shot(s) (62) vs. Flu vaccine(s) (53)

Table III. Occurrences of "flu" vs. "influenza" and "flu shot" vs. "flu vaccine" in General Health sub-corpus

What concerns the Q-post writer most about this illness is vaccination. The informal expression "flu shot" appears more often than the formal "flu vaccine". The latter phrase is a good mixture of colloquial ("flu") and technical ("vaccine") language which, while not consistent

in register and unusual, is communicatively clear. At the same time, Alice uses the informal word "flu" more often than the technical term "influenza".

Additionally, most "flu" occurrences pertain to vaccination against flu, and similarly to what is seen for "flu" in the Q-section, we find more instances of "flu shot(s)" than of "flu vaccine(s)". In other words, it seems that the post writer and Alice speak the same language even though their roles are very different. However, even though Alice uses an informal expression to refer to vaccination, her tone is professional (she describes how the vaccine works in the body) (sentence xix), circumstantial (she lists the type of people who should see a doctor before vaccination) (sentence xx), and referential (she refers to the "Center for Disease Control") (sentence xxi). In the last concordance line (xxii), Alice makes reference to an old Christmas song, *Deck the halls*. "'Tis the season to be jolly", containing the archaic "'tis" for "it is", has become synonymous with the Christmas season when people very often catch the flu. That is the reason why "fluey" in Alice's answer is put in place of "jolly".

xix) Getting a *flu shot* may temporarily increase your viral load as your immune system responds, but viral load is transient and usually returns to baseline within four weeks.

xx) It is recommended that people have a talk with their healthcare provider prior to getting a *flu shot* if they: *Are allergic to eggs (the flu vaccine is grown in eggs). * Had an allergic reaction to a previous flu shot.* Had an allergic reaction to a previous vaccine.* Have other severe allergies.

xxi) The Center for Disease Control (CDC) recommends most people be vaccinated with the yearly flu shot.

xxii) When *'tis* the season to be *flu-ey*, the decision about whether to get the *flu shot* may best be made with the input of a healthcare provider.

4.3. Figurative Language

A typical feature of scientific popularisation that Alice admirably uses is the figurative language in the place of technical terms and concepts.

xxiii) Do your sex positions *taste* a little *bland*? There are a few key *ingredients* necessary for *spicing up* your style: communication, creativity, and lubrication. [...] consider mixing in other *ingredients* […] for more ideas to *spice things up*. Just like adding *salt and pepper*, passion and creativity may also go a long way in adding the *perfect flavor* to your sexual *repast*.

Alice answers by connecting the pleasures of sex with the pleasures of the dining table. An uneventful sex life is equated to a "repast" which "tastes bland" and needs to be "spiced up" with other ingredients, "salt and pepper" (i.e. passion and creativity), to obtain the perfect "flavour"! Such lightness in Alice's words does not reflect thoughtlessness or irresponsibility. Rather, she offers an effective strategy for defusing frustrating situations: speak to each other playfully. Q-post writers do not need complex language for their approach to something that may already make them feel anxious and vulnerable (Maglie 2015: 135). Instead they need to feel at ease and capable of communicating their worries, desires and pleasures to someone who can respectfully listen and respond, and can dose conventional and creative aspects of language, letting meaning emerge in more or less predictable ways as they are empathically attuned to the Q-post writers' expectations and use of the English language.

5. *Summary and Concluding Remarks*

Conventional and creative language elements dynamically interact in *Go Ask Alice!*, thus making the Q&A stand out as a communicative modality in flux, a complex linguistic arena characterised by flexibility, adaptability and non-linearity. But what prevents the Q&A from being chaotic is the virtual thread between the question and the answer that helps connect distant interlocutors who attempt to converge linguistically in order to shorten spatial and social distance and establish a close and empathic relationship, being united in their efforts to obtain successful medical outcomes.

In detail, Q-post writers use their linguistic resources to describe their state of health in a conventional way mainly when referring to health complaints (such as the right collocates to indicate stages and types of "depression", or the appropriate terminology when referring to "vaccination") to facilitate Alice's understanding. However, with the same words, Q-post writers are also creative when they coin *ad-hoc* expressions to describe their own peculiar "depression", when they add the informal unusual collocation "flu" to the formal medical "vaccination" to form a new noun phrase, and when they choose to sign their post with screen names made up of unusual noun phrases.

In particular, the creativity that distinguishes the online language of young users of the service exemplifies their tendency to adopt in-group communication to differentiate themselves from the external world, and also to reduce the distance between them and Alice in the communicative act taking place in *Go Ask Alice!*. For instance, by choosing a

screen name congruent with the question asked online, not only does the young post writer draw attention to their persona and state of health, but also facilitates an authentic relational exchange with Alice who, in turn, keeps the channels of communication established by young service users open by reciprocating their linguistic choices. Screen names used both by the post writer and the healthcare provider enhance authentic exchanges in terms of honesty and confidence as the basis on which any effective relationship, understanding and communication should be built when health information and advice are provided online. This language attitude on Alice's part is considered in this study as an example of clinical empathy.

When focusing on the processes of replication of creative and/or conventional phenomena on the part of the A-post writer, Alice not only reciprocates the conventional use of the medical jargon previously used by the Q-post writer (as in the case of "depression" and "flu"), but she also shows how she deliberately manipulates language to establish a greater sense of rapport with the young service user. Conventional medical jargon gets creative when Alice uses different languages to be closer to the user's country of origin, when she devises new metaphors to make difficult and taboo topics easier and practicable for younger generations, and when she prefers informal to formal and technical language.

On the whole, the study uses *Go Ask Alice!* to provide a new understanding of the language used on an internet health site and to develop a new discourse-based approach to the exploration of clinical empathy through the healthcare provider's convergence with the language – conventional or creative – previously adopted by the service users.

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ARGUMENTATION IN FINANCIAL ANALYST REPORTS:
CREATIVITY OR CONVENTIONALITY?

Abstract

The present paper aims at analysing the argumentative patterns typical of financial analyst reports, trying to assess whether they mainly follow conventionalized models or creative patterns. An interdisciplinary approach, integrating genre/discourse analysis, pragmatics, argumentation theory and corpus analysis, will be applied here in order to understand how analysts employ linguistic strategies to mitigate or enhance certain events and to affect investors' behaviour.

The corpus used is made up of reports issued by Goldman Sachs Research in the period November 2009-November 2011. In particular, argumentation theory will be employed to analyse the nature, functions and constraints of persuasive discourse, aiming at determining and setting the limits of rationality in a world of values (Bondi 1998: IX). In their effort to convince the public of something that is controversial, financial analysts try to bridge the gap between pure facts/data and recommendations/persuasion. The argument outcome will mainly hinge on the participants' discursive capacities.

Keywords: financial analyst reports; argumentative patterns; creativity; conventionality.

1. Introduction

The purpose of the present work is to investigate the argumentative structures of financial analyst reports, and to identify them as conventionalised or creative instances of financial discourse. While information drives all human actions and shapes the social environment, financial information is intelligibly coded for the social group it is meant to reach and influence. It is not a mere collection of data, but a complex combination of data, language, credibility, culture, and traditions, contributing to determine individual and social decision-making.

Within this framework, analysts employ argumentative schemes to construct their message with an informative, evaluative or recommend-

ing function. They play an active role in the market, by creating a frame to represent reality, orientating investors and influencing the other market protagonists (i.e., the companies' management and the institutions they work for) on controversial issues. They try to maximise their utility, their reputation as the main source of value, and to minimise the risk deriving from their work. The stronger the trust relation, the faster the adjustments in security prices. Reliance on analysts' expertise reduces investor perception of uncertainty (e.g., Jiang, Lee, Zhang 2005).

Analysts build their trust and credibility through their economic/financial qualifications, strong mathematical competences, the compliance with high standards in professional requirements – e.g., those requested by the Chartered Financial Analyst Institute or similar organizations –, and the Code of Ethics and Standards of Professional Conduct, based on integrity, competence, diligence, respect, and ethics, when dealing with the public.

However, building trust is not an easy task as it is slow and affected by values and beliefs, wealth, status, and culture. Analysts normally write in a straightforward and convincing way. In the case of possible conflicts of interests, the way they express their vision will likely contain linguistic evidence of such biases. However, in order to reach their objective, they manipulate financial discourse, applying linguistic strategies creatively. They attempt to protect and maximise their reputation by mitigating their attitude and evaluation through rhetorical devices used to convey argumentative force and express the relevance and reliability of the information. Mitigation devices, such as the use of epistemic modality, concessive and conditional adjuncts, hedging adverbs, impersonal and inverted clauses, vague quantifiers and opinion verbs, are typical elements of evaluation (Hunston and Thompson 2003; Denti and Fodde 2013).

2. *Data and methodology*

The corpus analysed is made up of reports issued by Goldman Sachs Research in the period November 2009-November 2011. In particular, two types of reports have been considered: S&P 500 Beige Books and US Weekly Kick Starts. The Beige Books (BBs) contain a backward view of every past three months, are inspired by FED Beige Books and emphasise a series of statements made by senior executives during earnings conference calls on market relevant issues, concerning corporations listed in the S&P 500. Instead, the US Weekly Kick Starts (KSs) are much shorter and synthetic reports, issued each Friday and aim at providing tips for the following trading week (see Table 1).

	BB	KS
Tokens	207,073	98,944
Types	7,075	4,708
std.TTR	40.16	35.57

Table 1. Corpus dimension

In particular, BBs are longer and less frequent reports that

assess the direction toward which the market tends to move, evidencing rationales underlying such trends at corporate and class/industry level. […] KSs (are) more frequent and tend to confirm directions, basing judgments and valuations on fundamentals' performances emerging in the US financial market, highlighting emerging issues week by week (Piras, Denti, Cervellati 2012: 13).

Thus, BBs are mainly informative, reporting facts and evaluations on the part of the management, while KSs are more predictive and give advice, suggesting a higher involvement by the analyst.

An interdisciplinary approach integrating discourse analysis, argumentative theory, corpus analysis (Bhatia 2008; Biber 2001; Bondi 1998; Bamford 1998; Crawford Camiciottoli 2001, 2006, 2014; Degano 2012; Denti and Fodde 2013; Facchinetti 1992; Palmieri 2008, 2014; Sinclair 1991, 2004; Van Eemeren 2010) and behavioural finance (Tversky and Kahneman 1974; Shefrin 2002, 2006) has been applied to examine analyst reports in order to understand how analysts employ linguistic strategies to provide information and prediction, also offering evaluation in a creative way, to mitigate or enhance certain events, to either reveal or conceal the market sentiment, and to orientate investors.

As uncertainty characterises analysts' forecasts, understanding how they convey information, and how the public decodes it, becomes the core issue in this genre of financial communication. In argumentation, a party attempts to persuade another party to accept a viewpoint through well-elaborated and logic reasoning (Palmieri 2008). This is what analysts try to do, taking into account the context, the participants' functions, intentions and identity, forms of evaluation (Degano 2012; Hunston and Thompson 2003; Crawford Camiciottoli 2006; Palmer 1986; Wilson 2003; Bhatia, Engberg, Gotti, Heller 2005). The argument outcome will mainly hinge on the participants' discursive capacities.

A pragma-dialectical approach has been applied, together with some insights from corpus analysis, as a thorough investigation of the documents must be both qualitative and quantitative. A series of keywords and patterns, including concordances, have been studied using Wordsmith Tools (7.0).

3. *Argumentation: Discussion and results*

Argumentation theory analyses the nature, functions and constraints of persuasive discourse as opposed to demonstrative discourse, aiming at determining and setting the limits of rationality in a world of values (Bondi 1998: IX).

In the pragma-dialectical approach, argumentation and discourse analysis attribute the same importance to context and language, considering text internal and external factors, to the participants' social, cultural and personal identities, knowledge, beliefs, objectives, desires and interactions (Schiffrin 1994: 363). However, while the purpose of discourse analysis is descriptive, that of argumentation is normative as "it aims at giving a fair evaluation of argumentative discourse, with the ethical aim of improving the way people argue" (Degano 2012: 19).

According to the pragma-dialectical approach, each stage of the critical discussion (confrontation stage, opening stage, argumentation stage and conclusion) incorporates strategic manoeuvring, i.e. the rhetorical part of argumentation: "strategic manoeuvring is construed as the resultant of three aspects, corresponding to the choices the parties in an argumentative discourse make at the level of topic selection, adaptation to the audience and linguistic devices employed to realize the former two aspects" (Degano 2012: 12). In argumentation, language is a core element, through which meaning is constructed and the argument upheld, unlike demonstration where facts and data have a primary role and language a secondary one. In the analyst reports examined, both structures are found.

In particular, the analysis of the reports started by looking at the presence of the four stages of the argumentative scheme. The confrontation stage, which represents a real or presumed difference of opinion between two parties, was found both explicitly and implicitly expressed. In the former, the counterpart is overtly identified; in the latter, analysts engage the readers themselves in the interpretation of data:

(1) Significant cost reduction during the downturn is driving high margins and upside to earnings as demand and activity recover. This impact has been most stark in areas of the market most

exposed to US manufacturing though results have not been limited to the Industrials sector. While the benefits of operating leverage have been apparent, some management teams intimated that the cost cutting cycle may be nearing an end (BB, 11.05.2010).

(2) EPS surprises in 1Q 2010 have averaged 16%, well-above the 3.3% historical average. However, investors should note that in most cases analysts have not incorporated the strong 1Q results into full-year 2010 EPS forecasts. A benign interpretation is that analysts want to remain conservative in their profit forecasts to allow future quarters of 'beat and raise'. Alternatively, analyst reluctance to raise profit forecasts despite strong results may reflect deeper concerns about the trajectory of the current recovery (KK, 23.04.2010).

In the first case, both arguments are presented, in the second case a sort of non-mixed confrontation stage is put forward, i.e. only one party defends his/her own stance, suggesting investors alternative interpretations.

Normally the documents do not display single confrontation stages but multiple ones as more topics and viewpoints are up for discussion. Strategic manoeuvring here holds the function to either maximize or minimize the parties' differences of opinion (Degano, 2012: 33).

In the opening stage, the parties try to find some points of agreement, which will become the basis for the following stage. These shared viewpoints derive either from an objective observation of the market behaviour, supported by facts, truths or beliefs, or from a preferable one, and thus not universally shared. In this stage, strategic manoeuvring aims at adapting to the audience and finding a common opinion between one part and the counterpart (Van Eemeren 2010: 110). If this is carried out properly, investors will feel confident and committed throughout the subsequent stages. At this stage, original mitigation devices become important again: "Although ROE does not provide a trading signal and *does not appear* to be a significant determinant of market returns over shorter periods of time, medium-term S&P 500 returns track ROE cycles *reasonably* well" (KK, 23.07.2010, author's emphasis).

The argumentation stage sees analysts stating their arguments in defence of their stances and discarding their counterpart's arguments by

anticipating possible counterarguments[1]. One of the typical association schemes is that of mathematical relations, or 'quasi-logical arguments', characterised by the connection between the part and the whole, the smaller and the larger, frequency, sequential relationships, arguments linking the phenomenon to its causes or consequences, and arguments depending on material elements (Degano 2012: 41):

(3) Q1 earnings were reduced by $0.12 per share due to the impact of U.S. healthcare reform. It was comprised of two items: first, approximately $60mm or $0.04 per share in accruals for higher rebates; and secondly, a one-time tax charge of $85.1mm or $0.08 per share (BB, 11.05.2010).

Dissociation schemes, instead, separate a whole into several elements through breaking markers such as *distinction*, *difference*, *not the same as*, *something else than*, *except* or the negative adverb *not*, often accompanied by the conjunction *but* (Degano 2012: 43):

(4) The biggest *difference* that occurred in the last three months is our understanding of the inventory in that channel, and that's why we are saying that Q4 is going to be slower than we were thinking a quarter ago and that the recovery will occur in – the 2012. So – *but* everybody is cautious. There's a lot of lack of confidence going on out there (BB, 09.11.2011, author's emphasis).

Arguments based on causal relations are typical of financial reports. Causality subsists when "between two events or state of affairs […] one is the cause or the reason for the other" (Bamford 1998: 111). On the basis of their quantitative analysis, analysts hypothesise causal relations in an attempt to understand why and how financial and economic phenomena occur (Bamford 1998). The function of causal argumentation foresees that "y is true of X, Because Z is true of X, and Z leads to y" (Degano 2012: 48). The following example shows the predominance of this type of scheme:

(5) The impact on earnings is larger and more immediate if the effect of higher oil prices on GDP growth is taken into account. Goldman Sachs US Economics estimates that a 10% rise in the

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[1]   There are many argumentation scheme taxonomies but, for space reasons, they will not be dealt with. However, a few references will be made.

price of oil (if sustained) could reduce US GDP growth by 0.2% in the current year and 0.4% in the subsequent year due to lower personal consumption, business fixed investment and inventory accumulation. To estimate the flow-through to S&P 500 earnings we also assume global GDP growth would fall 0.15% and 0.30% respectively under the same scenario (KS, 25.02.2011).

This example also shows the original use of mitigating devices, such as *if*, *estimates*, *if sustained*, *could*, *assume*, *would*, with the aim of taking safe distance from what analysts claim.

A subtype of causal relation is built around the concept of desirability: "an action should be taken (or avoided) as it produces a certain effect, and such an effect is desirable (or undesirable)". In this case, "act X is desirable/undesirable, Because X leads to consequence y, and consequence y is desirable/undesirable" (Degano 2012: 49):

(6) The price of technology has come down to the point that billions more people can afford that technology and it's highly desirable (BB, 03.02.2011).

The last stage is the Conclusion stage, where the result may be univocal or maintain different explicit or implicit positions:

(7) The profit outlook for US companies continues to improve, a fact clearly ignored by the equity market which fell by -1.9% this week despite a solid payroll report that saw the unemployment rate dip to 9.7% (KK, 5.02.2010).

4. *Linguistic devices associated with argumentation: Evaluation and mitigation*

The evaluating and mitigating role of specialist advisors in financial argumentative discourse matches the causality relationships which characterise the genre of financial analyst reports (Bamford 1998; Bondi 1998; Degano 2012). The linguistic strategies associated with financial discourse and with this genre aim at reporting facts (background knowledge they have), assessing them, which reflects the stance of the speaker and at the same time positions the audience, and forecasting future possible developments, measures and actions in an intelligible way for the layman.

Through mitigation and causality schemes, analysts try to reduce the distance between logic (i.e. the precision and correctness of reason-

ing) and rhetoric (aiming at persuading). Mitigation represents a creative way to build extreme prudence and caution against excessively positive/negative reactions in the presence of temporary positive and negative events (Fodde and Denti 2013). Such warning messages are usually lexicalised in the traditional hedged forms typical of evaluating discourse episodes, such as modal verbs and qualifiers (adjectives and adverbs) (Piras, Denti, Cervellati 2012). More precisely, epistemic modal verbs (in particular *will*, *can*, *may, should*) communicate the analyst's degree of certainty, confidence, commitment in estimating future events, and, therefore, enhance his/her credibility:

(8) The median stock in our BRICs basket increased sales by 15% versus 1Q 2009 […] This result is consistent with our view that GDP growth in the BRICs economies relative to the US will lead to comparatively faster sales […] (KK, 30.04.2010: 2).

BB					KK				
word	freq.	%	texts	%	word	freq.	%	texts	%
WILL	813	0.39	8	100.00	WILL	420	0.42	78	85.71
CAN	267	0.13	8	100.00	MAY	107	0.11	48	52.75
SHOULD	131	0.06	8	100.00	SHOULD	81	0.08	43	47.25
COULD	124	0.06	8	100.00	COULD	45	0.05	26	28.57
ABLE	100	0.05	8	100.00	ABILITY	27	0.03	21	23.08
MAY	84	0.04	8	100.00	CAN	15	0.02	11	12.09

Table 2. Modal verb distribution

As we can see from Table 2, in both BBs and in KSs *will* is the most frequent modal verb, suggesting the high degree of certainty and commitment of the management/analyst's stance, a sign of his/her personal belief, awareness, expertise, towards the claim (Palmer 1986; Facchinetti 1992). In BBs, the frequent use of *will* denotes the management's well-known attitude to overconfidence (Shefrin 2006; Piras, Denti, Cervellati 2012).

May shows higher formality and lower probability which represent KS analysts' cautious stance towards their opinions and recommendations. In BBs, *can* conveys the management's viewpoint. This is also enhanced by the use of first personal pronouns and direct speech.

Should is the third most frequent modal verb in both *subcorpora* and normally functions to provide advice, implying a higher exposure of the financial analyst reputation. It is higher in KSs as they are more predictive and evaluative than BBs.

Other hedging devices, such as adjectives – e.g., *probable*, *possible* –, adverbs – e.g., *probably*, *certainly* –, nouns – e.g., *thought*, *recommendation* –, and lexical verbs – e.g., *advise*, *recommend*, *believe* – mitigate the message, showing what is possible, necessary, probable, etc.

The use of pronouns is also pinpointing of the position of the analyst toward the reader and of the covered company.

BB					KK				
word	freq.	%	texts	%	word	freq.	%	texts	%
WE	6091	2.94	8	100.00	WE	762	0.77	91	100.00
I	1367	0.66	8	100.00	THEY	20	0.02	16	17.58
YOU	948	0.46	8	100.00	YOUR	7		7	7.69
THEY	468	0.23	8	100.00	YOUR	5		2	2.20
YOUR	35	0.02	8	100.00	I	4		4	4.40
HE	7	0.04	4	50.00	HE	1		1	1.10
SHE	1		1	12.50	SHE	1		1	1.10

Table 3. Personal pronoun occurrence

In Table 3, the most frequent personal pronoun in both *subcorpora* is *We*. This means that the author's involvement in his/her utterances is high. However, *We* may play several roles. It is exclusive when it refers to two or more analysts organized in a team and involved in the writing of the report, and they all belong to the same organization. In this case, *We* represents the analyst's point of view:

(9) "*We* highlight", "*We* continue to believe", "*we* advise clients", "Conversations *we* are having with clients: *our* questions and *their* answers" (author's emphasis).

It is used inclusively, instead, with reference to the analysts and the corporate management (especially in BBs), but also to embrace all the participants to the communicative act: analysts, companies, experts and non-expert readers. In this case, the distance with the reader is reduced, enhancing the relationship. Sometimes *We*, but more often *I*, are used

in direct speech when reporting the management's stance (BBs): "*I believe*". The difference between the subcorpora is due to the fact that BBs report the management's opinion and attitude in highlighting their frontline role. This is reinforced by the presence of such verbs as *believe*, *expect*, *feel*, *forecast*, *outlook*, *point*, *recommend*, *view*, *suggest*, which also highlight the documents' general purpose: while KSs have an informative, evaluative and predictive function, BBs are mainly informative and rarely evaluative and predictive on the part of the analysts (Piras, Denti, Cervellati 2012).

You, instead, marks colloquialism and the language typical of conference calls (Crawford Camiciottoli 2017), which is, of course, reflected in the linguistic choices of BBs. *You* assesses the personal relationship existing between analysts and corporate managers. This is also where most conflicts of interest may arise. However, *you* has a performative function. It builds a direct dialogue between the writer/speaker and the reader, a double dialogue: one between the manager and the analyst and one between the analyst and the reader. The analyst chooses what extracts to incorporate in the report, filtering in a certain way the manager's information, emphasising or attenuating the strength of the message conveyed.

Appealing to rationality, analysts attempt to influence the public on a controversial issue. The result mainly depends on their discursive abilities. Thus, the study has considered other possible indicators of causality (Eemeren *et al.* 2007): negative forms, function words, verbs of process, reference to an event as the cause/result of something else, reference to future events (resulting from present actions) and the mention of positive/negative consequences. Following Bamford (1998: 112), "causality markers are those lexical items or phrases which signal to the reader a relation of cause and effect between (usually) the antecedent and the subsequent stretches of discourse". The overall wordlist has been scanned looking for indicators of causal relations and their concordances.

Negative forms express the analyst's contrasting opinion towards somebody else's position:

(10)"Final sales rose […] *suggesting* that end demand has *not* recovered as strongly. Goldman Sachs Economics has *not* upgraded its 2010 GDP forecast, *suggesting* that […]" (KS, 29.01.2010, author's emphasis). *Not* is the 46th most frequent item, appearing 967 times.

Function words play the key role of signalling to the reader the presence of a causality relation: *as* and *for* are among the 13 most frequent items in the wordlist (2896 and 2718 occurrences, representing respectively 0.66% and 0.62%), *so* is less frequent but still relevant (1056 occurrences), while *because*, always used to express a cause, is definitely less recurrent (211 instances). The word *result* appears 214 times, 176 of which in the conjunctive element *as a result*. Some examples are provided in Figure 1. *As a consequence* or *consequently* are not consistent, as well as *as cause of. Due to* is also present (170 times), more often in collocation with *was* or another verb in the simple past, but also found with the simple present. *Since* occurs 383 times, but mostly as a time marker.

N	Concordance
6	in its research reports. As a result, investors should be a
7	in its research reports. As a result, investors should be a
8	in its research reports. As a result, investors should be a
9	l year 2010 EPS estimates. The result is above the average o
10	in its research reports. As a result, investors should be a
112	of inventory draw-downs. As a result, the mood in the coal
113	iod has usually followed. As a result, we expect demand for
114	n existing train service. As a result, road crew starts were
115	to be up in the 5% range as a result of our flat capacity a
116	little bit sequentially, as a result of three factors, all

Fig. 1. Example of *result* concordance

Verbs of process represent those actions that generate a result: *make, change, result, generate, give* are recurrent, occasionally also as nouns identifying the cause or the result of a certain action. *Give* and *generate* are more frequent in their past participle, reporting facts to support a certain statement. *Lead* is present mostly accompanied by *will*, sometimes by *may*, *should*, *could*, *is expected to*, *is going to*, with a future meaning. Sometimes it is in the present tense, and sometimes it is strengthened by *certainly*, indicating the analyst's total confidence. *Lead* is also frequent in the simple past, past participle and present perfect, when referring to the cause of an event, and to the duration of a certain action or measure. In general, verbal causality markers are often less explicit than conjunction or function words: "the reader has to infer the causal relation and the consequent amount of processing required is much greater. […] It is the underlying semantic relation of causality

which has the cohesive power […]" (Bamford 1998: 114). As for those verbs used for purposes of reasoning, they are not quantitatively relevant: the most instances found are of *show* and *suggest*, while *prove*, *demonstrate* and *produce* are insignificant.

Among the markers of reference to an event as the cause/result of something else, the highest occurrences are *risk/risks*, mainly as a noun, often accompanied by *adjusted* as in *risk-adjusted return*), *recovery/ies, action/s, effect/s, benefit/s*. Nominalization has a relevant rhetorical function in developing the argument and making it explicit (Halliday and Hasan 1993: 60).

Benefit is also frequent as a verb (86/210 occurrences) in the simple past and simple present, in the present perfect, and in the future introduced by *will* but also *should*, *would* and *may*, as highlighted in Figure 2.

1	2008. Sustained low interest rates will benefit risk assets. Cyclical sectors
2	with robust Chinese growth should also benefit commodity-prices given that
3	sector recommendation – would also benefit from a strengthening in the CNY
4	Asia-Pacific equities should also largely benefit from a CNY appreciation. In their
5	meaningfully from their highs; and would benefit from an uptick in Chinese
6	may indicate analysts are pricing in the benefits of BRICs sales exposure. Our
7	our view that firms with non-US revenue benefit from higher growth. Growth
8	, USB. Theme 2: Earnings and margins benefit from operating leverage. Cost
9	1300 as sustained low interest rates benefitted risk assets and strong growth
10	(long / short SPX) returned 129 bp, benefitting from the strong performance
11	with low operating leverage should benefit from stable margins and less
12	. Corporate margins continue to benefit from 2009 cost cuts and lean
13	rates is a weaker US Dollar which benefits US exporters and also
14	QE2 entered public debate and it will benefit revenues of US companies,
15	and Discretionary and Industrials have benefitted most from margin expansion

Fig. 2. Benefit concordances

Reference to future events, resulting from present actions, mainly expressed through *will, going to, may,* is often accompanied by the word *future*, both as an adjective and as a noun – e.g., *in the future*, *for the future*, *in the foreseeable future*, *into the future*, *future business activity/price/level*, *expected future cash flows*. The past, instead, is used to report facts. Positive/negative consequences are uttered through expressions such as *would/should/may risk, would/should may benefit, may/should recover* (also *will*).

5. Conclusions

Coherent persuasion strategies attempt to convey a well-defined, identifiable message. The present argumentative analysis was carried out through close reading which allowed for the reconstruction of the general structure, the identification of patterns, and the consequent evaluation of argumentation in financial reports. In order to identify repeating/recurrent patterns, corpus linguistics was applied.

The present paper has tried to show how this genre follows conventional patterns, typical of financial discourse, to report and assess facts, reflecting the speaker's stance and positioning the audience, and to forecast future possible developments, measures, and actions, intelligible for the general readership.

Within these linguistic strategies and argumentative schemes, it uses certain devices in a creative way to mitigate or enhance certain events, to support investors' decisions, increasing their credibility and reducing their liability and reputational risk. They avoid taking precise positions on future predictions unless strictly necessary. They are reluctant to incorporate negative information in their reports.

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THE CULTURAL DIMENSION AND ELF PRODUCTIVITY IN THE LANGUAGE OF TOURISM

Abstract

This paper studies a corpus of online English texts used to promote tourist facilities and local products in Salento. They focus specifically on the luxury market and promote not only the quality of the food, the beauty of the landscapes and tourist accommodation facilities, but also the amount of time required to fully enjoy the local traditions and the exclusivity of the whole experience. This study focuses on the conceptual, metaphorical and linguistic aspects that refer to the notions of 'slowness', 'tradition' and 'exclusivity' found in the total experience enjoyed by the tourist, highlighting the best examples of product advertising and explaining the persuasive intent of the linguistic devices which can make them competitive in international contexts. Within the same perspective of international competition, the role of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) is examined, as it is considered here as a communicative (explanatory and persuasive) tool among non-native English speakers.

Keywords: ELF; tourism; metaphors; local cultures; sociolinguistic competence.

1. *Introduction*

In this study I will explore how ELF is shaped to mark the peculiarities of the territory in the advertising texts of tourist facilities' websites. Scholars such as MacCannell (1976), Urry (1990), and Dann (1996) have studied the relationship between language and tourism, arguing that the tourist experience is defined by using language to convey specific images of the destination. Thus, the language informs the tourist about what must be seen and directs his/her gaze through "an anticipation of intense pleasures" (Urry, 1990: 3). As Dann (1996) affirms, the tourism industry uses language to allure and 'control' tourists and their experience of the destination (Cf. Vestito 2007). In Italy, many studies have focused on the specialised discourse of tourism from different perspectives (Calvi 2000; Cappelli 2007; Castello 2002; Daly and

Parlati 2005; Gotti 2006; Nigro 2006; Palusci and Francesconi 2006). Some studies have focused specifically on the language of tourism on the Web (Pierini 2004; 2007) and many scholars are now further examining various features of ELF in tourism, such as Guido (2017), Guido *et al.* (2017), Christiansen (2017), Pierini (2008), Francesconi (2007), Bruyel-Olmedo and Juan-Garau (2009).

The World Wide Web is an extraordinary tool of communication and as such, it is a powerful tool for advertising. Communication on websites promoting tourism belong to the text genre of *Web advert* (Janoschka 2004) where the level of discourse is not particularly elevated (Cf. Pierini 2008). The texts are written by anonymous professionals in the field of tourism and, in the case of the texts examined in this study, by native Italian speakers. The linguistic devices used to highlight the most important aspects and peculiarities of the territory are usually chosen to create an image in the minds of the readers, a conceptualisation which should be close to the reality they will find on their holiday. In this case, the use of ELF allows the reader to access important information about the location, but also to feel as if they are already in contact with the local atmosphere. As a matter of fact, Italian (or local dialect) words are used in the texts as symbols of the host culture and aim to emphasise perceived culture-specific elements (Cf. Vestito 2007). International tourism has spread in the Salento area in relatively recent times and as a result, tourist infrastructure has developed and adapted to accommodate this growth. Each area seeks to promote its own identity by highlighting the beauty of places to visit, and exalting their characteristic features in order to make one holiday destination more appealing than another (Dann 1996). All tourist facilities are made visible and traceable through the use of their own websites.

From a linguistic point of view, websites are extremely heterogeneous since the hotels in international circuits or belonging to international hotel chains have standardised promotional texts. These texts reveal almost nothing of the peculiarity of the territory in which the tourist facilities are located. The neutrality of these descriptions therefore reflects on the locations. In fact, there is no lexical or metaphorical reference to 'tradition/traditional' and so there is no evocation of the atmosphere or the slow rhythms of Apulian village life. Exclusivity is represented by the number of stars given to the facility, which describe a level of comfort available anywhere in the world. On the contrary, the infrastructures not belonging to international hotel chains but that are independently owned and run by local residents use forms of ELF to promote their image and advertise the services they offer. It is the con-

notative aspects of the language used that evoke in the reader/traveller an image that conceptualises his/her holiday idea.

This conceptualization leads us to consider the aspect of sociolinguistic competence related to English as a Lingua Franca. The development of international tourism has increased professional communication in this area, even if there is often a lack of sociolinguistic competence in the use of ELF, which could best satisfy the connotative aspects related to tourism advertising. The lack of competence produces negative effects on the quality of the message to be communicated, because not only does the message fail to fulfil the desired effect of suasion (Mattiello 2012), but it is often completely unintelligible both for native speakers and non-native speakers of the English language. The techniques of advertising communication imply the use of particular strategies (Boyer and Viallon 1994), and the *seducing strategy* exploits the expectations of the receiver pointing at the 'unique' aspect of the tourist product (Cf. Vestito 2007).

The research data were collected at random from a selection of websites describing local hotels and resorts and then a mini-corpus[1] of particular clusters was prepared and analysed. The linguistic items considered here are those related to the terms 'slowness', 'tradition/traditional' and 'exclusive' and are considered in their conceptualisation in metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1982) or according to references which recall and activate in the reader/tourist's mind an image that is partially predictable. Furthermore, this study focuses its analysis on some examples of reformulation in ELF with the aim of achieving accessibility.

2. *Research Rationale*

We define here the context of this study, the possible participants in the interactions described and the definition of the main communicative medium, which is English as a Lingua Franca. As in Seidlhofer (2013), ELF is considered here as a tool of intercultural communication with potential for use in various professional settings. To this concept we should connect that of competence. A sociolinguistic concept readapted on the basis of sociological transformation that involves the marketing of the local tourism too. In order to be competitive a promotional text should possess communication strategies that are able to make a significant difference in the communicative effect and effectiveness. In

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[1]   The term 'corpus' will be used in this study with reference to a collection of selected texts drawn from websites and does not imply a quantitative method of analysis (e.g. computer assisted linguistic analysis of electronic data).

this study the difference is highlighted between the standardised tourist locations in Salento and those that are set in a more contextualised environment and analysed in the corpus. This analysis aims at focusing its attention on the communication strategies adopted by these infrastructures in order to promote the local culture, shaping the language to achieve specific goals.

3. *Theoretical aspects*

Sociolinguistic competence related to the use of ELF (Seidlhofer 2013) represents a crucial factor in the promotion of tourist facilities. A luxurious and exclusive tourist facility needs a suitable presentation not only through images, but also with texts which describe the place and the services offered, because they allow a deeper emotional involvement of the reader (Mattia 2013). In the English versions of the texts proposed by tourist facilities' websites the connotative aspects and consequently imaginative and emotional aspects, are extremely important because they allow the reader/tourist to conceptualise the holiday he/she is planning in a sort of virtual experience created through appropriate linguistic devices. This theoretical section aims at highlighting the different discursive strategies of reformulation which, in the mini-corpus of the selected websites, have both a descriptive and persuasive function. The implicit reader/tourist is identified as a traveller who can probably empathize with the content of the promotional text (advertising). The mini-corpus is analysed in this perspective, and attention is focused on the particular choices made by the website producers and designers according to the terms of accessibility (Widdowson 1979) and acceptability. These choices involve the use of metaphors as the incarnation (Lakoffand Johnson 1982) and evocative representation of the places and events they refer to, as well as lexical and structural strategies which aim to explain and show the cultural peculiarities of the advertised places. An important aspect of the communicative process is represented by the central role of ELF, which becomes the medium for effective communication.

Here we consider both the perspective of the text producer, who selects the best textual features to guarantee successful promotion, and the point of view of the reader, who, as a non-native speaker, can activate a previous knowledge of the text (top-down process, Sanford and Garrod 1981) or recall it through new informative stimuli. Therefore, this analysis will investigate if and to what extent the original text is accessible to the reader. The top-down process is, in fact, considered in the studies of linguistics as a cognitive strategy of inference of meaning

and it is here used to explain the interpretative devices that the implicit reader activates in recognizing the content of the new text. To this end some excerpts from websites are considered, analysing the emotional inputs that the text proposes as well.

4. *Corpus and Method*

The mini-corpus of English versions of websites of tourist infrastructures in Salento has been prepared collecting a wider corpus of websites and identifying in them those linguistic and metaphorical items which were considered relevant to the study. The websites examined are not involved in international hotel chains and this allows us to study non-standardised texts that best represent the features of the territory. The linguistic items analysed are those related to the conceptualisations of the terms 'slowness', 'tradition/traditional' and 'exclusive', highlighting the persuasive strength of those linguistic devices that allow the tourist products to be competitive in international contexts. These aspects are considered in their conceptualisation in metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1982) or according to references which bring them to mind and activate in the reader/tourist an image that is partially predictable. The study also looks at the fundamental role of ELF as a communicative tool (explanatory and persuasive) between non-native speakers of English and its role as a conceptual and emotional lever in the different cognitive and communicative dimensions of language.

5. *Cognitive linguistics applied to strategies of persuasion*

The discourse of tourism in the last decade has been the subject of discussion by scholars. Some experts (Gotti 2006) have described it as a specialised language based on its stylistic characteristics and linguistic strategies of persuasion, despite the fact that some of the peculiarities related particularly to the lexicon of specialised languages are not present. Others (Cappelli 2012), argue that because of this it cannot be considered a form of specialised discourse.

The analysis of the examples chosen highlights a personalisation of the language of tourism and its aim to charm, persuade and seduce the reader/tourist. Seduction (Boyer and Viallon 1994) or suasion, as Mattiello (2012) defines it, is the main purpose of these texts, which use a variety of strategies to promote hotels, resorts, etc. At the moment, websites are the most influential tools in communication and promotion and the aspect of 'suasion' needs particular attention in that, as Mattiello affirms, it is obtained through the metaphorical use of language.

The texts analysed in this study show metaphors that refer to the concept of slowness, in the sense of a slower pace of life, taking time to taste a typical dish or to get pleasure from a beautiful landscape. The concept of 'slowness' in these cases refers to time as a valuable asset, a cultural aspect and a luxury that only some tourist infrastructures, organized in a particular way can offer. The words 'tradition/traditional' are also used to evoke this aspect of life in Salento, expressed not only in the countless references to dishes and to their cooking or to the growing of vegetables etc. which takes time and care, but also in the recurring use of references like 'Apulian way of life' which becomes itself a symbol of exclusivity and luxury. Guido (2004) defined the specialised registers as "non totally standardised and homogeneous" and this aspect appears particularly clear in the promotional texts of the tourist facilities examined in this work. As a matter of fact, the independent tourist facilities highlight creative descriptions of the services and products offered, focusing on the characteristics of a particular resort or hotel and with adapted strategies of persuasion.

Tourist promotion on the web takes place in a multimodal way because as well as the text, images and music play an important and evocative role, too. It is also powerful because it allows the future tourist to build a personal view of the destination, just as he/she desires it and to overlap this view with the proposed one or to totally replace it. In fact, as Mattiello (2012) affirms, metaphors can be literally interpreted or meta-represented to activate a mental image which evokes an imaginary world (Davidson 1984; Levin 1993; Camp 2006).

Scholars such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff and Turner (1982) considered metaphors as constitutive aspects of human thought (Cf. Mattiello 2012). Lakoff and Johnson affirmed that individuals represent abstract concepts through physical image schemata, that is, unconscious extensions of literal meanings to abstract categories of experience (Cf. Guido 2004). These image schemata are not common to all individuals because experiences are conceptualised and categorised in different ways in different cultures and in different individuals. Following this perspective, it is possible to affirm that image schemata should be activated in the reader/traveller by constructs, linguistic items, which describing places and possible activities can activate in the reader's mind the image of the experience he/she is looking for. The texts on tourist websites are argumentative, descriptive and narrative, but their main function is to be persuasive and the strategies adopted to this aim often play with the concept of exclusivity, so that the reader can perceive him/herself as a traveller who experiences new sensations and discovers magical places which are not an everyday occurrence.

To obtain the sensation and the perception of exclusivity advertisers use certain constructs. These constructs should awaken the reader/traveller's imagination and should be familiar to them so that they can identify themselves with the text and with the holiday itself (Cf. Maci 2012). This is probably why the language of tourism shows a low frequency of specialised terms. Its lexicon is considered non specialised by some scholars, but it possesses some features which are peculiar to specialised discourses, like transparency and accessibility. These features also derive from the use of metaphors and imply a sociolinguistic competence by the writer, who should be able to activate schematic frames of knowledge and experience in the reader and transform them into interpretative convergences (Widdowson 1984). The lack of a medium between the reader/tourist and the holiday leads to an immediate emotional involvement, which influences the choice of a particular tourist infrastructure based on the sensations evoked by the text which represents it.

6. *Research focus: constructs, cultural connotation and ELF*

The data gathered highlight the evocative and persuasive strength of some statements in which the lexical items of the general language acquire a specialised significance as constructs able to elicit a persuasive effect on the reader (Maci 2012). Thus, accessibility is guaranteed by these constructs and by their shared knowledge, because, as Widdowson (1984) affirms, accessibility is obtained when the writer of a text is able to link the various schematic frames of knowledge and experience of the reader in interpretative convergences, creating the conditions for shared discourse acceptability.

Let's examine some examples of website texts with connotations of tradition and exclusivity written by Italian native speakers:

1. The small streets and corners that are typical of an Apulian village suspended in timeless tradition reflect simplicity, elegance and the highest attention to detail.

In this description the aim is to describe the setting of the resort as a small rural village in Salento, surrounded by a magical *aura* thanks to "suspended in timeless tradition" and the "simplicity" referred to does not indicate a lack of comfort and luxury, on the contrary, in the last part of this sentence, "the highest attention to detail" focuses on the exclusivity of the place where every detail is important.

2. Every single restaurant at Borgo Egnazia provides a unique experience and atmosphere, treasuring the highest culinary quality and embodying the many faces of our tradition.

The adjectives used in this description are of fundamental importance in the realization of an image schema which includes not only the aspect of exclusivity with the use of adjectives in "every single restaurant" and of the superlative "the highest culinary quality", but also the magical sensation thanks to the adjective "unique" referred to "experience and atmosphere".

It is in the verb "treasuring" that all the magic of the 'suasion' (Mattiello 2012) and seduction (Boyer and Viallon, 1994) of this description is expressed. In the Italian version the verb used is 'valorizzare' but it does not possess the same evocative strength in its cultural implications. The sentence "Embodying the many faces of our tradition" promises the same magic as the other aspects of staying in that place and, on the other hand, reassures the reader because the noun "tradition" refers to those aspects of life that are reassuring. So although the traveller has the desire to explore, discover and experience, they also need to perceive the safety of the places they have chosen to visit.

3. An extract from an article published in an eminent American newspaper is used by one of the resorts examined and has a reference to the slow rhythms of the daily activities in the small villages of Salento: *The slow-paced villages that make up Salento boast a stunning landscape, deep-blue seas, centuries of history – and are blissfully isolated from the 21st century*. "Slow-paced" is a perfect definition of the sensation experienced walking around those places in the early afternoon, when very little is happening. The isolation mentioned in this description may worry the reader, but the adverb "blissfully" completely modifies the image in the readers' minds, achieving the proposed aim of enticing the traveller to visit that place.

As for the productivity of ELF, we can find some good examples in the following statements:

4. *Whether it's a gourmet dinner in dim candle lights, an Apulian 'crudo' overlooking the sea, a pizza in the open or a traditional dish of tasty 'orecchiette', Borgo Egnazia has a place fulfilling your every wish to discover the most authentic 'Apulian food'.*

In this description of the setting and local dishes we find an interesting example of ELF creativity and productivity. The phrase "an Apulian

'crudo'" shows the change of category of the adjective "crudo", used here in Italian because the possible translation 'raw fish and seafood' does not effectively convey the real meaning of the local tradition. "Crudo" is not just a way of eating fish without cooking it, but it involves a tradition, a local culture, that implies the extreme freshness of fish, the possibility of eating seafood by the seaside in informal contexts, etc. This tradition is represented by this adjective, which in Italian can also be used as a noun as in this example, and is preceded by the adjective 'Apulian' to be better understood by an international audience.

In the same way, "a pizza in the open", and not 'a pizza Alfresco', the usual definition of an outdoor dinner, could be understood as a better way to describe this situation from an Italian point of view.

7. Conclusion

Tourist advertising texts on the web are extremely heterogeneous and in certain cases they do not show distinctive peculiarities in the description of the setting or of the tourist infrastructure so those texts could be representative of any resort anywhere in the world. The examples analysed here confirm the theoretical patterns of the references used and demonstrate that an appropriate sociolinguistic competence on the part of those who write and propose the promotional tourist texts could be able to raise in the reader the desired effects of emotional involvement and persuasion and to encourage them to become a traveller. The ability to transform certain common lexical items such as *slowness* and *tradition* into image schema of luxury and exclusivity traces back to the concept of accessibility presented by Widdowson (1984) who affirms that it is obtained when the writer is able to connect the different *schematic frames* of knowledge and experience of the reader in interpretative convergences, promoting a shared discourse acceptability. In the same perspective, we find the role of ELF, examined here as a tool of intercultural communication and representative of one of the main aspects of the communicative process, which is the accessibility of ELF in this context. ELF represents here some features of the local culture that can be adapted to the purposes of international communication through the communication strategies adopted.

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A COMPARATIVE ETHNOPOETIC ANALYSIS
OF SEA-ODYSSEYS IN MIGRANTS' ELF ACCOUNTS
AND ANCIENT EPIC TALES TRANSLATED INTO ELF:
AN EXPERIENTIAL-LINGUISTIC AND MULTIMODAL
APPROACH TO RESPONSIBLE TOURISM

Abstract

This paper reports on an experiential-linguistic and multimodal model applied to a comparative ethnopoetic analysis of non-western migrants' traumatic accounts of tragic voyages across the sea, reported in their variations of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), and epic narratives of Mediterranean dramatic odysseys towards 'Utopian places' translated from Ancient Greek and Latin into modern ELF variations, in the context of an Experiential Place-Marketing plan in Responsible Tourism. The objective is to 'emotionally promote' (*premote*) the seaside resorts of Salento, affected by migrant arrivals, by involving tourists and migrants in joint cultural activities so as to investigate 'experientially' how such ancient and modern oral tales are actually structured into natural 'ethnopoetic verse structures' reproducing the rhythms and emotions associated to dramatic odysseys across the sea and to the traumatic experience of violent natural elements. The ethnopoetic analysis, translation, and the multimodal rendering of such sea-voyage dramatic tales into a 'premotional video' for place-marketing purposes, intends to make both tourists and migrants aware of their common experiential roots, as well as of the shared socio-cultural values and narrative heritage of their respective different communities.

Keywords: ethnopoetic analysis; responsible tourism; ELF; experiential-linguistic analysis; multimodality.

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[1]   The authors have contributed equally to the overall drafting of this Chapter. Maria Grazia Guido is responsible for Sections 1 and 2; Lucia Errico for Section 3; Pietro Luigi Iaia for Sections 4 and 5.

1. *Introduction: research context*

This paper introduces a cognitive-pragmatic approach to Responsible Tourism (Prayag, Hosany, Odeh 2013) grounded on an Experiential-Linguistics model (Langacker 1991) of multimodal ethnopoetic analysis (Hymes 2003) applied to two corpora of: a) modern non-Western migrants' sea-voyage narratives, reported in their variations of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) (Guido 2008; 2016), and b) epic narratives of voyages across the Mediterranean sea translated from Ancient Greek and Latin 'lingua francas' of the past into contemporary ELF variations (Guido, Errico, Iaia, Amatulli 2016). In both cases, sea-voyages are described as journeys towards 'Utopian places' – a label that is here attributed to the seaside resorts of Salento, an area of Southern Italy affected by migrant arrivals, but with a centuries-old tradition of hospitality and hybridisation of cultures and languages. Such places are 'emotionally promoted' (*premoted*) by directly involving tourists and migrants – who happen to live in the same holiday locations, making them aware of their common experiential roots as sea-voyagers. Such an awareness in these two groups of voyagers with very different journey motivations is meant to be achieved through joint intercultural activities exploring each other's sea-journey experiences through ethnopoetic narrative analysis, video making and ELF subtitling as if they were 'philologists', 'ethnographers', and 'video-makers'.

The methodology adopted is the Ethnopoetic Analysis (Hymes 2003) through which both tourists and migrants, as subjects and recipients of this project, are made aware, under the guidance of researchers as 'intercultural mediators', of how modern and ancient oral sea-voyage narratives belonging to different ages, places and cultures are naturally structured into 'ethnopoetic verses' reproducing the rhythms and movements of human actions and emotions related to traumatic sea-journeys characterised by a fierce fight against violent natural elements. Such ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives are then rendered into multimodal representations (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) through the making of a video with ELF subtitles aimed at producing promotional/emotional (*premotional*) effects on both international tourists and migrants in order to make their experience of the seaside resorts they live in relevant for their personal and cultural growth.

2. *Experiential ethnopoetic rhythms of migrants' sea-voyage narratives through ELF*

Part 1, mainly addressed to the international tourists in contact with migrants, regards the ethnopoetic exploration of extracts from a corpus of African migrants' oral sea-voyage narratives. The extract reported

below represents an instance of a recurrent feature in such narratives in which the personifications of violent natural elements (i.e., stormy sea and giant waves) and of inanimate objects (i.e., the ship) are due to the structure of ergative clauses [OVS] where the inanimate Object is collocated in Subject position as if it were an animate Agent endowed with its own autonomous energy (Talmy 1988). Such ergative constructions represent the grammaticalisation of an ancient pragmatic feature to be found in Proto-Indo-European and Proto-Afro-Asiatic languages spoken by the earliest populations living in unsettling natural environments that they experienced as deliberately hostile to humans. Ergativity is still grammaticalised in a number of contemporary African languages (Heine and Nurse 2000) and is unconsciously transferred to the structures of the ELF variations used by African migrants in intercultural communication (Guido 2008). Furthermore, these ergative clausal structures typical of earliest oral narratives have also been revived in several literary reconstructions of old folktales which, in the case in point, were employed to make tourists familiarise with the structures of African migrants' sea-voyage narratives. In particular, tourists were introduced to S.T. Coleridge's poetic revisitation of ancient oral narratives, *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, as they were assumed to have already come across this poem in their school days. More specifically, they examined the 'Storm-blast' scene in the poem ("And now the STORM-BLAST came and he was tyrannous and strong […] The ship drove fast, loud roared the blast […]"), focused on personifications of inanimate objects and natural elements (i.e., "the ship" the sailors identify themselves with, and the "STORM-BLAST", whose fierceness is underscored by the capital letters) as 'ergative actors' in subject position, ferociously fighting one against the other.

This initial reference to a literary source was meant to facilitate in tourists an emotional embodiment of the migrants' experience of their fight against the natural elements represented as 'ergative subjects' in their sea-voyage narratives. The following extract reproduces one of such narratives from a Nigerian migrant's oral journey report in Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) – an endonormative variety of English that is usually perceived as an ELF variation once Nigerian migrants land in Italy (Guido 2008). This oral narrative was organised into spontaneous "ethnopoetic verses" (Hymes 2003), typical of autochthonous oral tales characterised by a rhythm stressing the emotions associated with the narrated story. Another characteristic of such an oral narrative is represented by the ergative personifications of natural elements in a force-dynamic subject position, intentionally attacking the migrants who desperately fight by collectively identifying themselves with the

personification of the 'ship' carrying them. The following ethnopoetic transcript reports this narrative, first in its original NPE variant, and then rendered into a variation of ELF meant to reproduce the same rhythmical and syntactic patterns of the original narrative. In this way, the form of the emotional account of events is respected without retaining the typical syntactic features of this Nigerian-English variation (e.g., the pre-verbal tense/aspect markers "bin", "don", "de", the plural marker "dem", etc.) which may be obscure to most of the tourists and migrants participating in this research project[2]:

˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — — ˘ — ˘ — —

1. won old <u>ship</u> bin bo::ard os <u>many</u> many >na wahala every wie o<

˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — — ˘ — ˘ — —

An old ship did board us many many, the affliction everywhere, oh

˘ — — — ˘ — ˘ — — — ˘ —

2. =di <u>deck</u> so:: so::: bin <u>pack</u> (.) di hold so so bin <u>cra::m</u>

˘ — — — ˘ — ˘ — — — ˘ —

The deck so so much packed, the hold so so much crammed

˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — — ˘

3. .hhh di ship <u>wood</u> bin <u>sweat</u> hh di <u>hull</u> bin (.) <u>drip</u> water

˘ ˘ — — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — — ˘

The ship wood did sweat, the hull did drip water

— ˘ — — ˘

4. .hh after won day journey

— ˘ — — ˘

After one day's journey

˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — — ˘ —

5. di <u>ship</u> bin <u>struggle</u> struggle against di <u>se:::a</u> (.) .hh-<u>heavy</u> won night

˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — — ˘ —

The ship did struggle struggle against the sea, heavy, one night

˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ —

6. = di <u>ship</u> bin don <u>shi::ver</u> (.) o o (.)

˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ —

The ship had then shivered, oh

˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ — — ˘ — ˘ —

7. no bi move possible (..) <u>inside</u> (.) mek di ship no turn (..)

˘ ˘ — — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ —

Nor was move possible inside to make the ship not turn.

Fig. 1. Ethnopoetic transcript

By listening to this sea-voyage narration, both tourists and migrants became aware of how, at that very moment of extreme danger, the metre, in both the original NPE version and its rendering into an equivalent ELF variation, becomes irregular, thus emphasising the migrants' growing feeling of despair. The force-dynamic subject in the ergative clauses of this narration is embodied by the "ship" as a whole or, metonymically, by its parts. The "old ship" in ergative-subject position in line 1 carries too many migrants, whose anguished feelings and emotions are rendered by the Igbo term *wahala*, a substratum loan-word meaning 'affliction', which is felt 'everywhere' on the ship. This sense of anguish is stressed by the emphatic phoneme /o/, representing an Igbo/Yoruba emotional interjection. In this line 1, the initial anapaest (˘ ˘ ¯) slowing the rhythm down is suddenly followed by an iambus (˘ ¯) and a bacchius (˘ ¯ ¯ – "many many"), introducing a fast syncopation in the verse rhythm as the ship becomes overcrowded. Also word reduplication as an 'emotional intensifier' is a typical 'substratum-loan structure' transferred from Nigerian indigenous languages to NPE (e.g.: "many many" in line 1, "so so" in line 2, referred to the crowds of migrants on board, and "struggle struggle" in line 5, referred to the ship's desperate battle against the rough sea). Reduplication speeds the pace of the ethnopoetic verses even more, as it disrupts the regular iambic rhythm by

adding more stressed syllables falling on the reduplicated words, thus conveying the effect of a frantic throbbing of the terrified migrants' hearts. In line 2, for instance, the word reduplication disrupts the iambic rhythm with the addition of stressed syllables in two spondees ($\overline{}$ $\overline{}$ – "so so") making the pace faster. The migrants' disquieting feeling at realising their disregard for the insufficient capacity of the overcrowded old ship is metonymically represented by their perception of the parts of the ship rendered into ergative personifications. This results from a metonymic 'dissection' of the ship into its parts endowed with autonomous lives of their own. In such a representation, transitive verbs are used intransitively – e.g., the ship-deck "packed", the hold "crammed" with people, so, as a consequence, in line 3, the ship wood "sweated", and the hull "dripped water". Transitive verbs used intransitively are typical of the original NPE report and they are retained in this ELF version, conveying the effect of metonymically personified parts of the ship in ergative-subject position that cannot hold the huge number of migrants on board any longer, and migrants themselves overcrowding the ship's parts are represented like a physical reaction, an infection resembling clusters of blisters generated by the ship's skin. In line 3, the initial anapaest and the final bacchius speed the pace of the rhythm even more, reproducing the pace of the migrants' breath and heartbeat as they narrate their sea-voyage. In line 3, the original metre is preserved by rendering NPE pre-verbal past-tense marker of the past tense "bin" into the past-simple auxiliary "did" emphatically used within an affirmative clause, which would add an emotional stress to the narration. Only once, in line 4 ("After one day's journey"), is an initial trochee introduced in a shorter line to signal the rapid passing of the time. Line 5 focuses on an ergative personification of the "ship" fighting against the "sea", emphasised by the verb reduplication ("struggle struggle") whereas the pre-verbal marker "bin" is again replaced by "did" for metrical equivalence. Also in lines 6 and 7, the ELF translation reproduces the structural characteristics of NPE. In line 6, the emotional climax of the migrant's narrative is made more intense by the image of the voyagers' collective emotional fusion with the personified ship (in ergative-subject position) in its 'epic' battle against the rough sea and its giant waves, transferring to the ship their own sensation of 'shivering' for cold and terror.

   Ergative clause structures and the rhythms of the migrants' sea-voyage accounts can be identified also in classical epic narrative of the ancient Greek and Latin oral tradition which, like the migrants' oral sea-voyage narratives, report the earliest journey tales about the human beings' struggle against adverse natural elements. Such ancient epic

narratives are here translated into an ELF variation in order to facilitate accessibility to non-native speakers of English by pointing out analogies with modern migrants' sea-voyage narratives in ELF, but without disregarding the original metaphors and verse rhythms. Both tourists and migrants were made familiar with these epic translations and with modern migrants' analogous sea-voyage narratives, in order to identify parallelisms in both groups' experiences.

3. *Ethnopoetic rhythms and translation into ELF of ancient-Greek and Latin sea-voyage narratives*

Part 2 of this study introduces an ethnopoetic translation of epic sea-voyage narratives[3] into ELF. A hybrid variation of ELF was conceived for the translation of classical Greek and Latin sea-voyage narratives in order to make them familiar and accessible to both interacting groups of migrants and international tourists, regardless of their being native or non-native English-speakers. Such a variation was meant to adhere stylistically to the original ethnopoetic verses of the ancient epic narrations, although it was not stylistically devised for aesthetic effects. On the contrary, such translations into ELF were meant precisely to restore the ethnopoetic origins of epic narratives as oral reports of frightening sea-voyages. Indeed, in the journey narratives of the Ancient-Greek and Latin tradition, the ergative representations of furious natural elements that the voyagers had to face are underscored by the fast ethnopoetic rhythm of the dactylic hexameter. In the translation of these narratives from Ancient Greek and Latin into ELF, the dactylic hexameter is rendered into an irregular iambic metre prosodically reproducing the changing emotional rhythms of the narrations that are typical of the ELF variations used today by African migrants to report their frightening sea-voyage experiences.

In this specific part of the study, a comparative ethnopoetic analysis is carried out between the original sea-voyage narrative drawn from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid,* and their translation into ELF. The epic sea-voyages of classic heroes like Ulysses and Aeneas represent the cognitive archetypes that have inspired the Western travel literature over time, but that have also permeated the experiential roots of other non-Western populations.

The first extract under analysis is taken from Book XII of *Odyssey* (*Od*. 12, 403-421) and refers to the episode in which Ulysses and

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[3]   The ethnopoetic translations from classical literature into ELF were carried out by Lucia Errico.

his companions, in their voyage across the Mediterranean Sea, face a dreadful storm after leaving the island where they ate the cows sacred to Helios. In both the original Ancient-Greek verses and in their ELF translation, the natural elements ("Zeus, son of Cronus" as the "storm"; the "ship"; the "lightning"; the "waves") are all represented as animate agents causing the tragic events, collocated in ergative-subject position within the verse clauses – revealing possible Proto-Indo-European roots of such epic narratives belonging to the Western classical literary heritage. The troubled *nostos* of ancient and modern sea-voyagers describe the sea as a symbolic representation of the limit, as a *limen* from life to death. The storm described in this extract wrecks Ulysses' ship, kills his companions and drags him towards Calypso's island, representing the end of his journey (De Jong 2001). The rhythm of the original hexameter rendered in ELF into an iambic rhythm, reproduces precisely Ulysses' feelings of panic, dismay and terror, being continuously disrupted as Ulysses' and the other seafarers' emotions become more intense.

ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ τὴν νῆσον ἐλείπομεν οὐδέ τις ἄλλη   (403)

˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘

1. As soon as we were well far from the island

φαίνετο γαιάων, ἀλλ' οὐρανὸς ἠδὲ θάλασσα,

˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ —

2. *and* no other land appeared, *and* only sky *and* sea were round our way

δὴ τότε κυανέην νεφέλην ἔστησε Κρονίων

˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘

3. then really the son of Cronus

νηὸς ὕπερ γλαφυρῆς, ἤχλυσε δὲ πόντος ὑπ' αὐτῆς.

— ˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘

4. raised a purple *billow* above our *ship and waters* clouded over.

ἡ δ' ἔθει οὐ μάλα πολλὸν ἐπὶ χρόνον αἶψα γὰρ ἦλθε

— ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘ — ˘ ˘ — ˘

5. *She* didn't run for a long time, as suddenly came

κεκληγὼς ζέφυρος μεγάλη σὺν λαίλαπι θύων.

⏑ — ⏑ — — — ⏑ — ⏑ —

6. the shouting *W*est *W*ind, *w*hirling furiously. […]

Ζεὺς δ’ ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν: (415)

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ —

7. Then *Zeus* let fly with *his* thunderbolts,

ἡ δ’ ἐλελίχθη πᾶσα Διὸς πληγεῖσα κεραυνῷ,

⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

8. *and* the *ship* went round *and* round,

ἐν δὲ θεείου πλῆτο,

⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑

9. *and* was filled with fire as the *lightning* struck *her*.

πέσον δ’ ἐκ νηὸς ἑταῖροι.

⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ — ⏑ —

10. The men all fell into the sea.

Fig 2. *Odyssey*, 12: verses 403-408/415-420 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation

In the original Ancient-Greek verses, the rhythm of the hexameter, becoming faster and faster, underscores the emotional strength of the described facts. This is rendered into the ELF translation by an initial regular iambic rhythm – as in line 1, conveying the sense of a quiet, monotonous journey. The iambic rhythm continues in line 2 with the images of "sky" and "sea" in ergative-subject position, until an anapaest in the middle of the line and the repetition of "and" introduce a sense of alarming feelings in the voyagers. Line 3, then, focuses on a personification of the storm as "Zeus" ("the son of Cronus") in subject position, leading to the unexpected trochee in line 4 that disrupts the regularity

of the iambic rhythm with a stressed first word marking a sudden fright-
ening event, characterised by the personifications of "billow", "ship"
and "waters" in conflict, and thus rhythmically reproducing the rapid
pulse of the scared voyagers' hearts. In line 5, the "ship" is personified
through the use of the pronoun "she" in ergative-subject position. Then,
the next line 6 introduces the personification of one of the ship's antag-
onists, the "West Wind", also in this case in ergative-subject position,
whose fury is emphasised by an assonance ("*W*est *W*ind *w*hirling") re-
producing the loud sound of the blowing wind gusts. In line 7 also the
"storm" is personified as the mythological god "Zeus", in stressed sub-
ject position, launching thunderbolts. The two consecutive lines 8 and 9
are characterised by a series of anapaests starting with the conjunction
"and" which speeds the pace even more so as to stress the voyagers'
rising anguish at realising the impending tragic event – which occurs in
the final line 10, concluding the narration with a regular iambic rhythm
emphasising the sea-voyager's death by water.

Also the second extract presented to the two groups of migrants
and tourists, drawn from Book III of Virgil's *Aeneid*, represents anoth-
er stormy scene in which, again, the tempest is personified as a cruel
force-dynamic agent obstinately attempting to destroy human beings:

Postquam altum tenuere rates, nec iam amplius ullae

1. After the *ship* sailed, *and* the *shores* faded away,

adparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,

2. *and* the *sky* was everywhere, *and* everywhere the *sea*,

tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,

3. on my head a *burst of rain* billowed

noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris

4. loaded with tempest, black as night, *and* every *wave* grew dark *and* furious,

Continuo venti volvunt mare, magnaque surgunt

‿ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‿ ‿ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‿

5. while ruffling *winds* upset the *sea, and* huge *waves*

aequora; dispersi iactamur gurgite vasto.

‒ ‿ ‿ ‒ ‒ ‒ ‿ ‿ ‒‿ ‒
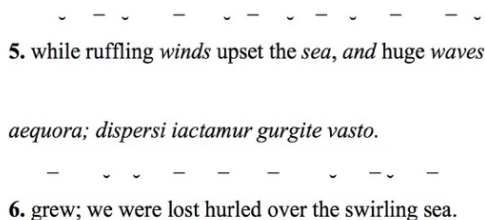
6. grew; we were lost hurled over the swirling sea.

Fig. 3. *Aeneid*, III: verses 192-197 and their ethnopoetic ELF translation

Also in this extract, the ethnopoetic translation of the original Latin verses into ELF has meant to update the ancient metrical form of the hexameter to the iambic rhythm typical of the modern journey narratives, in order to be more accessible to both tourists and migrants and to prompt in them an emotional involvement in the journey narrative. Also in this scene, the seafarers' experience of crossing the sea is narrated through tones of terror and anguish as the sea itself is represented as a place of "no return" (Lindenlauf 2003). At the beginning of the narration, in line 1, the initial dactyl (‒ ‿ ‿) followed by two stressed monosyllabic words emphasises the fast movement of the sailing "ship" leaving the "shores" behind, till they "faded away". Lines 2 and 3 are characterised by a series of anapaests and iambuses and a sequence of "and" emphasising the monotonous voyage. In line 4, the initial stressed syllables of the dactyl and the trochee mark a sudden feeling of fear, soon followed again by a regular iambic rhythm. But then, in line 5, the regular iambic rhythm is broken by two stressed words, "huge waves", emphasising feelings of terror and the fast heartbeat pace. In the final line 6 the mounting terror is even more emphasised by the additional stressed syllables reproducing the voyagers' heartbeat rhythm becoming frantic in response to the aggressive violence of the furious natural elements. Also in this scene, the storm typically represents the *transitus* from life to death.

4. '*Premotional Marketing' in Responsible Tourism: a multimodal retextualisation of ELF sea-voyage narratives*

In Part 3 of this research, multimodal retextualisations of ancient and modern sea-voyage narratives are carried out, aiming at emotionally involving both responsible tourists and migrants in the promotion of the 'Utopian' seaside resorts of Salento. In the audiovisual text under

examination[4] the tragic images of migrants' real journeys and the re-enactment of epic 'odysseys' interact so as to advertise the Southern seaside resorts affected by the mass arrivals of migrants as places of peace, natural beauty, hospitality, and hybridisation of languages and cultures. According to a cognitive-functional approach (Langacker 1991) to the creation of the video, the association between linguistic and extralinguistic 'meaning-making resources' conveys the producer's illocutionary intentions and monitors the receivers' reactions to the perlocutionary effects of the video (Iaia 2015). Precisely, the achievement of both the promotional and emotional (or *premotional*) aims of this project in Responsible Tourism is pursued through a multimodal composition that helps tourists and migrants experience the similarities between ancient and contemporary dramatic sea-voyages by actualising the frantic rhythms of such dreadful experiences, thus supporting their 'personal growth' and emphasising the role of the tourists' emotions when choosing their holiday destination.

The main protagonists of the video are ancient and contemporary seafaring people in the middle of a fierce sea storm. The sources of the images are a re-enactment of the *Odyssey* broadcast by *The History Channel*, news reports about migrants trying to reach the Mediterranean coasts of Italy, and a video on Salento available on *YouTube*. Pictures encompass both "narrative" and "conceptual" illustrations, the former representing Ulysses' sea-voyage as an "unfolding" event (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 59), and the latter connoting contemporary migrations as in "generalised" and "timeless" actions (p. 79). The musical score, of a cinematic kind, is composed of two themes, *Point of no Return* in the first part (Table 1) – whose regular rhythm resembles an iambic verse – and *Epic Movie* in the second one (Table 2), starting with a beat that, like a trochee, conveys the sense of a big thump in the seafarers' hearts because of a sudden feeling of panic. Additionally, the verbal features persist in reflecting the combination of epic and actual sea-voyages: a selected number of the migrant's ethnopoetic verse transcript (Section 2), some epic verses from Coleridge's *The Rime of the Ancient Mariner*, and the verses from Homer's *Odyssey* and Virgil's *Aeneid* (Section 3) become captions that reaffirm the association between the contemporary and mythical migrants' appalling voyages. The video is divided into three parts, starting with the representation of the moments just before the advent of the storm (00:00:00-00:00:06):

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[4]   The video was created by Pietro Luigi Iaia and can be watched at the link: *https://drive.google.com/open?id=0B8fqW19SmcjeOGxjYjlxMnRzOHc*.

IMAGES		VERBAL CAPTIONS	
Visual frame	**Type** – description	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Conceptual – Migrants on a crowded ship		An old ship boarded us, too many
	Conceptual – The migrants' ship starts to teeter		The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed
	Narrative – Cut to night sky and lightning	And now the 'STORM-BLAST' came	

Table 1. Multimodal analysis of premotional-video, part 1

The epic nature of the journey is stressed: migrants are on the open sea and on an "old ship" with "too many" voyagers, before facing the awful storm – illustrated with a lightning illuminating the night sky. Music underlines the dramatic tone of the extralinguistic representation, passing from a calm to a rhythmic soundtrack, whereas a line from Coleridge's verse in the middle of the visual frame is meant to emphasise the sudden appearance of the tempest. Indeed, the switches from narrative to conceptual patterns and from modern migrants' sea-voyage narratives to Coleridge's lines, the fast cinematic pace and the dramatic soundtrack activate an 'arousal/safety' emotional pattern that attracts the viewers' attention till the end of the video.

 In the second part (00:00:06-00:00:48), Ulysses and his companions valiantly struggle against the storm and the rough sea. After the storm (third part, 00:00:48-00:01:04), since the migrants' and Ulysses' ships capsised, Ulysses and then two migrant women, as survivors, look anxiously back towards the calm sea of Salento and the promotional slogan appears introducing an anti-climax:

IMAGES		VERBAL CAPTIONS	
Visual frame	**Type** – description	Epic verses	ELF accounts
	Narrative – The thunderstorm continues	And he was tyrannous and strong	
	Narrative – Ulysses' ship is crossing the stormy sea	Suddenly came the West Wind whirling furiously	
	Narrative – Ulysses and his men are trying to keep the ship stable		No movement was possible inside
	Narrative – Ulysses' ship capsizes		not to make the ship turn
	Conceptual – The migrants' ship capsizes	The ship went round and round	
	Narrative – Ulysses' ship is destroyed		The ship struggled against the rough sea

	Narrative – Cut to the stormy sea	And every wave grew dark and furious	
	Conceptual – The migrants' ship has capsized	And the men fell into the sea	
	Narrative – Ulysses stares at the sea in despair	And only sky and sea were around us	
	Conceptual – Two migrant women stare at the sea in despair	And only sky and sea were around us	

Table 2. Multimodal analysis of of premotional-video, parts 2-3

The fast and sudden cinematic alternation of mythical and actual 'odysseys' creates an opposition between the second and third segments, when the sea of Salento is associated with the way to a safe haven of relief and hope. The 'fade out to white' effect and a more relaxing soundtrack visually and acoustically implicate the end of a nightmare, evoke the end of a perilous quest with the arrival at a safe harbour, and paradoxically trigger in recipients an emotionally positive response to the *premotional* video. The verbal captions include selected extracts from the ELF transcriptions and translations, which are meant to highlight the seafarers' emotional narrative of the tragic events that they have undergone. Finally, the slogan, "SALENTO – Look back in relief", also introduces a cultural reference to John Osborne's play *Look back in anger*.

The relation between the emotional and promotional dimensions of this project is illustrated in the following Table 3, which includes only the initial photograms with the verbal captions and indicates the time frame (TF – "HH:MM:SS" format).

TF	IMAGES	CAPTIONS	DIMENSION
00 : 00 : 01	An old ship boarded us, too many	An old ship boarded us, too many	Emotional
00 : 00 : 03	The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed	The deck was so packed and the hold so crammed	Emotional
00 : 00 : 07	And now the 'STORM-BLAST' came	And now the 'STORM-BLAST' came	Emotional
00 : 00 : 09	And he was tyrannous and strong	And he was tyrannous and strong	Emotional
00 : 00 : 13	Suddenly came the West Wind whirling furiously	Suddenly came the West Wind whirling furiously	Emotional

00 : 00 : 17	 *No movement was possible inside*	No movement was possible inside	Emotional
00 : 00 : 21	 *not to make the ship turn*	not to make the ship turn	Emotional
00 : 00 : 25	 *The ship went round and round*	The ship went round and round	Emotional
00 : 00 : 30	 *The ship struggled against the rough sea*	The ship struggled against the rough sea	Emotional
00 : 00 : 36	 *And every wave grew dark and furious*	And every wave grew dark and furious	Emotional

00 : 00 : 42	And the men fell into the sea	Emotional
00 : 00 : 48	And only sky and sea were around us	Emotional + Promotional
00 : 00 : 52	And only sky and sea were around us	Emotional + Promotional
00 : 00 : 55	SALENTO – Look back in relief	Promotional

Table 3. Emotional/promotional dimensions

5. *Conclusions*

This Chapter has illustrated an intercultural model of Responsible Tourism devised to combine promotional and emotional (*premotional*) place-marketing strategies involving tourists and migrants who live together in Italian seaside resorts in the ethnopoetic analysis of migrants' ELF sea-voyage narratives and of the ELF translation of ancient tales, as well as the production of videos. The socio-cultural aim of this research project is to guide tourists and migrants to become aware of their common cultural roots as seafaring people, by disclosing the structural and rhythmical similarities between the ancient epic and the modern oral sea-voyage reports reorganised through ELF into ethnopoetic verses.

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A MULTIMODAL APPROACH TO COMPLEX METAPHORS IN THE 2016 US PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

Abstract

This paper addresses the impact of two complex metaphors, the ice sculpture making up the phrase "American Dream" and the sound of the glass ceiling breaking to pieces, both of which characterised and illuminated the 2016 US National Parties Conventions. The complex meaning-making process associated with both these metaphors is dependent on making their basic but implicit functions more explicit through the addition of extra multimodal layers of meaning. Unpacking, interpreting, classifying and evaluating the metaphors required adjustments to Charteris-Black's model of analysis (2014) as grasping the multisensorial resources and identifying corresponding perception modes entailed specific analytical refocusing. Exploration of these metaphors' dynamic potential makes it possible to speculate about their possible future reinterpretations and recontextualizations. Overall, these complex metaphors provide us with a glimpse into how the complexity of today's societies affects the meaning-making process (Sampson, Gil, Trudgill, 2009), increasing the need to integrate different semiotic resources so as to maximise and compress their meaning-making potential (Baldry, Thibault 2006).

Keywords: metaphor; multimodality; political discourse.

1. *Introduction*

This paper addresses two instances of complex metaphors displayed during the 2016 US Presidential Campaign, significant from both political and textual standpoints. From a political perspective, they are 'landmark' metaphors associated, that is, with memorable moments in recent US politics, as their impact continues to be evoked in many types of political discourse. They also attract text analysts' attention owing to the fact that the complexity of meaning-making mechanisms in today's society means that metaphors are capable of adding extra

levels of meaning, a matter which, quite apart from requiring careful textual analysis, also calls for some tweaking of theoretical models. While Lakoff and Johnson's interpretation of metaphors as "primarily a matter of thought and action" (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5) extended metaphors' range to semiotic systems beyond language, it was only with subsequent research that their Conceptual Metaphor Theory was explicitly extended to multimodal discourse (Forceville 1996; Kaplan 1992), gesture (Mittelberg and Waugh 2009), music (Zbikowski 2009) and visual metaphors (Carroll 1994, Forceville 1996). Forceville (2008) defined multimodal metaphors as having target, source, and/or mappable features involving at least two different sign systems or modes of perception that need not be language. However, while conceptual metaphors are pervasively present in political discourse as they make political messages more accessible to the public, complex metaphors, which embed multimodal components, boost this function leading the public to grasp their overall meaning intuitively and instinctively rather than cognitively. This paper puts forward a method of analysis which blends cognitive and multimodal approaches, thereby highlighting the process of immediate and instinctive appreciation of complex metaphors while throwing light on the recontextualising activity that induces this process.

2. *Ice sculpture and glass ceiling metaphors*

Visual and multimodal metaphors have a special appeal: sounds and pictures allow for greater cross-cultural access than verbal ones and often have a stronger emotional impact than discourse-based metaphors. Complex metaphors instead go a step further: they recast existing discourse-based metaphors as multimodal ones, in an effort to retain but sharpen their discourse base. Following Charteris-Black (2014), the two examples of complex metaphors analysed in this paper both suggest US political communication's fondness for high-impact messages:

1. the ice sculpture with the words "American Dream" carved into it, appeared, and gradually disappeared, during the Parties' National Conventions in Cleveland and Philadelphia in July 2016;
2. the glass ceiling metaphor used at the 2016 Democratic National Convention, when, the historical announcement of a woman receiving the Party's nomination for the first time in the USA was based on a fanfare introduction: a video presenting photos of *all* the previous *male* presidents but ending with the sight and sound of breaking glass.

Table 1 shows these metaphors go beyond A-to-B linear correspondences between two different conceptual domains (Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 5) which interpret a single target domain in terms of a single source domain (Lakoff [1996] 2002). As complex multimodal metaphors, they create multiple correspondences, where several domains interact simultaneously. Of course, the glass ceiling metaphor's potential for greater complexity is already present in oral and written discourse: career advancement is conceived of as upward movement blocked by ceiling-like social and gender-based barriers, but glass is *transparent* (making what lies beyond it visible), as well as *fragile* and *breakable* (making career advancement achievable). However, ways of revitalising otherwise 'dead' metaphors are constantly sought. The ideas of unboundedness and boundedness that the words *dream* and *ceiling* are supposed to convey in written and spoken discourse come to be revived in:

3. The Ice Sculpture project whose sale of "Tears of the American Dream" i.e. the water from the melted sculptures turns the American Dream into a human being weeping over a culture where only what is expensive is considered precious;
4. Hyun's 2005 book Breaking the Bamboo Ceiling which adapts the metaphor to the obstacles the Asian American minority encounters in reaching top career positions: while with a glass ceiling the goal is out of reach but visible, no goals can be set in the unseeable and unknowable.

Resources and Perception	Interpreting the comparisons
Ice Sculpture metaphor	
Viewing objects	*Thinking*: Ice and human labour are temporary stages in nature's cycles.
Noting letters carved in the ice	*Reading*: The 'American Dream' is melting literally and metaphorically.
Touching melting ice	*Participating*: People touching the sculpture are (in)voluntary participants in the sculpture's and American Dream's meltdown.

Resources and Perception	Interpreting the comparisons
Glass Ceiling metaphor	
Knowing through discourse	1. Cultural assumption. As discourse phenomena, all metaphors function within shared cultural contexts. Knowledge of the conventional glass ceiling metaphor allows its multi-modal evolution to be grasped.
Hearing sounds	2. Ambient sound referring to 1) above. At the end of the video the sound of breaking glass enacts the glass ceiling metaphor.
Viewing objects	3. Visual object re-enforcing 2) above. Sounds continue but the screen shows fragments of broken glass underpinning the interpretation.

Table 1. Synopsis of the Ice Sculpture and of the Glass Ceiling complex metaphors

A second step for the text analyst is thus to account for these recontextualization processes underpinning complex metaphors. As Table 2 shows, such processes can be investigated and summarised in terms of the four-stage Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) model (Charteris-Black 2014: 174-82) shown with minor adaptations in Column 1. The CMA model also paves the way for evaluating the political impact of complex metaphors when engaging with metaphors in sociolinguistic and text analysis.

STAGES	ICE BLOCKS	GLASS CEILING
1. *Context Analysis*: leading to formulation of research questions and selection of material	*Context:* 2016 American Presidential Campaign	
	Research questions	
	What metaphors are used to represent disillusionment with the American Dream?	Do men still dominate the US political arena? What metaphors represent gender-based inequality?
2. *Metaphor Identification:* what counts as a metaphor is decided and metaphors are identified in the discourse	*Complex metaphors recontextualising and revitalising conventional ones*	
	The ice sculpture was selected because of its complex nature: it incorporates and adds to the source/target domains of the ʻAmerican Dreamʼ metaphor.	The conventional glass ceiling metaphor was revitalised using non-linguistic resources that transformed it into a complex but immediately recognizable metaphor.
3. *Interpretation:* classification and evaluation	*Classification: multimodal and multisensorial*	
	The ʻAmerican Dreamʼ metaphor of discourse; displayed on ephemeral material (ice).	Based on the ʻglass ceilingʼ metaphor of discourse; heard and displayed as breaking glass.
	Evaluation: Polarity	
	Negative: ice melting highlights the erosion of opportunity and social equality.	*Positive:* Hillary Clintonʼs winning smile at the end of the video states the mood of the moment.

STAGES	ICE BLOCKS	GLASS CEILING
4. Explanation and further potential for recontextualization: re-examining contexts, goals of messages and influence on the public.	*Impact*	
	The tears of the American Dream promote the metaphor in wider contexts	The glass ceiling metaphor becomes identified with female equality even beyond the US, cf. BBC (2017) "A glass ceiling or a broken ladder?" *https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Yk1K-1dHgXi4*
	Further potential for reinterpretation and recontextualization. From boundedness to unboundedness	
	Ice has the "magic" capacity to preserve but when this container melts, the content is set free. Will the American Dream's idealism be released from material constraints thanks to this metaphor?	Besides the visual and sonoral process of shattering, the residual values of the bright image of glass fragments sparkling on the screen like diamonds are such that they might in the future lead to the addition of other resources, e.g. song and music, as a form of celebration.

Table 2. Modelling complex metaphors

Conclusions

Complex metaphors deserve special attention as they simultaneously function as object and tool for text analysis. Complex metaphors such as the ones discussed in this paper are systems of metaphors bound together at different levels, each with their own logic but with a single and often powerful meaning. Based on the multiple interconnections made possible by the digital world's use of concomitant semiotic resources, they entail partial redefinitions of previous theories of metaphor based on single connections between source and target domains. Though not expressly designed to encompass complex metaphors, CMA provides a useful model for analysis as it focuses on the identification of metaphors in persuasive genres and demonstrates why they are systematically used to create political myths and consensus (Charteris-Black 2014). In particular, the model maps complex metaphors' potential to undergo constant recontextualisations. Not only do they function at different textual levels ranging from micro to macro, they also recombine the various source features to make meaning in cultural contexts that transcend their original conception (Hyun 2005). In so doing, they provide us with a glimpse into how increasing social complexity affects the meaning-making process, producing changes in the ways societies make meaning and increasing the need to integrate different semiotic resources that maximise our meaning-making potential (Baldry and Thibault 2006).

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PULL UP THE DRAWBRIDGE?
CONVENTIONALITY AND CREATIVITY
IN BRITISH POLITICAL DISCOURSE

Abstract

The paper investigates a metaphor which is recently being widely employed in relation to two of the main issues of the moment, i.e. immigration and Brexit: pull up the drawbridge. The public discussions about the EU and immigration are couched, like all political discourse, in metaphors, and this paper corroborates the assumption that today the new political divide is no longer left versus right but drawbridge up versus drawbridge down, and the contest that matters now is mostly open against closed. Indeed, politicians have always relied on the conceptual metaphor of 'England as a fortress', with a drawbridge which could be pulled up, if necessary. Immigration is regarded as one of the main causes that pushed Britain toward Brexit, and even though the migration panic has been shaking Europe for more than a decade, recent events show that politicians are turning the 'cosmic fear' that is haunting the Western world into 'official fear': fear of losing control, fear of losing borders and national sovereignty, fear of the EU, of 'an ever closer Union', and now after the Brexit outcome, fear of a leap into the unknown, and of this one-way ticket to no clear destination. The only way out of this crisis of humanity and out of the anxiety we experience in the face of uncertainty is 'pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world'. The study relies on a large corpus of politicians' speeches from Tony Blair's to Theresa May's government and is an attempt to analyse how conventional or how creative are the linguistic techniques they use to refer to them.

Keywords: metaphor; Brexit; political discourse; conventionality; creativity.

1. *Introduction*

This paper is part of a project that looks at two of the most debated and controversial issues of the time, immigration and the European Union, two issues that are strongly and inevitably linked both politically and linguistically.

After recent political events, both sides of the Atlantic share the main issue of the moment and all sorts of decisions are taken with respect to this main problem: immigration. The migration panic has been shaking Europe since 2005 and it is regarded as one of the main causes that pushed Britain toward Brexit; this 'cosmic fear' is turned into 'official fear' by God's plenipotentiaries on earth: politicians. It seems that politicians' agenda is a fear-driven agenda (Wodak 2015), a fear that is haunting the Western world in general: a fear of strangers, of losing control, of disappearance of territorial sovereignty, a fear of the EU, of "an ever closer union among the peoples of Europe" (Milizia 2016) and now, after the Brexit outcome, also of a leap into the unknown. The data in our corpora show that fear finds its expression in racist prejudices and hostility towards the unknown, and rather than establishing a "fusion of horizons" through dialogue (Bauman 2016), the only way out of this crisis of humanity, and out of the diffuse anxiety we experience in the face of uncertainty, is pull up the drawbridge or build a wall, "a great and beautiful wall".

For the purpose of this study, we have relied on the speeches of British politicians from Tony Blair to Theresa May. At the time of writing, the corpus totals 16 million words: 9 million words uttered by the Labour government of Tony Blair and Gordon Brown (1997-2010) and 6 million words uttered by the coalition of David Cameron and Nick Clegg and by David Cameron's government (2010-2016); the corpus includes also 800,000 words uttered by the current Prime Minister, Theresa May, Paul Nuttall, leader of UKIP, David Davis, Secretary of State for Exiting the European Union, and Boris Johnson, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs. The software used to analyse the data is *WordSmith Tools* 7.0 (Scott 2017).

This paper is an attempt to investigate how conventionally or how creatively British politicians tackle the issues of immigration and the EU crisis, and how conventional or creative are the linguistic techniques they use to refer to them.

The paper is divided into four parts: following the introduction is Section 2, where we first explain what we mean by conventional or creative, and give a brief description of the EU metaphors analysed so far; in Section 3 we look at the data in both previous and current government, and following Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004), we look at the strategies used by politicians to make political topics, often complex, abstract and quite distant from the average European citizen, simple and accessible to the audience, and we focus on one particular metaphor, which is being frequently employed in relation to the migrant crisis and the European Union, i.e. *pull up the drawbridge*. In Section

4, I draw some conclusions, arguing that the political divide today is no longer left versus right but drawbridge up versus drawbridge down, and that British geography has shaped British psychology. Britons in fact, or perhaps more accurately the English, have always had an 'island mentality' – independent, forthright, passionate in the defence of their sovereignty – and, as David Cameron said in his Bloomberg speech, "we can no more change this British sensibility than we can drain the English Channel"[1].

2. *Conventional or creative?*

Before investigating the metaphor object of the present analysis, *pull up the drawbridge*, let us first look at what is usually meant by 'conventional' and 'creative'.

In their seminal work that brought a revolution in studies of metaphor and marked the beginning of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), which would enormously affect future metaphor research, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) spoke of "metaphors we live by". In his work on corpus-attested metaphors, Louw (*forthcoming*) speaks of "metaphors we are stuck with", or "metaphors we cannot escape". Yet, whether we live or are stuck by metaphors, our daily existence is structured metaphorically, and politicians are, to different extents, aware of that, as Geoff Hoon, the 2007 Minister for Europe, once said, "If I'm not mixing too many metaphors, it is time to pull up the drawbridge", or even as Barack Obama said in his visit to Britain before the British people went to the polls in June 2013 to decide whether they should remain or leave the European Union, "I think the migration crisis amplifies a debate that's taking place not just in Europe, but in the United States as well. [...] There is a temptation to want to just pull up the drawbridge, either literally or figuratively".

Back in the 1800s, Percy Bysshe Shelley, the poet, stated that "language is vitally metaphorical". When talking of conventional metaphor, Shelley argued that "conventional metaphor is language degraded", in that there are 'nobler' and 'lower' uses of language: grasping something new is the noble task, that of poets, who truly think. A metaphor is a rhetorical device used to enhance vigour and embellishment in expressions, namely a stylistic ornament and, as such, only a select few can create it and manipulate it. Common people do not have integral

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[1]   David Cameron discussed the future of the European Union at Bloomberg on 23 January 2013. In this speech the then Prime Minister promised the British people an in/out referendum on whether to leave or remain in the EU.

thoughts, but only repeat unreflectively what poets have discovered, and in the process 'chop up' the poetic vision into portions or classes of thought.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue, instead, that most of our thinking is done thanks to "systematic mappings", conventional metaphors in everyday language: the worn-out phrases we commonly use are symptoms of a vast system of unconscious metaphorical thought which underlies language, action and understanding (CMT).

It is apparent that Shelley's and Lakoff's approaches are rooted in opposite traditions: Shelley's view, following the line of rhetoric, is 'romantic', perceiving phenomena as the work of a creative spirit; Lakoff's view, following the line of cognition, is 'scientific', looking for a mechanism, a system behind a range of phenomena.

When referring to conventional metaphors, the old theory spoke of "dead" metaphors, that is those metaphors that have become so well established that their metaphorical value is no longer perceived, and their markedness has been gradually lost. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) reject the term 'dead' when referring to the most conventional metaphors, maintaining that dead metaphors have turned out to be very much alive, the ones that we constantly use in everyday thought, a one-shot metaphor, to borrow Lakoff's (1987: 143) terminology. Pawlec (2006), in his work *The Death of Metaphor*, shares the assumption that metaphor is the omnipresent principle of language and, along with him, this paper suggests that "conventional metaphors are not generated in the Cognitive Unconscious" but in the life of a community, as we shall see shortly.

2.1 EU metaphors

It is usually assumed that the creative use of metaphor is a central characteristic of poetry, but we can safely say that the creative use of metaphor is a central characteristic of politics as well, agreeing with Thompson (1996) and corroborating the assumption that "politics without metaphor is like fish without water". The abundance of metaphors, analogies, similes, and figurative language in the language of politics has been pointed out by several scholars (see Musolff 2004; Deignan 2005; Chilton 2004; Semino 2008 among others). Following Semino (*ibid*.), metaphor is the phenomenon whereby we talk and think about something in terms of something else: it is a common linguistic occurrence, which is varied in its textual appearance, versatile in the functions it may perform, and central to many different types of communication, from informal interaction through political speeches to scientific theorizing. In politics in particular, the use of metaphors is especially

necessary, being politics an abstract and complex domain of experience, and metaphors can provide ways of simplifying complexities and making abstractions accessible.

In previous research (Milizia 2016), the metaphor of the train and the metaphor of the two-speed Europe were investigated, with the purpose to provide the average European citizen with a clearer vision of the complex situation of the time which was, and indeed still is, highly controversial. Thus, from the 1990 visual metaphor of Germany and France riding the front horses, with all the other member states in the driver seat, and Margaret Thatcher in the backseat trying to apply the brakes, to the 2011 image of the train where Angela Merkel is driving, together with Nicolas Sarkozy, an old-fashioned steam engine and in the distance the passengers on the British train are waving goodbye (or may be are asking the other member states to move slower), to the 2017 image of the train with, again, Germany and France, always depicted as the fast travellers, where Emmanuel Macron is trying to revive the Franco-German relationship by attempting to get Europe back to speed, removing the cockerel out of the rails, all these visual metaphors certainly help to make the topic under discussion accessible to an audience of non-experts.

The analysis of political cartoons and visual and multimodal metaphors is beyond the scope of the present paper, yet it is worth highlighting that they have a great, or indeed greater, impact than the verbal metaphor on the lay public's emotions, and they are relevant strategies in the cognitive process of meaning-making (Spinzi and Manca 2017). Cartoons are descriptive and thus, combining fact and fiction, can be considered knowledge dissemination tools. It is also true, though, that even though cartoons facilitate understanding and have the purpose to make complex and abstract concepts more comprehensible, this intriguing genre constitutes a "metaphor-rich communicative area" (Spinzi and Manca *ibid*.), where factual knowledge is required for accurate interpretation.

The metaphor of the train in European discourse is as frequent as the image of the boat/ship where, more often than not, the boat/ship is about to sink. Nations or parties are often compared to ships, and the day after the Brexit outcome when Cameron decided to step down as Prime Minister, he compared Britain to a ship, as we can read in the extract below:

> I will do everything I can as Prime Minister to steady the ship over the coming weeks and months, but I do not think it would be right for me to try to be the captain that steers our country to its next destination.

The *sink or swim* metaphor is oftentimes repeated in European discourse, with the meaning 'do or decline', with *sink* found also in adjectival position in instances like "sinking ship", "sinking currency", "sinking economy", "an ever-sinking status", or "that sinking feeling", often related to the euro crisis and the credit crunch in Europe.

Apart from the image of the train and the two/multi-speed Europe, the related slow lane/fast lane metaphor and the one-way ticket metaphor, *global race* and *big society* were also investigated in previous research (see Milizia 2014 for further details).

The image of *marriage* and *divorce* was also object of previous analysis, in relation to the difficult and ill-fated relationship, as it has been called, between the UK and the EU. The marriage metaphor in general, and in European discourse in particular, is certainly not new. Musolff (2004) has provided ample evidence of the pervasiveness of the *love-marriage-family* metaphor: it seems that Britain has never really been in love with the EU and never been too keen on 'tying the knot' with Europe, as it were. Thus, this marriage had always been 'a marriage on the rocks', and now that one of the spouses has decided to ask for divorce, at the time of writing this paper we are still wondering whether it will be a separation or a divorce, and whether an amicable divorce is only a pipe dream. Theresa May has been repeatedly saying that she'd rather not use the term 'divorce', because often when people get divorced they do not have a good relationship afterwards, but Jean-Claude Juncker, the EU Commission President, relying on another metaphor, has often replied that the EU is not a golf club that can easily be joined or left: it is a family and Brexit should be treated as divorce. It is assumed it will be a "painful" divorce, after 44 years of marriage, even though the marriage was loveless, and to a partner who proved to be tired and sterile (Musolff 2017). What remains to be seen is, at this stage of the negotiations, how a married couple who is getting divorced could enter into "a deep and special relationship", which is what the UK is asking for.

Recurring to the fallacious Aristotelian *topos of the aftermath* (Wodak 2016), based on the conditional, the *one-way-ticket* metaphor was uttered by David Cameron on several occasions, with the purpose of warning the British people of the risk they would run had they decided to leave the Union: "If we left the European Union it would be a one-way ticket, not a return". We know, though, that if in March 2019 Britain officially leaves the EU, they could actually rejoin, even though they would be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49, as we read in Article 50 of the Lisbon Treaty:

Article 50

1. Any Member State may decide to withdraw from the Union in accordance with its own constitutional requirements.
   […]
5. If a State which has withdrawn from the Union asks to rejoin, its requests shall be subject to the procedure referred to in Article 49.

The current Prime Minister Theresa May has now turned the metaphor of the *one-way-ticket* into the *no turning back*, which is semantically identical:

> The Article 50 process is now underway. And in accordance with the wishes of the British People, the United Kingdom is leaving the European Union. This is an historic moment from which there can be no turning back. Britain is leaving the European Union. We are going to make our own decisions and our own laws.

Worried for the "exit from Brexit" campaign which is gathering pace, it seems that Theresa May is trying to persuade the British people that they have, by now, made up their mind, and that what she is doing is to respect the will of the British people.

Despite the misgivings that have often been voiced against the use of metaphors, often seen as dangerous rhetorical devices, and despite the care being used when dealing with Europe in particular (Musolff 2004, 2017; Charteris-Black 2004, 2014), metaphors abound in the European Union.

As shown in this paragraph, some metaphors have been in use for a long time to the point that they have lost their markedness and their metaphorical value is no longer perceived; others are less conventional, more creative, what Chilton and Schäffner (2002: 29) call "rhetorical metaphor", precisely to refer to metaphorical expressions that are novel, extended and therefore deliberately and consciously used by speakers or writers to obtain particular effects.

The session below will look at a metaphor that is frequently being used in the UK after recent political events: *pull up the drawbridge*.

3. *Pull up the drawbridge*

Following Calsamiglia and van Dijk (2004), we shall try and unveil whether *pull up the drawbridge* is conventional or creative, and we shall do so by looking at the strategies politicians use when they utter this phrase.

We first searched in Wikipedia and we learned that the phrase does not have its Wikipedia entry yet, but the noun *drawbridge* has become an adjective in its own right, and in the free online encyclopedia it collocates with *mentality*:

> A *drawbridge mentality* is the attitude of people who have migrated to a more exclusive or more 'unspoilt' community and then campaign to preserve the tranquility of that community by opposing further inward migration by people or businesses and, possibly, any development or refurbishment, including plans put forward by those already located there.
> The term can imply a selfish attitude and can be taken as an insult by people who have strong affection for their home locality and wish to protect it from any changes. It is closely related to the NIMBY[2] attitude.
> A drawbridge was historically the hinged bridge at a castle's gates providing entry across a defensive moat. Raising the drawbridge to a vertical position was therefore one's means by which intruders could be shut out of the castle.

In the dictionaries we usually rely on in class, *Zanichelli Ragazzini* and the *Collins Cobuild*, *pull up the drawbridge* was not reported: the *Collins Cobuild* displays *drawbridge* collocating with *pull up*, but the phrase itself is missing altogether. The *Longman Dictionary* and the *Oxford Dictionary* instead provide us with a definition: "stop more people coming into a country". The online dictionary Reverso, that looks at parallel texts, was somehow helpful, yet it provided us with a verbatim translation in Italian:

These statistics speak for themselves and claims that waves of refugees are supposedly threatening Europe and that we should *pull up the drawbridge* are groundless.	Queste statistiche parlano da sole; sono palesemente infondate le esortazioni ad *alzare il ponte levatoio* a fronte della minaccia di ondate di rifugiati starebbero minacciando l'Europa.
I threw them out, *pulled up the drawbridge*, started divorce proceedings.	Li ho buttati fuori, ho *alzato il ponte levatoio* e ho chiesto il divorzio.
We must not *bring up the drawbridges*, man the battlements, close the doors, because Europe has a huge opportunity here and we must take it.	Non dobbiamo *sollevare il ponte levatoio*, armare le mura, chiudere le porte, perché l'Europa si trova davanti ad un'immensa opportunità che deve cogliere.
Go out and build a coalition of the political forces which, in response to the challenges of globalisation, recognise that we need to keep *the drawbridge* down rather than *pull* it *up*.	Cerchi di istituire una coalizione di forze politiche che, in risposta alle sfide della globalizzazione, riconoscano che dobbiamo mantenere *i* contatti anziché *tagliare i ponti*.

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[2]   NIMBY is an acronym for the phrase "Not In My Back Yard".

The literal translation *alzare/sollevare il ponte levatoio* is not commonly relied on in Italian, hence it seems not to find an exact equivalent, and it does not seem to have "the implication of utterance" (Firth 1957, in Newmark 1981). Interestingly, in the fourth extract we notice a manipulation of the original metaphor and a change in the paradigmatic axis of the phrase: *pull up* is substituted with *keep down*, i.e. *keep the drawbridge down*, translated with 'mantenere i contatti', and *pull it up* that follows is rendered as 'tagliare i ponti', which quite serve the purpose and are both common phrases in Italian. An ad hoc Italian corpus[3] was created for the purpose, and the *tagliare i ponti* metaphor was in fact the one that emerged:

> Londra è dilaniata dal dilemma fra tagliare tutti i ponti (hard Brexit, con o senza accordo con Bruxelles), e trovare una formula per rimanere nel mercato unico o nell'unione doganale (soft Brexit)[4].

In this respect Newmark (*ibid*.) argues that reproducing a straightforward literal translation is the most appropriate strategy for preserving the novelty and vividness of the image.
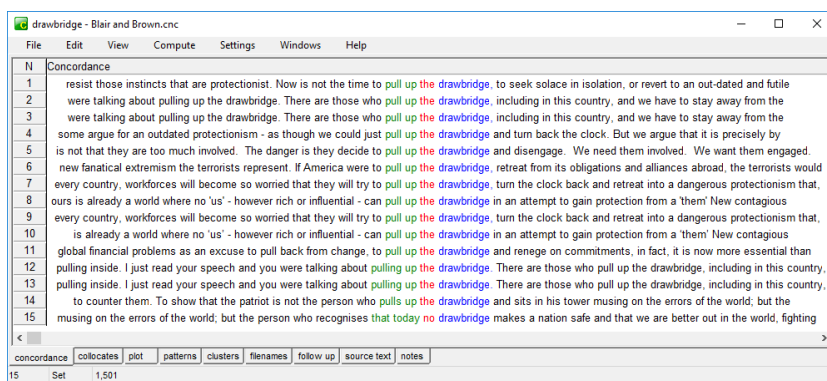
Fig. 1. *pull up the drawbridge* in Blair's and Brown's corpus (1997-2010)

A first glance at Figure 1 seems to show that the meaning of *pull up the drawbridge* is somewhat shared by the community at large, and that no textual signal is relied on. The metaphor occurs in scare quotes only once in Figure 2 (line 13), 'put the drawbridge up', may be to point to a variation of the canonical form, where the verb *put* replaces *pull*.
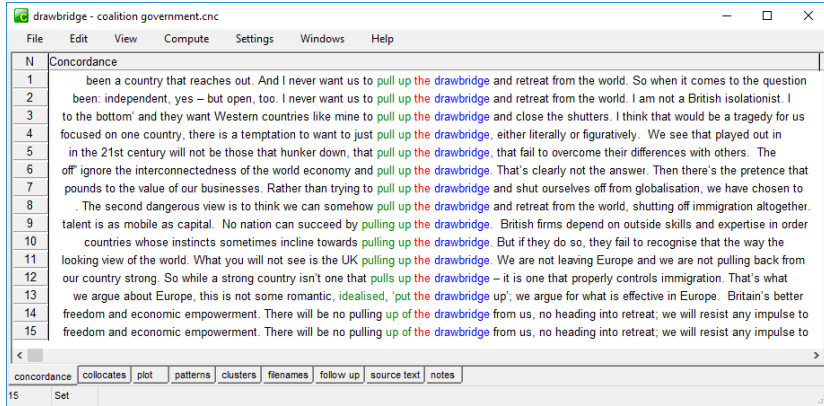
Fig. 2. *pull up the drawbridge* in the coalition corpus
and in David Cameron's (2010-2016)

Enlarging the context in line 13 in Figure 2, we will find out that this is David Cameron talking, but it can certainly be argued that whether quotes are used or not depends solely on the choice of the transcriber and on whether he or she thinks that the phrase is conventional or creative. Yet, instances of further deviation from the 'norm' were spotted also in Figure 3, *haul up the drawbridge* (lines 3 and 4), but no textual signal was used.

As Goatly (1997) noticed, novel metaphors are more likely to be textually signaled. Scare quotes, for instance, can have several meanings, e.g. they can indicate that the writer or speaker wants to disassociate from what is being said, thus ascribing it to others and suggesting that the metaphorical description of pulling the drawbridge up, in the case in point, reflects the view of others.

Relying on the corpus, we see that on most occasions the metaphor stands on its own, ending the sentence with a full stop, thus indicating that politicians assume that this figure of speech is conventional, shared by the community at large, providing quick access to meaning.

A diachronic study was carried out from Margaret Thatcher up to Theresa May, and it emerged that the metaphor was first used in Tony

Blair's government in 2000, by the Prime Minister himself, and by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer, Gordon Brown, who used it only once as a Chancellor, but uttered the phrase on several occasions in his three-year administration as Prime Minister when he took over Tony Blair. Gordon Brown is indeed the politician who uttered the metaphor more, in terms of frequency, than any other.

It is worth highlighting that, more often than not, the node metaphor is explained and explicitated through another metaphor; in Figure 1 (lines 14-15) we read as follows:

> [...] the patriot is not the person who pulls up the drawbridge and sits in his tower musing on the errors of the world, but the person who recognizes that today no drawbridge makes a nation safe and that we are better out in the world.

The most frequent metaphor used by Tony Blair and Gordon Brown in Figure 1 to explain and facilitate understanding of our node is *turn the clock back*, thus pointing to an orientation toward nostalgic and traditional values (Wodak 2015); *seek solace in isolation* (line 1) and *pull back from change* (line 11) follow, with *there is a kind of pulling inside* (lines 12-13), semantically identical to *retreat*, which co-occurs with our node on several occasions in both Figures 1 and 2: *retreat from the world* and *no heading into retreat*.

Needless to say, the word which disambiguates meaning and makes the metaphor unambiguous in Figure 1 is *protectionism*, which is found both on the left and on the right of the node metaphor, defined by both politicians *out-dated and futile* (line 1), *outdated* (line 4), and *dangerous* (lines 7 and 9).

Turning to the coalition corpus in Figure 2, *pull up the drawbridge* is, again, reformulated and recontextualised through other metaphors, e.g. *close the shutters* (line 3), *hunker down* (line 5), *ignore the interconnectedness of the world economy* (line 6), *shut ourselves off from globalisation* (line 7), *shutting off immigration altogether* (line 8), *pulling back from the world* (line 11).

The evidence of the data clearly shows that *pull the drawbridge* refers to both the difficult relationship of the UK with the EU and to immigration, and that the two issues share the same collocates, the same metaphors, hence the same concerns and anxieties. Indeed, David Cameron was adamant when he said that "a strong country isn't one that pulls up the drawbridge – it is one that properly controls immigration": immigration can indeed be good for the country, can benefit the country, can also stimulate growth, but it needs to be controlled, it needs to

be fair and it needs to be centred around "our national interest". In his Bloomberg speech delivered on the future of Europe on 23 January 2013, David Cameron said:

> We have always been a country that reaches out. That turns its face to the world. That leads the charge in the fight for global trade and against protectionism. This is Britain today, as it's always been: independent, yes – but open, too. I never want us to pull up the drawbridge and retreat from the world. I am not a British isolationist.

and in another speech on Europe delivered on 28 November 2014, he continued and emphasized:

> We are Great Britain *because of* immigration, not *in spite of it*.

3.1 The current government

Let us now look at the data of the current government in Figure 3, and see whether and to what extent the politicians of the pro-Brexit government use this metaphor, whether they take it for granted, assuming some kind of pre-supposed knowledge on the part of the audience (Calsamiglia and van Dijk 2004).
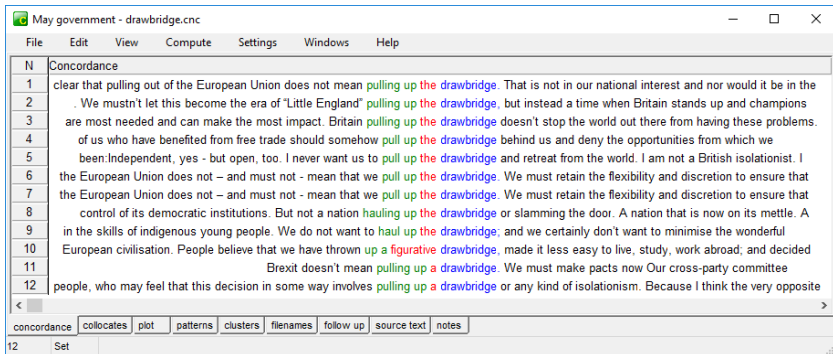
Fig. 3. *pull up the drawbridge* in Theresa May's administration (2016 - today)

Interestingly, but not highly surprisingly, no occurrence of *pull up the drawbridge* was found in Theresa May, neither as Home Secretary nor as Prime Minister, whereas Boris Johnson and David Davis, as well as Nigel Farage, former leader of UKIP, seem to recur to it on quite a few occasions, before and after the referendum outcome.

The evidence of the data shows that the criticism and an à-la-carte attitude that the UK has long received of adopting a cherry-picking and à-la-carte attitude (Milizia 2014) towards Europe is still pervasive: politicians argue they are not "little Englanders" and that "No man is an island", and that Britain needs the EU as the EU needs Britain. What is being repeatedly said, as Figure 4 illustrates, is that "We are leaving the European Union but we are not leaving Europe", which amounts to saying, borrowing another metaphor, "we'll have our cake and eat it" (Milizia 2019; Musolff 2019). In Figure 3 (line 1) Boris Johnson, in his speech after the referendum outcome, paradoxically states that, after Brexit, the UK will be more European than before:

> [...] voting to leave the EU does not mean that we will be less European, [...] and that this decision does not involve pulling up a drawbridge or any kind of isolationism. Because I think the very opposite is true. We cannot turn our backs on Europe. We are part of Europe.
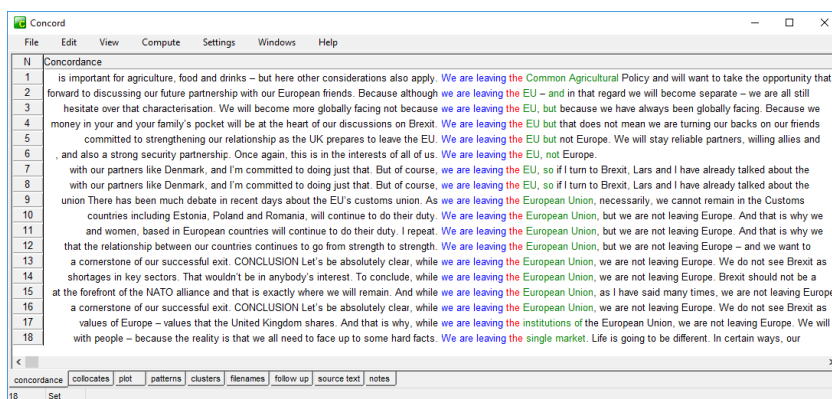
Fig. 4. *We're leaving the European Union, but we're not leaving Europe* in Theresa May's administration

As in the previous governments, also in the current administration *pull up the drawbridge* is reformulated and recontextualised through other metaphors, e.g. *the era of "Little England"* (Figure 3, line 2), *retreat from the world* (Figure 3, line 5), *slamming the door* (Figure 3, line 8).

The process of recontextualization is a typical feature of political discourse, as well as allusions or evocations (see Wodak 2016): in Boris Johnson's post-Brexit speeches, for example, we often encounter a set of allusions to big names of the past, from François Mitterand to John Stuart Mill, from Tolstoy and Robert Burns to Metternich and

Talleyrand. Corpus analysis has allowed us to unveil that speeches are intertextually linked to other speeches, both in the past and in the present: the *topos of history* is indeed recurrent in post-Brexit discourse, always highlighting Britain's salient role in WWII and during the Cold War inasmuch as it always supported Europe during times of huge danger (*ibid*.) and, if the main, overriding purpose of the EU was to win peace, today is to secure prosperity. In several speeches Boris Johnson argues that the European Community was "a noble idea for its time but it is no longer right for this country", and now with the Brexit outcome the UK has had the courage to break free from an idea – however noble in its origins – that had become outdated.

In his speeches *Beyond Brexit: a Global Britain* and *Uniting for a Great Brexit*, Boris Johnson is adamant in saying that "we do now want to haul up the drawbridge or slam the door" and "It's not about shutting ourselves off; it's about going global, and be more outward-looking and more engaged with the world than ever before".

Conclusion

The language of politics is replete with figurative speech, and this paper was an attempt to show that the language of the European Union abounds in metaphors, from cliché and stock metaphors to recent and original metaphors (cf. Newmark 1981).

The paper has investigated a metaphor which is being widely employed in relation to two of the main issues of the moment, i.e. immigration and Brexit: *pull up the drawbridge*. The evidence of the spoken data has shown that the metaphor itself, even though is not reported in all dictionaries yet, seems to be, by now, widespread and shared by the community at large, in that politicians, more often than not, take its meaning for granted, and assume some kind of pre-supposed knowledge on the part of the audience. Interestingly, it was noted that when they feel the need to explain it or explicitate it, they recontextualise it and reformulate it, recurring to another metaphor, which may, at times, be more obscure than the original, thus suggesting that the metaphor could be to some, still, novel. It is worth highlighting that new vocabulary is being coined recently around *pull up the drawbridge*, and that the phrase itself is creatively being used in its adjectival form, from *drawbridge parties*, *pull-up-the-drawbridge nationalists* (versus *open-door liberals*), to *drawbridge-downers*, *drawbridge-uppers*, *drawbridge-raisers*.

After recent political events, it is clear that British politics, like many other countries in Europe and beyond, is being reshaped by populism,

and Britain, after being able to avoid referendums for a long time, has succumbed to the populist virus by deciding to apply the most powerful tool in the populist box, i.e. the referendum. Brexit was the clearest manifestation of this populist surge, with the promise to break free of constraints and the tendency to draw up the drawbridge and create new borders, even walls. The fear of the 'Other', of the outsider, of the foreigner, of what Wodak (2015) calls the "post-modern stranger", the fear of losing control and sovereignty, traditions and national identities, is the engine that, recently, has been driving the political agenda. Although this referendum claimed to slow down the rate of immigrants from poorer EU nations migrating to the UK, it was fundamentally about regaining the British identity which people felt they had lost, hence immigration ended up playing an extremely important role in the outcome of the referendum.

We have shown that politicians from both the previous and the current governments have often relied on the conceptual metaphor of "England as a fortress" (Wodak 2016), with a drawbridge which could be pulled up, if necessary, although the metaphor has always been found in the vicinity of a negative form of the verb, e.g. *it is <u>not</u> the time to pull up the drawbridge*, *I <u>never</u> want us to pull up the drawbridge*, *a strong country <u>isn't</u> one that pulls up the drawbridge*, *there will be <u>no</u> pulling up of the drawbridge*, *we <u>don't</u> want to haul up a drawbridge*, *Brexit <u>doesn't</u> mean pulling up a drawbridge*.

We can conclude by saying that the public discussions about the European Union and Brexit, as well as about immigration, are couched, like all political discourse, in metaphors (Musolff 2018), and that the contest that matters today is open against closed, the new political divide being no longer left versus right but drawbridge up versus drawbridge down.

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LEGAL DISCOURSE
AND EU LEGISLATION

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NEW BALANCE OF CONVENTIONALITY:PHRASEOLOGICAL
PATTERNS IN L2 TRANSLATIONS OF WRITTEN PLEADINGS
BEFORE THE EUROPEAN COURT OF HUMAN RIGHTS

Abstract

This corpus-based study investigates the complex relationship between conventional and creative legal phraseological units in authentic written pleadings before the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR). The analysis is carried out on three subcorpora: (a) pleadings translated by L2 translators from Russian into English, (b) pleadings translated from Italian into English by L2 translators and (c) pleadings drafted in English by native speakers. Over the last thirty years, Translation Studies put the linguistic deviation occurring during translation among its principal research directions. Translation into a foreign language (L2 translation) is another rapidly growing field fuelled by globalisation, which raises issues of conventionality and deviation, linked but not limited to the phenomenon of interference. Legal translation, in addition to linguistic factors, is conditioned by the tension between the legal systems, paving the way for different language dynamics.

This study compares distributional patterns of legal phraseological units – focusing on complex prepositions – across the corpora and analyses typicality of frequencies and patterning as well as quantity and quality of linguistic variation. The results provide confirmatory evidence about the combination of creative and conventional phrasemes in translated pleadings. The results may also be of some use for Russian-to-English and Italian-to-English translators, helping them avoid interference, use of unnatural or overly conservative patterns.

Keywords: creativity; conventionality; legal phraseology; legal translation; complex prepositions.

1. *Introduction*

From the linguistic point of view, besides the European Convention on Human Rights and the national laws that codify and implement it, most people are familiar with the language of human rights as expressed by the case-law, i.e. decisions and judgments, of the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR), the Strasbourg-based judicial body

of the Council of Europe, gathering 47 States of the extended Europe. However, the standard procedure before this important supranational court is written and is realised through the so-called 'written pleadings' (Rule 38 of the Rules of Court), i.e. the exchange of submissions and observations between the parties and the Court. Although proceedings at the ECtHR are open, written pleadings are not available to the general public on the respective website unlike the case-law of the ECtHR or national legislation codifying the values of the European Convention. Consequently, although written pleadings play an important role for procedures at the ECtHR, they have not received much scholarly attention from legal or linguistic community, at least to my knowledge, and remain until now a rather "occluded genre" (Swales 1996), because "[o]n the one hand, they are typically formal documents which remain on file; on the other, they are rarely part of the public record", operating "out of sight" of general public (Swales 1996: 46)[1].

The ECtHR operates with only two official languages, English and French, in contrast to the EU institutions. This linguistic regime means that written proceedings with the parties coming from one or several of the 47 Member States of the Council of Europe have to be translated into one of the ECtHR's official languages. Consequently, this genre excites additional interest because it is typically realised through translation. Translated language has been called *translationese* or *third code*, as it demonstrates distinctive linguistic peculiarities, most frequently denominated as *translation universals*, up to the point of forming part of a language "diasystem" (Garzone 2015: 61). It has to be highlighted that written pleadings, which touch the core of judicial proceedings in Strasbourg, are typically translated by the parties and not by the translation department of the Court or the Council of Europe. These translations do not undergo any known quality assessment checks, which leaves the highest standing European Court, often called the "Constitutional Court of Europe" (Harries *et al*. 2014: 40), in a situation where it has to rely on the services provided by unknown translators without any quality guarantees.

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[1]   I am grateful to the ECtHR Registry staff who provided me with access to a limited number of authentic written pleadings for my PhD dissertation, thus allowing me to shed some light on these largely occluded documents. This paper is based on a part of findings of my PhD dissertation *Legal Markers and Their Translation in Written Pleadings before the European Court of Human Rights*, University of Milan, 2017.

2. *Legal phraseology and translation*

This work operates within the field of Legal Translation Studies through the paradigm of Legal Phraseology. The latter is understood here as a continuum of prefabricated lexico-grammatical patterns that contribute to the make-up of legal texts "at the macrostructural and microstructural level, providing a stable matrix to be filled with details" (Biel 2014: 36). Phraseological units are said to be "more distinctive of legal English […] and certainly [to] account for more of the difficulties of lay persons in comprehending it" (Danet 1985: 281).

Translation of legal phraseology is listed among the main challenges of legal translation (Hatim and Mason 1997: 190; Šarčević 1997: 117; Garzone 2007: 218-219), as "the translator either knows or simply does not know" (Hatim and Mason 1997: 158) such routines. Consequently, mastery in the use of the prefabricated lexico-grammatical patterns and the respective parallel phraseological competence is crucial for a legal translator (Garzone 2007: 218).

This paper focuses on one type of phraseological units – complex prepositions (see Nikitina 2018 for other phraseological units in written pleadings). These tend to be indivisible prefabricated multi-word means of discourse organisation carrying out specific functions requested by this genre and thus taking on a pragmatic value as markers of legal English in written pleadings.

The difficulty of translating phraseology concerns its combinatorial nature, because collocational patterns differ across languages and are relatively subjective (cf. Baker 1992: 48) and often cannot be translated literally, but instead the translator has to look for TL functional equivalents with a similar degree of conventionality as in the SL (Scarpa *et al*. 2014: 74). Therefore, translation of legal phraseology becomes a matter of balance between conventionality and creativity. On the one hand, legal phraseological units are typically addressed in terms of their high conventional and prefabricated potential. On the other hand, the asymmetric collocability patterns, which distinguish different languages, may lead to "strange strings" (Mauranen 2000) or "untypical patterns" (Jantunen 2004) in translation that lack "phraseological rigour" (Biel 2014: 284) or are perceived as "odd" (Baker 1992: 55) or creative. It is interesting how Šarčević (1997: 161) mentions that legal translators, although customarily perceived as non-creative, often have to make creative syntactical and stylistic changes; however, the extent of tolerated creativity in legal translation without endangering the uniformity of interpretation and application is not clear.

3. *Conventionality and creativity in translation*

Language is traditionally described as a complex continuum, with conventionality and creativity standing at its extremes. The former is typically associated with formulaic expressions and conventionalised institutional settings that define crystallised and repetitive patterns of expression, as well as grammar rules and sociocultural norms. The latter concerns deviation from linguistic norms and rules, which transpires through untypical use of words, rule bending, irregular compounds and linguistic patterning.

The framework of conventionality and creativity is in a constant tension, where the two forces pull into the opposite directions. Applying this framework to translation, the transfer of SL conventions and patterns, which are not typical of the TL, tends to be perceived as creative because it constitutes a deviation from the TL norms and patterns. At the same time, (over)reliance on TL conventions and patterns, even in the absence of explicit ST stimuli, is perceived as (overly) conservative. These two poles most often co-occur in every translation and stand in a dialogic relationship, thus allowing the coexistence of both creative (transferred) and conventional (overrepresented) elements.

This observation relates to what Halverson, from the point of view of cognitive grammar, conceptualises as the "gravitation pull hypothesis" (Halverson 2003: 223-224), according to which prototypical (here also prefabricated) structures of the source language, because of their highly pragmaticalised cognitive salience, prompt the translator's choice, resulting in overrepresentation of certain features, whereas those TL items that do not have strong links to a SL item tend to be dispreferred in translations.

Since the tension between different legal systems is a fact established in studies of legal translation, especially, under the search for legal equivalence, linguistically this twofold orientation results in a complex interaction between the TL-imposed conventionality and the SL-deriving creativity if one views the translation from the target language perspective, or between the SL-accepted conventionality and the TL-imposed creativity if one views the translation from the source language perspective. In other words, the perception of creativity and conventionality is a matter of perspective.

4. *Corpus description and methodology*

This paper is based on a small corpus of authentic written pleadings before the ECtHR (the Three-Part Corpus). The corpus is divided into three distinct subcorpora: the Russian Translation Corpus (RUTC), the

Italian Translation Corpus (ITTC) and the English Reference Corpus (ENRC). The Russian Translation Corpus and the Italian Translation Corpus, as their shorthand denominations suggest, are corpora of written pleadings that have been translated into English from Russian and from Italian respectively. All translations were carried out by L2 translators, who are not connected to the Court or the Council of Europe, and little else is known about their profile. The English Reference Corpus gathers written pleadings that were drafted by native speakers of English residing in the United Kingdom. The Three-Part Corpus of written pleadings before the ECtHR amounts to nearly 240,000 tokens. Additionally, I have gathered some source texts for consultative purposes, and these are left unaligned. Table 1 provides the general statistics of the Three-Part Corpus.

Corpus	Tokens	Types	Texts	Time
Russian Translation Corpus	106,294	5,277	19	2006-2011
English Reference Corpus	86,006	5,220	10	2002-2012
Italian Translation Corpus	46,300	4,478	10	2003-2012
Total	238,600	9,330	39	2002-2012

Table 1. The Three-Part Corpus and its elements

The corpus-extracted data is analysed following Toury's (1995) and Chesterman's (2004) approach to the study of differences between translations, their source texts and comparable non-translated texts. Both scholars differentiate between the relation of *acceptability* (Toury 1995: 56) or *textual fit* (Chesterman 2004: 6), i.e. the comparison of the translated text and comparable non-translated texts, and *adequacy* (Toury 1995: 56) or the *relation of equivalence* (Chesterman 2004: 6), i.e. the relation of the translation and its source text. Toury (1995: 70-74) proposes to check first a translation for acceptability in the target environment, and only afterwards (if at all) to verify whether there are any nonconformities with the source-texts. The same analytical progression is followed in this study to see how conventional and creative complex prepositions combine in translated pleadings as compared to non-translated texts.

I adapted Biel's (2014: 287-289) model for the analysis of phraseological textual fit. I concentrate on the scalar relation between conventionality and creativity standing at the opposite poles of the continuum. It is used to describe the textual fit / acceptability of translations in com-

parison with non-translations. *Conventional* stands for close similarity / convergence between translations and TL non-translations, whereas *creative* is used for cases of low similarity / divergence between translations and TL non-translations. The distance across the corpora is measured operating with the concepts of *overrepresentation* (+*x*%) and *underrepresentation* (-*x*%), i.e. respectively the higher or the lower frequency of a multi-word unit in translations compared to non-translations. These parameters are calculated in Excel sheets with the formula *(Translation corpus value – ENRC value) ÷ ENRC value*, expressed in percent and rounded to zero decimals.

The methodology employed for this investigation is both quantitative and qualitative. The general methodological framework for this study is that of corpus linguistics, with WordSmith Tools 6.0 software used for lexical searches. On account of different subcorpora sizes, all frequencies are normalised to 100,000 words.

The focus of this study is on the most widespread kind of complex prepositions, which follows the three-element structure *simple preposition-noun-simple preposition* (PNP). As simple prepositions form a closed class, the retrieval of complex prepositions is possible by semi-automated means. The search is carried out using the Concord tool of *Wordsmith Tools 6.0* (Scott 2015). The methodology for the compilation of a list of complex prepositions is based on the notion of "collocational framework" (Renouf and Sinclair 1991) and is inspired by Hoffmann's retrieval algorithm (2005: 23): *any simple preposition * any simple preposition*, where the first and the last elements are simple prepositions in various combinations and the middle element is a wildcard.

5. *Findings*

The analysis of complex prepositions across the corpora revealed both quality and quantity deviations in the translation corpora, as well as a combination of both. In terms of quantity, it emerges that complex prepositions as a class are generally overrepresented in the translation corpora (+84% in the RUTC; + 33% in the ITTC), which would suggest a slight slant towards the conventionality pole. The principle complex preposition type examined is built around the PNP-structure, and this pattern is significantly overrepresented in the Russian Translation Corpus (+63%), and only slightly overrepresented in the Italian Translation Corpus (+9%).

Type of complex preposition	RUTC	RUTC cf. ENRC	ENRC	ITTC	ITTC cf. ENRC
Total	1185	+84%	643	852	+33%
Only PNP	911	+63%	559	609	+9%

Table 2. Normalised frequencies of complex prepositions

Naturally, the composition and type of complex prepositions across the corpora differ, under a likely influence of the translation process. There are evident cases of quality deviations, caused by interference and discourse transfer. Many complex prepositions analysed exhibit instances of deviation from the TL norms of legal writing towards the SL norms, with no obvious violation of the TL grammar, in what Mauranen (2004: 80) calls "dispreferred features". The extreme cases of discourse transfer concern the transfer of exact SL mannerisms into the TL, which can be interpreted as a slant towards the creativity pole. For instance, two mannerisms of legal Russian, used exclusively in legal writing, are transferred into the translated pleadings. These are prepositions with the structure [Prep1$_{(up)on}$ + (*the*) + N$_{fact\,/\,suspicion}$ + Prep1$_{of}$], which correspond to the Russian structure [Prep1$_{по}$ + N$_{факту\,/\,подозрению\,(в\,совершении)}$] + Gen, exemplified below.

(1) […] the course of investigation into the criminal case no. 46037 instituted *on the fact of abduction* of V. [RUTC]

(2) […] *on suspicion of commission* of unlawful actions […] [RUTC]

At the same time, both translation corpora operate with a number of traditional legal English complex prepositions either disregarding more straightforward translational choices or introducing conventional complex prepositions at the stage of translation even in the absence of any SL stimuli (as in example (3) below), presumably in order to render the translation more legally sounding. Such additions occur in both translation corpora pulling the use of complex prepositions (and other phraseological units, see Nikitina 2018) towards the conventionality pole.

(3) The restriction *in view of* the expropriation at issue originated because this land was designed to be a *verde pubblico* ('public green space') […] [ITTC].

(3a) Il vincolo espropriativo di cui si tratta discende dalla destinazione a *verde pubblico* […] [ITST].

It transpires that the SL stimuli increase the likelihood of using similar prepositional constructions in translation. On the morphological level it concerns the choice of first and second prepositions that align with SL patterns. It can result in extreme cases of quality deviation and interference, such as *with* the purpose of* instead of *for the purpose of*, under the influence of the Russian *с целью,* or *according with** instead of *according to* under the influence of the Italian *in accordo con*. At the same time, the drive towards morphological alignment is visible also in subtler ways, which are noticeable only in terms of quantity deviation with no qualitative distortions.

Structure	RUTC	RUTC cf. ENRC	ENRC	ITTC	ITTC cf. ENRC
in + N + of	378	+92%	197	140	-29%
in + N + with	206	+472%	36	76	+111%
in + N + to	69	-56%	157	152	-3%
on + N + of	78	+15%	68	95	+40%
with + N + of	19	>	0	5	>
with + N + to	22	+22%	18	44	+144%
by + N + of	19	-44%	34	36	+6%
for + N + of	14	-44%	25	24	-4%
upon + N + of	4	>	-	-	-
as + adv + as	71	+689%	9	21	+133%
as + N + of	27	+80%	15	16	+7%
at + N + of	4	>	-	-	-

Table 3. Morphological structure of complex prepositions

Table 3 demonstrates that the patterns with the first preposition "in" tend to be the most productive across the corpora in absolute terms, however there are some notable differences. While the patterns [Prep1$_{in}$ + N + Prep2$_{of}$] and [Prep1$_{in}$ + N + Prep2$_{to}$] are the two most frequent patterns in the English Reference Corpus and in the Italian Corpus, the Russian Translation Corpus underrepresents the latter pattern and significantly overrepresents [Prep1$_{in}$ + N + Prep2$_{with}$], which mirrors a decidedly prolific parallel pattern in Russian [Prep1$_{в}$ + N + Prep2$_{с}$]. Interestingly, the pattern [Prep1$_{with}$ + N + Prep2$_{to}$] is pointedly overrepresented in the

Italian Translation Corpus (+144%), reflecting a parallel Italian pattern [Prep1$_{con}$ + N + Prep2$_a$]. It could be interpreted to a certain degree as an inclination towards morphologically aligned translations.

On the lexical level, the impact of the SL stimuli is noticeable when a translator is faced with a choice between two near-synonyms, with parallel morphological structures, where the lexical element is the only variable, such as *on the basis of* and *on the grounds of*. Again, divergent preferences are traceable more in terms of quantity than quality deviations. As Table 4 shows, in the Italian Translation Corpus there is a clear tendency to choose the former connector featuring a noun with closer semantics to the source expression *sulla base di/ in base a*. Interestingly, *on the grounds of* has a distinctively legal flavour, which is not achieved through the use of *on the basis of*. It appears that a stronger connection to the source expression (creativity pole) prevailed over the conventional character of the other option (conventionality pole).

Preposition	RUTC	RUTC cf. ENRC	ENRC	ITTC	ITTC cf. ENRC
on the basis of	26	+136%	11	37	+236%
on (the) ground(s) of	7	-73%	26	2	-92%

Table 4. Normalised frequencies of *on the basis of* and *on the grounds of*

Finally, it emerges that whenever the source structure can be rendered by morphologically and semantically analogous pattern in English that is also acknowledged as typical of legal English, it seems to be the preferential path for translators, reconciling paradoxically two opposite tendencies – towards general interference / discourse transfer of prefabricated legal mannerisms and conventionalisation. It can be exemplified by the choice between *in respect of* and *in relation to*. These two complex prepositions have similar collocational behaviour and are often used interchangeably. In the English Reference Corpus, they are evenly distributed, with 74 occurrences of *in respect of* and 83 occurrences of *in relation to*. At the same time, disregarding their near-synonymy, the Russian Translation Corpus uses the former almost ten times more frequently than the latter (136 vs. 14 hits).

(4) On June 27, 2006, the Sakurniy District Court of Lunatsk rendered a judgment of conviction *in relation to* the applicant. [RUTC]

(5) Thus, on 11 June 2008 the prosecutor applied to the Ioshkar Ola City Court with a motion for choosing of a measure of restraint *in respect of* the applicant […].[RUTC]

The consultation of the source texts revealed that in most cases both prepositions translate the Russian *в отношении*, followed by the genitive case, which is conventionally rendered in translation by the preposition "of". Not only is *in respect of* semantically close to the source connector, it is also morphologically aligned and legally marked. Consequently, the combination of these factors may have prompted the translator's choice, creating divergent dynamics in translated pleadings if compared to non-translated texts.

Final remarks

The corpus-extracted evidence showed the presence of two opposite translation-related tendencies: *interference* (including *discourse transfer)* and *conventionalisation*. The former introduces prefabricated patterns from the source language (manifestation of Toury's law of interference) and pulls the target text towards the creativity pole, whereas the latter is accountable for the overuse of the TL repertoremes (manifestation of Toury's law of growing standardisation), which moves the target text closer to the conventionality pole. These two tendencies combine and intertwine in a complex and dynamic way, differentiating the language of translated pleadings both in terms of quality and quantity, specifically on the level of morphology and lexis examined in this brief paper.

This analysis spotted several instances of interference, which were language-pair dependant, whereas cases of conventionalisation seemed to be of a more general nature. I traced an interesting regularity, which appeared to be independent from the language-pair constraint and derived from a combination of several factors: morphological alignment, semantic similarity and legal markedness. Whenever a translation satisfied all of the above parameters, i.e. when a legalistic connector in translated English was marked by a structural and semantic resemblance to the source expression, it tended to be the most widespread solution, as it reconciled the divergent translational pull towards the source-imported creativity and the target-oriented conventionality, confirming thus Halverson's (2003) "gravitation pull" hypothesis and inviting further quantiqualitative research of this phenomenon.

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SIMPLIFYING EU LEGISLATIVE TEXTS: THE CONTRIBUTION OF TRANSLATION

Abstract

This paper investigates the strategies adopted in the translation of EU legislation in the light of the requirements concerning the quality in EU laws and of the various types of constraints influencing the translators' choices. The analysis is based on a bilingual parallel corpus of EU legislation in English and in Italian and takes the translation of the passive voice as a case in point. The results are compared with data from a reference corpus of Italian national laws and reveal that the translated laws tend to be clearer and more readable compared to the original laws in English. The findings also provide evidence in support of the simplification and normalisation hypotheses in translation.

Keywords: legal English; parallel corpus; translation; simplification; normalisation.

1. *Introduction*

The multilingual policy at the European Union establishes that the legislation adopted by EU institutions is made available in all the official languages and that, according to the principle of equal authenticity, each language version of the EU laws has equal legal force. Translation plays a key role in achieving the EU's objective of legal harmonisation, i.e. "a uniform interpretation and application of EU legislation" (Baaij 2012: 4-5) across the EU while, at the same time, safeguarding the Member States' linguistic and cultural diversity (cf. Baaij 2010).

Considering the number of languages involved and the fact that all the language versions must ultimately have the same legal effects in each Member State, it is not surprising that having a high level of quality in both the drafting and translation of EU laws is a key requirement. With particular regard to legal drafting, the *Smart Regulation agenda* (European Commission 2010: 2) states that "[i]f legislation is clear it can be implemented effectively, citizens and economic actors can know their rights and obligations and the courts can enforce them". As nu-

merous documents show, the EU institutions are greatly committed to constantly improving the quality of legislation. The *White Paper on European Governance*[1] adopted in 2001 by the European Commission, for example, states that "[t]he European Union will rightly continue to be judged by the impact of its regulation on the ground" and that, consequently, the European Union "must pay constant attention to *improving the quality, effectiveness and simplicity of regulatory acts*" [*emphasis in the original*].

The institutions' emphasis on the quality of legal drafting, as well as the requirement to produce translations that have the same legal effect as the original draft of the laws, constitutes a form of constraint on the work of drafters and translators alike. In the *Better Regulation 'Toolbox'* (European Commission 2015a: 86)*,* a working document providing practical guidance to the staff involved in the legislative process, it is stated that "[w]hen well designed, such hard rules [i.e. legally binding EU rules] provide clarity as to the behaviour which is expected, making it relatively straightforward to identify non-compliant behaviour". Drafters and translators must abide by specific institutional guidelines, such as the ones contained in the *Joint Practical Guide* (European Commission 2015b), which recommend that legal acts should be "clear", "simple" and "precise". Ulrych (2014: 16-17) draws a parallel between the constraints that EU legal drafters and translators are subjected to and Lefevere's (1992) concept of 'patronage': in the same way as patronage represents "the powers (persons, institutions) that can further or hinder the reading, writing and rewriting of literature" (Lefevere 1992: 15), the EU institutions' emphasis on 'clarity' exercises a form of pressure that can influence the drafter/translator.

Besides the constraints imposed on the translator's work by external forces, research has revealed that the nature of the translation process itself may exercise a form of constraint on the translator. Evidence of this comes from research into the so-called 'translation universals' (Baker 1993), i.e. features that are recurrently found in translated texts as a result of "the very activity of translating, the need to communicate in translated utterances, [which] operates as a major constraint on translational behaviour and gives rise to patterns which are specific to translated texts" Baker (1993: 242). Chesterman (2004: 11) highlights how, in general, "[t]ranslators tend to want to reduce entropy, to increase orderliness" and that "[t]hey tend to want to write clearly […] because they

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[1]   Available at *http://eur-lex.europa.eu/LexUriServ/LexUriServ.do?uri=COM:200 1:0428:FIN:EN:PDF*, last accessed May 3, 2017.

can easily see their role metaphorically as shedding light on an original text that is obscure […] to their target readers".

With the aim of verifying whether the translation strategies adopted by EU translators are influenced by the above-mentioned forms of external and internal constraint, the present paper reports on a study carried out on a parallel corpus of EU laws translated from English into Italian. The underlying hypothesis is that the various influencing factors lead the translator to produce translated laws that are clearer and simpler than the original drafts.

2. *Method*

The analysis is carried out quantitatively and qualitatively on a "multilingually comparable corpus" (Hansen-Schirra and Teich 2009: 1162) compiled by the author (EURO-CoL), which includes a bilingual parallel corpus of EU laws in English (ENGLEX – 2,937,323 words) and the same laws translated into Italian (ITALEX – 3,018,633 words), and a comparable monolingual corpus of Italian laws originally drafted in Italy (LEGITALIA – 2,573,468)[2]. The bilingual parallel corpus contains the complete texts in English and in Italian of 205 EU laws (112 regulations, 78 directives and 15 decisions) adopted between 2005 and 2015, while the LEGITALIA reference corpus contains 245 Italian laws (230 *leggi* and 15 *decreti legge*) that came into force in the same time span. For the quantitative analysis the concordancing package AntConc 3.2.3m developed by Laurence Anthony[3] was used, while the qualitative analysis was carried out on a sample of nine EU laws from the corpus (3 regulations, 3 directives and 3 decisions).

The translation of the passive voice was selected as a unit of analysis since an increased use of the passive compared to general language texts is typically associated with legal texts (cf. Catenaccio 2008: 143; Mattila 2013: 96). The advantage of using the passive in legal texts is that, by placing the focus on the object of the action instead of on the actor performing the action, impersonality and an idea of objectivity is

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[2]   Based on a publication of 2014 by the EU's Directorate General for Translation, the vast majority (81%) of pages drafted by the EU institutions are in English (*Translation and Multilingualism*, available at *http://bookshop.europa.eu/en/translation-and-multilingualism-pbHC0414307/*, last accessed May 14, 2017). In the present study, the English version of the laws in the corpus are therefore assumed to be the source texts for the Italian translations, despite the fact that, due to the principle of equal authenticity, once a law comes into force, it is not possible to trace back the original draft.

[3]   Available at: *http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software.html*.

achieved (Gotti 2003: 96). Excessive use of the passive voice in legal language has, however, been criticised by the Plain Language Movement since it makes legal texts more complex and opaque (Cutts 2013; see also Williams 2005: 177). As a result of this criticism, the use of the passive in legal texts in the UK has gradually decreased in the last thirty years or so. Williams (2011: 143-144) has calculated that there has been a drop in the use of the passive voice in British laws from 53.1% in 1980 to 26.0% in 2010. Anselmi and Seracini (2015: 46) also provide evidence of a decreasing trend in the use of the passive in UK laws since 1984 (a 7% decrease in the laws drafted in the 1991-2000 period and an 11% decrease in the laws drafted in the 2001-2014 period).

The EU institutional guidelines for drafters/translators specifically recommend choosing the active voice in place of the passive if possible, since "[i]f you change passive verb forms into active ones, your writing will become clearer because you will be forced to name the agent – the person, organisation or thing that is carrying out the action" (European Commission 2011: 10). However, despite these recommendations, EU legal English has been found to be more resistant to change compared to the British national legal English (Williams 2005: 173). A diachronic analysis of the use of the passive in a corpus of EU directives originally drafted in English in the period between 1984 and 2014 shows, for example, that the use of the passive has remained almost constant through the years (Anselmi and Seracini 2015).

3. Analysis

The aim of the analysis was to identify the strategies used by the translators as regards the passive voice in EU laws, in order to determine whether they reveal a tendency towards simplification and improved readability. An initial quantitative analysis was carried out to verify whether there was a similar distribution of the passive voice between source texts (ST) and target texts (TT), or whether the translators' choices reduced or increased its use in the EU laws in Italian.

Since the EURO-CoL corpus is not tagged, the number of passives used in ENGLEX was determined by calculating all the occurrences of the clusters formed by the verb *to be*[4] in all its tenses followed by the past participle of the lexical verbs. The calculation took all the possible suffixes of the regular and irregular verbs in the past participle form into consideration. The occurrences of the passive voice in the two corpo-

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[4]   The possibility of the verb *to get* forming the passive as an alternative to *to be* was also verified, but there were no occurrences in ENGLEX.

ra in Italian were determined by calculating the occurrences of all the clusters formed by the verbs *essere* and *venire* in all their tenses together with the *participio passato* of the lexical verbs. The possibility of a word separating the auxiliary verb from the lexical verb was also taken into consideration, and the calculation for each cluster was carried out with and without the 'kleen star' used in place of the word in the three corpora (eg. *be * *d, be * *de, essere * *o, verrebbe * *sa*). In order to make the data comparable between the three corpora, the results were normalised to a common basis of 100,000 words.

The calculation provided a normalised frequency of 1,690 occurrences of the passive in ENGLEX and 1,157 in ITALEX, thus revealing a 31% decrease in the use of the passive in the corpus of translated laws. The occurrences of the passive voice in the reference corpus of Italian national laws was also calculated: the results show that not only does the corpus of Italian translated EU laws have a lower frequency of the passive compared to ENGLEX, but also compared to the corpus of Italian national laws (-13%).

	ENGLEX	ITALEX	LEGITALIA
raw frequency	50,095	36,306	31,619
normalised frequency	1,690	1,157	1,322

Table 1. Occurrences of the passive voice

The qualitative analysis of parallel sections of ENGLEX and ITALEX conducted on a sample of nine EU laws from the corpus revealed that, where the passive voice is not maintained in the TT, the translators adopt different strategies to translate the passive. In some cases the shifts entail a transformation from the passive voice of the ST to the active in the TT (see example 1 from DIR 2010/30/EU).

(1)

ENGLEX   any technical promotional material […] *is provided* to end-users with the necessary information regarding energy consumption.

ITALEX   il materiale tecnico promozionale in materia di prodotti […] *fornisca* agli utilizzatori finali le informazioni necessarie sul consumo energetico.

The passive is also avoided through the transformation of verbal structures into nominal structures, a feature that has been found to characterise legal Italian (cf. Mantovani 2008: 40-41) but also legal English, since it can produce the "effect of de-emphasizing (or even obscuring) the actor" (Tiersma 1999: 206) (see example 2 from DIR 2010/30/EU).

(2)

ENGLEX	Delegated acts shall, […] specify the way in which the label or the fiche or the information specified on the label or in the fiche <u>shall be</u> *displayed or provided* to the potential end-user.
ITALEX	Gli atti delegati specificano […] *le modalità di apposizione* dell'etichetta e della scheda o delle informazioni indicate sull'etichetta o nella scheda o *della loro fornitura* al potenziale utilizzatore finale.

Another translation strategy involves the use of the infinitive form of the verb with an impersonal and imperative meaning to substitute the *be to* modal idiom passive construction (see example 3 from DIR 2005/31/EC).

(3)

ENGLEX	he surface to be tested *is not to be handled* after it has been cleaned.
ITALEX	Dopo averla pulita, <u>non maneggiare</u> più la superficie da sottoporre alla prova.

In some cases, the avoidance of the passive voice results from a more complex transformation. In example (4) from DIR 2010/30/EU, the sentence is nominalised and reformulated and, although a new passive verb is introduced, the translated text is more readable.

(4)

ENGLEX	Member States shall determine how such reference *is to be made* and how that statement *is to be formulated*.

In other cases, the passive is avoided by adopting a change of perspective, as in example (5) from DIR 2010/30/EU, where the passive *are not excluded* is translated with the active *non rientrano* and *nei settori* is added in the TT.

(5)

ENGLEX	as referred to in Directive 2004/18/EC […] on the coordination of procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts (8), *which are not excluded*
ITALEX	di cui alla direttiva 2004/18/CE […] relativa al coordinamento delle procedure di aggiudicazione degli appalti pubblici di lavori, di forniture e di servizi (8), *che non rientrano nei settori esclusi*.

The analysis also revealed that in some instances where the passive voice does not carry any particular meaning and can be considered redundant, it is simply not included in the translated text (see example 6 from DIR 2005/31/EC).

(6)

ENGLEX	Article 16 of Regulation (EC) No 1935/2004 provides that the specific measures are to require that materials and articles covered by those measures *are accompanied* by a written declaration stating that they comply with the rules applicable to them.
ITALEX	L'articolo 16 del regolamento (CE) n. 1935/2004 stabilisce che le misure specifiche devono prescrivere una dichiarazione scritta attestante che gli oggetti sono conformi alle norme vigenti.

The qualitative analysis of the nine selected laws revealed that the passive voice is also translated using language features that are frequently used in legal Italian to express an impersonal or passive meaning (cf. Caterina and Rossi 2008: 187), such as the construction with particle *si*+VERB (see example 7 from Directive 2014/35/EU).

(7)

ENGLEX	When matters relating to this Directive, other than its implementation or infringements, *are being examined* […]
ITALEX	Ogniqualvolta *si esaminino* questioni relative alla presente direttiva, ad eccezione della sua attuazione o di sue violazioni […]

Other impersonal forms that are frequently used to translate the passive voice in ITALEX include è *opportuno, è necessario, occorre, bisogna* which express necessity (see example 8 from DEC 2006/28/EC and example 9 from Regulation 440/2008).

(8)

| ENGLEX | Since the measures provided for in this Decision should apply to all Member States, Commission Decision 98/589/EC […] *should be repealed*. |
| ITALEX | Giacché le misure previste dalla presente decisione si applicano a tutti gli Stati membri, è *opportuno abrogare* la decisione 98/589/CE della Commissione. |

(9)

| ENGLEX | When determining the vapour pressure of low melting solids, care should *be taken* to avoid the condenser blocking. |
| ITALEX | Quando si determina la tensione di vapore di solidi basso-fondenti, *bisogna porre attenzione* ad evitare il bloccaggio del condensatore. |

The occurrences of these expressions were calculated quantitatively for both ITALEX and LEGITALIA (see Table 2).

	ITALEX	*LEGITALIA*
si+VERB	307	336
è opportuno	35	0,5
è necessario	25	3
occorre	22	2
bisogna	1	0,2

Table 2. Occurrences of the impersonal expressions (normalised frequencies)

As the table shows, there is a different distribution of the impersonal expressions in the two corpora and, with the exception of the *si+verb* construction, all the expressions are over-represented in the corpus of Italian translated EU laws. The possible reasons behind the translators' choices as regards the passive voice are discussed in the following section.

4. *Discussion and conclusion*

The aim of the present research was to investigate whether translation at the European Union contributes to the improvement of the quality of EU legislation. The translation of the passive voice was taken as a case in point and a quantitative and qualitative analysis was carried out on the EURO-CoL multilingual corpus, which comprises a bilingual parallel corpus of EU laws and a monolingual comparable corpus of Italian national laws. An initial quantitative analysis revealed that EU translated laws have a significantly lower frequency of passive forms. The results of the quantitative analysis were followed up with a qualitative analysis which suggested that translators tend to adopt strategies that go in two different directions.

On the one hand, the translators show a tendency to comply with the EU guidelines recommending that the passive voice should only be used where strictly necessary and that the active voice should be preferred whenever possible for the sake of clarity. Evidence of this was found particularly in the cases where the English passive voice was either transformed into the active voice in the translated laws, discarded or substituted by using nominal and infinitive structures in the TT.

The other direction that translators tend to take is towards compliance with target language conventions, i.e. the typical features of Italian legal language. This was observed in particular in the use of the impersonal construction *si+verb* in place of the passive voice of the ST, since the quantitative analysis revealed that this construction occurs with a similar frequency in the corpus of EU translated laws and in the LEGITALIA reference corpus. However, while it is true that impersonality has been identified as a typical feature of Italian legal language (cf. Caterina and Rossi 2008: 187), it must be pointed out that the other impersonal structures (eg. è *necessario, occorre* etc.) that are used in place of the passive voice in the translated EU laws are highly over-represented in ITALEX compared to the reference corpus of Italian laws.

The analysis also provides evidence in support of two universal features of translation (Baker 1996), i.e. "simplification" and "normalisation" in the specialised field of legal translation. The strategies involving a restructuring of the TT in order to avoid the passive that was observed in the corpus of EU translated laws can be considered as evidence of the "simplification" hypothesis, i.e. the tendency to simplify the language in the translated text as a consequence of the translation process itself. This is all the more indicative if one considers that the EU guidelines recommending a moderate use of the passive in legislation are addressed to drafters as much as to translators. The fact that the passive is less frequent in the translated laws suggests that the transla-

tion process contributes to improving the quality of EU laws[5]. Evidence in support of the 'normalisation' hypothesis, i.e. the translation universal defined by Baker (1996: 176-177) as "the tendency to conform to patterns and practices which are typical of the target language, even to the point of exaggerating them" can instead be found in the tendency to use certain impersonal structures, such as è *opportuno*, *è necessario*, in the translated laws more than in the national Italian laws.

The findings show that the strategies adopted tend to simplify the TT when translating the passive voice in EU legislation. On the one hand, the changes introduced by the translators in order to avoid – where possible – the passive voice in compliance with EU guidelines make the legislative texts clearer and less complex. On the other hand, the use of a typical language feature of legal Italian – that is the structure *si+verb* – adds to the 'naturalness' of the translated text – which is also considered an indication of quality by EU institutional guidelines[6]. This results in the legislative text being closer to the recipients' expectations and, consequently, more readable for them. Research into the translation strategies of other linguistic features and concerning other target languages could provide confirmation of the contribution of translation to the improvement of quality in EU legislation.

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[5]   These findings are also in line with previous studies on mediated discourse that suggest that the rewriting process tends to simplify texts (cf. Koskinen 2008; Ulrych and Murphy 2008; Stefaniak 2013).

[6]   DGT *Translation Quality Guidelines* (2015: 2).

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LINGUISTIC ACCESSIBILITY
OF EUROPEAN UNION DISCOURSE:
A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

Abstract

The present study presents a socio-cognitive analysis of a mini-corpus of specialised-legal texts from the European Union, that are seen from both a synchronic and a diachronic perspective. The research draws on previous studies (cf. Provenzano 2008), and its main tenet is to analyse texts of extremely current International relevance, which could be used by future intercultural mediators (cf. Provenzano 2015) as an instrument of legal language knowledge in contexts of specialised communication. Accessibility of the European legal texts is seen here from the perspective of a gradual tension between conventionality and creativity, because of the complex levels of knowledge required for them to be understood by a global audience. Such a dynamic process of creativity-making is analysed both in conditions of text production, and in the making of new text reformulations, aiming to convey through new rhetorical and pragmatic forms, the sense of the original text. From such a perspective, the analysis develops as a Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995), and is hence, considered from a qualitative viewpoint, focusing on single case studies. Results of the enquiry are taken to be relevant within the specific domain of European legal discourse, and may represent an element to be investigated also in the future, if it may help understand the relations linking the European Union and its Member States.

Keywords: EU legislation; power asymmetry; simplification strategies; modality.

1. *Introduction*

The present contribution aims at presenting some case studies based on specialized textual genres of the EU, with the objective of directing the attention of intercultural mediators towards the uses of ELF in the specialized domain of the European legal discourse. In this sense, the study follows on from a previous article (Provenzano 2015), concerning

mediation and translation practices in the EU legal discourse, with the focus meant to be here on the mediation practices enacted in the field of Immigration by the EU, up to the recent *Dublin Regulation III* as of 2013, and on the following textual elements: (a) the complex textual structures found in the documents and the proposal for reformulations; (b) the aspect of modality examined within a diachronic perspective.

The interest arises from the need to reconsider specific domains in the European context, especially in the legal and in the economic fields, in which claims of normative, socio-cultural and juridical character may create conflict at the interpretative level (cf. Guido 2008; Provenzano 2008), and hence, need new processes of adaptation in relation to the context and the expectations of the assumed interlocutors, i.e. migrants and asylum seekers.

The hypothesis at the basis of the study is that of a 'power asymmetry', which is reflected in the language practices of the EU, wherein the concept of accessibility to specialised-legal concepts is allowed only through shared interpretations of the norms. However, this process may be actualised only by experts in the field, to the detriment of non-experts, who would be the potential receivers of the laws. The objective is, thus, to focus the attention on: (a) an analysis of the specialised interactions that govern, also from a sociological viewpoint, the contact between the participants in the interactions; and (b) specifically on the pragmatic modalities of the interaction, which are here only limited to the written mode.

Thus, it is relevant to analyse the role of specific deictic elements, that have the function of: a) representing the institutional relations at hand; and b) verify the accessibility of the texts to communities of migrants speaking different variations of ELF.

2. *Theoretical Background*

The aim of the present Section is to focus on the main aspects of the theoretical linguistic models, by applying them to the analysis of the European legislation concerning immigration and asylum. In particular, the focus shall be on the model of de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), which is needed to define the parameters at the basis of the legal communication in the EU, and verify the texts' accessibility from an intercultural perspective.

In the description of the theoretical framework, the focus shall be on the textual parameters of cohesion and coherence, and on the ways the textual choices may represent the sense of the dialogic relationships between the EU institutions and the Member States.

The main assumption of the study is that the clarity of the exposition of the laws is at the basis of the success of the interactions. In this respect, the theoretical models of reference are those of Halliday (1994), which is applied to CDA (Fairclough 1995), to consider the pragmatic aspects of the analysis. To this model is added de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), in order to focus on textual coherence, referred to the socio-cultural identity of the individual speakers; finally, the model by van Dijk (1980), which introduces rules of reformulation, aiming at a practical and functional rendering of the legal argument.

2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Among the models at the basis of this study is Critical Discourse Analysis, which is considered from the perspective of ideological relationships between the EU, on the one hand, and the Member States, on the other, together with those of the migrant communities. This approach is meant to identify the textual strategies enacted by the European institutions, to realise a covert approach in the drafting of the legal document, and to take into account the issue of responsibility in the production of a legal text. Finally, also the possible divergences from the implied receivers' schemata are taken into account.

A functional analysis is thus relevant to the contextualization of the legal texts, and to specify competences also at the practical level of the Member States' national borders.

3. Analysis

In this Section the main legal texts from the EU corpus are considered from a pragmalinguistic viewpoint, that is the *Schengen Convention* (1985), the *Dublin Regulation* (2003), and the *Dublin Regulation III* (2013) as these are meant to represent some of the main European documents used to regulate migrations among the Member States. As was introduced in the previous sections, the need to focus and understand the lingua franca uses is correlated in this context to the use of English for legal purposes within the space of the EU. Mostly, the focus is on the intra-lingual, not the interlingual, process because of the need to understand specialised lexis and complex structures. A special focus is here on modality in order to evaluate the intentionality encoded in the modal verbs used in the documents, as they are meant to be an expression of their conventional uses in the EU documents.

Let us see the most relevant examples and how to analyse them.

3.1. Aspects of the Schengen Convention

Among the relevant examples of text from the *Schengen Convention* (1985), the focus is specifically on the ones that are relevant for understanding the matters of 'borders' within the EU.

> Written information provided by the requested Member State may not be used by the requesting Contracting Party.

The reference is to the implicit passive "the requested", to be translated into Italian as "lo Stato Membro a cui inoltrare la richiesta d'asilo", which represents a peculiarity within this Non-Standard variety of English used by the EU authorities. The real subject cannot be easily recovered, unless through a process of contextualization. This process of recovery is in fact representative of the so-called process of 'gatekeeping' (Roberts and Sarangi 1999), enquiring into the dynamics of institutional communication. The example previously reported, "the requested Member State", is relevant both in the interpretation, because of the intransitive sentence in the passive, and in the translation process into Italian. In this specific occurrence, the passive that is implicit may determine the inaccessibility of the information, and thus requires contextualization on the part of the reader to make sense of the laws.

3.2 The Dublin Regulation

Another legal document which is used by the EU when an application for asylum is lodged is the *Dublin Regulation* (2003). Similar to *Schengen*, also here the point is to highlight the pragmatic effects as defined on a linguistic level, through a choice of texts.

Extract from Art. 2 paragraph (c) of the *Regulation*:

> 'application for asylum' means the application made by a third-country national which can be understood as a request for international protection from a Member State, under the Geneva Convention. Any application for international protection is presumed to be an application for asylum.

The sentence "any application for international protection is presumed to be an application for asylum" is analysable as it diminishes the maxim of quality (Grice 1975), and does not present the key information until the end of the sentence.

It is therefore important to notice the depersonalization of European legal discourse in the written context and, as a consequence, to consider the use of these locutions of the passive and their pragmatic effects, also in the range of spoken discourse. A mechanism of reversibility of

phrasal construction is the basis of the nature of the relational process and can determine the vagueness in specialist discourse together with the need to identify the syntactic subject of "any application" in the role of process identifier (Halliday 1994).

Another text that has been examined here and proposed for a re-formulation is taken from art. 17 of the Regulation, and concerns the charge to process an application for asylum and also the issue of travelling between Member States. In particular, Paragraph 3 is taken into account as it deals with the request for taking charge of an asylum application. Below are the salient lines in the original version, which will be reformulated and object of the analysis in the following section:

> 3. [...] the request that charge be taken by another Member State shall be made using a standard form and including proof or circumstantial evidence as described in the two lists mentioned in Article 18(3) and/or relevant elements from the asylum seeker's statement, enabling the authorities of the requested Member State to check whether it is responsible on the basis of the criteria laid down in this Regulation. (Emphasis added)

3.2.1 Dublin Regulation – Intra-lingual translation

On the basis of the above arguments, an intra-linguistic translation process seems necessary (Gotti 2005, p. 205), which proposes a new formulation of the preceding texts, principally dealing with issues of the asylum procedure. This process of intra-lingual reformulation is considered as realizing creativity in the sense of enabling new text formats (van Dijk 1980). Below are examples from Articles of the *Dublin Regulation*.

Article 9 and Article 17 follow the key aspects of the law as they relate to the responsibilities of the Member States in screening an asylum application, together with a rewording of the paragraph, from a formal to a more informal register. Such a process of discourse change is considered fundamental in the interpretation of the complex dynamics of the legal texts comprehension, and the following paragraphs are considered as examples, or models, of ELF reformulation. As a matter of fact, reformulation appears as a good strategy for making complex or difficult text-types more accessible to a non-expert audience. The suggestions by students of a course in Intercultural Communication at the University of Salento are considered extremely helpful in achieving this. The following reformulated text is referred to Art. 9 of the *Dublin Regulation*:

If the asylum seeker is in possession of a valid visa, the Member State which issued the visa shall be responsible, unless the State issued the document *on behalf* or on the written authorisation of another State. In that case, *this Member State* shall be responsible for examining the application for asylum. Consultation doesn't represent 'written authorisation' within the meaning of this provision. (My emphasis)

The points to be underlined with regard to the above reformulation mainly concern two aspects that are here explained: the use of the deictic phrase "this Member State" that represents the new gist of discourse (van Dijk 1980) but also pragmatically extends the viewpoint of the speaker and thus 'recreates' the original meaning ("the latter's reply") by enhancing clarity. The other point refers to an adverbial expression ("on behalf") that substitutes the original form 'when acting for', thus again reproposing the original text through an alternative Anglo-Saxon form instead of the corresponding Latinate expression, thus enhancing cohesion (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

These aspects have been outlined as they represent salient elements in the current interpretation of the piece of European legislation, especially if applied from an intercultural perspective. As stated in the Introduction, these textual choices may be particularly explained in the light of the implied receiver of the European legal texts, to whom simplified versions of complex specialized texts may be more accessible.

3.2.2. Analysis: Modality

The present Section is aimed at providing an in-depth illustration of modality as has been used in the small corpus of the legal texts that have been selected. Critical Discourse Analysis as the method employed for contextualizing the data analysis is in fact aimed at pointing out the different occurrences of the modal verbs as they also come to be associated with different topics. Another point is the diachronic perspective of analysis, helping to show relevant changes in the modals or, as will emerge, a persistent application of the functional interpretation, mainly in epistemic modality and, also its vague, non-assertive definitions of prescriptions. As stated in the Introduction, the main theoretical point to be underlined is the effect of these prescriptions, from the pragmatic viewpoint, on the user's own perception.

At this level of analysis, the texts that will be taken into account involve the *Dublin Regulation* (2003) up to the *Dublin Regulation III* (2013) and an extract from the *Schengen Convention*, which is also correlated in its perspective to the field of Immigration.

Below are the extracts from the main relevant articles of the original text of the *Dublin Regulation* (Art. 9), and further extracts from the recently approved *Dublin Regulation III*, with the objective of discussing modality in its original forms, the parallel translations into Italian, if available, and the pragmatic actualizations of the modality use. The issue of modality thus represents the crucial point to analyse. The intention is to point out the varying degrees of modal verbs employed in prescriptions (some of them dealing with family procedures, others with applications). Coherently with the previous example, by applying CDA, the analysis will point out this controversial aspect of the modals in the texts of the laws.

The following are other extracts containing texts with the modal verbs. The first extract is from the *Schengen Convention* (1985):

Written information provided by the requested Member State *may* not be used by the requesting Contracting Party.

Another example is taken from the *Dublin Regulation III*:

The Member State responsible *may* request another Member State to let it know on what grounds the applicant bases his or her application.

At the basis of this analysis, is the need to qualify the pragmatic requisite of the modal 'may' in the example, in order to define the illocutionary force of the statement, i.e. the specific deontic value of the statement here, and to make visible the idea that a functional interpretation, rather than a literal one, is mostly to be expected in the translation of this EU corpus. Also in the preceding case, "*may* not be used", which has been applied in a different context, the value of the deontic modal should be made clear. The example in fact expresses prohibition in this specific legal context, and further provides contextualization to the topic of 'information exchange'.

Another interesting example from the small legal corpus selected is taken again from the *Dublin Regulation III*, and deals with 'family procedure', in the sense of connecting the epistemic modal to this legal concern. Here is the example where the information in brackets is my emphasis:

Where several family members and/or minor unmarried *siblings* (brother or sister) submit applications, where the application of the criteria set out in this Regulation *would* lead to their being separated.

If, in the previous examples, the deontic modal 'may' has been used, in this last example with 'would' the epistemic modal conveys the idea of conjecture and, thus, renders the legal discourse ambiguous. From a CDA perspective of analysis, such ambiguity places discourse at the advantage of the locutor, and from a diachronic line of enquiry, it defines the idea of conjecture, and not assertivity. Such a trait of non-assertivity in the original EU discourse is worth pointing out, in that it characterises the conventional profile of EU legal discourse.

3.2.3. Reformulation

The following Section is aimed at providing some guidelines for reformulating the previous paragraphs of the legal texts on the basis of the main provisions that regard both the structures and the modals. From *Dublin III* reformulation:

> 1. EU Countries shall examine any application for international protection by a migrant who applies on the territory, the border or the transit zones of any EU Country. A single Country shall examine the application, according to the criteria in Chapter III.
> 2. If it is impossible to designate a EU Country, the first State where the migrant applied for international protection shall be responsible for the application.
> If it is impossible to transfer a migrant to the responsible EU State, because there are risks of inhuman or degrading treatment within the meaning of Article 4 of the Charter of Fundamental Rights of the European Union, the EU Country shall continue to examine the criteria in Chapter III, in order to establish if another State can be responsible.

In the above paragraph, the focus is on some structures such as the 'first State', that influences the perception of the audience in that it directs the attention of the interlocutor towards a left to right order of perception and thus influences the interpretation. What is thus relevant is to see whether such perception can also have a practical realization, and hence represents a point to be tested in future with communities of migrants.

At the same level of interpretation, and since interpretation here involves the identification of responsibilities, also point 2 represents an interesting paragraph in the perception of the modality. The focus is on the modal 'shall' in connection with the 'EU Country', that links such responsibility to a specific referent, and finally the modal 'can', which is intertextually linked to the source text, but changes register. In fact, the comparative analysis points out the application of the 'Deletion' macro rule in 'can be responsible', avoiding 'designated' as in the pre-

vious version. Such an application of van Dijk's macrorule can allow for the straight identification of the enacting process and, thus, aims to facilitate interpretation.

4. Conclusion

The study began with the awareness of how the issue of intercultural communication has become of crucial importance in recent years in southern Italy. Among the main findings, is the need to reconsider EU and the processes of new text reformulations, thus focusing on the role and features that reformulations may have in providing alternative pragmatic solutions to the original legal texts of the EU.

This model of cognitive-functional analysis should be further implemented to provide adequate solutions and be more in line with the 'schemata' of potential recipients in terms of expectations and other cultural ideas. Correlation between text structure and solicited responses in fieldwork can provide useful suggestions for (a) understanding legal procedures in migrant states and (b) soliciting further changes in the original text structure, so as to prevent communicative failures, or 'non-valid' solicitations in the application of the law.

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GENDER NEUTRALITY IN LEGISLATIVE DRAFTING TECHNIQUES. WHERE CONVENTIONALITY IN ENGLISH LANGUAGE MEETS CREATIVITY IN A DIACHRONIC PERSPECTIVE

Abstract

Over the last decades, proposals to modernise legislative drafting have been choral and among the specific causes generally mentioned there are sentences of undue length, overuse of archaic expressions, repeated definitions and expressions, partiality of nominalisations, lack of gender neutrality. The aim of this analysis is to explore the legislative techniques adopted by drafters of English-speaking countries over the last decades, who are asked to write legal sentences aiming at gender fair and symmetric representation of men and women. The issue examined from a lexico-grammatical perspective culminates in the proposed questions whether certain techniques used to implement gender-neutral drafting can result in a product that is better than the one had before.

Keywords: gender neutrality; language; legislative drafting.

1. *Introduction*

During the late 20th century, gender-specificity in legislation has been consistently questioned. The need to reform the way in which laws have been written for more than one-hundred years was particularly felt in English-language jurisdictions. The policy traditionally known as the 'masculine rule', whereby 'he includes she', raised opposition in the 1970s under the pressure of feminist movements in the United States and Europe. In the 1990s and 2000s, the adoption of plain English style (Bennion 2002; Stefanou and Xanthaki 2008; Williams 2011) forced legislative drafters to generally avoid sentences of undue length, unnecessary and repeated definitions and expressions, and gender specificity with the aim to produce documents which readily convey their message to the audience. In order to steer clear of gender specificity, experts in the legal field proposed to reorganise sentences "avoiding male pronouns, repeating the noun in place of the pronoun, replacing a nominalisation with a verb form" (Thornton 1996).

Undoubtedly, there are inherent factors that make it difficult for drafters to convey the precise legislator's intentions and ensure there are no ambiguities in the expressions that have been chosen. This is particularly true when the legislator aims to avoid gender-specific terms. In this study, the focus is on the gender-neutral drafting techniques adopted over the last decades (2000-2016) by legislative drafters in the UK, Australia, New Zealand, US, and Canada. The study adopts a lexico-grammatical approach to find out advantages and disadvantages of de-constructing and re-formulating legislative sentences in gender-neutral language.

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 provides a general overview of language and gender, and describes the notion of gender classes with a brief description of gender-related grammatical structures. After showing the drafting techniques, Section 3 analyses the English-speaking jurisdictions providing quantitative data which demonstrate the propensity towards those techniques in each of the selected country. Section 4 draws some conclusions in terms of feasibility of the proposed techniques to produce gender-neutral legislative provisions.

2. *Language(s) and gender*

Research studies on gender and language have demonstrated that there exist 'gender languages' characterised by the fact that, for a large number of personal nouns, there is a correspondence between the feminine and the masculine gender classes with the resulting lexical specification of a noun as female-specific or male-specific (Corbett 1991). In this regard, English is no longer a (grammatical) gender language (Curzan 2003). While Old English (750-1100/1150 AD) had three gender classes (feminine, masculine, neuter) and all inanimate nouns belonged to one of the three classes, the category of 'grammatical gender' was lost by the end of the 14th century due to the decay of inflectional endings and the disintegration of declensional classes. However, the lack of grammatical gender in a language does not mean that gender, in a broad sense, cannot be communicated. There are other categories of gender, e.g., lexical and social gender, which may be used to transmit gendered messages. Thus, 'gender languages', that is languages with classifiers or noun classes, as well as those languages that lack noun classification completely (i.e., English, Finnish, Turkish), can resort to a variety of linguistic means to construct gender-related messages. Notwithstanding the debates over the cross-linguistic analysis of gender, scholars (Doleschal 1999; Sunderland 2006; Hellinger and Bußmann

2001) have generally agreed on the identification of four categories of gender, *viz.* "grammatical, lexical, referential, and social gender"[1].

Languages with and without grammatical gender have generated processes of derivation and compounding having an important function in the formation of gendered personal nouns, particularly in the use of existing terms and the creation of new feminine/female equivalent terms, as in the case of the area of occupational terms (for example, English feminine/female *stewardess* from masculine/male *steward* or feminine/female *chairwoman* from masculine/male *chairman*)[2]. In this regard, pronominalisation has been "a powerful strategy of communicating gender both in languages with and without grammatical gender" (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001: 14) as well. Pronouns may emphasise traditional and/or reformed practices, as when a speaker chooses between a false generic (e.g., En. *he*) or a more gender-neutral choice (e.g., En. *singular they*). The following Section 3 focuses on the role of pronominalisation in the legislation of English speaking countries analysed from a diachronic perspective.

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[1]   Gender languages have usually two or three gender classes, and among them frequently 'feminine' and 'masculine'. 'Grammatical language' might be defined as an intrinsic property of nouns which directs and controls the agreement between the noun and some satellite element that might be an adjective, article, pronoun, verb, preposition, and might vary according to the gender of the controller itself. In order to define 'lexical gender', it might be useful to refer to the property of extra-linguistic, either 'natural' or 'biological', femaleness or maleness of words and terms. In English, for instance, family relationship nouns are lexically specified as carrying semantic property, female or male, which relate to the sex of referent, *viz.*, extra-linguistic category of referential gender. For this reason, those personal nouns may be described as gender-specific – either female-specific or male-specific – in contrast to such nouns as *person, patient, client*, which are considered to be gender-indefinite or gender-neutral. In the case of terms without lexical gender, i.e. gender-indefinite nouns such as *individual* or *person*, pronominal choice is usually, but not always, determined by the grammatical gender of the antecedent noun or subject to which they are related. 'Referential gender', instead, identifies a referent as female, male, or gender-indefinite by linking linguistic terms to the non-linguistic realities. In referential gender, when reference is made to a particular subject, the "choice of anaphoric pronouns may be referentially motivated and may override the noun's grammatical gender" (Hellinger and Bußmann 2001: 9). Then, 'social gender' refers to the semantic bias of an otherwise unspecified noun towards one or the other gender, as in the case of *nurse* and *teacher* denoting stereotypically female persons, and *surgeon* and *professor* male ones. Traditional practice has prescribed the choice of *he* in neutral contexts even for general human nouns such as *pedestrian* or *consumer*.

[2]   This is particularly evident in the case of Italian, with the recent formation of words such as feminine/female *ministra* which derives from masculine/male *ministro* (En. 'minister'), and feminine/female *sindaca* which derives from masculine/male *sindaco* (En. 'mayor').

3. *Gender-neutral drafting and English language jurisdictions*

Gender-neutral drafting has been the norm for some years in many jurisdictions that use English language to draft legislation, such as Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, and more recently the UK and the US.

A gender-neutral policy was adopted some time ago in South Australia with the first Sex Discrimination Bill introduced into the South Australian Parliament in 1973[3]. A Select Committee report on the proposed Bill led to the reintroduction in June 1975 of sex discrimination legislation.

New Zealand adopted a formal gender-neutral policy in the mid-1980s. Then, the *Interpretation Act 1999* does not have the provision formerly contained in Section 4 of the *Acts Interpretation Act 1924* that "the masculine gender includes the female gender"[4]. The result of this change was that gender-specific terms, unless otherwise provided, are given their ordinary meaning and do not include other genders. Therefore, it is essential to use gender-neutral language unless a specific gender is intended. For example, certain offences may be committed only against women.

In 1985, the Government of Ontario adopted an official policy of using gender-neutral language in all official publications, including bills and regulations[5]. Since then, all bills and regulations drafted in Ontario have been prepared using the gender-neutral style.

Acts of the Westminster Parliament habitually relied on the general interpretation provision and used *he*, *him* and *his* with the intention of including reference to males and females. From 1850 until 2007, this practice has been challenged from time to time, even though the Government has consistently resisted these challenges for many years[6].

The Unite States has only recently introduced gender-neutral drafting. In 2009, the United States House of Representatives updated its standing rules to reflect gender neutrality and replacing masculine references with gender-neutral references in the Rules of the House[7].

The gender-neutral drafting techniques recommended by English speaking jurisdictions and analysed in the present study are quite varied. The following Sub-sections (3.1 and 3.2) illustrate them by quoting passages taken from the selected corpus.

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[3] *https://www.legislation.gov.au/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[4]   *http://www.legislation.govt.nz/act/public/1924/0011/latest/whole.html*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[5] *https://www.ontario.ca/page/government-ontario*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[6] *https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[7] *https://www.house.gov/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.

3.1. Gender-neutral drafting techniques

Among the gender-neutral drafting indications, 'repetition', 'omission', 'rephrasing', and 'alternative pronouns' are the standard techniques proposed to avoid gender-specificity.

a) Manuals often indicate repetition as a standard way to have gender-neutral drafting. These following are typical examples of repetition (my italics):

(i)   The *Vice-president* may exercise *his* power if […].
      The *Vice-president* may exercise *Vice-president*'s power if […].

(ii) […] may give a youth conditional caution to *a child or young person* ("*the offender*") if *the offender* […].

As Greenberg observes (2008: 67), "[repetition] is of course the most obvious way of avoiding 'he'[…]. And it is a reasonably familiar technique for drafters and leaders alike". However, this technique may be open to the objection of inelegance and fails to conform to the ideals of plain language sentences (Stefanou and Xanthaki 2008). Furthermore, constant repetition of a noun in a way not used in speech can jar and detract from readability, and requires the reader to substitute actual wording required for the defined term. Overall, repetition may be useful to distinguish between two or more people, but unlikely to be used solely for the purpose of achieving gender-neutral drafting.

b) Omission is the gender-neutral drafting technique proposed as an alternative to repetition, as shown in the extracts below:

(i)   The chief executive may resign *his* office.
      The chief executive may resign office.

(ii) […] circumstances which justify *him* doing so.
      […] circumstances which justify doing so.

In these examples, the pronoun is omitted without substituting it. Omitting the pronoun relies on the reader using the context to supply the word omitted, and care has to be used to ensure certainty. Indeed, words and expressions may be omitted whenever they appear to add anything to the meaning of the sentence. The omission of expressions such as *due for him* and if *he thinks fit*, which are quite common in English-speaking legislation, is strongly suggested not only for gen-

der-neutral reasons (the personal pronoun would require the repetition of the noun), but also for reasons of simplicity and clarity in legislation.

c) Another drafting technique consists in rephrasing the sentence to avoid the use of gender-specific personal pronouns, or the repetition of words and expressions. More specifically,

• the reorganisation of sentences can be done changing the active voice into passive voice, as in the case of "The Secretary of State must submit a memorandum explaining *why he has not laid the order*" changed into "The Secretary of State must submit a memorandum explaining *why the order has not been laid*". Agentless passive construction may avoid the need for the use of gender-specific pronouns (e.g., *he*). The advantage of the active voice is that the subject of the sentence names the performer of the action stated in the verb. Furthermore, the passive form either omits, or reduces the emphasis on the person performing the action. However, passive constructions may not be so clear as the active counterparts and may give rise to ambiguities as in the case of "When a person makes an application, the following information must be supplied" (who must supply 'the following information'?);

• rephrasing can be done using relative pronouns as in the extract "A person commits an offence *if he* […]" rephrased as "A person *who* […] commits an offence". Active words are postponed to the end. It works very well in a short proposition, but much less well in a long proposition with subordinate clauses, as in the following example taken from the *UK Fine Act 2010* where the repetition of *a person who commits an offence* cannot be avoided without affecting the overall meaning of the sentence:

Subject to subsection (3), where an enactment enacted during a period specified in column (2) of the Table opposite a particular reference number specified in column (1) of the Table provides that a *person who commits an offence* under the enactment shall be liable, upon summary conviction, to a fine not exceeding an amount that falls within the range of amounts specified in column (3) of the Table opposite the same reference number, *a person who commits that offence* after the commencement date shall, upon summary conviction, not be liable to that fine, but shall instead be liable to a class A fine.

• rephrasing propositions by dividing them into a number of shorter sentences can be another technique to avoid personal pronouns, or

the inelegant repetition of words and expressions. The extract reported here is an interesting example of this technique:

853H Duty to deliver information about exemption from Part 21A
(1) This section applies where a company —
    (a) which is not a DTR5 issuer, and
    (b) to which Part 21A does not apply (information about people with significant control, see section 790B), makes a confirmation statement.
(2) The company must deliver to the registrar a statement of the fact that it is a company to which Part 21A does not apply at the same time as it delivers the confirmation statement.
(3) Subsection (2) does not apply if the last statement delivered to the registrar under this section applies equally to the confirmation period concerned.

Rephrasing propositions by dividing them into shorter sentences is a popular and quite attractive technique. However, its efficacy may vary from time to time, because "a series of short sentences can be longer and less pleasing than a single sentence which develops a single story intuitively, and through which the subordinate clauses flow so naturally as to aid rather than impede rapid comprehension" (Greenberg 2008: 71);

- the reorganisation of propositions can be done using impersonal constructions, as shown below:

    (i) the reasonableness or otherwise of *his belief* […].
        the reasonableness or otherwise of *that belief* […].

In terms of the message conveyed, impersonal constructions can produce unnatural dislocation between the person and the thing or event being spoken. Furthermore, the use of *the/that* may lose the link between the noun and the person being spoken of.

d) Drafters might consider the possibility of using 'alternative pronouns' that are acceptably gender-neutral. More specifically,

- *he or she* might be considered an appropriate solution to gender-neutral drafting, as shown in the following extracts

    (i) A member of the Tribunal may resign *his or her* office.
    (ii) *She or he* may do so with immediate effects […].

Most Legislative Drafting Instructions consider this a "natural solution" (Petersson 1999). However, some English-speaking jurisdictions have begun questioning the use of *he or she* because it does not include "a body of persons incorporated or unincorporate" (*UK Interpretation Act 1987*)[8], nor does it refer to individuals who do not identify with a specific gender. Furthermore, it is not really gender-neutral and especially objectionable at a time where gender, in addition to masculine and feminine, includes LGBTQ[9]. *He or she* introduces complexity into the sentence because a frequent repetition of it can be awkward, and concerns are expressed about the order of the personal pronouns (i.e., *she or he* instead of *he or she*);

- it is possible to make greater use of *plural pronouns* if one makes greater use of plural nouns:

(i) *Persons* may submit applications only if *they* think […].
(ii) […] paying grants for amounts consistent with the aim of *people* enjoying the benefit of equivalent protection from air, water or soil pollution and from noise, wherever *they* live in Australia […].

Legislative Drafting Instructions suggests the plural as a means of avoiding male terms in legal language in general. However, the plural is not usually considered as a practical option for legislative drafting, accepting it when there is no other convenient way to avoid male terms. In this regard, the New Zealand Law Commission decided officially that "The general rule is to use the singular form unless the plural form avoids sexist singular pronouns" (New Zealand Law Commission, *Legislation Manual Structure and Style-Report* No. 35). If it is an easy option turning the noun into a plural noun (i.e., *they*), it might happen that there is no coupling of plural pronouns with references to a single person;

- another alternative pronoun that has been proposed by legislative drafters to avoid gender-specific pronouns is the *singular they*:

(i)   The Commission may resign *their* office.

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[8]   Greenberg (2008) warns about the drafters' habit of using the masculine personal pronoun *he* in relation to a *person* despite the fact that Schedule 1 to the *Interpretation Act 1978* defines a *person* "a body of persons corporate or unincorporated". Indeed, *he or she* can be used only in the case of provisions directed exclusively to individuals.
[9]   *OED* defines LGBTQ an abbreviation for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer (or questioning), *viz.* the LGBTQ community.

(ii) A person may submit an application only if *they think* […].
(iii) […] in defending or resisting a proceedings in which *the person is found* to have a liability for which *they could not* be indemnified under sub-section (4) of this section […].

Although *singular they* avoids the problem of gender specificity, its potential for ambiguity makes it an "unattractive approach to gender neutrality" (Petersson 1999);

• *singular they* becomes singular pronoun but still taking a plural verb form. There is a dispute about whether it is grammatically correct. In this regard, Greenberg (2008: 72) observes:

Most people regard this as abhorrent both on grounds of being incorrect grammar and also on grounds of euphony; while some who do not especially revile the idea simply do not accept that it is likely to command widespread acceptance. Whatever one may wish to say about correct usage, it is certainly true that in vernacular conversation the word 'they' is used in precisely this way frequently (perhaps with such increasing frequency that its grammatical incorrectness is already debatable and will sooner or later become unarguable).

Although most rejectors of *singular they* view it as an innovation, its history is long and complex[10]. The following extracts show the use of *they* with singular reference:

[10]   The history begins with the finding that Old English had the third-person subject pronouns hē (masculine nominative), hēo (feminine nominative) and hīe (plural nominative, any gender). Then, *they* and *their* gradually displaced their antecedent (native hīe and heora). In the 1300s, there is the first attested uses of *they* with 'singular reference': "Eche on in þer craft ys wijs" ("Each one in their craft is wise". The Wycliffite Bible 1382). *OED* details the frequent appearance of *singular they* in formal religious texts, and defines its use "in anaphoric reference to a singular noun or pronoun of undetermined gender: he or she. Especially in relation to a noun phrase involving one of the indefinite determiners or pronouns an, each, every, no, some, anybody, anyone, etc. This use has sometimes been considered erroneous" as in the case of Fowler's *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* (1926/2000: 648). Since the 14th century, English usage embraced the use of *singular they*, particularly in cases where the identity was unknown or unspecified. Furthermore, its use was considered appropriate in formal and prestigious literary works (Shakespeare, Jane Austen, Henry Fielding, to name just a few). In the 18th and early 19th centuries, however, *singular they* was condemned by several grammarians. In 2015, the American Dialect Society voted *singular they* 'Word of The Year' "for its emerging use as a pronoun to refer to a known person, often as a conscious choice by a person rejecting the traditional gender binary of he and she" (*http://www.americandialect.org/woty*, last accessed April 10, 2018). More recently, *singular they* has made its way into two of the main stylebooks in the academia

(i)   *A renter* [singular noun] *is* [singular verb] entitled to an additional bed-
room *if they* [plural pronoun] *satisfy* [plural verb] various conditions.
(ii) […] *a child* [singular noun] who requires [singular verb] *their* [posses-
sive determiner] own bedroom.

Needless to say, legislative drafting becomes less comfortable when
the sentence is written down, because the eye is drawn back to dis-
cover that the subject was singular, as in the example below:

[...] *any member* of the armed forces who, (i) is the son […] of the claimant,
(ii) was the claimant's non-dependant before *they became* a member of the
armed forces away on operations, and (iii) *intends* to resume occupying the
dwelling as *their* house when *they* cease to be a member of the armed forces
away on operations.

That explains why the technique is frequently used in conversation,
but it is less recurrent in writing.

3.2 *Results: comparison of corpora*

The analysis has been conducted on a corpus including Public Gen-
eral Acts passed in 2016 in the UK[11], Australia[12], New Zealand[13], Can-
ada[14], and the US[15], and compared with a pre-existing corpora of leg-
islation passed in 2000, 2005, 2010 in each of these English-speaking
jurisdictions, for a total amount of 16,563,027 tokens. The language
focus of my analysis was on a few selective features that can be listed
along a gender-specificity/gender-neutrality continuum (i.e., personal
pronouns, indefinite pronouns, gender-indefinite nouns).

 The quantitative analysis of the corpora provides interesting results
(Table I and Table II) in terms of keywords produced by using Word-
smith Tools (Scott 2015)[16]. More specifically, Table I shows the results

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and journalism (*http://cmosshoptalk.com/2017/04/03/chicago-style-for-the-singular-
they/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.), and the APA stylebook (*https://store.apstylebook.
com/2017-ap-stylebook-print-edition.html*, last accessed April 10, 2018).

[11]   *http://www.legislation.gov.uk*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[12]   *http://www.legislation.gov.au/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[13]   *http://www.legislation.govt.nz/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[14]   *http://www.gazette.gc.ca/gazette/home-accueil-eng.php*, last accessed April 10,
2018.
[15]   *http://www.congress.gov./*, last accessed April 10, 2018.
[16]   The selected items have been retrieved by means of automated interrogation
routines.

in terms of keywords produced comparing pre-existing legislation in UK[17]. Table II provides the results in terms of keywords produced comparing legislation passed in 2016 in each sub-corpus (UK, US, New Zealand, Australia, Canada).

UK	2000		2005		2010		2016	
he	2,385	0.20%	2,306	0.20%	229	0.02%	76	0.01%
him	1,726	0.15%	1,690	0.14%	52	<0.01%	41	<0.01%
his	1,903	0.17%	1,738	0.15%	64	<0.01%	34	<0.01%
he or she	5	<0.01%	2	<0.01%	31	<0.01%	32	<0.01%
she or he	0	0	2	<0.01%	4	<0.01%	12	<0.01%
him or her	1	<0.01%	0	0	17	<0.01%	5	<0.01%
his or her	12	<0.01%	2	<0.01%	36	<0.01%	29	<0.01%
they	1,081	0.08%	1,345	0.11%	724	0.06%	329	0.03%
them	862	0.07%	1,037	0.09%	326	0.03%	210	0.02%
their	932	0.08%	811	0.08%	425	0.04%	226	0.03%
person	6,325	0.54%	7.003	0.60%	7,685	0.64%	6,056	0.50%
everyone	190	0.03%	327	0.03%	513	0.05%	671	0.06%
who	1,315	0.11%	1,737	0.15%	1,620	0.13%	1,068	0.08%
whom	629	0.06%	645	0.06%	446	0.04%	537	0.05%
whose	271	0.02%	407	0.04%	214	0.02%	139	0.01%

Table I. *Legislation passed in UK – General frequency data*

[17]   For reasons of space, the results in terms of keywords produced comparing pre-existing legislation (2000, 2005, 2010) respectively passed in Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and the US, will be reported in a separate publication.

As regards legal texts drafted in the UK according to gender-neutrality criteria, the quantitative data (Table I) show a dramatic decrease in the frequency of *he, him, his* in legislation passed from 2000 to 2016, with a small increase in the frequency of *he or she* which is a good substitute for gender-marked words (though, it has been adopted only occasionally, and its frequencies is quite low). Table I shows a substantial stable frequency of *everyone* and *person* which are good substitutes for gender-marked words. Recourse to *they, them, their* and to relative clauses is not often made, as frequencies have been on the decrease.

2016	UK 1,115,863 tokens	US 1,104,623 tokens	New Zealand 787,513 tokens	Australia 1,007,514 tokens	Canada 954,776 tokens
he	76 <0.01%	49 <0.01%	41 <0.01%	37 <0.01%	37 <0.01%
him	41 <0.01%	32 <0.01%	31 <0.01%	29 <0.01%	7 <0.01%
his	34 <0.01%	19 <0.01%	14 <0.01%	12 <0.01%	49 <0.01%
he or she	22 <0.01%	34 <0.01%	27 <0.01%	27 <0.01%	5 <0.01%
she or he	8 <0.01%	10 <0.01%	5 <0.01%	5 <0.01%	0 <0.01%
him or her	5 <0.01%	2 <0.01%	2 <0.01%	3 <0.01%	0 <0.01%
his or her	29 <0.01%	14 <0.01%	12 <0.01%	10 <0.01%	10 <0.01%
they	329 0.03%	378 0.03%	315 0.03%	298 0.02%	37 <0.01%
them	210 0.02%	178 0.01%	123 0.01%	115 0.01%	82 <0.01%
their	226 0.02%	198 0.01%	14 0.01%	127 0.01%	487 0.04%
person	6,056 0.51%	5,987 0.49%	3,216 0.32%	3,473 0.34%	1,287 0.10%
everyone	671 0.06%	734 0.07%	597 0.05%	687 0.06%	2,321 0.20%
who	1,068 0.08%	1,127 0.10%	967 0.09%	1,101 0.10%	1,224 0.011%

2016	UK 1,115,863 tokens	US 1,104,623 tokens	New Zealand 787,513 tokens	Australia 1,007,514 tokens	Canada 954,776 tokens
whom	537 0.05%	487 0.04%	347 0.03%	347 0.03%	104 0.01%
whose	139 0.01%	119 0.01%	98 < 0.01%	98 < 0.01%	128 0.01%

Table II. *Legislation passed in the selected jurisdictions - General frequency data*

Comparison of the wordlist in the sub-corpora (Table II) produced keywords, usually frequent or infrequent words in one sub-corpus when compared to the others. As regards legal texts drafted according to gender-neutrality criteria in the UK, Canada, New Zealand, Australia, and the US, data show a dramatic decrease in the frequency of *he, him, his* in legislation passed in 2016, and a small increase in the frequency of *he or she/she or he* which seem to be adopted only occasionally. A substantial stable frequency of *person* and *everyone* can be observed in the UK, Canada, US, and New Zealand sub-corpora, with a slight increase in Australia. With the sole exception of Canada, recourse to *they, them, their* and to the relative clauses is not often made as frequencies have been on the decrease. Overall, the analysis of data suggests that techniques involving more radical restructuring of the sentence have been preferred, including the recourse to passive voice, omission, and repetition.

4. *Conclusions*

Tendencies of variation and change in the area of personal reference have been observed in English-speaking jurisdictions in the last few decades. Such tendencies have been supported by language planning measures, including the publication of recommendations and guidelines (Rose 2010). To a large extent, the emergence of public discourse on language and gender depends on the socio-political background, in particular the state of women and other sexual minority groups in the respective country. As a tool of social practice, language may serve referential functions (e.g., the exchange of information) and may contribute to the construction and communication of gender, reflecting social hierarchies and mechanisms of identification. The analysis has shown that legislative drafting recommendations and guidelines for gender-neutral

language recognise areas of conventional language use as discriminatory and offer alternatives aiming at a gender-fair and symmetric representation of individuals. As instruments of language planning, the hope is that the guidelines for gender-neutral language may successfully reinforce tendencies of linguistic change by means of explicit directions.

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LANGUAGE TEACHING AND LANGUAGE LEARNING

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INDIRE

THE ROLE OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE
IN A CLIL INTERACTION

Abstract

The paper is aimed at discussing the teachers' beliefs on the role of the English language in a CLIL environment. Starting from a brief outline of the latest research in the field of CLIL with particular reference to the applied linguistics perspective, the paper will describe the main outcomes from a questionnaire delivered to 675 language teachers and 823 subject teachers attending a MOOC on learning technologies for CLIL in a global context.

Keywords: CLIL; English; Subject-specific language.

1. *Introduction*

The research design presented in this paper places itself within a vast literature in the field of CLIL, without the ambition to cover it fully. The research project is aimed at investigating the perceptions and beliefs of a sample of teachers attending a MOOC (Massive Open Online Course), with regard to the role of English in a CLIL interaction.

The research questions were the following:

What are the teachers' beliefs and perceptions about the language dimension in CLIL, with reference to English? Do subject teachers feel the need to be supported by language teachers?

In order to find answers to these questions, a questionnaire was delivered to a sample of teachers made up of 675 language teachers (English teachers) and 823 subject teachers. The majority of them came from Italy, but there were also participants from other European and non-European countries, teaching mainly at upper and lower secondary level, but also at primary level and at university (in small percentage).

The main outcomes of the research show that language plays a key role in CLIL and subject teachers feel the need to be supported by language teachers especially as far as the language dimension is concerned.

2. *The language in CLIL*

CLIL methodology has been widely investigated in recent years (Coyle *et al.* 2010) and is strongly promoted by the European Commission as an innovative way to foster plurilingualism (European Commission 2012; Council of the European Union, 2019).

In Italy CLIL was introduced as mandatory at secondary level by Decrees 88/89 dated 2010 (Cinganotto 2016[1]; Cinganotto 2018). The Law 107/2015 encouraged the introduction of CLIL from primary to secondary school, highlighting the positive impact this methodology can have on the internationalization of school curricula and on students' learning outcomes.

CLIL refers to "any form of language education in which subject matter is taught in a second or foreign language. It could be called bilingual education, immersion and multilingual education" (Van De Craen 2001: 209-220): this means that CLIL is an umbrella term, which has been used in different educational contexts interweaving language and content education. Among the benefits of CLIL, scholars have pointed out the following (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2007):

- It creates conditions for natural language learning;
- It provides a purpose for language use in the classroom;
- It has a positive effect on language learning by emphasizing on meaning rather than form;
- It increases the amount of exposure to the target language;
- It enhances cognitive development.

Acquiring a foreign language is a long process, which may be fostered by natural contexts (Lightbown, Spada 2006), therefore considerable exposure to naturally occurring language, as well as high quality inputs and engaging interactional contexts (MacWhynney 2002) are necessary to ensure the acquisition of a good level of competence: learners need to have access to spontaneous speech, in an interactive context where they can concretely experience the functioning of the foreign language.

CLIL can be perceived as a way to improve quality in language teaching. It not only widens the scope of foreign languages used for communication, but also activates higher-level cognitive skills (HOTS,

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[1] Cinganotto (2016) is mentioned on page 29 of the Staff Working Document of the Council Recommendation on a comprehensive approach on language learning and teaching (Council of the European Union, 2019).

Higher Order Thinking Skills) and cultural and intercultural knowledge and awareness.

A large number of recent studies have been investigating the potential of CLIL from applied linguistics perspectives, with particular reference to Second Language Acquisition (SLA).

Studies of SLA (Pica 2005) have increased rapidly in recent years, addressing a wider range of topics and working within multiple methodologies. Recalling the first approaches, named "contrastive analysis" (Lado 1957), aimed at comparing the L1 with the L2 and leading the acquisition of the latter through drill, practice and correction, the research has recently enlarged its scope and prospective, moving from the study of the interferences between the two languages, to the analysis of the learner's interlanguage, focusing on rules and patterns changing over the course of L2 development. Therefore, SLA has redefined practice as learner-centered and knowledge-based, reshaping the role of corrective feedback, by identifying contexts in which it can be really effective and possibly adopting *translanguaging*, where needed. All these issues are crucial in conceptualizing the role of the language in a CLIL interaction.

3. *The questionnaire*

A questionnaire was delivered to 675 English teachers and 823 subject teachers attending the online global training initiative named "Techno-CLIL 2017", EVO, Tesol International, moderated by the author in cooperation with Daniela Cuccurullo.

The questionnaire was made up of closed questions and open-ended questions: relevant comments and notes were grouped and commented on by using the "Framework Analysis" (Ritchie *et al.* 2014) as a qualitative research method. Only two main questions will be discussed in this contribution, reporting some of the teachers' comments collected.

The participants were coming from all over the world, with a majority coming from Italy (about 90%). A great percentage of them were upper secondary school teachers (40,2%), but there were also lower secondary school teachers (23%) and quite a significant number of primary school teachers (31,2%), as the graph below shows (Fig. 1).
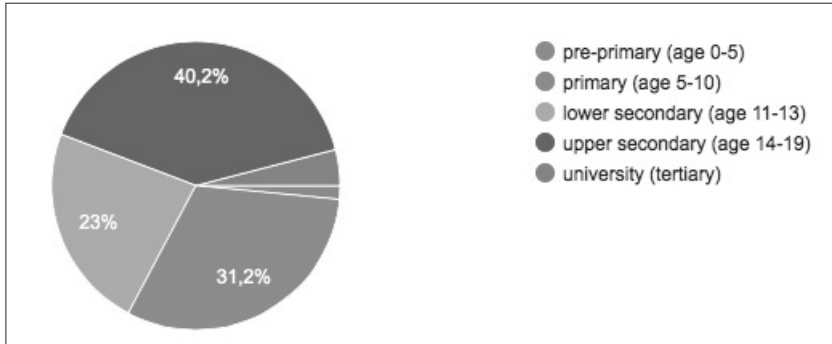
Fig. 1. The participants

The subject teachers involved in the survey taught a wide variety of subjects both humanistic and scientific. They were asked to self-assess their level of competence in English: the intermediate level turned out to be the most common (40,7% B2, 30,5% B1).
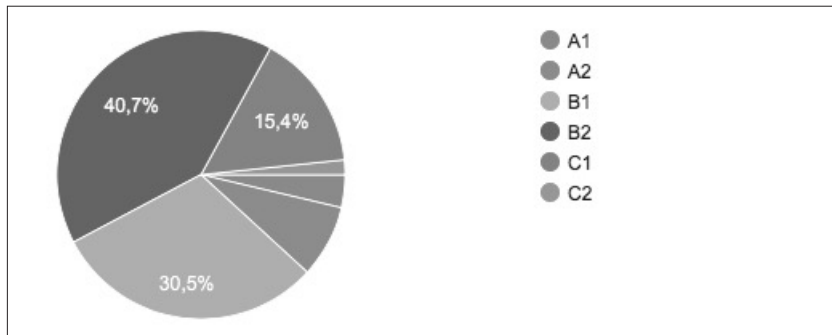
Fig. 2. The subject teachers' level of competence in English

4. *Results and discussion*

One of the questions was the following: "Could you rate the added value of CLIL as for the language?"

60% of the English teachers seemed to opt for the highest value (5) referring to the potential of CLIL as for the language dimension. The same results can be registered for the subject teachers: the impact

of language on CLIL is perceived as very powerful, as the following graphs show (Figg. 3-4).
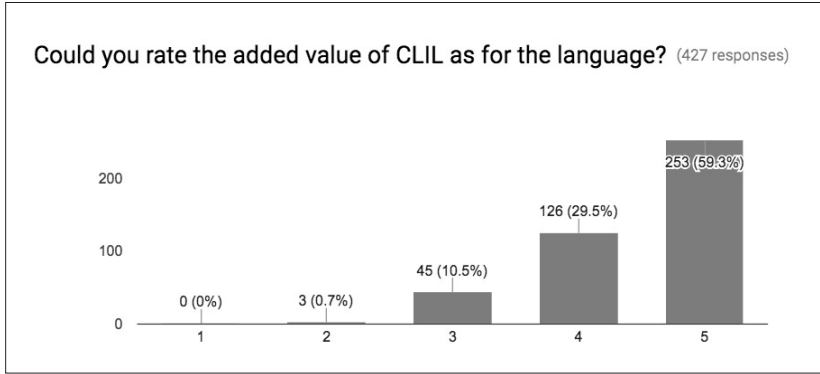
Fig. 3. The language teachers' responses
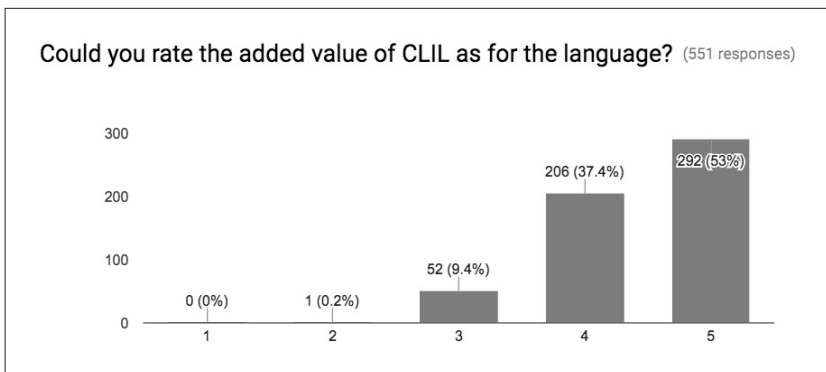
Fig. 4. The subject teachers' responses

The answers are in line with the latest European Recommendations, highlighting CLIL as an effective methodology to enhance students' language competences, also empowering their motivation and attitudes, thanks to the use of authentic material, simulations, interactive and dynamic activities, aimed at making the students the real protagonists of their learning pathway.

Both the English teachers and the subject teachers seem to recognize the added value of CLIL on the students' language competences, as a key to educational success: CLIL means reshaping and rethinking the language use in terms of CALP (Cognitive Academic Language Profi-

ciency) for discussions, interactions and negotiations of subject content in school contexts.

Another question was aimed at investigating the teachers' thoughts and feelings about their need for support: "Do you think subject teachers should be supported by language teachers?"

Once again both subject and language teachers agree that subject teachers should be supported by English teachers: it is a common belief and need. In particular, the area which is perceived as weak is the language dimension with reference to key subject-specific language and academic language (Fig. 5): this seems to be a specific language teachers' competence that subject teachers generally lack, so it could be crucial in a collaboration with each other.

Do you think subject teachers should be supported by language teachers?
(427 responses)

- Yes
- No

8.7%
91.3%

If yes, why do subject teachers need support? (427 responses)

- to help identify key subject-specific language and academic language
- to improve interactive classroom language
- to increase knowledge of support strategies used in CLIL lessons
- Opzione 4

24.8%
27.4%
7%
40.7%
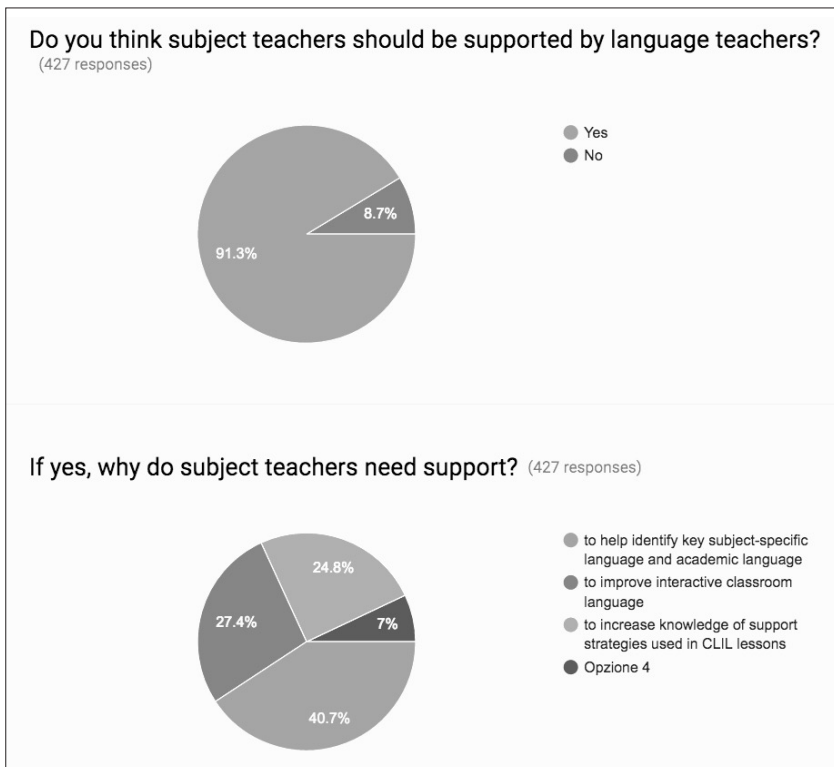
Fig. 5. The language teachers' responses

Some of the English teachers' comments, reported below, show that they feel ready to help their colleagues in a CLIL interaction, enhancing the role of the language dimension:

I'd support language teachers helping them arrange a good CLIL lesson and giving them the essential linguistic tools they need.

I would support them with the use of academic language, in preparing presentations, exercises, tests.

 Improve overall level of English, help with choice of resources, help with assessment.

The responses of the subject teachers are in line with their colleagues': they feel the need to be helped and supported by English teachers. Their help in the different steps of the teaching unit would be precious in enhancing the role of English, both general academic language and key subject-specific language, as the graphs below show (Fig. 6).

Do you think subject teachers should be supported by language teachers?
(552 responses)

- Yes
- No

7.6%

92.4%

If yes, why do subject teachers need support? (552 responses)

- to help identify key subject-specific language and academic language
- to improve interactive classroom language
- to increase knowledge of support strategies used in CLIL lessons
- Opzione 4

23.7%

8.3%

26.4%

41.5%
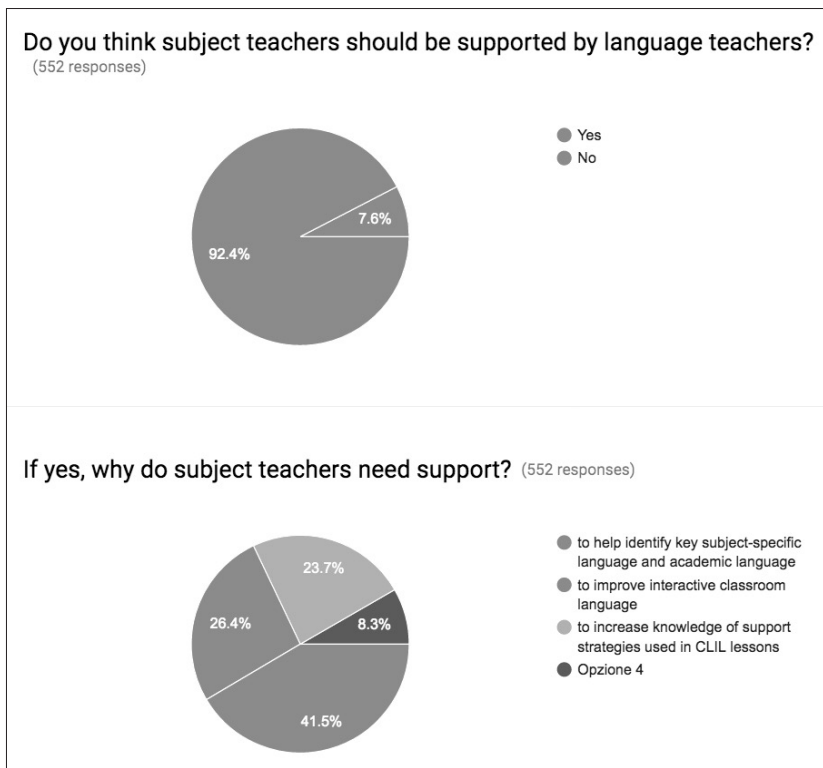
Fig. 6. The subject teachers' responses

The subject teachers' comments reported below clearly confirm the need for cooperation and support. In analysing these comments we should also consider their level of competence in English, which is generally intermediate (B1-B2), with only a small percentage of C1 (15,4%), as shown in Figure 2.

I would need support in oral practice.

I would ask him/her the level of the students' language.

Especially in using exactly the terms of language that would be useful to deliver content and in the general scheme of the lesson.

Even if there might be differences among the schools all over Italy, the general idea is that language teachers play a crucial role in the CLIL process, as also highlighted by the *Norme Transitorie* issued by the Italian Ministry of Education in 2013 and 2014, recommending the formation of 'CLIL teams' in schools. Considering the particular features of the language in a CLIL environment (language *for* learning, language *through* learning, language *of* learning, according to the language triptych, as in Coyle *et al.* 2010), the role of language teachers in CLIL classes should be more and more fostered and enhanced, also taking advantage of all the possible strategies, tools and devices a school could adopt according to school autonomy.

5. *Conclusions*

The questionnaire delivered to the sample of teachers allowed to gather the following outcomes, as answers to the initial research questions:

1. there is an increasing interest in the language dimension in CLIL;
2. language teachers play a key role in CLIL: they can and should support subject teachers; this is what both language teachers and subject teachers feel;
3. subject teachers would probably need specific and further training on the language dimension in CLIL (key subject-specific language/general academic language).

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ENGLISH LINGUISTICS IN MOTIVATING CLIL STUDENT TEACHERS

Only a small number of people become professional linguists,
but everyone can acquire a linguistic temperament.
(Crystal 2007: 482)

Abstract

Research on teacher motivation has recently given evidence of being closely related to several variables such as pre-service and in-service teacher training, educational reform, teaching practice, student motivation, work environment, psychological fulfilment and general health conditions. Taking into consideration the most recent studies on EFL teacher motivation across different disciplines and cultures, this paper aims at sharing the author's personal experience with colleagues who have taught in CLIL trainee courses for High School content teachers. The results of the project, carried out in university run-courses from 2013 to 2017, have shown that teaching certain linguistic aspects (such as WE and ELF features, or word-forming processes) makes teachers linguistically aware of the plurality of English in communication and education, stimulates them strategically, increases their intrinsic motivation and influences their teaching effectiveness.

Keywords: EFL teacher motivation; CLIL; linguistics.

1. *Introduction*

The past years have witnessed an increase in teacher motivation research across various contexts (Pennington 1995; Wild *et al*. 1997; Kunter *et al*. 2008; Kassabgy *et al*. 2001; Dörnyei 2005; Karava 2010; Dörnyei and Ushioda 2011; Erkaya 2012; Hein *et al.* 2012; Lopriore and Vettorel 2017), so much so that motivation is considered a crucial component to enhance classroom effectiveness (Carson and Chase 2009) and it has been explored in terms of "teaching style, teacher ap-

proaches to teaching, teaching practice and instruction behaviours in relation to teacher motivation factors" (Han and Yin 2016: 8).

This paper attempts to show how, training CLIL student teachers (STs) in some specific topics on linguistics and terminology helps them foster Language Awareness (LA) and research-actions that, to our mind, are to be the unfailing pillars of CLIL teacher motivation. As a matter of fact, in the light of some current factors that often demotivate content teachers, LA – if achieved during their training – increases teachers' motivation by enhancing their professional competence and effectiveness as educators and researchers. In other words, not only does language awareness allow them to be more self-confident when using the CLIL foreign language, but also it gives them much expertise when organizing lessons in relation to the classroom wants of content or language. Also, by acquiring greater knowledge of some linguistic phenomena in general and specialized contexts, STs can realize that a suitable C1 level of English proficiency is only the starting point of their CLIL activity, bearing always in mind that they are asked to teach mainly content by integrating learning with language.

In addition, the paper allows the author to share her experience with colleagues who have been involved in CLIL training courses for content teachers of Secondary High School. Part II introduces the Italian context and what, in the author's experience, Italian high-school teachers need to carry out CLIL activities successfully; Part III deals with the context and participants of some training courses held at the University of Palermo (Unipa) and outlines the research task; Part IV gives results and Part V refers to conclusive remarks.

2. *Teacher Motivation, CLIL and the Italian Perspective*

Most research on teacher motivation has recently shown that teacher training, whether pre-service or in-service, is one of the several variables to which motivation is closely related in education, alongside educational reform, teaching practice, student motivation, work environment, psychological fulfilment and general health conditions (Han and Yin 2016).

On the other hand, CLIL experience has widely shown how teachers and students are to be motivated in order to get satisfactory results. Motivation is, consequently, one of the main requisites for the achievement of the successful integrated learning of content and language. And, in this respect, it is extremely important to explore what Italian teachers need to make them really involved, being always aware that CLIL methodology should be "flexible and dynamic" because a "one-size fits

all provision" cannot exist (Coyle 2006: 3). As a matter of fact, the European approach – trying to be flexible – is today offering a range of CLIL models and training courses, which respond to the situational and contextual demands of each member state (see TIECLIL).

Although CLIL is today part of the long-established European language policy, which aims to convince European citizens on how necessary multilingualism is, significant cultural barriers and linguistic unawareness still exist among most Italian adult learners of foreign languages and mainly among learners of English.

In the author's experience, what is mostly missing in many CLIL content teachers is awareness of the nature and purpose of languages. We do not mean what some scholars list among the theoretical competences that teachers must acquire during CLIL trainee courses (Wolff 2012 in Marsh 2012: 64; Balboni and Coonan 2014), but we refer to the "explicit understanding" of how languages work in general and how they are used in a variety of contexts (Marsh 2012). This lack of knowledge often regards not only English (L2), but also Italian (L1).

Most CLIL trainees do not consider that all languages express the identity of the people who speak them; they are not really conscious of the language standardization processes, nor of the variety of forms a language can take from one part of a country to another. On the contrary, they often consider dialects as unpleasant or slovenly, disregarding that all languages, and the specialized ones particularly, develop to express the needs of their users.

Consequently, many CLIL content teachers or, generally, a significant number of adult learners forget the relationship between language prescriptivism and language use, even when the terminology of their professional field is concerned. In other words, most of them acknowledge the difference between grammar prescriptions, defining how language should be used, and the language as it is actually used by native-speakers (McArthur 2005). Lastly, they do not see language change as a normal process, something continuous, inevitable and multidirectional. Accordingly, most of them consider variations in terms of language deterioration and decay, disregarding that languages simply change because society changes (Crystal 2007).

With regard to English, content teachers often underestimate its dynamic variety and plurality. They take for granted its several forms, whether formal or informal, domestic or professional, mainly distinguishing just two realities of English, the British and the American standards and ascribing all the multiplicities of English (e.g. ESL, WE or ELF) to the American idiom.

In a nutshell, most Italian adult learners of foreign languages – in the author's experience – lack "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching and language use" (ALA). Therefore, they are likely to learn languages without paying particular attention on how languages work and, consequently, they can find it difficult to use CLIL textbooks or to give more attractive and original lessons when using CLIL methodologies.

For this reason, we believe that long-term teacher motivation is likely to disappear, influencing both teaching and classroom effectiveness negatively. In addition, notwithstanding the European multilingual efforts, the linguistic history of our country leads most Italians to think that speaking one language is the most natural rule, and that those who speak more than one language are the exceptions, disregarding that "exactly the reverse is the case" all over the world (Crystal 2007: 409).

3. *Course Design and Tasks*

Since 2010, Italian content teachers, interested in CLIL, have been requested to attend university run-courses, which include the achievement of an English C1 level as well as theory and practice of CLIL methodologies and foreign language didactics.

On this assumption, from a linguistic standpoint, Balboni and Coonan (2014) have suggested that Italian content teachers must mainly know a) the main features of their specialized language (largely from the lexical standpoint); b) the relationship between general and specialized languages; c) the L2 grammar and d) the textual genres specific to their subject.

From 2013 to 2017, the Department of Humanistic Science at the University of Palermo has activated CLIL education courses for upper secondary school teachers. Each of the last five courses was made up of three modules and run parallel to or after the English language course. The first module (50 hours: 30 in class, 20 e-learning) dealt with CLIL theories and the introduction of some topics from English linguistics (theory on specialized languages, corpus linguistics and textual genres) according to the guidelines given to trainee CLIL teachers by international scholars and Balboni for Italy. The final goal of this module was to equip student teachers with a solid theoretical platform on CLIL and English language, to give them a reference framework for the following lessons on CLIL practices and laboratory activities (40+90 hours).

The author was tutor in the first module of two courses for teachers belonging to two different areas of interest: 1) history, philosophy,

music, art, economics and political economic geography; 2) maths, science, chemistry and physics. Each class was made up of about 35 teachers and was heterogeneous enough with regard to attendants' age, genre (men and women) and school of origin.

Many teachers, teaching humanistic studies, had already attended the language courses and declared a level of knowledge in English between B2 and C1. The teachers of science had not attended the language courses yet and declared a general B1+ level, but they showed good skills in reading and writing, above all when dealing with their field of interest.

The first goal of the present case was to verify what had attracted these teachers (above all the in-service ones) to do CLIL and to what extent they had been further motivated by the CLIL experience already made (if made). The final purpose was to help them to further appreciate this experience and to keep on enjoying it as much as possible in the years after the course.

Questionnaires were, initially, administered to identify participants' background, their individual and professional relations with English, their previous CLIL experience (if any), their motivation in teaching CLIL and their expectations from that training course.

In general, all answers disclosed a low level of real interest towards CLIL activities because most trainees were motivated by extrinsic factors. Most in-service teachers declared to be interested because the recent educational reform had involved them, whereas pre-service ones declared to be motivated by the possibility to get professional qualifications. Only a few of them were intrinsically motivated and looked at the CLIL as a challenge linking their passion for teaching with their interest in learning foreign languages (*viz.* English).

With regard to learning forecasts after the CLIL trainee course, since most participants had already carried out CLIL experience for two years, they expressed their expectations by complaining about what was missing in the CLIL material currently available and requesting what they needed to enhance their teaching.

As far as the humanistic class is concerned, teachers of economics, law, music or political-economic geography, for instance, claimed the lack of material for Italian students in their field and declared that the material they collected from the Web was unsatisfactory because there was little variety of topics and few repetitive exercises. According to the teachers of history and philosophy, there were sufficient texts to start with, but these lack the specific terminology, resulting too easy for the level of English required for students attending the final years of High School.

In comparison, the scientific class declared their preference for teaching their subject in English taking information from original texts, rather than use the few and apposite CLIL handbooks created for Italian students. This standpoint was later strengthened during the comparison between Italian and English handbooks with regard to the organization of discourse and the priority of topics dealt with. They affirmed that, for clarity and conciseness, it was easier to refer only to the English terminology rather than make a comparison between L1 and L2 specialized lexicon.

In conclusion, the questionnaire revealed that, during the course, most participants hoped to receive teaching material that could help them to carry out acceptable CLIL lessons on specific topics. On the other hand, it was soon clear that their search for miraculous CLIL and foreign language teaching methodologies was actually due to a lack of language awareness in L2.

The lack of LA and the difficulties claimed by teachers experiencing CLIL was confirmed during the first lesson when participants were questioned to investigate their familiarity with English in general, its varieties, ELF, or WE and specialised terminology. Most of them found it difficult to arrange comparison between English and Italian and gave the impression of being unfamiliar with the processes deriving from the influences between languages. Others, perhaps underestimating the development of their specialized languages, did not know the existence of English popular terms beside the English specialised ones (e.g. *intestine* and its popular term *gut* in biology; *centrifugal force* and *centre-fleeing* in physics) and were often unable to distinguish Global English terms from Standard English. As a result, the first consideration, after reading the questionnaire and after the first lesson, was that teachers' interest and motivation for CLIL were to lessen if not properly encouraged and inspired with specific clarifications of the above-mentioned linguistic phenomena.

4. *Fostering Language Awareness: responses to tasks*

Besides the topics predicted by the Unipa project, the new goal in this first module was to enhance language awareness in STs as stimulus to acquire self-confidence and competence when using the L2 and, consequently, to make a greater effort in teaching CLIL with original and successful results, limiting, as much as possible, the tendency to look for available books to teach their subject.

The English language component – alongside the above-mentioned scholars' recommendations – included:

- a general comparison between Italian and English (phonetics, grammar, syntax etc.);
- The historical and sociocultural factors responsible for the spread of English;
- Kachru's circles, focusing on new varieties such as Euro-English;
- WE or ELF features and contexts of use: mainly ELF in specialized contexts;
- The impact of English on European languages;
- The differences between words and terms, the definitions and goals of three linguistic branches: lexicology, lexicography and terminology;
- Word formation and creative word-forming processes in English and across languages.

The following part will trace only the activities regarding word formation and lexical creativity (from a terminology standpoint too) because these topics have been mainly examined and appreciated by participants. The author's aim was to increase interest in words and terms with regard to the teachers' specific field of knowledge and to encourage them to create their own lessons (if necessary). *Lexical creativity* was mainly explained as the "way in which speakers invent, modify, mix, and remix single morphemes, entire words, or whole expressions by applying or by violating productive and creative word-forming processes" (Munat 2007).

This approach motivated teachers to compare a small corpus of texts, becoming *word detectives* in their field. They showed interest in word history, in the meaning of names, in the development of dictionaries, in the usage and features of dialect or jargon expressions. Not only did they start paying attention to the coining of lexical items in English (e.g. *galvanization* after Luigi Galvani), but also to the manipulation of existing Italian and English words and expressions or to the influence of English in the creative coining of Italian hybrid words (e.g. *net-azienda*, *cyberspazio* or *cybernauta*).

Furthermore, since the author's teaching module was to be mostly theoretical, the former part of each lesson was a standard Italian 'lezione frontale' about literature and fundamentals. The latter part was, on the contrary, devoted to group activities during which exemplification was achieved for each field of participant interest.

This approach aimed at making teachers aware of the actual status of English and, in general of the changing nature of each language, encouraging them to organize their work by themselves and to create

new didactic tools which would fit better to their teaching aptitudes and to their students.

The minor goal was to make teachers use the CLIL books in an innovative way and, if necessary, to become able users or scrutinizers of the CLIL material already at their disposal. Nevertheless, the heterogeneity of Unipa classes did not make these tasks always feasible.

As matter of fact, providing human science teachers with appropriate exemplification – given the author's background in law, economics, history and philosophy – was pretty easy. Not only were they attentive enough, but they also contributed brilliantly to exemplification, above all those whose subject, such as music, was far from the class wide-ranging competences. Their interest and active participation was the first feedback to the initiative of adding other linguistic and terminological topics for fostering LA among STs.

The best results were, definitely, achieved with the scientific area, whose participants gave the main proof of the successful outcomes possible in CLIL teacher education when disclosing linguistic and terminological issues. As a matter of fact, since the author was not competent enough in maths, science and physics, it was not easy to give teachers appropriate examples on the additional topics. The possibility to give them examples from the above-mentioned different fields (i.e. economics, law, art etc.) was also excluded because considered tedious and inevitably unsuccessful for acquiring a real language competence to work independently and to achieve good results.

Therefore, after some examples on general English, a number of specific activities were introduced to stimulate the interest of the student teachers in vocabulary knowledge and to develop satisfactory observational skills. At the end of each lesson, the teachers of science were asked to investigate their specialized language through individual or group exploration.

This method made it possible to highlight some dynamics and differences between the two groups of teachers. Science and maths teachers showed a reasonable level of competence in describing some features of their specialized language (e.g. conciseness, use of acronyms and initialisms). They were able to explain some mechanisms that affect the universe of words and terms. They knew, for example, that *terms* are made up of single words, collocations or phrases and refer to a concept in a particular kind of language or branch of study by giving each professional group their own linguistic identity. Nevertheless, most of them disregarded that words usually move from everyday language to the specialized domains becoming *terms* through a process of semantic redetermination such as happened for words like *window*, *google*,

surfing, *mouse* in computer science (Taylor 1998; Cabré 1999). So, if questioned on the nature of their specialised language lexicon, some of them were often unable to give explanations: e.g. they knew and used collocations in Italian, but they frequently tended to translate literally from Italian into English, not providing the right L2 equivalent. Although they are daily used to adopting popularization strategies for their students, they were not able to identify them, or if they used didactic metaphors, they disregarded the cultural implications of metaphorical processes. To give further examples, they did not know the common existence of popular terms besides technical terms in English (e.g. *varicella* and *chickenpox*) or they had not paid particular attention to the occurring etymological difference between ESP nouns and their related adjectives (e.g. *eye* and *oculist*).

Nevertheless, when the teachers of science were invited to explore the language of maths, they succeeded brilliantly in analysing, for example, the discourse organization of the topic *Functions* in two English and Italian handbooks addressed to students of the same age and grade. Teachers also accepted to draft lexicon activities for learning vocabulary in their classroom and were able to provide useful game proposals on *Functions* such as matching collocations, domino loop cards, fill in the gaps, crosswords.

In detail, their comparison focused on grammar, lexicon and the popularization processes of each handbook. This activity led them to personally realize that American handbooks have an inductive teaching method, which allows students to draw conclusions and learn content by featuring examples of real life. Consequently, American handbooks are student-centred with a significant communication between the text and readers. With regard to exercises, they propose many applications and few theoretical problems. Alternatively, Italian handbooks contain a deductive method, which gives students abstract examples focusing on theory and speculation. There is little communication between the text and the readers and the number of theoretical problems – given as exercises – is higher than applications.

As regards specialized languages, the American manuals make a great use of frequency words, phrases and metaphors. Their pages are full of colours and drawings as well as visual organizers i.e. arrow diagrams, machine diagrams, graphs and tables of values. On the contrary, the Italian discourse is more specialised. It features visual organizers, but also many tricky technical terms and very few didactic metaphors or drawings for explaining concepts.

After learning more about their ESP, participants also investigated the relationship between general and maths language. They looked at

the etymology of key words and focused on some terms having both a general and specialized meaning, e.g. the term *function* itself that in GE means "one's proper work or purpose the power of acting in a specific proper way", while in ESP it means the "relation between two sets in which one element of the second set is assigned to each element of the first set". The *domain* that is a "particular area of activity" in GE and also the "set of *x* values for which the function is defined" in ESP, or *range* that is a "number of different things of the same genre" in GE and the "set of values coming out of a function" when talking about maths.

In conclusion, the achievements of the scientific class – perhaps taken for granted by expert EFL teachers – proved that teaching linguistic topics in CLIL training classes increases the intrinsic motivation of participants allowing STs not only to learn content but also to process data, developing observational skills and becoming critical users of mother and foreign languages.

5. *Conclusive Remarks*

Scholars argue that CLIL is a poor environment if teachers are not actively supported to develop language awareness (Marsh 2012: 63). As a matter of fact, only after acquiring LA can teachers and thereafter students appreciate diversity and variety of languages, the mechanisms for speech, the nature of writing systems and the historical development of language (McArthur 2005). This is even clearer when referring to English, because only learners, who are linguistically aware, can face the international and intercultural communicative contexts in which the Global Language is used.

The author's research design, carried out in the above-mentioned CLIL trainee courses, has proved that fostering language awareness among content teachers provides a learning environment that promotes greater self-confidence in the use of L2, autonomy (if necessary) and self-organization. By learning certain linguistic issues, they are encouraged to explore the unknown aspects of their specialized language becoming expert or even innovative in using the material already at their disposal by planning and implementing CLIL syllabi and lessons. In a nutshell, in the author's experience, at the beginning of the course the CLIL student teachers of both classes were listeners, at the end they became investigators of languages and active contributors to the training course itself.

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DIRECT QUESTIONS AS STRATEGIES
FOR THE MANAGEMENT OF INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS
IN ELF LECTURES

Abstract

The use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in university courses poses new communicative challenges to lecturers, as successful teaching in a foreign language and in a highly intercultural setting entails continuous monitoring not only of subject contents and language of instruction, but also of interpersonal relations. A set of strategies adopted in the management of interpersonal stance in ELF courses has been recently described, showing how institutional roles and personal identities are continuously negotiated in class (Formentelli 2013). Little attention, however, has been devoted to the micro level of discourse, to ascertain how specific linguistic structures contribute to rapport management. Moving from a small corpus of ELF lectures recorded at an Italian university, the paper focuses on the use of direct questions, which have been found to be strategic rhetorical devices in lessons aimed at an international audience (Morell 2004; Crawford Camiciottoli 2008). The results show a much higher frequency of questions in Italian ELF lectures than in comparable lectures by English native speakers, interpreted as a response of ELF speakers to the additional communicative needs of intercultural interactions. The findings also confirm the prominence of direct questions in foregrounding the complex dynamics of power and social distance, and uncover linguistic patterns that diverge from native speakers' norms of usage and can be accounted for in terms of incipient functional innovation and creativity.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca; direct questions; lectures.

1. *Introduction*

The internationalisation of tertiary education through English-taught programmes is a well-established phenomenon in central and northern Europe, and is gradually making its way also into Italian institutions (Wächter and Maiworm 2014; Costa 2016). The use of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) in university courses poses new communicative

challenges to Italian lecturers, as successful teaching in a foreign language entails a continuous monitoring of both subject contents and the language in which they are delivered, but also of the interpersonal relations arising among lecturers and students from various linguacultural backgrounds. The aim of this paper is to explore how interpersonal relations are established, developed and managed in the ELF classroom by means of a language that is not the mother tongue of participants, but plays a prominent role in the internationalisation of higher education.

2. *Theoretical background*

In his seminal work, Lemke (1990) posits an episodic structure of classroom discourse, made up of two main intertwined dimensions: the thematic development of curricular knowledge and the interpersonal construction of the lesson. The former includes excerpts of the lecture that are centred on the subject and the informative content; the latter involves segments of the teaching activity that focus specifically on the management of relationships between teachers and students. These interpersonal episodes (Crawford Camiciottoli 2007: 170) spanning over more than one utterance are often deployed as strategies to show the lecturers' awareness of the audience and to express their willingness to establish closer relationships, for instance by learning about the interlocutor or relating the lecture to the world of students. Similarly, Young identifies interaction phases within lectures, through which "lecturers maintain contact with their audience in order both to reduce the distance between themselves and their listeners and to ensure that what has been taught is in fact understood" (1994: 167).

To investigate interpersonal relations in ELF lectures, a model of interpersonal stance has been devised along four dimensions of formality, power, social distance and respect (Formentelli 2013; 2017). Formality is a property of the scene in which communication takes place, and regulates social encounters in terms of setting, type of activity and purpose of interaction. The degree of formality of interactions is reflected in the organisation of the event, such as the distribution of participants in the room, the emergence of a single focus or multiple foci of attention, the separation between speaker(s) and audience, and the mechanisms of turn allocation. Along the dimension of power the attention is shifted to the social actors involved in the event. The dimension captures both the acknowledgement and negotiation of power in interaction by referring to participants' social status, public roles and institutional positions. The hierarchical distribution of individuals according to institutional and local ranks is continuously questioned and ratified in discourse, reflect-

ing the relational, dynamic, and consensual nature of power relations. Conversely, social distance hinges upon the personal side of participants' identities and relationships, and captures interactants' attempts to get closer to or distance themselves from one another. Interpersonal proximity builds on the sharing of personal information, interests, and traits of personality to establish common ground, while increasing interpersonal distance may be achieved by emphasising participants' differences in interaction. Finally, respect cuts across the category of participants and is reflected in expressions of appreciation and regard to the interlocutor for his or her personal skills, abilities, and attainments in both private and public life.

A range of communicative strategies at the macro-level of discourse have been identified in Italian ELF lectures mostly associated with the dimensions of power and social distance (Formentelli 2013). These include manifestations of power in which lecturers give directions and instructions, reaffirm their own authority in class, or acknowledge the interlocutor's superiority. In terms of social distance, attempts to get closer to the audience occur when lecturers share personal experience and information, learn about the interlocutor's personal life, make jokes in class, refer to cultural identities and stereotypes, or encourage collaboration and cooperation.

Specific linguistic structures also contribute to rapport management in the ELF classroom. Crawford Camiciottoli (2007) describes lexical and syntactic patterns including among others vagueness expressions, idioms, ellipsis, modal and semi-modal verbs, personal pronouns, discourse markers, questions. Walsh (2004), on her part, shows how the complex interplay of voices associated with the shift in pronominal reference contributes to the involvement of the audience in activities (e.g. audience inclusive *we* and *you*), thus fostering interpersonal rapport. More recently, Molino (2015) explores the use of comprehension checks in ELF engineering-related lectures pointing out the numerous interactional and interactive metadiscourse functions.

3. *Aims*

The present paper aims to delve further into how direct questions are exploited to reach interactivity and express interpersonal stance in monologic ELF lectures. The term direct question is here intended to include complete and elliptical wh-questions, yes/no or polar questions, alternative questions, statements with rising intonation, and discourse markers or tags serving functions of comprehension checks (cf. Biber *et al.* 1999).

Two main research questions are asked in the study: i) How can the use of questions on the part of lecturers be related to the management of interpersonal relations in Italian ELF lectures? ii) Are there any distinctive patterns in the use of questions in Italian ELF lectures that can be interpreted as instances of innovation or creativity?

Questions are inherently interactive structures which "indicate a concern with interpersonal functions and involvement with the addressee" (Biber 1988: 227). They are prime devices in the activation of power relations. They encode interactional dominance in conversation (Linell and Luckmann 1991) and, as far as classroom discourse is concerned, give teachers full control over students and classroom activities (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992). Questions also operate along the social distance dimension. They are exploited to establish contact with the audience and involve the interlocutor in academic lectures (Bamford 2005) contributing to a reduction of the interpersonal distance between lecturer and students through a personalisation of the lesson (Morell 2004). Similarly, comprehension checks are interactive and interactional devices (Hyland 2005) that function as transition markers to signal discourse structure and project the lesson forward, as progression checks to verify whether students are following, and as devices to seek agreement and assurance, thus marking shared knowledge in class (Schleef 2005; Othman 2010).

4. *Data and methods*

The study is based on a corpus of five monologic ELF lectures in social sciences (ca. 50,000 words) carried out by five lecturers (L1 Italian) to students from 13 European and non-European countries, hence in a highly intercultural setting. The lessons were selected from the first modules of the course, so as to include interactions where initial contacts with students are established and interpersonal relations are created for further development of rapport.

All direct questions and comprehension checks were manually identified in the ELF corpus and analysed combining quantitative and qualitative approaches. The frequencies of structures were then contrasted with comparable data from native English speaking lectures recorded in British and American universities, either drawn from secondary sources (i.e. Crawford Camiciottoli 2008), or from lectures retrieved from the MICASE corpus and the BASE corpus). To maximise comparability, the speech events of the comparable samples included monologic lessons from social science disciplines, with similar duration and composition in terms of students' number and level of education.

Following an adapted version of Thompson's (1998) functional classification, direct questions were divided into two main categories: audience-oriented questions and content-oriented questions. The former comprises questions directed to the audience and leading to an actual verbal or non-verbal response; the latter includes rhetorical questions that do not require a response or that are answered by the speakers themselves. Audience-oriented questions were further divided into three main subtypes: a) eliciting responses to obtain some information from students about the topics of the lecture; b) requesting confirmation/clarification on students' comments or on aspects of the lecture; and c) appealing to students to provoke a reaction on the part of the audience. Content-oriented questions were also grouped into two sub-categories: a) focusing on information; and b) stimulating thought. In the first type, a question asked by the lecturer is followed by a response from the very same lecturer, so that some information on the topic of the lesson is delivered to the audience. In the second type, the question serves the function of raising some issues on the topic at stake without providing an immediate answer (or not providing it at all), thus encouraging students' reasoning.

5. *Discussion of results*

5.1. *Direct questions*

The total number of questions identified in the ELF corpus is 369, which corresponds to a normalised frequency of 78.3 questions per 10,000 words. These figures are quite different from the ones found by Crowford Camiciottoli (2008: 1219f) in a corpus of six L1 English lectures recorded in various American universities, namely 147 questions and a normalised frequency of 24.8 forms per 10,000 words (Table 1).

	occurrences	frequency (per 10,000 words)
Italian ELF lectures	369	78.3
L1 English lectures[1]	147	24.8

Table 1. Direct questions

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[1] Data from Crowford Camiciottoli (2008).

A two-fold explanation can be proposed for the higher frequency of direct questions in the Italian ELF lectures. On the one hand, questions are a powerful interactional tool that lecturers can exploit to involve students and encourage their participation in class (Morell 2004), and are effective strategies to learn more about the students' background, especially at the beginning of the course when interpersonal relationships are established and developed. On the other hand, questions may also constitute a useful instrument non-native English speaking lecturers turn to in order to better cope with the language, for instance when holding the floor for long turns or in the formulation of complex reasoning processes, which are central in lecturing activities.

Let us now take a closer look at the distribution of questions in the ELF corpus according to their function (Figure 1).
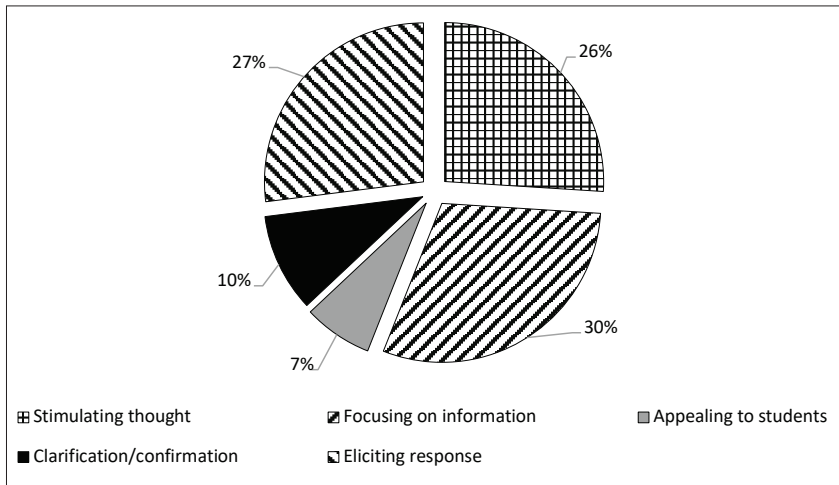
Fig. 1. Functional distribution of direct questions in Italian ELF lectures

Audience-oriented questions eliciting a response on the part of the students make up 27% of all questions. Extract 1 exemplifies the category.

(1)   LECTURER: *how do you call this group?*
      STUDENT: Latin America.
      LECTURER: Latin America and the Caribbean that's the official classification.

The extract shows the typical sequence initiation-response-feedback (Sinclair and Coulthard 1992), which foregrounds the teacher's

authority and the asymmetry of roles in class. The use of a question in this case can be interpreted as an explicit instantiation of power on the part of the lecturer.

Audience-oriented questions seeking confirmation and clarification, as in Extract 2, are less frequent (10%).

(2)   LECTURER: and *what about microeconomics?* I think you have seen you have seen the cost function of uhm firms *what you have seen?*
STUDENT: this.
LECTURER: *in microeconomics you have seen the average cost and so marginal cost?*
STUDENT: yes.

In Extract 2, a series of questions is asked to understand what students have done in previous classes. In this example, we have a negotiation of power between teacher and students, a temporary reversed asymmetry that places the lecturer in a lower position in terms of his knowledge of the course organisation. At the same time, this extract can also be interpreted along the dimension of social distance. The series of questions asked by the lecturer are an attempt to foster collaboration in class, thus reducing interpersonal distance.

The least frequent type of audience-oriented question is called 'appealing to students' (7%) and entails, as in Extract 3, the lecturer enquiring about personal information.

(3)   LECTURER: *Where about in Uganda are you from Magongo? North south centre?*
STUDENT: relatively in the centre.
LECTURER: *In the centre around uhm Kampala?*
STUDENT: Yeah slightly before.

Extract 3 is a clear example of how lecturers can reduce social distance by learning about the students and creating common ground.

Among content-oriented questions, the most frequent subclass used in the ELF corpus is 'focusing on information' (30%). These questions are an effective rhetorical strategy to introduce information on the topic of the lecture thus contributing to the advancement of the lecture (Extract 4).

(4)   LECTURER: take the case of Alitalia pilots ok? now *who makes all the preparation of Alitalia pilots?* Alitalia. *What happens if the pilots*

as they do they move to Airone or Nova Express or whatever? Simply the costs which have been sustained by Alitalia will be wasted.

Along with a textual function, these questions also serve interpersonal functions, as they add a dialogic component to the monologue of the lecture through a dramatisation of the lesson with the teacher producing both questions and answers, by mimicking also the role of students in a hypothetical interaction. This is a very effective involving strategy that engages the audience in the lecture and reduces interpersonal distance. Moreover, this is also a way to anticipate possible questions on the part of students and can be regarded as a strategy to monitor students' comprehension.

Finally, 26% of all questions are content-oriented questions that stimulate thought, as in Extract 5.

(5)   LECTURER: *Will the equilibrium level of unemployment be higher in Europe or in the United States?* Look at the pictures Europe is the one on the left and the United States is the equilibrium on the right more competition less firm power less taxation less welfare system and that's the explanation.

The question is followed by a longer commentary, explanation, reasoning on the part of the lecturer. This favours students' intellectual participation and may be seen as a symbolic guided path that students have to follow to gradually become part of the community of discourse of the discipline, in this case the community of economists.

A few words need to be spent on the structure of the direct questions and on some non-conventional syntactic patterns found in the ELF corpus. Non-standard word order in question formulation has been reported in ELF lectures (Björkman 2012, 2013) involving the lack of subject-auxiliary inversion or the lack of the auxiliary *do*, in both cases compensated by final rising intonation to encode the interrogative mood. Interestingly, along with the syntactic patterns already described in the literature, another marked word order pattern frequently emerges across the five ELF lectures explored here and consists in the right dislocation of the wh-operator, which is moved to the end of the question, as in example 6.

(6)   LECTURER: [with rising intonation] *my decision whether to hire or not an extra worker one more worker will depend on what?* basically in my mind I will compare two magnitudes.

This type of syntactic structure is typical of echo-questions, which are frequent in casual conversation when speakers want to express surprise or seek confirmation, rather than to ask for new information (Biber *et al.* 1999). In the ELF corpus of the present study, such a question structure is never used to convey disbelief or the need for clarification, but is always exploited to signal lecturers' focus on information and to clarify the steps of the reasoning process. The occurrence of interrogative adverbs and pronouns in the final position in the utterance, the part of a sentence that is considered to be heavier in semantic load (Giora 1988), emphasises the interrogative force of the questions. To my knowledge, the right dislocation of interrogative pronouns and adverbs has never been described in previous ELF research involving speakers from several different L1s. One may hypothesise that the occurrence of this syntactic pattern is restricted to Italian ELF lectures and is influenced by similar rhetorical strategies adopted by Italian lecturers also when teaching in their L1. In order to prove or disprove the hypothesis, the analysis of comparable lectures in Italian is needed.

5.2. Comprehension checks

Moving to comprehension checks (Table 2), the overall frequency of forms identified in the ELF corpus is 226.1 per 10,000 words (1066 occurrences). In contrast, comprehension checks are ten times less frequent in the comparable corpus of British and American English lectures, where they occur with a frequency of 25 forms per 10,000 words (281 occurrences).

	occurrences	frequency (per 10,000 words)
Italian ELF lectures	1066	226.1
L1 English lectures[2]	281	25.0

Table 2. Comprehension checks

This result corroborates what is found for direct questions and qualifies the high frequency of interrogative constructions as a possible distinctive trait of Italian ELF lectures. Indeed, comprehension checks are pervasive features of ELF lectures which occur in interclausal and

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[2] Data from MICASE corpus and BASE corpus.

interphrasal position, marking different discourse phases and breaking up the content of the lecture in smaller units (Extract 7).

(7)   LECTURER: you can build this graph in different ways maybe with bars or maybe with fixed columns *ok?* or maybe as in the notes but the idea is that there is this tendency *ok?* for instance *ok?* and so I can answer to questions like *ok?* which is the most uhm frequent? The taller one *ok?* the tallest *ok?* I can say *ok?* big numbers are not relevant *ok?*

As for their functions, it can be argued that comprehension checks in ELF lectures act as an involving strategy to enhance students' participation by drawing their attention to specific topics, but also as a monitoring strategy to ensure students' understanding of both content and language (Molino 2015). The overuse of comprehension checks reflects a concern over students' processing needs in English and at the same time the lecturers' uncertainty of the correct and effective use of the language (e.g. the self-correction in *the taller one ok? the tallest ok?*). It is this monitoring function, crucial in ELF interactions, that explains the very high frequency of comprehension checks in ELF lectures. Finally, comprehension checks may also serve as supportive strategies for lecturers to gain time in the ongoing planning and elaboration of discourse.

Another distinctive aspect of comprehension checks in the Italian ELF lectures is the larger repertoire of forms compared to the British and American L1 English lectures, which indicates a certain degree of variability and creativity in the use of the language. Alongside the typical comprehension checks described in the English grammars, i.e. *ok?, right?/alright?, yes?/yeah?*, ELF lecturers frequently use interjections uttered with rising intonation (e.g. *uhm?, eh?, ah?, uh?*), as is shown in Extract 8.

(8)   LECTURE: imagine that you are running a small restaurant *uhm?* and I'm alone *uhm?* I have to cook I have to to to to made the waiter *uhm?* I have to clean the room etc. etc. *ok?* I cannot specialise *uhm?*

No similar function is served by interjections in the L1 English lectures of the comparable corpus, where these linguistic elements only occur as hesitators or filled pauses. It can be argued that the repeated use of interjections as comprehension checks on the part of ELF lecturers (42.6 forms per 10,000 words) might be the signal of an incipient process of functional innovation taking place for this linguistic category,

introduced by non-native speakers of English on the model of already existing forms serving similar functions. It is not possible, however, to make general claims given the limited size of the sample of data and the restricted number of speakers.

Finally, other less frequent types of comprehension check in the ELF corpus include a variety of expressions that might result from L1 transfer from Italian (e.g. *agree?* from Italian 'd'accordo?'; *clear?* from Italian 'chiaro?'; *fine?*, *good?* from Italian 'bene?', 'va bene?'; *understood?* from Italian 'capito?') or are created on the spot by the speakers (e.g. *convinced?*; *are you convinced?*; *easy?*; *correct?*).

6. *Conclusion*

Direct questions and comprehension checks are very pervasive strategies in Italian ELF lectures, where they are frequently exploited by teachers in the codification of interpersonal relations in monologic speech events. Both content-oriented and audience-oriented questions prove to be effective communicative strategies that allow lecturers to emphasise crucial points of the subject content, guide students through complex reasoning processes, raise their attention and engage them in the lecture, triggering some intellectual response and sometimes an actual verbal reaction. These rhetorical devices can also be exploited to state the authority of the lecturer, but a general preference for distance reducing strategies over power foregrounding strategies seems to emerge from the data.

Another crucial function of questions and comprehension checks in ELF lectures is the constant monitoring of how the subject content is delivered by speakers and processed and understood by the audience. By means of questions and comprehension checks lecturers can break up difficult topics of discussion into smaller and easier units of thought, and open up some space for students' requests of clarification. At the same time, questions also constitute a useful support for the lecturers, as breaking up the flow of the lesson helps the speakers cope with the complexities of the academic register and of specialised discourse in a foreign language, by giving them some time to plan their online speech.

As for the second research question, a distinctive trait that emerges from the data is the exceptionally high frequency of questions and comprehension checks in ELF lectures compared to L1 English lectures, which may be interpreted as an attempt to meet the additional communicative needs of academic interactions carried out in a language that is not the mother tongue of participants. Some innovative patterns also seem to emerge, though it is not possible to make general claims

given the restricted size of the ELF corpus used in this study. These include the right dislocation of the wh-operator in questions as an attention getting and involving strategy, the frequent use of interjections as comprehension checks, and the variety of unidiomatic expressions used to monitor students' understanding. A detailed comparison of the findings with data collected in academic lectures carried out in Italian and with ELF lectures delivered by speakers from other L1s will be helpful to better establish the degree of innovation of these emerging traits. A contrastive assessment will provide additional evidence both on the role played by native languages in shaping ELF and on the rhetorical strategies at work in intercultural communication regardless of the participants' linguacultural backgrounds. More research is needed, but the initial results demonstrate how ELF speakers are able to shape their language creatively in order to reach communicative effectiveness.

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ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA
IN LANGUAGE CLASSROOMS:
IDENTIFYING PRIORITIES FOR TEACHER EDUCATION[1]

Abstract

English language education in Europe has recently been affected by a number of factors: the growingly plurilingual profile of its population; the implementation of European multilingual education policies; the widespread use of online communication; the global spread of English and the emergence of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF) as the most widely used form of communication among speakers of different lingua-cultures to communicate with each other. Another feature that characterizes the current status of English is the growing number of English teachers that are by large non-native speakers with a role in English language programmes. These new scenarios are challenging existing paradigms, demanding for a shift in English language teaching (ELT) and education and the adoption of an ELF-informed frame of reference. Ways of devising and implementing these shifts have been explored in several research studies, as is the case of this contribution about an Italian research project aimed at devising an ELF-aware pedagogical model for ELT education. The authors discuss the challenges and preliminary findings of the study.

Keywords: English as a Lingua Franca; language teaching; teacher education.

1. *Introduction*

The widespread use of new technologies, social networks and multimedia, together with the intensification of social fragmentation processes due to recent tidal migration flows, have created new linguistic

environments where a number of world languages are undergoing a unique transformative process of their traditional functions as well as of their borders. Numerous European countries, for example, have recently been characterized by the increasingly plurilingual and multicultural profile of their population that has led to the implementation of European multilingual education policies.

As the result of an unstoppable global mobility, the sociolinguistic reality of English today has become much more complex and controversial than those of other languages in the world. This is predominantly due to its global expansion, to its emerging role as the most used language in international communication and on the web, as well as to the ongoing nativisation of non-native Englishes in various parts of the world (Graddol 2006; Kirkpatrick 2007; Pennycook 2006). Among the changes that English is undergoing, one is represented by English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), the most widely used form of communication in English which has been adopted by speakers of different lingua-cultures to communicate with each other (Jenkins 2015; Seidlhofer 2011). Another aspect of today's English is the large number of non-native speakers whose role and function as English teachers are more and more significant in English language education and in English language education programmes (Faez 2011; Mahboob 2010).

Currently there are a number of changes occurring in the educational systems and practices of some European countries; these changes are geared at dealing with situations where the main means of communication for people is English. In most contexts English has emerged as a Lingua Franca (ELF) thus modifying features of communication and extending the notion of contact language and interculturality. This change of perspective has inevitably affected both the notion of communicative competence and challenged the field of English language teaching and of native-speakerism. These new situations are a challenge to existing paradigms and will require a shift in perspective in English language teaching (ELT) and in ELT education as well as the adoption of a WE and ELF-informed frame of reference. Ways of devising and implementing this shift have recently been explored in a number of research studies, as in the case of this contribution about a recent Italian research project aimed at devising an ELF-aware pedagogical model for ELT education.

2. *Revisiting ELT education: challenges and perspectives*

The need to revisit ELT education in a WE and ELF-informed perspective has recently been addressed in a number of studies taking into account research and findings in the fields of WE and ELF (Sifakis 2007, 2017; Cogo and Dewey 2012; Lopriore 2016; Matsuda 2017). These approaches highlight the need to foster awareness of current developments at school and, especially, in ELT teacher education programs, but also in course-books, material development and in curriculum and syllabi design. It is not so much a matter of introducing yet another variety, but of revisiting teachers', learners' and publishers' beliefs about what English is and what needs to be taught and learnt in rapidly changing societal conditions.

One of the challenges facing the development of such a perspective in English language education lies in the choice of the construct underlying this model, of the research design to be developed and of the approach to be adopted. However, planned innovations are only likely to be implemented effectively if the need for change is acknowledged by teachers themselves (Jenkins 2007: 248), thus there is the need to carefully devise appropriate tools in order to investigate current teaching practice via a reflective approach.

All of this implies revisiting teachers', learners' and publishers' beliefs about the current status of English, and how its use needs to be explored and appropriated in rapidly changing societal conditions. Thus, in order to adjust to the shifting status and role of English, it appears to be crucial to offer teachers of English and teachers teaching subjects in English, a perspective which is embedded within all teaching and training activities. This perspective would include different models and representations through an awareness-raising and reflective approach based upon practical individual and group experiences.

3. *The study: research design and tools*

The main research project *ELF PEDAGOGY: ELF in teacher education and teaching materials* developed by the Roma Tre Unit of the national PRIN Project *English as a Lingua Franca in domain-specific contexts of intercultural communication* was originally devised with the aim of developing an ELF-aware pedagogical model for ELT education in the Italian multilingual context, bearing in mind the emerging needs of learners and teachers of English in a complex plurilingual and multicultural society where English is becoming one of the main tools for effective communication.

3.1 Research project aims

The main project was developed with the aim of:
- Investigating current perspectives in the teaching of English and in the education of future English teachers taking into account the changes occurring since the rapid spread of WE and the emergence of ELF in an era of widespread multimedia use;
- Exploring and analysing the use of English in multilingual classrooms and in online teaching and training contexts;
- Investigating how WE and, specifically, ELF awareness, may become part of teaching and learning practices in the development of both national and European contexts;
- Developing an ELF awareness perspective as well as an ELF pedagogy in teacher education, in classroom practices, syllabi and materials, assessment and evaluation development;
- Enhancing learners' use of ELF accommodation strategies to protect the lingua-cultural expression of students' identities.

The areas of research identified as most relevant for the investigation are:
- Current teaching practices in English language multilingual classrooms and teacher education courses in face-to-face and online contexts;
- English teaching materials, language corpora and assessment tools that are currently used in ELT;
- Classroom-based communicative interactions including learners from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, particularly through online encounters (e-twinning and telecollaboration);
- Pre- and in-service teacher education contexts, inclusive of online encounters with teachers from other countries (e-twinning teacher education projects).

3.2 Research design

The research design implied the use of a mixed method research (MMR) approach (Dörney 2007) by which both qualitative and quantitative methods are used. The MMR approach is regarded as one of the most appropriate tools of investigation in these circumstances as it takes into account social, political, and resource-oriented needs and concerns. The research construct had to take into consideration the context, specifically those multilingual school environments in Italy where English classes are based on idealized native-speaker models,

and learners' communicative competence have so far been based on native-speaker model.

The research design envisaged a series of yearly actions accompanied by specific tools, in order to respond to the unit research theme, but preliminary to any sort of action was the need to investigate the current conditions of English language teaching and education in Italy as well as to identify teachers' understandings of teaching English and their attitudes in a time of change where English is no longer a foreign language, but it is largely the result of several linguacultural exchanges while being more and more used as lingua franca.

3.3 English language teachers' survey[2]

In order to investigate ELT current conditions a survey geared at a sample of English language teachers in Italy was developed; the questionnaire was meant to be complemented by focus groups with some of the respondents. In order to investigate the research areas identified, the survey was organised in different sections meant to gather data about the teachers' professional profile and to respond to specific research areas:
- Teachers' professional profile;
- Teachers' familiarity with ELT notions and current terminology also in the field of WE and ELF;
- Teachers' knowledge, experience and perception of current practices in English Language Teaching.

The rationale for the survey format used and the choice of the content was to provide teachers with a questionnaire model where they were offered a variety of structured, semi-structured questions and statements to express their individual agreement /disagreement or stance as well as regular invitations to refer to their own context and experience.

The preliminary results presented in the following sections refer to the results as for September 9th 2017, thus they only represent one third of the total sample. Still they reveal several aspects that are worth further investigation.

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[2]   This contribution refers to the authors' presentation at XXVIII AIA 2017 conference in Pisa, within the Panel *English as a Lingua Franca in domain-specific contexts of intercultural communication*. It only reports the preliminary findings as of September 2017. The Survey was administered between July 2017 and March 2018 and the final results will soon be published.

4. *Preliminary data analysis*

This Section presents the first phase of a study aimed at developing an ELF-aware pedagogical model for ELT in multilingual contexts. The two main components of this first phase are a) a preliminary survey on ELF that is being carried out by Italian teachers of English; and b) the design of a teacher-education course, the purpose of which is to investigate the changing nature of English in today's globalized world. The following sub-sections provide some general observations on what the preliminary teacher's survey has revealed, and an outline of the teacher-education course that will follow it, once it is completed.

4.1 Description of the survey

This survey is an investigation into the current practices of ELT in Italian schools and of teachers' understanding of ELF. The survey featured sixteen topical items, both closed-ended (sometimes using Likert scales) and open-ended, most of which contained a variable number of sub-questions. Altogether, the questionnaire contained seventy-five entries.

The questionnaire was administered via SurveyMonkey (*https://www.surveymonkey.com*), a user-friendly online survey platform, in 2017. During the preliminary phase, 75 teachers answered the questionnaire. Participation in the survey was anonymous and respondents gave their consent to their answers being used in this research.

The questionnaire was divided into three parts: 1. Demographics; 2. English and beyond; 3. English language teaching: current practices.

Part One contained eight questions that were intended to gather some general information about the respondents.

Part Two was centred around the present-day reconceptualisation of English as a plurilithic language that challenges the primacy of native-speakerism and the monolithic dimension of Standard English. It featured two topical items and a total number of sixteen sub-questions that were intended to check how familiar respondents were with a) some of the most common definitions of English (e.g. Standard English, WE, ELF, etc.); b) with different kinds of language competence; and c) with the relationship between language and intercultural mediation. In short, the aim of this part of the survey was to find out how far research in applied linguistics has come in reaching out to the wider audience of school teachers, particularly as regards two fundamental aspects: a) the notions that distinguish *Englishes* according to variables like the language users' diverse linguacultural identities and the variability of communicative contexts; and b) the classification of competences that

learners should develop in order to manage communication successfully in intercultural settings.

Part Three was designed to collect data regarding the respondents' English teaching practices and experience. It featured five topical items and a total number of fifty questions. The next item focused on the profile of the prototypical successful teacher of English. Respondents were provided with a grid containing fourteen different statements and were asked to express their agreement or disagreement through a 6-point Likert scale.

Another topical item was about what guided respondents in their choice of coursebooks. Participants were asked to select the two most important options from a list of ten. In case they did not use any coursebooks, they should explain why.

The next topical item was crucial to the survey, for it was meant to elicit respondents' agreement or disagreement with several statements about ELT, using a 6-point Likert scale. Some of the key areas were the prototypical figure of the native-speaker teacher, the way teachers perceive learners' errors, the role played by students' L1 in the process of learning English, non-standard varieties of English, the assessment and evaluation of learners' performance, the emergence of creative and pragmatically effective, non-canonical lexicogrammar forms, i.e. what Widdowson (2015) defined as the learner's *lingual capability*.

The last topical item of Part three and of the whole questionnaire dealt with transnational projects, such as eTwinning or other European projects. Respondents were asked to mention the ones in which they had participated and to identify the two most significant aspects gained from this experience.

Finally, respondents were invited to leave their personal contact information if they were willing to take part in a brief follow up interview with the survey team.

4.2 Preliminary findings

The full analysis of the data collected from the teacher's survey has not yet been completed, however it is possible to present a preliminary overview of the most significant findings at this stage.

4.2.1 Part 1: Demographics

The sample of respondents is representative of the North, Centre and South of Italy, although three regions in particular stand out, namely Lazio (32.43%), Sicily (18.81%) and Lombardy (10.81%). The majority of respondents are female (94.59%). As regards the age of respondents, the data show that most of them (74,91%) are between 40 and 59;

16.22% are over 60, and only 6.31% are under 29. As for their L1, most respondents are native speakers of Italian (90.09%), although there is also a minority of native speakers of English too (8.11%). Most of respondents claim that their proficiency level in the first L2 (English) is very high (C1, 35.14%; C2, 55.86%), while data regarding the second L2 are almost evenly distributed between B1 and C1. As for the third L2, proficiency levels are lower and range between A1 and B2.

Most respondents (40.54%) are post-graduates. Moreover, 54.05% teach at upper secondary school level, and 25.23% at lower secondary level. Only a small minority of teachers in our sample teach at primary school level (8.11%) or at university level (4.50%). In addition, the majority of respondents (87.39%) work in state schools. Notably, 39.65% of respondents have a teaching experience ranging between twenty-one and over thirty years. However, although the average age of respondents is comparatively high, a large part of the sample (34.24%) has been teaching English for no longer than ten years.

4.2.2 English and beyond

The technical terms that teachers are most familiar with are Standard English and Communicative Competence. However, a high percentage of responses also concerns ELF, followed by WE and Intercultural competence. The least familiar definition is Language and Cultural mediation. Moreover, the data seem to reveal that the notion of intercultural competence in ELT is not perceived as a priority, unless it is connected to students' cultural exchanges and to the use of the Internet.

As regards the notions of Standard English (SE), WE and ELF, respondents' answers show that teachers are not acquainted with the difference between a monolithic conception of English and a plurilithic one. Moreover, their definitions of ELF focus mainly on the socio-pragmatic aspect of language use, which is linked to the concept of communicative competence. Nevertheless, the respondents' point of view seems to reinforce the idea that *errors*, including ELF forms, are essentially deviations from the exonormative native-speaker norms. Data also reveal that the concept of WE is rather problematic.

4.2.3 PART 3 English language teaching: current practices

The survey has shown that the respondents' pre- and in-service training courses were mainly devoted to language teaching and methodology, rather than to the development of teachers' language awareness of the present day evolution of Global English. Indeed, only a minority of respondents (16.67%) is guided by the presence of varieties of English or by the representation of different cultures when they choose a

coursebook. Moreover, when respondents were asked if their students prefer native or non-native teachers of English, and if teachers should adopt Standard English as their target model, they answered that a) most learners prefer native teachers of English; and b) that non-native teachers of English should take Standard English as their reference model.

However, a certain degree of openness towards the varieties of the English language and the importance attributed to the learner's lingua-cultural identity should not go unnoticed. Data indicate that teachers are potentially interested in World Englishes, as well as in non-native speakers' creative forms of English. For instance, most respondents perceive the relevance of encouraging students to experiment with new language forms to communicate meaning, and the importance of exposing learners to varieties of English, including English spoken by non-native speakers. Interestingly, 52% of respondents strongly disagree with the idea that teachers should avoid using authentic materials that contain non-standard forms of English. Moreover, 41.33% strongly agree that language teachers should aim at promoting a successful user of English' model for their learners. In the same vein, 48% of respondents believe that developing communicative strategies is more important than learning to use correct grammar.

Finally, the survey has revealed that respondents seem to take very different positions as regards the adoption of a standard English model in the assessment and evaluation of learners' performance. Only a minority of teachers (5.33%) strongly agree with this criterion.

As for the last topical item in the questionnaire, the majority of respondents (60%) have never taken part in transnational projects such as eTwinning or other European projects. This datum will have to be analysed in detail in the future development of this research, as it indicates that there could be a connection between the teachers' lack of experience in an international dimension of ELT and their tendency to cling on to a more traditional pedagogy.

4.3 The teacher-education course

Once the English teachers' survey will be completed, the quantitative and qualitative data are going to provide important information in order to design a teacher-education course based on global Englishes and innovations in ELT. Its aim is to raise the teacher's awareness about the plurilithic nature of English. Participants will investigate their process of teaching/learning English in Italian schools and experiment with innovative language activities. The course, *New English/es Landscapes Revisiting English Language Teaching and Learning* will be offered in a blended format that combines online activities and traditional lectures.

The course will be carried out by the Roma Tre research Unit members and will be divided into three sections: 1) English language(s), culture(s) and assessment; 2) Language teaching methodology; and 3) Research and teacher-education. The topics that will be explored include: a) English lexis; b) teaching approaches; c) new perspectives in second-language assessment; d) new Englishes and literature; e) ELF and migration; f) World Englishes; and g) ELF theory and teaching implications. Participants will focus on how to implement their new competences with their classes and design innovative language activities.

5. *Conclusions*

The preliminary findings of the English teachers' survey that have been discussed in this chapter show that Italian teachers of English tend to have a rather ambivalent relationship with the notion of ELF and its pedagogical implications. On the one hand, data reveal that native-speakerism and Standard English still hold a dominant position in ELT; on the other hand, respondents seem ready to reflect on the English of the subject by taking into account today's plurilithic nature of English and the intercultural dimension of ELF. This has made the Roma Tre research Unit members design a teacher-education course on these topics, the aim of which is to make trainees cooperate and develop innovative activities for the English classroom in the perspective of educational changes in ELT.

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COMPLEXITY IN INTERLANGUAGE USAGE AND DEVELOPMENT: INVESTIGATING THE DICTOGLOSS TASK

Abstract

This paper reports on a small case study aimed at exploring interlanguage complexity in language- related episodes during a collaborative output task (dictogloss). The study involved a group of EFL intermediate level students. Our investigation sought to unravel interlanguage complexity from different perspectives: usage and development. The analytical framework was provided by usage-based approaches (construction grammar and complexity theory) which enabled us to operationalize complexity in terms of heterogeneity, non-linearity and co-adaptation. Data analysis highlighted the key role of the 'restructuring' stage of the task with its open dynamic structure which encouraged learners to adapt and develop their linguistic resources in response to the affordances that emerged in the communicative context provided by the task.

Keywords: interlanguage development, complexity theory, construction grammar, collaborative learning.

1. *Second language learning: a multi-perspective approach*

Learner interlanguage can be considered a complex phenomenon in terms of both usage and development. Its emerging and changing patterns are often difficult to trace and describe. Given the complex and dynamic nature of learner interlanguages, Second Language Acquisition (SLA) researchers have used the constructs in Complexity Theory (CT) to investigate the issues related to second language emergence and development (Larsen-Freeman 1997, 2006; De Bot, Lowie, Verspoor 2007; De Bot 2008; Ellis and Larsen-Freeman 2009; Verspoor, De Bot, Lowie 2011; Menezes de Oliveira e Paiva 2013; Ortega and Han 2017). The systems studied within this framework are "complex, dynamic, non-linear, self-organizing, open, emergent, sometimes chaotic, and adaptive" (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 4). This explains why

CT theory, which originated in the physical and biological sciences, has been further applied to many different disciplines (for example economics, psychology, social sciences) including applied linguistics.

Larsen-Freeman (1997: 151), one of the first applied linguists to show the potential of CT, draws a number of parallels between complex nonlinear systems and second language acquisition. As for complex nonlinear systems, SLA involves dynamic processes: this has been a challenge for SLA researchers attempting "to capture, with any formalism, the dynamism in evidence in the evolution of learner interlanguages (ILs)". The complexity of the SLA process is also due to the "many interacting factors at play which determine the trajectory of the developing IL". Language learning usually involves a nonlinear process characterised by stages of progress, standstill and backsliding. Moreover, being open to input, learner interlanguage is also 'self-organising' and lends itself to 'restructuring'. In this respect, De Bot (2008: 173) suggests explaining the process of restructuring through the notion of "self-organised criticality", by which "input in a second language does not lead to gradual changes in the system, but rather it builds up to a critical stage that leads to a sudden and massive restructuring of the system".

The constructs provided by CT have led SLA researchers to prefer the term *development* to that of *acquisition*. The former is deemed more suitable to emphasize the dynamic nature of language using and underlines the fact that "language learners have the capacity to create their own patterns with meanings and uses (morphogenesis) and to expand the giving potential of a given language, not just to internalize a ready-made system" (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 116). This view on second language development is very much in line with usage based or emergentist theories. Cognitive linguistics (for example Langacker 1987; 1991), emergent grammar (for example Hopper 1998), usage-based grammar (for example Bybee 2006) and construction grammar (for example Goldberg 1995; 2006; 2013) share the assumption that "language forms emerge from language use" (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 18). A usage-based perspective has the potential of providing "a more variegated portrayal of language-using patterns" and "a more learner-centred account of their development" (Larsen Freeman and Cameron 2008: 135).

The focus on change – "sometimes continuous change, sometimes sudden" (Larsen-Freeman 2015: 228) in the study of learner language development motivated by a CT framework requires a different approach to research and the use of methods that will account for the way "development emerges over time" and "how small and large vari-

ations shape the process" (De Bot 2008:174). Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 230) offer a number of guidelines to help researchers examine the features involved in the dynamics of complex systems, including emerging patterns of co-adaptation, stability, variability, points of transition. The study that is presented in the second part of the paper will illustrate how these guidelines have been applied to the investigation of specific aspects of interlanguage usage and development during a dictogloss task. Three features, in particular – heterogeneity, non-linearity and adaptation – will be targeted in the analysis to show how learners' interlanguage emerged and developed during the reconstruction stage of the task.

As pointed out above, usage-based approaches, including CT, view language learning as the process of deriving structure from usage. An influential usage-based framework, Construction Grammar, provides us with an important set of theoretical tools for understanding and investigating language structure from an emergentist, usage-based perspective. Construction grammar posits that language consists of a network of interrelated *constructions* and that language learning is tantamount to construction learning (Goldberg 1995; 2006; 2013). Straddling the traditional dichotomies of syntax vs. lexicon, form vs. meaning, compositional vs. non-compositional/idiomatic elements, a construction is generally thought of as "a conventional pairing of form with (semantic or discourse) function" (Goldberg and Casenhiser 2006: 343). In both first and second language acquisition, constructions are assumed to be extracted from instances of language in use ("item-based learning", Goldberg 2006) with comparison of language exemplars leading to generalizations: "classification of new instances is based on their similarity to the stored exemplars" (Goldberg 2006: 46). This process allows learners to record both increasingly more abstract categories (schematic constructions) and single, idiosyncratic instances.

Reseach on L1 acquisition tells us that some instantiations of constructions are "represented more strongly than others, so that they are activated more easily, processed faster, and produced more often" (Hilpert 2014: 198). Studies carried out by Goldberg and Casenhiser have shown that when learners are presented with "input that is skewed such that one type of example" of a construction is represented particularly frequently vis-à-vis other instantiations of the construction, they are able to reach "more accurate generalizations" (Goldberg and Casenhiser 2008: 198). This has important implications for L2 learning. L2 students should be given opportunities to be exposed "early and often" (Bybee 2008: 229) to higher frequency types of a construction before lower frequency types are introduced. These are learnt subsequently

through "derivations from the higher-frequency forms" (Bybee 2008: 224) using a process of analogy.

Frequent exposure and use is therefore key to learning constructions. The more frequent sequences within constructions are, the more 'entrenched' they become. As a result, they may be learned by rote and "not associated with the units that comprise them" (Bybee 2008: 219). However, for L2 learners, repetition may also have drawbacks. If wrong sequences are used repeatedly, they may become fossilized and hence be very difficult to change, unless a process of analysis of the internal structure of the sequence is initiated (Bybee 2008). An exemplification of how the input to which second language learners are exposed can be contrived in such a way as to foster construction learning will be shown in the study which will be the focus of the next section of this paper.

2. The study

The overarching aim of this study was to investigate interlanguage complexity using the theoretical tools afforded by CT. As will be seen below, the study also gave us an opportunity to explore a potential application of construction grammar in second language task design. The study involved an intact class of EFL intermediate level learners and their EFL teacher. The experiment took place in a TV studio of the University of Milan (Nava and Pedrazzini 2018).

The research instrument used for the study was a dictogloss. The dictogloss, also known as grammar dictation (Wajnryb 1990), is a collaborative output activity in which learners are asked to reconstruct a text in pairs or small groups based on an input text that has been read to them by the teacher. As a language learning/teaching task, the dictogloss is aimed to "expose where their [learners'] language-learner shortcomings and needs are so that teaching can be directed more precisely towards these areas" (Wajnryb 1990: 6). As a research instrument, it has been used to investigate whether *pushed output* leads learners to notice formal aspects of the language, become aware of any *gaps* in their language competence and test language-related hypotheses that they have entertained (Swain 1998; Swain and Lapkin 2001; Leeser 2004; Basterrechea and Garcia Mayo 2014; Lindstromberg, Eyckmans, Connabeer 2016).

The input text chosen for the dictogloss experiment (Table 1) was designed in a such a way as to not only feature constructions of different degrees of compositionality (more idiomatic constructions, such as *out of the corner of an eye* vs. more transparent, syntactic-based con-

structions, such as *see somebody doing, the sight of us*) but also include aspects that are believed to foster construction learning processes:

a) Some degree of repetition (i.e. different tokens) of the same construction is provided (*they would not see us/ we could see*);

b) For the same construction, particularly if it is thought that its more prototypical instantiations have already been learnt, some variation in type is also provided (*we saw a group of common law prisoners working* vs. *they would not see us as we marched past*);

c) For those constructions which are thought to be new to the learners, the most prototypical instantiation is introduced (*it was as if* vs. *it was as though*).

Our work at the quarry was meant to show us that we were no different from the other prisoners.

However, the authorities still treated us like the lepers who once populated the island.

Sometimes we saw a group of common law prisoners working by the side of the road.

Their warders ordered them into the bushes so they would not see us as we marched past.

It was as if the sight of us might somehow affect their discipline.

Sometimes, out of the corner of an eye, we could see a prisoner raise his fist in the African National Congress salute.

Table 1. The input text for the dictogloss task
(adapted from Boers and Lindstromberg 2008:31)

The dictogloss unfolds through four main stages (Wajnryb 1990). After introducing the task, the teacher/researcher reads the input text twice at natural speed. Students take notes as they listen. They are then put into groups and are instructed to reconstruct the input text using their notes. Finally, the groups' versions are compared with the original text. As they work in groups, students engage in collaborative dialogue, which has been defined as "dialogue in which speakers are engaged in problem solving and knowledge building" (Swain 2000: 102). The collaborative dialogue produced by the students during the experiment was videorecorded and transcribed.

The data analysed for this study was generated from the transcripts of the collaborative dialogue. The analytical framework provided by CT has enabled us to identify three features – heterogeneity, non-linearity and co-adaptation – that seem well suited to operationalize the complexity of interlanguage usage and development, as it *dynamically* emerged during

the reconstruction stage of the dictogloss task. The analysis of these features, which are typical of complex systems, is meant to illustrate how the use of the language by each group of students was shaped by the interaction between the specific components provided by the task itself and the on-going language processing and negotiation taking place at both individual and collaborative level. The analysis will also pinpoint instances of learner interlanguage in which the reconstruction process seemed to facilitate the students' noticing of specific constructions the input text had intended to trigger for output production.

Heterogeneity is one of the key features of complex systems that can be said to be peculiar of interlanguages. It refers to the interplay of many different elements, agents and processes (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 28). Its investigation requires a focus on both the elements of the system itself and the environment in which the system operates, as "the context is part of the system and its complexity" (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 34). In the specific case of the dictogloss, data analysis has shown a variety of interconnected elements that characterize the reconstruction stage of the task. Although the learners of each group were engaged in the same process of text reconstruction, the process itself unfolded in each group in different ways: each learner in each group responded to the task by bringing in his /her language resources and personality. Moreover, the interaction among the learners led each group to take different decisions for the text reconstruction.

Heterogeneity is also shown in the way language is reflected upon and made to emerge throughout the collaborative dialogue in each group. Typical of collaborative dialogue are indeed several instances of "language-related episodes", "in which the students talk about the language they are producing, question their language use, or other- or self-correct" (Swain 1998: 70) In this respect, the analysis has highlighted a complex interplay of elements as learners shifted their attention to different levels (phonological, lexical, syntactic, phraseological) of specific language features. In Extract 1, for instance, the learners' attention revolves around the construction *the sight of us*, which is first considered in terms of its phraseological pattern and then in relation to the spelling of the word *sight* which turns out to be challenging for one of the students.

Extract 1
S2: *the sight of us or our sight*?
S9: *the sight of us*.
S2: *sight* <L1it> *non si scrive così si scrive* {it's not written like that it is}
      </L1it> <spel> *s i g h t* </spel>
S9: <L1it> sì ho capito. {yeah I got it} </L1it>

The second feature we analysed is non-linearity. Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 31) state that "[i]n a non-linear system the elements or agents are not independent and relations or interactions between elements are not fixed but may themselves change". Data analysis has shown how the learners' interlanguage during the text reconstruction emerged in a non-linear way and was characterized by a dynamic relation among different elements. A point in case is the example in Extract 2. The learners in one of the groups are in the process of reconstructing the following part of the input text.

> […] Their warders ordered them into the bushes so they would not see us as we marched past. It was as if the sight of us might somehow affect their discipline. […]

They started their reconstruction using three words and phrases they had noticed during the reading aloud by the teacher and taken note of: *Their warders, It was as if, discipline.* Among these words and phrases, *it was as if* seems to be the most difficult one to handle, as signalled by S12. In fact, it is what triggers the interaction in the group, which then develops in a non-linear way, as the learners try to combine the elements they took note of in different ways to convey the original meaning of the text.

> Extract 2
> S12: *it was as if*?
> S6: <L1it> *tipo insegnarci la disciplina? il rispetto della disciplina?*
> {like teaching us the discipline the respect of the discipline} </L1it>
> {all the group laughs}
> S12: *their warders* <L1it> e poi {and then} </L1it> e poi {and then} </L1it> *it was as if the discipline* <L1it> *non lo so* {I don't know} </L1it> *it was as if*
> S6: *discipline*
> S7: <L1it> cosa c'entra? {what does it have to do with it} </L1it>
> S6: *their warders. teaching*
> S7: <L1it> *raga è passato* {guys it is in the past} </L1it>
> S6: *their warders*
> S12: *were teaching them*

The extensive code-switching during the interaction is an additional sign of the learners' attempt to overcome their difficulties in relating this expression to the other elements in the text.

The non-linearity of the reconstruction process also shows that form and meaning cannot be kept apart and are constantly in focus. The students did manage to recreate the text by exploiting their available linguistic elements (underlined in the input text) in a different way. It is interesting to note though, that the outcome of their interaction is a text that eventually excludes the expression *it was as if* (Table 2).

INPUT TEXT	STUDENTS' RECONSTRUCTION
[…] <u>Their warders</u> ordered them into the bushes so they would not see us as we marched past. <u>It was as if</u> the sight of us might somehow affect their <u>discipline</u>. […]	[…] Sometimes we saw a group of common law prisoners by the side of the road but they couldn't see us while we were working. <u>Their warders were teaching them the discipline.</u> […]

Table 2. Samples of input text for the dictogloss and students' reconstruction

This re-arrangement seems to create a 'semantic hole' which the learners fill in with a new lexical item (*teach*) paying attention to the form required in the construction (*were teaching*). However, these changes in their version of the text (underlined in the students' reconstruction) inextricably lead to a change of the meaning conveyed by the original text.

Finally, the third feature considered in the analysis of the students' reconstruction is co-adaptation. It is defined by Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 33) as "[t]he process in which a system adjusts itself in response to changes in its environment". In adaptive systems, "change in one area of the system leads to change in the system as whole". In particular, Extract 3 shows how the collaborative dialogue taking place in a different group fosters a process of co-adaptation between the students.

Extract 3
S2: we saw (.) a group (.) of *common law* </writing down>
S9: prisoners
S2: <L1it> *però questa è una a* {but this is an "a"} </L1it>
S9: *no*
S2: <to S9> <L1it> *sì* {yes} </L1it> *lau* <L1it> *non low basso* {not "low"} </L1it> {*S2 lowers her hand to explain the meaning of "low"*}
{S9 shakes her head}
S2: *l- law common law* <L1it> *legge* {law} </L1it>

{S9 shakes her head}
S2: <L1it> *non* {not} </L1it> *common low* {S2 lowers her hand} *common law prisoners*

The text reconstruction poses a further challenge to one of the two learners (S9) who mistakes the word *low* for the word *law*. The other learner (S2) takes on the role of expert pointing out the difference between the two words in terms of spelling, pronunciation and meaning also by using gestures. Her efforts are aimed at responding to S9's difficulties as a novice. The interaction can be seen as co-adaptive, "with each response constructing a feedback loop" between the two learners (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron (2008: 207). By encountering repeated instances of the two forms (*low* vs. *law*) throughout interaction with the expert student, the novice is given the opportunity to notice the difference between the two forms and is encouraged to adapt her linguistic resources for the text reconstruction. It can be concluded that from a CT perspective, "learning is not the taking in of linguistic forms by learners, but the constant adaptation of their linguistic resources in the service of meaning-making in response to the affordances that emerge in the communicative situations" (Larsen-Freeman and Cameron 2008: 135).

3. *Conclusions*

This article has reported on a small case study aimed at exploring how interlanguage usage and development may emerge through the collaborative dialogue which language learners engage in during the reconstruction stage of a dictogloss task. The analytical framework has been provided by usage-based approaches to language description and acquisition. Construction grammar has furnished us with practical tools for designing the research instrument (the input text for the dictogloss) in such a way that it acknowledged – unlike many mainstream ELT materials (Roemer, Brook O'Donnell, Ellis 2014) – the pervasive role and productivity (Ellis and Larsen Freeman 2006) of constructions in language usage and development. Complexity theory, on the other hand, has enabled us to operationalize complexity of interlanguage usage and development in terms of heterogeneity, non-linearity and co-adaptation. Data analysis seems to corroborate the idea of learner interlanguage and its development as "an open system which continues to change and adapt as its dynamics are 'fed' by energy coming into the system" (Beckner *et al.* 2009: 16). Collaborative output tasks such as the dictogloss provide the potential for creating the conditions to *perturbate* the stability of the learners' interlanguage system and may enable teachers

to investigate learners' language-using patterns at a particular point in time.

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MEASURING COMPLEXITY IN ANAPHORIC AND CATAPHORIC EXPRESSIONS IN ENGLISH AS A SECOND LANGUAGETASK
An eye-tracked case study

Abstract

This study reports on the results of a comprehension task assessing the interpretation of intra-sentential anaphora and cataphora in English by a group of typically developed Italian L1 speakers who learn English as a second language and a group of Italian. L1 speakers with dyslexia who also learn English as a second language. No significant differences between the groups were observed in the processing of anaphoric sentences. By contrast, the reaction times of the group of learners with dyslexia were much longer than their peers' reaction times when processing cataphoric sentences. Pronominal subjects were accepted as co-referential with a subject antecedent more often by the participants with dyslexia than by the control group in anaphoric conditions, but the data was not significant. Conversely, in cataphoric conditions pronominal subjects were accepted as co-referential with a subject antecedent significantly more times by the subjects with dyslexia. These results are interpreted in the context of language-universal and language-specific processing strategies in anaphora resolution in second language acquisition.

Keywords: complexity; anaphora; cataphora; English as a Second Language; eye-tracking; dyslexia.

1. *Introduction*

Over the past decades, research has flourished around the topics of anaphoric expressions and the ways in which readers retrieve antecedent elements in the discourse. Several studies have shown that pragmatic factors, together with grammatical, syntactic and cognitive constraints contribute to determining the distribution of different types of anaphoric expressions (Warburton and Prabhu 1972; Kazanina *et al.* 2006; Filiaci 2010; Chien-Ju *et al.* 2014). However, most of the works on the inferential processing at work during pronoun interpretation have focused on assessing which strategies affect the search for an an-

tecedent pronoun. Considerably fewer studies have been conducted on backwards anaphora. Cowards and Cairns (1987) noticed the tendency to interpret cataphoric pronouns as the first noun phrase encountered after the cataphora. The research on eye movement patterns carried out by Van Gompel and Liversedge (2003) later confirmed Cowards and Cairns (1987) claims. Anaphoric pronouns are processed faster than cataphoric ones (Kennison *et al.* 2009). Such behaviour is evidence of the fact that anaphoric pronouns do not require waiting for an upcoming referent, whereas cataphoric pronouns do (Fedele and Kaiser 2014). Furthermore, results of experiments with visual and comprehension tasks (McKee 1992; Cornish *et al.* 2005) clearly suggest that cataphoric pronouns tend to be poorly interpreted. Subjects try to "discharge" unresolved pronouns when encountered first (i.e. cataphora) due to the processing load involved in keeping an unresolved pronoun in memory. This seems to happen even if this goes against grammar-specific properties.

The present contribution investigates forwards and backwards anaphoric interpretation in Italian university students with and without dyslexia who learn English as a Foreign Language (EFL). The scientific literature still overlooks the processes involved in anaphoric pronouns retrieval in subjects with Specific Learning Difference (SLD). The aim of the present study is twofold. Firstly, we intend to analyse the different trends in processing forwards and backwards anaphoric pronouns in terms of speed of processing. Secondly, we analyse at the answers given for different experimental conditions and correlate them with their reaction times.

The use of an eye-tracking device was meant to shed light on the cognitive processes involved in pronouns interpretation. Fixations, saccades and regressions will help us understand which elements are considered more complex in text and which strategies the parsers adopt to retrieve the proper pronominal referents.

2. *Methodology*

Subjects. The study involved 14 Italian-speaking university students. The focus group included 7 people with dyslexia with an age mean of 22.9 years (4 were males and 3 females) and 7 students with no learning difficulties with an age mean of 23.6 years (3 males and 4 females). All the participants volunteered to participate in the study. The two groups were matched as closely as possible (see Table. 1 for the groups' demographic data). The subjects presented the same proficiency level of English (A2).

Groups	Age mean	Age Standard deviation
Group with Dyslexia	22,9	4,3
Control Group	23,6	2,9

Table 1. Participans' demographic data

Materials and design. Twenty-four anaphoric sentences were paired with twenty-four cataphoric sentences. Each sentence was first presented alone and then together with a comprehension question. The comprehension questions were in Italian in order to avoid any further complexity due to the subjects' poor knowledge of English.

1) When *Maria* went to visit *Vanessa* at the hospital, *she* was already out of danger.

   Chi era fuori pericolo?[1]
   a) *Maria*
   b) *Vanessa*
   c) *Qualcun altro*

2) When *he* got to the hospital, *Mark* asked the *doctor* for pain killers straight away.

   Marco ha chiesto le medicine quando è arrivato chi?[2]
   a) *Marco*
   b) *Il dottore*
   c) *Qualcun altro*

Before running the experiment on the eye tracker, we created a google form with 100 experimental sentences and we asked fifty native speakers of English to read the sentences and answer some comprehension questions. We also asked them to judge the sentences on a scale of ambiguity from 1 to 7, where 1 meant 'not at all ambiguous' and 7 meant 'very ambiguous' (see Fig. 2). Only the sentences which were

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[1]   "Who was out of danger?" "a) Maria; b) Vanessa; c) Someone else".
[2]   "Mark asked for painkillers when whose come?" "a) Mark; b) The Doctor; c) Someone else".

judged averagely ambiguous from most of the subjects were included in the experiment.
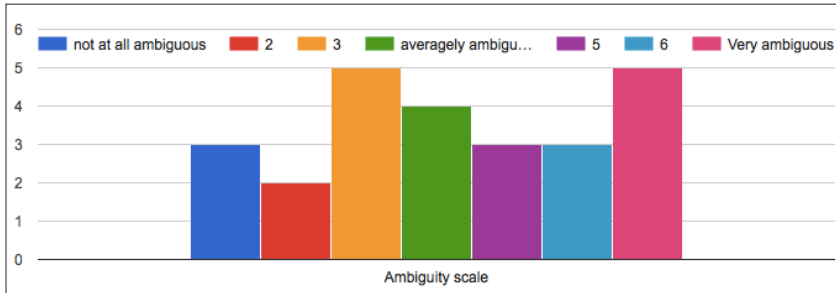
Fig. 2. English L1 speakers' perception

The eye-tracking. Eye-tracking has been intensively used in the past decades to study online sentence processing (Rayner, 2006). This is based on the assumption that there is a correspondence between the cognitive processes that occur during reading and the eye movements which can be recorded by the eye-tracker and converted into dependent variables, such as fixation duration, gaze duration, first pass, second pass, etc. (Just and Carpenter 1980; Hyona, Lorch Jr and Rinck 2003; Rayner and Pollatsek 2006).

Eye movements were recorded using an EyeLink portable duo (Sr-Research 2017). The subjects' eye gaze was calibrated through the host pc (up to 2000 Hz binocular recording with the head stabilized, see Fig. 3) and the stimuli were presented on a 17'' display screen.

3. *Results*

The preliminary results showed that the group with dyslexia has slower reaction times in both conditions (Fig. 4). The median of the group with dyslexia is higher than the median of the control group, however, what is more significant is their difference in dispersion which is, again, higher in the focus group.
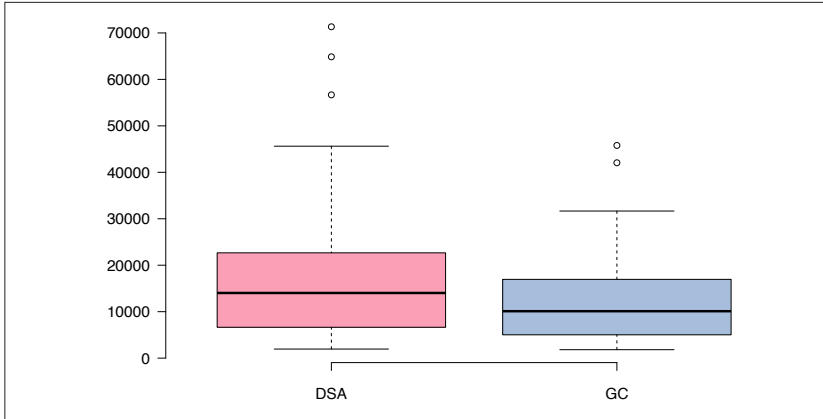
Fig. 4
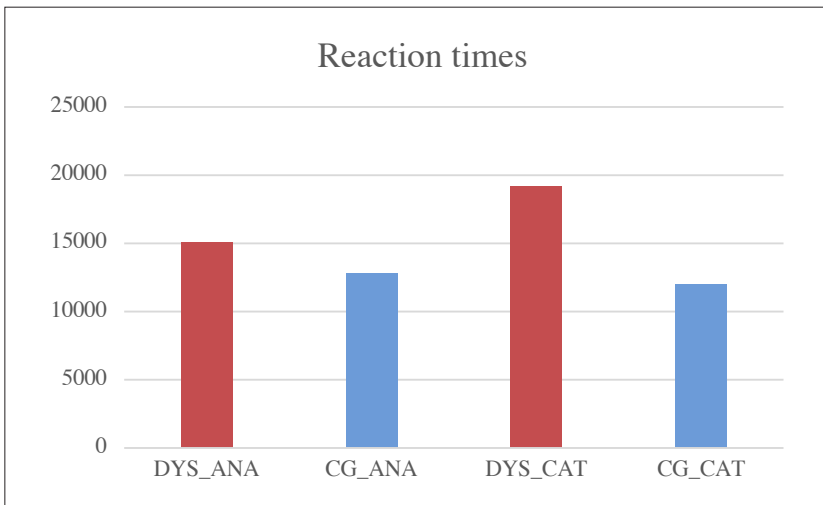
Fig. 5

The data from the two experimental conditions results (Fig. 5) show that the participants with dyslexia performed poorly in both conditions. Interestingly, when they were asked to process anaphoric sentences, the group with dyslexia was 15% slower than the control group. However, when processing cataphoric sentences they took 38% longer than the control group to complete the task, and this data is statistically significant showing a p value <0,005 Table 2 sums up the general data.

	Dys_Anaphora	CG_Anaphora	Dys_Cataphora	CG_Cataphora
Mean	15053	12782	19186*	11990
Standard_dev	12227	9730	16918	8811
Median	11642	10015	13100	9170
Min	2720	1677	2619	1699
Max	66869	44119	73493	42182

Table 2. Reaction times in the two conditions

The participants' answers were then analysed. The answers were three in each trial: answer *a* was the referent in subject position, answer *b* the referent in object position and answer *c* was a referent who was not in the sentence and to which we referred to as 'somebody else'. As Fig. 6 shows, in ambiguous anaphoric sentences, the answers of both groups of participants were quite evenly distributed between the first and the second referent. The third option, i.e. 'somebody else', was more frequently chosen by members of the focus group than by members of the control group, but the difference is not statistically significant. In ambiguous cataphoric sentences, the difference between the two groups was more evident. In particular, the focus group seems to choose the first referent systematically. This could be due to the fact that, given low working memory capacity, during the active process of searching for the referent of the pronoun, readers with dyslexia link it to the first referent which they encounter (answer *a*) and do not seem able to store any further information in memory. The control group also preferred the first referent, but this preference was less pronounced compared to their peers with dyslexia.
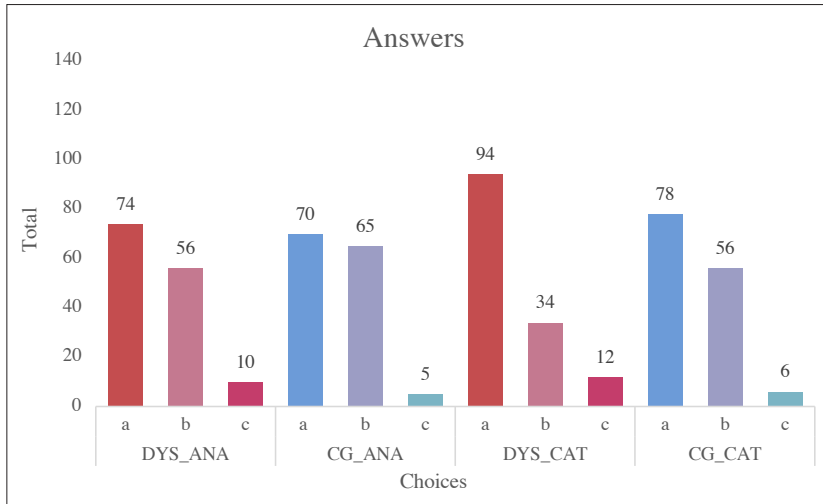
Fig. 6

4. *Conclusions*

The results of this preliminary study provide new evidence on the interpretation of anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns in English as a second language in subjects with specific learning difference. First, the reaction times of the two groups of participants in the two experimental conditions were analysed. They showed that the participants with dyslexia were always slower than they typically-developing peers. In the anaphoric condition, the focus group was 15% slower than the control group, while in the cataphoric condition it was 38% slower, and this data was statistically significant. Then the answers given by both groups in the two conditions were analysed. In the anaphoric contexts, the results were not particularly significant. The participants with dyslexia chose the subject antecedent (first referent, answer *a*) more frequently than the control group and conversely, they chose the object antecedent (second referent, answer *b*) less frequently. In the group with dyslexia, 53% of the preferences were given on the subject referent, while 40% on the object referent and 7% on 'somebody/something else'. In the control group, 50% of the subjects chose the subject antecedent (first referent, answer *a*), 46% of the participants chose the object antecedent (second referent, answer *b*) and only 4% of the preferences went to 'somebody/something else'. In cataphoric contexts, the participants with dyslexia chose the 'subject interpretation' (first referent, answer *a*) significantly more often than their peers; 67% of the preferences went to the first

referent versus 24% of the preferences for the second referent and 9% for 'somebody/something else'. The control group, on the other hand, opted for the first referent 56% of the times 40% of the times for the second referent and 4% of the times for 'somebody/something else'. Interestingly, in cataphoric contexts, the typically developing participants' results are similar to their results in anaphoric contexts. See Table 3 for a general overview on the data.

	Subject referent	Object referent	Smb/Smth else
DYS_ANA	53%	40%	7%
CG_ANA	50%	46%	4%
DYS_CAT	67%	24%	9%
CG_CAT	56%	40%	4%

Table 3. The participants' choices

Subjects are sentence-internal referents and are favoured as the default option because of their accessibility, order of mention and their salient thematic roles (Serratrice 2007). From a processing point of view, the choice of a subject antecedent requires a minimal cost and is therefore preferred unless there are cues that point towards other potential competitors. The results of the study show that EFL learners with and without dyslexia do not show any significant preference for subject interpretations in anaphoric constructions. However, in the cataphoric condition, results seem to differ because of the active search strategy required to assign the referent. This makes the processor look for the first available antecedent for the pronoun, which in the experiment was the subject of the following main clause.

While the control group seems to be able to balance between subject and object interpretation, the group with dyslexia keeps opting for a subject interpretation, probably due to a deficit in their working memory capacity.

This study is still preliminary and further investigation is needed. Nevertheless, the data show the potential of this largely unexplored domain and the tentative conclusions presented encourage further research which may have a positive impact on inclusive EGL language teaching and testing techniques.

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ENGLISH VARIETIES
AND ACCENTS

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WORLD ENGLISHES AS DYNAMIC SYSTEMS. RECONSIDERING LANGUAGE VARIATION IN THE LIGHT OF COMPLEXITY

Abstract

The recognition of a privileged status to English does not solve the problem of communication in all multilingual domains. In the same fashion, multilingualism as something more than an accumulation of languages is a complex framework according to which the circles of English become crucially relevant to the question of 'linguistic ownership' and its implications. Thus, reconsidering language variation in the light of complexity allows cross-disciplinary overviews concerning global and local changes within World English(es). Some possible case studies such as *African American English*, *Offensive Nigerian English*, and the existence of other understudied variations of English show how the sharp line between local dialects and the standard variety can develop new complications throughout the long journey of pidginization, creolization, assimilation and the melting processes which have gone through the step of codification.

Keywords: Englishes; multilingualism; complexity.

1. *Introduction*

In line with the concept of 'cultural elaboration' as proposed by Wierzbicka, the links between language and culture show something more than "boring examples" (Wierzbicka 1997: 10) of language variation. In fact, "if someone finds boring that, for example, the Hanunoo language of the Philippines has ninety different words for *rice*, that is their problem" (Wierzbicka 1997: 10). That is the reason why "language can be, as Sapir specified, a guide to 'social reality', or a guide to culture in the broad sense of the word (including ways of living, thinking, and feeling)" (Wierzbicka 1997: 10). Similarly, it is possible to look into what extent English is going through a sort of 'self-cultural elaboration' which may account for its worldwide spread. Indeed, the umbrella term 'World Englishes' has been researched balancing between two apparently opposite perspectives. On the one hand, the idea that "World English is a phase in the history of the English language – the phase in

which most of its speakers do not belong to a dominant national speech community or even a few mother tongue speech communities" (Brutt-Griffler 2002: IX); on the other hand, it can be suggested that, "it is the historical phase in which the vast majority of English speakers belong to bilingual speech communities" (Brutt-Griffler 2002: IX).

After all, linguistic uniformity and multilingualism, together with the recognition of a privileged status to English, do not solve the problem of communication in all multilingual domains. Moreover, far from prescribing a mono-linguistic view of English, its worldwide expansion has been described as "an acute problem" by Pennycook because, "while on the one hand, we may want to acknowledge the usefulness of English as a language of global communication, we clearly also need to acknowledge it as the language of global miscommunication, or perhaps, 'dis-communication'" (Pennycook 2003: 5). Furthermore, the existence of a coherent system of language qualifications, aimed at facilitating the attainment of "levels of proficiency required by existing standards, tests, and examinations" (Council of Europe 2001: 21) does not necessarily refer to the sociocultural dimension, which should be an essential part of language evaluation in intercultural frameworks.

The overall aim of this contribution is to explore the increasing relativisation of inner and outer circles of English in the light of linguistic complexity as a bundle of products and systems, which is a "hot topic in typology and other fields of theoretical linguistics" (Mietsamo 2017: 241). Indeed, the intrinsically variable concept of linguistic complexity spans a wide range of fields of linguistics (from sociolinguistics and intercultural communication to translation studies and language acquisition and learning, from language contact to structural complexity). Within such a framework, and paraphrasing Kachru, English shapes multiple intranational and international identities and embodies complex ownerships regardless of norms, inspiring and expanding the scholarly interest in the multilingual turn. In Nihalani's words:

> There has never been a language in recorded history to match the present global spread and use of English (Kachru 1986; Smith 1983, 1992; Strevens 1982; Quirk and Widdowson 1985). The second half of the 20th century has witnessed an emergence of institutionalized varieties such as 'English as an African language' and 'English as an Asian language'. New Englishes are mushrooming all over the world, ranging from Englong (Tagalog-infused English spoken in the Philippines) to Hinglish (the mixture of Hind and English in India), Singlish (spoken in Singapore), Japlish in Japan and Spanglish (spoken in Spain). Who is to say what is 'real' English in a world

where native speakers of British and American English are in a minority? (Nihalani 2010: 25).

As such, contact-situations and the need to view English not as a single entity lead us to rethink language paradigms (Low and Pakir 2018) that have emerged in the WE framework and distinguish new multilingual contexts between linguistic utopia and language competition.

2. *Language diversity in the context of complexity*

English(es) differ from each other as outcomes of some internal cultural elaborations which relate to sociolinguistic and intercultural reasons. As well, the global influence can even be seen in some local applications of English. Take for instance the interesting case of the language of the Slovene media and their relationships with the globalising effect of English as presented by Šabec. Introducing selected Slovene print and electronic media (blogs, forums, tweets), Šabec comments on the "frequency of Anglicisms in different text types, the ways and degrees of adaptation that English words undergo when borrowed into Slovene, and on possible changes of Slovene word order and spelling under the influence of English" (Šabec 2011: 113).

However, if the global spread of English bumps into the monolingual native speaker ideal, this does not lead to a brand new myth of an 'unmarked' English, which is suitable for all occasions. On the contrary, the interaction between systemic variation and universal principles asks for complex patterns of language architectures reconsidered in the light of order and chaos theory.

The application of chaos theory into social and language sciences, though essentially part of physics and mathematics, may shed new light on the famous 'butterfly effect' according to which "the sensitive dependence on initial conditions shows how a small change at one place or moment in a nonlinear system can result in large differences to a later state in the system" (Açikalin, Erçetin 2014: 7). This means that technological development, free trade, globalisation, colonisation, creoles continuum, migration, code-switching phenomena, localisation, *glocalisation* and language clashes trigger overlapping and unpredictable results in language learning and variation.

Actually, these all bring a combination of "diverging and converging factors" (Van Gelderen 2006: 251) which largely incorporate the effects of British colonial power and the extensive use of English in lots of international education programmes and brand new communication technologies.

In other words, diversification and standardisation (converging on stable norms) compose a "grey area" (Galloway and Rose 2015) – beyond black or white scenarios – which views language as a complex "adaptive system" whose "elastic nature" can be seen both as "an ongoing tug-of-war with an elastic bungee cord, with one team representing divergence and the other representing convergence (Galloway and Rose 2015: 243) and "a moving, breathing, and unpredictable organism" (Galloway and Rose 2015: 245). This being said, complexity becomes a challenging bond between descriptivism, logical positivism, semantics, cognitive studies and prescriptivism in the study of language variation strictly tied to the pressures of SLA (Second Language Acquisition) and FLL (Foreign Language Learning). Indeed, as Larsen-Freeman notes, the debate in SLA involves two mutual points, "the individual/cognitive perspective on language acquisition" and a "more socially situated view of language use/acquisition" (Larsen-Freeman 2002: 33).

In some sense, chaos and complexity theory summarises the two viewpoints, "not as single grand unifying theory, but as a larger lens through which to view issues of interest to the SLA field" (Larsen-Freeman 2002: 33). Such a position tries to satisfy a competitive and dynamic language knowledge which strictly depends on different factors such as the financial powers of some countries, the social role of some languages over others, the number of native and foreign speakers, and the public investment on language teaching and education plans. In the same fashion, multilingualism as something more than an accumulation of languages is a complex framework according to which the circles of Englishes become crucially relevant to the question of 'linguistic ownership' and its various implications. Therefore, as Krumm suggests, "curricular multilingualism should be coordinated" (Krumm 2004: 70) in order to provide better long-term perspectives which involve "the ability to use a language in a grammatically correct way, but also the ability to appreciate the value systems linked to the language and to know how to deal with misunderstandings" (Krumm 2004: 73). Thus, in multilingual contexts, where English plays a predominant role, the teaching/learning sequence should involve the following three areas:

← contact /neighbouring/minority language which is alive in the everyday surroundings of the children
← lingua franca
← Language learned for individual reasons in order to give oneself an individual profile of competencies. (Krumm 2004: 70)

However – as Hackert questions – "what does ownership mean with regard to language?" In principle, the answer is the following:

> To claim ownership of a language implies a relationship of possession and control between a particular speaker group and that language. This relationship is metaphorical but obviously has real world consequences, which have to do with authority and power over the language and may or may not be controversial and contested […]. A different approach to linguistic ownership is outlined by Wee (2002: 284), who views the concept not in terms of linguistic competence or performance but in terms of ethnicity and historicity. (Hackert 2012: 21)

Indeed, in situations of language attrition and affiliation, other questions can be asked, such as 'how complex may such establishing, maintaining and spreading of English varieties be, and how will the new language scenarios host possible conflicts arising from the new linguistic interactions?' Undoubtedly, language and sociopolitical struggles relate to each other in different ways, involving peace, educational programs, cohabitation, and mutual understanding of peoples. In light of these considerations, complexity seems to be a constitutive prerequisite of multilingual contexts, evoking what Edgar Morin – who is internationally recognised as the philosopher of *la pensée complexe* – describes as "complex unities". He argues:

> Society is more than a context; it is an organizing whole of which we are part […]. Complex unities such as human beings or societies are multidimensional: a human being is a biological, psychological, social, emotional, rational being. Society includes historical, economic, sociological, religious dimensions. Pertinent knowledge must recognize this multidimensionality and insert its data within it. (Morin 2001: 30)

Not surprisingly, as Kemp also argued, "complexity is a characteristic of the nature of multilingual participants' use of their languages […]. Multilinguals may use a number of languages on account of many different social, cultural and economic reasons" (Kemp 2009: 12). It seems evident that concepts like interlanguage (as introduced by Selinker in 1972) and language competence may need to be resettled for successful language learning in multilingual contexts. For this reason, categories like 'standard/non-standard', 'developed/undeveloped' varieties are not so easy to disentangle since socio-political motivations are involved in the matter. The Nigerian context is a famous multilingual case in point.

> In Nigeria, for instance, the inclusion in the Constitution of three languages, Hausa, Yoruba and Igbo as 'the three major languages' has partly contributed to the increasing attention they have received over the years. It has also influenced the esteem and the prestige they have commanded or enjoyed in the national scheme of things, and their perceived importance among Nigerians. (Adegbija 2004: 6)

Thus, within a complex paradigm of influence/interference, Nigerian indigenous languages substantially coexist with Nigerian English, a "semantically rich, syntactically robust, and rapidly evolving non-native variety of the English language that must rank as the English world's fastest-growing non-native variety". (Kperogi 2015: x)

3. *English reloading: some cases and perspectives*

Despite the acknowledged success of many ELF, EFL, ESL speakers, multilingualism still lacks a linguistically determined identity. According to this, some possible case studies such as African American English, English in the Maghrebian countries, the Gullah variation, American Indian English, Tristan da Cunha English, Caribbean Creole English, Nigerian English, Butler English (to name but a few), show how the sharp line between local dialects and the standard variety can develop new complications throughout the long journey of pidginization, creolization, assimilation and the melting processes which have gone through the step of codification.

Likewise, while many language factors can be described as improper or, more generally, incorrect and non-standard, everything that can be prescribed as pure and unchanging will be part of what standard is – or should be – *in use*, thus implying *some degree of variation.* Consequently, reconsidering language variation in terms of complexity is a matter of interdependence between coherent responses to language variants and a current lack of some universal and integrated patterns of learning, teaching and assessing the same variants. According to Herdina and Jessner:

> If the rate of growth or the rate of attrition of one language system is dependent on the development or behavior of other language systems used by the multilingual speaker – and/or other interdependent factors – then it does not make sense to look at languages acquisition or language growth in terms of isolated language development. […] Instead of looking at the development of individual language systems in isolation, it may make more sense to look at the overall system of languages commanded simultaneously

by the multilingual individual and then try to determine the patterns of convergence and divergence of the multilingual system, rather than seeing the multilingual system as a mere accumulation of the effects of concatenated sequential individual systems. (Herdina and Jessner 2000: 92)

As such, a sort of English reloading is provided, ranging from a local to a global perspective. Similarly, "every linguistic change begins with variation, but not all variation leads to change" (Sonderegger 2009: 2). In Sonderegger's words, variation and change must be resettled in terms of "long-term stability followed by rapid change, multiple stable states, long-term stable variation, and word frequency effects" (Sonderegger 2009: 1). This implies diachronic investigation as well as computational data analysis with the aim of determining if a model of variation exists, and if yes, how many domains may be included. In 2014 Mahboob tried to map language variation systematically. The following list shows his results:

Domains:
1. Local, written, everyday (Ex: Friends writing letters to each other)
2. Local, oral, everyday (Ex: Friends talking to each other about their plans for holidays)
3. Local, written, specialized (Texts written by and for a local groups of farmers)
4. Local, oral, specialized (Ex: Farmers discussing specifics about their crops)
5. Global, written, everyday (Ex: International news agencies reporting on events)
6. Global, oral, everyday (Ex: Conversations amongst people from different parts of the world)
7. Global, written, specialized (Ex: Academics writing research papers)
8. Global, oral, specialized (Ex: conference presentations) (Mahboob 2014:5)

As evident from the preceding outline, these domains are currently investigated according to different perspectives and divergent goals. More specifically,

Domains 1 and 2 are typically studied by people focusing on dialects, pidgins and creoles, and/or World Englishes, domain 6 is the focus of research on English as a Lingua Franca; and domains 7 and 8 are covered by studies on genre and English for Specific Purposes. Domains 3 and 4 are rarely studied within a World Englishes framework at the moment […]. Domain 5

is perhaps the most commonly studied in English linguistics and is the main source of the traditional (and pedagogical) grammars. (Mahboob 2014: 5, 6)

In light of such considerations, prescriptivism shapes the history of English and its changes in a space between. According to Curzan, "if histories of English evaluate the prescriptive project solely in terms of its success or failure to stop language change, they can miss these real world consequences for speakers, both in how they use the language and how they think about their and others' use of the language" (Curzan 2014: 2). Thus, *language use* questions the prescriptive approach, reversing the medal, and so asking, in Carmeron's words, "should we prescribe? And, if yes, what? Who prescribes for whom, what they prescribe, how, and for what purpose?" (Cameron 1995: 1).

The emergence of norms passes through inter- and intra-individual variability and the stabilization of new generations of speakers; moreover, precise geographical boundaries have mingled with non-static linguistic identities of many speech-communities which are becoming accustomed to a transitory existence. As such, there is a number of studies with more comprehensive bibliographies on vernacular varieties of English as well as less known variants from all around the world.

In terms of multilingualism, and beyond educational and developing varieties as well as dormant or second language only, the spectrum of indigenous varieties connected to English may range from standard to bombastic of even intentionally offensive variants. An interesting case in point comes again from Nigeria. Like many new sociolinguistic landscapes, the Nigerian one is blurred and intricate. That is particularly true in Nigerian Pidgin and all those Broken English(es), say, those incorrect spoken variants due to some inadequate mastering of standard forms. Talking of this, ONE (*Offensive Nigerian English*) can be mentioned as a less known but interesting example of *deliberately* incorrect English used to mock Nigerian Pidgin speakers; it "offends by using cruelly exaggerated alteration of the lexicon and grammar of English" (Elugbe 2016: 25). Nigerian Pidgin, as every contact language, and thanks to some relevant diachronic developments, is becoming more and more popular among lots of speakers. Indeed,

The historical contact of the indigenous languages with English language has metamorphosed into what we know today as Nigerian Pidgin. The dynamic and generative capacities of Nigerian Pidgin to create from a finite set of lexical items have continued to foster communicative process and interaction among Nigerians. […] In a multiethnic state like Nigeria of over 130 million inhabitants (*Central Intelligence Agency*, 2008), with over 400 indigenous languages (Bangbose 1971), Nigerian Pidgin has emerged as

the most widely spoken language of inter and intra communication among Nigerians and across diverse ethnic groups that do not share a common language. However, one notes with utmost dismay, the unfavourable attitudinal dispositions, condemnations, and marginalization some people have towards this language. (Balogun 2012: 90)

Thus, official settings (TV broadcasting and advertisements included), less prestigious or even hybrid interactions, humour and poor mastery of English may be used to describe the manifold contexts in which sub-variants such as ONE can develop. Elugbe (1995) used the term "Offensive Nigerian English" (ONE) to describe a certain variety of English spoken by Chief Zebrudaya, hero of *Masquerade*, a popular Nigerian soap opera. Inevitably,

ONE contains elements of Igbo (Zebrudaya's native language), of Nigerian Pidgin, and even of Standard English. […] Two more considerations rule ONE out of as a strand on NE. First of all, it resides only in one speaker, who must himself be surprised at the interest that ONE has aroused. […] A second point is that Zebrudaya's English is deliberately offensive. This is the point that also separates it from Broken English. The errors of BE are rarely offensive and occur in spite of the speaker's attempt at School English. (Elugbe and Mgbemena 2012: 25, 27)

In sum, there are clear indicators that the spread of new Englishes sheds new light on what 'new' may mean after the multilingual turn. According to Jenkins, "newness" should be divided into two categories at least, the "new Englishes", resulting from the first diaspora, and the "New Englishes" from the second. More specifically:

The new Englishes of the former group developed independently of, and differently from, English in Britain partly because of the original mixtures of dialects and accents among the people who settled in these areas, and partly because of the influence of the languages of the indigenous populations. […] On the other hand, the latter group of Englishes, those commonly described as New Englishes (even though some of them predate the first group) were, and still are, for the most part, learnt as second languages or as one language within a wider multilingual repertoire of acquisition. (Jenkins 2003: 22)

Although the combinations that run through the former and the latter group seem to design a map of unity and diversity, cross-linguistic influence and the blurred areas of intra/interlingual variations have been

investigated in terms of Second Language Acquisition. Moreover, an indispensable part of such an investigation needs to muse on the increasing number of Englishes in the world with their potential of difference in terms of grammar application, lexical structures, and their apparent simplicity if compared to native varieties. According to Brunner, there is a possible "lack of coherence" in the mutual relationship between complexity and such language matters. He states,

> There are indications that a variety gains in complexity as it moves along the evolutionary cycle of the Dynamic Model. […] Like language contact, simplification need to be explained as a process starting out in individuals, which subsequently translates to the level of the speech community. This, again, is a reason for the use of a fully-fledged theory of language change, along with evidence from the study of SLA, which provides the crucial individual perspective on this process of language change. (Brunner 2017: 32)

The same lack of coherence may even occur within the same language variant as in the case of the African American dialect which shows some relevant internal, say, regional variation (e.g. we distinguish between northern metropolitan versions and southern rural ones, or, "between the South Atlantic coastal varieties which are different from those found in the Gulf region" (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006: 218). The increasing number of linguists interested in African American English (e.g. Labov, Mufwene, Foster, Lanehart, Smitherman, Morgan, and Wyatt, to name but a few) stirs from some controversies about the African American lexicon as well as its phonological and grammatical features which differentiate African American English from other vernacular varieties currently spoken in the United States.

Interesting issues arise from some AAE morphological and syntactic features, e.g. the absence of Saxon Genitive, the absence of plural -*s*, the absence of the third singular person, the presence of multiple negation, the use of *finna* (sometimes *fitna,* derived from *fixin'to*) to mark immediate future, as in *he finna go for he's about to go*, the use of *had + simple past* to mark a simple past action (*as in He had saw a flower*), double suffixation of past tenses and past participles as in *liked + ed* instead of *liked*; the absence of relative pronouns (*who, which, what and that*) as in *that's the man came here* for the SE *that is the man who came here*[1].

Similarly, prosodic features and vocabulary items have been analysed. One of the most interesting prosodic cues of AAE deals with the

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[1]   The list has been freely rearranged from Rickford (1999: 4, 5).

stress moving to the first syllable of words as in *pólice* instead of *políce*; at the same time, AAE shows a peculiar intonation made up of rises and falls of the pitch curve which is far from other varieties of European American English. As regards vocabulary, some AAE words show clear West African origins (such as *buckra* 'white man', *tote* 'to carry', *bogus* 'fake'); in other cases there are items which have English forms but overlapping Western African meanings (as in *dig* 'to understand', *cool* 'calm', *bad* 'really good'). The last example shows a second significant feature of AAE tendencies in vocabulary, say, the reversal process of using negatives to refer to positive things (a typical facet of West African usage).

Hence, mapping variation deals both with widely known educational and geographical locations of English, and unusual and lesser-known varieties which are equally part of the complex multilingual framework whose English is the leading component. Such a research trajectory has been charted by the appearance of the paper on "lesser-known varieties of English" by Peter Trudgill in 2002. Since then, a number of researches have been published about various understudied variations of English (e.g. Butler English, Canadian Maritime English, Orkney and Shetland, Euro-Caribbean English Varieties, Anglo-Argentine English, Tristan da Cunha English, White Kenyan English, Eurasian Singapore English, Irish Traveller English, Gullah, Bequia English, etc.)[2].

4. *Conclusion*

Multilingualism, lingua franca, complexity and language variation are problematic labels to deal with. Thus, the fragmented varieties of English "inevitably question the authoritative power of standard, making linguistic globalism and localism the double paradigm in which EFL and ESL have found their major expression" (Bonomo 2017: 107). In multilingual contexts, language use needs a more in-depth understanding and an extended survey as language behaviours achieve both individual and social goals. Sometimes it is a matter of "negotiation of identities" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Besides, "in some settings, languages function as markers of national or ethnic identities, in others as a form of symbolic capital or as a means of social control, and yet in others these multiple roles may be interconnected, while multilingualism is appropriated to construct transnational consumer identities" (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004: 2).

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[2]   See, Schreier, Trudgill, Schneider, Williams (2010); and Williams, Schneider, Trudgill, Schreier (2015).

On the other hand, beyond the Chomskyan pragmatic competence of languages and thanks to the transcultural flows of globalisation which make English "a language of threat, desire, destruction and opportunity" (Pennycook 2007: 5), the geographical pattern is but one of the features of a broad complex phenomenon which should also focus on "spatial diffusion, translations, appropriations, transnational connections and border-crossings that are not new *per se*, but have accelerated and intensified greatly in recent decades" (Ramanathan, Norton, Pennycook in Saxena and Omoniyi 2010: 17).

In this way, research on World Englishes should move on from a programmatic view which thinks language within a complexity framework; in fact, beyond the hierarchical layers of languages with English as the *hyper-central language* (Mair 2014: 8), lexical and grammatical variation relate to socio-cultural and structural contexts which make language use a vital tool intersecting "regional communicative norms and culturally distinct social identities" (Jenks, Lee 2017: 1). Such a complex intertexture of purposes and backgrounds shapes new national and international settings of English with a shared need to communicate *between* and *across* Englishes. This sheds new light on the reciprocity among all World Englishes which simultaneously emerge as linguistic entities, interdisciplinary subjects and geographical and context-dependent manifestations of variability.

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ATTITUDINAL ALIGNMENT AND META-LINGUISTIC AWARENESS IN INDIAN ENGLISH MIGRANT VARIETIES

Abstract

The paper considers the complex interplay of sociolinguistic variables and developing dialectal features in a transient community of Indian university students located in Heidelberg, Germany. Embracing a sociolinguistically-oriented approach for the description of Indian English migrant varieties, the paper investigates language complexity along with the concomitant emergence of speakers' linguistic consciousness. Through semi-structured recorded interviews, language attitudes of Indian English speakers were analysed in regard to stereotypical local variants. Reported results demonstrate that the transient aspect of the community is a valuable sociolinguistic factor in the fostering of in-group affiliations and distance and that a held folk belief in the community affects the social identities and linguistic performances of a specific in-group.

Keywords: language attitudes; language complexity; meta-linguistic awareness; Indian English; Indian Diaspora.

1. *Introduction*

Transient communities represent dynamic language scenarios in which people from diverse sociocultural and linguistic backgrounds come together for a limited period of time. Because of their *ad-hoc* nature, these relatively short-lived contexts are characterised by a certain fluidity in terms of the norms that guide speakers' interaction within the community. According to Mortensen and Fabricius, "[transient multilingual communities] offer challenge to much-established sociolinguistic theory which, by and large, tends to be concerned with relatively stable communities, social networks, or communities of practice" (2014: 194). They posit that, while stable communities are generally characterised by similar standard language ideologies, such shared assumptions

cannot be assumed to be in place *a priori* in transient multilingual communities, as they might share different ideological patterns.

The transient community of Indian university students in Heidelberg is no exception. Intra-group differences are fundamental factors contributing to the understanding of the community structure, speakers' identity development and attitudinal orientations towards Indian varieties of English. Intra-group differences may, moreover, shed new light on what the anthropologist Steven Vertovec (1999) defined as "diaspora consciousness": a "multi-locality" involving dual or multiple identities (Friesen and Kearns 2008). In the community at issue, the speakers' constant need of renegotiating the problem of ethnicity (Jayaram 2004) is resolved in their willingness (or not) to shed their regional, linguistic, and ethnic identities in deference to their more general identity of being 'Indians' (see Section 5). In this sense, "a person may be Bengali [or] Indian" (Friesen and Kearns 2008: 225), depending on specific sociocultural and linguistic circumstances. Here, native awareness lies in their "capacity to switch attention from the communicative goals of language to the formal means of their expression" (Roberts 2011) and relates to the reflective and creative or 'performative' functions of language use (Silverstein 1979). In this sense, a study of meta-linguistic awareness seems to go hand in hand with a study of language creativity and complexity.

The present study investigates the emergence of dialect consciousness among South Indian members of the community. In order to postulate whether power dynamics and their underlying ideological constructs are reflected in speakers' language attitudes, the paper will answer the question whether participants' linguistic innovations are related to meta-linguistic awareness, with the further intent of delineating the underpinnings of language creativity in the Indian diaspora. After an outline of the current state of knowledge about native awareness in primary diaspora situations (Section 2) and the sociolinguistic background of the Heidelberg Indian student community (Section 3), the paper will describe how the data were gathered and analysed (Section 4) and finally acknowledge a structural linguistic complexity within the transient community (Section 5). Conclusions and an outlook will be given in Section 6.

2. *Previous Investigations of Meta-linguistic Awareness and the Indian Diaspora*

A key assumption in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and related fields has consistently been that languages, in their differing local norms and dialectal variations, are not compact systems and can be understood as the result of a complex adaptive system operating on the

cultural level. In fact, some studies have discussed the horizontality of languages, claiming that instead of reflecting a culture, they rather stand in a metonymic relation to it (Ashcroft 2009). In this sense, languages are diffuse and heterogeneous, conventionalisations of behaviours that come to be understood in order to convey meaning by individuals in a social community (Duranti 1997).

Indigenised non-native varieties of English (NNVEs) are indeed a great example of structural complexity at all linguistic levels for their innovative and regionally distinctive forms and uses. The same applies to Indian varieties of English. In the multilinguistic and culturally pluralistic context of subcontinental India, English has naturally developed its regional and social varieties and what has been defined as 'standard' or 'educated' Indian English (hereafter IndE) directly cuts across these nativised, local varieties (Kachru 1983, 1986). That, undoubtedly, contributes towards bringing out what Kachru has defined as 'Indianness', a structural complexity that refers to "those formal features of IE which mark it distinct […] from the *Englishness* of British English, or from the *Americanness* in American English" (Kachru 1965: 322).

Major studies on the development of IndE local registers have mainly focused on subcontinental India (Kachru 1984, 1986), while works on the linguistics of the Indian diaspora had, until very recently – and with the exception of Mesthrie's work on the Indian diaspora in South Africa – been given relatively little attention (Mesthrie 1991, 1992; Sharma 2005, 2014). In diasporic settings, the 'Indianness' incident to speakers' language attitudes seemingly acquires a particular poignancy as they quest for linguistic and cultural distinctiveness (see Section 5). However, recent research tends to provide a more comparative perspective on the topic, often contributing to the theoretical framework of the studies on language change, language contact and folk awareness in second language acquisition (Hundt and Sharma 2014). Devyani Sharma's work on Indian communities in a contact situation in the US, for instance, explores developing dialectal features along with the concomitant emergence of dialect consciousness (Sharma 2005). Her results demonstrate that speakers' awareness of dialect differences leads to style-shifting processes based on network ties and in-group affiliations. In this sense, Sharma emphasises *speakers*' personal evaluations of dialect contact situations over proficiency levels and points to "the importance of understanding emerging speaker awareness and perceptions of stigma, risk, and value in new varieties of English" (2005: 194).

Folk awareness has always been central in Silverstein's work on language ideologies. As he puts it (1976: 194):

it has become clearer that people not only speak about, or refer to, the world 'out there' – outside of language – they also presuppose (or reflect) and create (or fashion) a good deal of social reality by the very activity of using language. We should ask, in particular, how the seemingly reflective and creative or 'performative' functions of language (or, rather, of language use) relate to native awareness and native ideology.

The importance of attending to native awareness as an ideological dimension involves the recognition of speakers who, by rationalising their language, contribute to its gradual changing. In this sense, Silverstein argues that the ideology of 'performativity' demonstrates the interdependence of metalinguistic functions and formations of linguistic ideologies, intensifying what Kroskrity defines as the "tension between emphasizing speakers' 'awareness' as a form of agency, and foregrounding their 'embeddedness' in the social and cultural systems in which they are enveloped" (2009: 497). Implicit in this argument is the premise that language use is constrained by the "grammar of culture" (D'souza 1988) and that language creativity lies in 'convention', since speakers' embeddedness in different sociocultural systems brings the use of their creative competence to the fullest (Russo 2010).

3. *The Present Study*

3.1 *The Heidelberg Indian Student Community*

The Indian diaspora in Germany is the first minority ethnic population among the two other South Asian diasporic communities of subcontinental India (Pakistan and Sri Lanka) and it mainly consists of non-resident Indians (NRIs) and people of Indian origin (PIOs) working in the fields of IT, banking and finance. Data from the German Federal Statistical Office reveal that qualified professionals are the largest group of NRIs living in Germany on a temporary residence permit, soon followed by Indian students. Considering their qualified jobs and broad economic stability, the level of education of both NRIs and Indian students is generally high, with at least 40% of them having completed secondary school (Gottschlich 2013).

Heidelberg is a German university town located in the state of Baden-Württemberg (BW), which has recently emerged as an important pillar of growing and expanding Indo-German relationships. Considering the numerous cooperation agreements of major university institutions in BW with nearly 60 universities from India, it is no surprise that around 1.380 Indian students are currently registered at various universities in BW and principally involved in Science and Technology

(S&T) research. The Heidelberg Indian Student community is pulled together by the Heidelberg Indian Students' Association (HISA). Widely acknowledged as one of the most prominent Indian student associations in Germany and officially recognised as an international student organisation by the University of Heidelberg, presently, HISA has 531 registered members – with a nearly equal number of men and women – coming from all over India. The community mainly consists of upper middle-class students who came to Germany in order to further their education and improve their professional skills. After having generally been imparted an English-medium education and having pursued a bachelor's degree in their mother country, they are now enrolled in different master's and Ph.D. courses covering Physics, International Business and Engineering, History and Medical Anthropology[1]. The majority plan to get an internship and a job in Germany for a short time and then to return to India financially independent and economically stable.

3.2 An Investigation into Attitudinal Alignment and Speaker Awareness

There is a commonly held folk belief in the Heidelberg Indian student community that Southern Indians have a peculiar pattern when speaking English. In contrast to the English of Northern Indians, which is most commonly described as 'smooth' and 'thick', South Indian English is often labelled as 'funny' and 'strong'[2]. What emerges from these descriptors is an interesting awareness of production or, better still, accuracy of awareness or production that supports actual dialect boundaries among better-educated respondents and shows fairly good matches between perception and production. Yet, perceived heavily accented South Indian English does not mean syntactic inaccuracy. Many members of the community agree on attributing Southern Indians a higher competence in, and command of, English, either pointing to the higher literacy rate of major Southern cities or to the status of the language as the lingua franca among the multiple Dravidian languages. In this sense, syntax appears to be a potentially more important domain of norm-maintenance within the community in order to cultivate and maintain the status of a proficient speaker while phonology may be recruited more readily for a construction of a local Indian identity (see Section 5).

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[1]   Many universities in Germany offer international students the possibility to enrol in selected courses taught entirely in English. Thus, admission does not always require any proof of German skills.

[2]   These descriptors were collected from accent identification tasks and semi-structured recorded interviews.

However, meta-linguistic comments are not always a reliable determinant of actual language use as reported language attitudes are often ideology-bound. Much research is thus needed in order to ascertain whether non-linguists' language views share a common ground with linguistic facts. In light of these considerations, the present study endeavours to contribute to the growing body of research on native awareness in second-language acquisition by investigating markers and stereotypes within the Indian student community. Starting from the meta-linguistic commentaries described above, the following hypotheses have been formulated:

H1: Southern Indians have a better command of English in syntactic constructions.
H2: Southern Indians have a higher accuracy of awareness of production.

4. *Data and Methodology*

The present study is based on data gathered in Heidelberg in 2016. Participants were generally approached through friend-to-friend recommendations, usually in local establishments as university libraries but also privately, in their households. Since the present study aims at characterising the natural development and use of non-native dialect features, the data were collected through relatively naturalistic sociolinguistic semi-structured interviews, ranging in duration from fifteen to forty minutes and aimed at eliciting naturalistic speech data, biographical background information, and information about the speakers' attitudes towards language use, dialects and cultural contact. To summarise the background of the subjects: all participants (male=7 female=4) were master's at the time of fieldwork and students between 23 and 29 years old. They had either Kannada, Tamil and Telugu (Dravidian languages), or Marvadi and Marathi (Indo-Aryan languages) as their first languages. L1 was determined on the basis on a sociolinguistic interview involving questions on when speakers first started using what language. With the exception of three participants, all of them had attended English-medium private schools in India.

As to the qualitative analysis of language complexity and meta-linguistic awareness, English education and the daily use of English have been treated as independent but closely related variables, reflecting formal and informal modes of language acquisition. Time spent in Germany was included as a potential factor as well, although the present paper will not go into this.

5. *Results and Discussion*

Despite perceived differences in the degree of standardness of Indian English varieties within the Indian subcontinent (see Section 3), the consequences of dialect stabilisation in diasporic settings might shed new light on speakers' rising awareness. Sustained contact with other varieties or dialects can raise the level of overt and covert social consciousness of regional variants (Labov 1972). Among speakers of different dialects, extended exposure can either cause the adoption of new features or "be strongly constrained by the degree to which [they] create positive or negative allegiances across groups" (Sharma 2005: 8). Particularly in the case of the Heidelberg community, contact with other Indian varieties is an everyday matter and network affiliations are fundamental for in-group compactness.

The change in use of certain syntactic variants may be interpreted by recurring to Labov's (1972, 1994: 78) distinction in degrees of consciousness of variables – indicators ("never commented on or even recognized by native speakers"), markers ("not at the same high level of awareness", yet, with "consistent stylistic and social stratification"), and stereotypes ("overt topics of social comment" showing "both correction and hyper-correction"). Higher degrees of consciousness (corresponding, respectively, to stereotypes and markers) are often manifest in either explicit imitations or evident self-corrections. The five examples (a)-(e) in (1) are instances of syntactic self-corrections among Kannada English, Tamil English and Telugu English speakers and indicate a shift from non-standard to standard native syntax and vocabulary:

(1)
    a.   CH: Yes, but the people *who*, *whom* I talk to, if that person is from, is the person is speaking to me in a British language, yes I do try to speak to that person in a British language.
    b.   PG: *Never I speak - I never speak* English.
    c.   JD: Yeah, I feel good and confident when I'm talking *about*- talking *to* someone who knows my languages.
    d.   PG: I came to Germany *for*, *since* two years I've been living in Germany.
    e.   MN: *Say* the question again, *repeat* the question again?

Considering their occurrence in the data, syntactic self-corrections suggest a clear awareness among non-native speakers, thus supporting previous research on the topic (Sharma 2005). However, a significant correlation between higher language consciousness and the geographical location of community members emerges. Here, a curious division

surfaces, as most speakers who self-corrected their syntax were from Southern India. Most speech events of Northern and Central Indians did not produce any self-corrections. An intuitive explanation might be that, while generally agreeing on the somewhat higher 'standardness' of the English spoken in South India, they tend to overtly acknowledge their own speech productions as more similar to standard, norm-producing English varieties:

(2)
    a.   PH: Even Mumbai, uhm there's more influence due to the IT culture, maybe they interact more with British people and American people […].
    b.   AC: South India [...] each state has a very strong mother tongue influence. North India is more conscious, so the influence is less, just a degree. [...] I think South Indian accent very strong. They more focused on education and regional language is given more importance plus the teachers also carry the same accent. North India, Mumbai, has more British accent and clarity. [...] Actually in the North India we love English.

Although a fuller account of data would be appropriate to validate or reject this hypothesis, based on their occurrences in the data, language attitudes of Northern and Central Indians have seemingly turned out as unapologetic and somewhat centralist. The views in (2) articulate an evaluation of Northern IndE as 'proper' through direct proximity with British and American English. Concurrently existing, however, is an overt evaluation of Southern IndE as more correct from the syntactic point of view (see Section 3).

Nevertheless, this somewhat controversial position towards Northern and Southern IndE might be the direct consequence of rising meta-linguistic awareness in Southern Indians. If the general trend within the community is to evaluate grammar as 'proper' and accent as 'personal' and legitimately divergent, South Indians are those linguistically discriminated and stereotyped for their 'funny' and 'strong' IndE accents. In addition, considering that syntax is the most important domain of norm-maintenance in order to cultivate the status of proficiency and legitimacy among second language speakers (Kachru 1986; Sahgal and Agnihotri 1994), and that syntactic divergence is generally evaluated more negatively than the phonological one, it is no surprise that those linguistically stereotyped are somewhat more attentive and, thus, aware

of their (and others') speech. (3) is an example of linguistic 'revan-chism' of Telugu English speakers towards Northern Indian accents:

(3)

    a. JD: In the north, they have thick accent, more of Hindi ac-cent. They have the typically Indian accent, like '*Kasshmir-rr*' /kəs':mir:/

    b. DV: In the North. And so influence with their language cer-tain words like – there is a funny experience with us, like uhm with one Pune guy, he used to say always like materials right? What you call materials. He used to say '*muh-terials*' /mʌˈtirɑls/. It is always, sounds so funny and we used to laugh.

Here, the significant correlation between rising awareness and geo-graphical location results in the use of Labov's (1994) 'stereotypes', manifest in explicit imitations. Although limitations of space forbid a more detailed exploration of these speech events, the data suggest a clear awareness of all types of linguistic variants (syntactic and phono-logical) among Southern Indian community members. The relatively little community environment has possibly helped align speakers' atti-tudes according to in-group allegiances or distance and rise meta-lin-guistic awareness among those parodied most.

North/South and vice versa perceptions of language variation have often been imagined through framings of 'typical Indian' and 'Stan-dard English' within the community. Speakers' attitudes towards both syntactic and phonological variables overtly attributed global social au-thority to their own way of speaking (Standard) English. Not only does this align with the same geographic area but also with the same com-munity group. In this sense, by discriminating between others' linguis-tic productions in terms of correctness, fluency and intelligibility, they perpetuate the 'us' vs 'others' sociolinguistic conceptualisation within their community of practice. Thus, speakers' quest for cultural distinc-tiveness not only marks the relation between language and identity as well as language and power, but it also highlights individual personal evaluations of the contact situation.

6. *Conclusions and Outlook*

The present small-scale study on meta-linguistic awareness and lan-guage complexity in the Heidelberg Indian student community suggests that Southern Indians have a higher awareness of language production in

English. Crucially, the data analysed emphasise how a commonly held folk belief (i.e., that Southern Indians have a peculiar English) affects the social identity and linguistic performances of Dravidian language L1 speakers. In consequence, the emergence of meta-linguistic awareness among Southern Indians results in abundant markers and stereotypes. Hence, the general trend is that, within the community, speakers' individual local(ised) identities tend to overcome their more general identity of being 'Indians'. Furthermore, in light of the transience of the community, the results indicate that network ties are fundamental for these speakers since questions of in-group affiliations or distance play a crucial role in the shaping and the performance of speakers' identities.

Future research may investigate the above-mentioned folk belief among the Heidelberg Indian stable community, which would hopefully shed new light on the underpinnings of language complexity in transient multilingual communities and contribute to the growing body of research on meta-linguistic awareness in second language acquisition.

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FROM PROVINCIALISM TO ACCENTISM: FROM LANGUAGE DISCRIMINATION TO LANGUAGE CREATIVITY

Abstract

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the keywords or labels related to the standard language debate (i.e. 'Vulgar Pronunciation/ Accent', 'Provincial Pronunciation/Accent' and so on) did not only acquire new connotative meanings, but they also contributed to reinforce a 'social divide'. Moreover, newspapers constituted an important platform for the debate around language. My data will be drawn from a corpus of articles dealing with issues of pronunciation and the focus of my paper, then, will be, among other -isms, on *provincialism*, *vulgarism* and *accentism* as examples of language creativity in newspapers.

Keywords: pronunciation; language ideology; language discrimination; word-formation.

> Now, Mr. Editor, the Press is becoming more and more the educator of people. They look to it not only for information but also trust to a great extent its judgment in matters which are beyond their knowledge. (To the editor of *The New York Times*, 23 October 1871, p. 5)

1. *Introduction*

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the keywords or labels related to the standard language debate (i.e. 'Standard Pronunciation/Accent'; 'Vulgar Pronunciation/Accent', 'Provincial Pronunciation/Accent' and so on) did not only acquire new connotative meanings, but they also contributed to reinforce a "social divide" (Sturiale 2014). Furthermore, as pointed out by Mugglestone (2003: 5): "Like class itself, accent was, in effect, to become a major national obsession". As a result, new words entered the language as, for example, *provincialism* whose first quotation in the sense 1.a of the *OED* – "A word, phrase, or pronunciation characteristic of a particular province or the provinces; (also) the manner of speech characteristic of a particular province or

region" – is taken from the *Monthly Review* (1770): "His language [...] is, moreover, frequently debased with certain provincial*isms*".

As a matter of fact, the suffix -ism is very productive and "its compatibility with proper nouns makes it a very useful suffix" (Baeskow 2004: 13), allowing the formation of abstract nouns with a range of meanings. For example, -ism derivates refer to the political, religious, philosophical, artistic, philological and medical spheres, but also denote non-specific concepts (Baeskow 2004: 14). As rightly pointed out by Mattiello in her book *Analogy in Word-Formation. A Study of English Neologisms and Occasionalisms* (2017): "Analogical formations abound in the press, with nonce words which mainly prosper in online newspapers" (Mattiello 2017: 155). Yet they can also be found in blogs, it can be argued, as in the following examples taken from the NYU Center for Multicultural Education and Programs (NYU CMEP)'s Facebook page which advertises their -ISM project where neologisms, occasionalisms and nonce words further prove the productivity of -*ism*. Examples are: "I am broke-ism", "Success-ism", "Happily Ever After-ism", "Telenovela-ism". And their slogan is: "Racism, sexism, accentism, foodism, successism. What -ism do you want to explore?".

Given the title of my paper, it should be clear what -ism/-isms I wish to explore, *focusing my attention on* language creativity in late modern newspapers and -isms which indicated prejudice or discrimination on the grounds of language use. In other words, I will look at neologisms, newspapers and attitudes to language.

2. *Newspapers and attitudes to language in the nineteenth century*

Nineteenth-century British and American newspapers and magazines played a crucial role in the dissemination of accent attitudes, which foregrounded the standard language ideology and its subsequent metalanguage. As pointed out by Agha:

> Popular periodicals soon responded to the increasing demand for instruction in matters of speech and lifestyle. [...] For instance, their lower price brought metadiscourse of accent before an even wider readership, including segments of the lower middle and upper working classes […]. (Agha 2003: 257)

As a consequence, the press allowed people to have their say on linguistic matters, but inevitably it contributed significantly to reinforce and promote 'false myths' which, in the long run, were to characterise prescriptive attitudes more on a social than a purely linguistic level (cf. Sturiale 2014, 2016a, 2016b and 2018). As pointed out by Beal:

The second half of the eighteenth century was, indeed, the period when the standardisation of English pronunciation reached the codification stage, as variants became prescribed or proscribed and clear guidelines for the attainment of 'correct' pronunciation appeared in the form of pronouncing dictionaries. (Beal 2010: 36)

So, if on the one hand nineteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries codified the standard form of English pronunciation, on the other hand newspapers were responsible for the 'acceptance' stage. Indeed, the marginalisation and stigmatisation of certain regional features – which, as already suggested by Beal (2009, 2010, 2012 and 2014. See also Hickey 2009) started in the eighteenth century thanks to orthoepists – were continued by the press throughout the nineteenth century. The role of newspapers, one may assume, was to consolidate what Mugglestone has defined as "patterns of sensitization" (2003: 39) towards accent perception and attitude which can be traced back to eighteenth-century orthoepists and to Thomas Sheridan, in particular, who promoted the association of class and accent in his *Lectures on Elocution*:

As the court pronunciation is no where methodically taught, and can be acquired only by conversing with people in polite life, it is as a sort of proof that a person has kept good company, and on that account is sought after by all, who wish to be considered as fashionable people, or members of the beau monde. (Sheridan 1762: 30)

The debate, which had initially characterised and supported the 'war of dictionaries' and its 'discourse', went beyond the scholarly confines and started to mark 'a social discourse' that justified and asked for prescriptive rules (cf. Sturiale 2014); this is demonstrated, for example, by newspaper articles and letters to the editor about issues related to the pronunciation of the English language. Thus, the media helped expand "the circulation of accent metadiscourses in entirely new directions" (Agha 2007: 217) and also consolidated metapragmatic stereotypes. Like class itself, accent was, in effect, "to become a major national obsession" (Mugglestone 2003: 5).

The fear of social marginalisation/stigmatisation involved, we could say, all layers of society as demonstrated by various wanted ads published at the time:

1) TUTOR (University Man) desired in Worcester or suburbs, one hour alternate evenings, to read with Gentleman, for improvement, and to correct a provincial pronunciation. Terms must be moderate. Reading at Tutor's

home preferred. – Address, "Alpha," *Journal* Office, Worcester. (*Berrow's Worcester Journal*, 15 October 1881, p. 1)

or

2) A lady, educating her little girl under a governess, wishes to meet with one or two LITTLE GIRLS to share her studies. For terms of address K., Wood-green, London, N.
N.B. No child with a provincial accent can be accepted. (*The Times*, 5 August, 1875, p. 15)

Peals of laughter caused by provincial pronunciation or accent is a recurrent theme in news reports, as also shown by the following example where the journalist reports on an "Oxford County meeting" where "the nobility, gentry, clergy, and freeholders of the County" met at the "Town-hall of Oxford":

3) "No, Sir, I will not go out; I have as much right to be here as any gentleman *as is here*". *The strong provincial* accent with which this sentence was delivered, added to its style, produced a loud laugh at the expense of him who uttered it, which seemed to have a better effect in keeping him silent than a reprimand could. (*The Times*, 13 November 1819, p. 3. Italics in original)

Book reviews, in endorsing the marketing of manuals and pronouncing dictionaries, also mirrored language ideology, and warned against language discrimination as one can read here:

4) We would recommend all who arrive from the east, the west, and the north, to buy this microscopic volume [*The Pearl Pronouncing Dictionary*]; it will be a sure guide to prevent their being laughed at for a vicious or a provincial pronunciation. *Guardian and Public Ledger* (*Quarterly Review*, October 1833).

As a final example I can quote this report taken from the *Wiltshire Independent* which deals with "the importance of avoiding a broad, vulgar, and provincial pronunciation":

5) The Lecturer then dwelt on the importance of avoiding a broad, vulgar, and provincial pronunciation, which was an evil to be particularly avoided, and instanced the Wiltshire and Somersetshire dialects, both of them almost unintelligible to a stranger, and gave some specimens, which caused con-

siderable amusement to his hearers, – he said that great care was necessary in that respect in the education of children, as provincialisms once acquired, were thrown off with great difficulty, if at all. (*Wiltshire Independent*, 22 March 1838)

3. *Neologisms and attitudes to language in the nineteenth century*

As a result of the standard language debate new words were coined in the Late Modern period. Together with the aforementioned neologism *provincialism*, for example, one can quote *vulgarism* defined by the *OED* in 2.a as: "A vulgar phrase or expression; a colloquialism of a low or unrefined character" and the first quotation, dated 1746, is taken from H. Walpole: "The Countess...has entertained the town with an excellent vulgarism".

Examples of nineteenth-century vulgarisms – such as intrusive /r/; non-rhoticity; h-dropping; the presence of the unvoiced velar plosive in words ending in -*ing* – can all be found in this journalistic description of "vulgar pronunciation":

6) Vulgar pronunciation. – One of the peculiarities of vulgar English pronunciation is to put the letter *r* at the end of words ending with a vowel. Some of the inhabitants of London, if they had to speak the following sentence, A fellow broke the window, and hit Isabella on the elbow, as she was playing a sonata on the piano, – would give it in the following manner – A fellor broke the windor, and hit Isabellor on the elbor, as she was playing a sonatar on the pianor. Others adopt the contrary plan, and leave out the *r* as often as they can. There are magistrates of high pretensions to education, who would say, "The conduct of the prisona' and his general characta' render it propa' that he should no longa' be a memba' of this community." Equally glaring is the taking away of *h* from places where it is required, and giving it where its absence is desirable. The termination of words ending in *ing* with a *k*, as *somethink*, is not less incorrect or less disagreeable. (*The Blackburn Standard*, 18 October, 1837)

Other typically Late Modern -isms, which characterised the debate on 'varieties of English' (i.e. 'Trans vs Cisatlantic English'), include *Americanism*, *Britishism* and *Briticism*. As for *Americanism* the *OED* (sense 1.a.) reads as follows: "A word, phrase, or other use of language characteristic of, peculiar to, or originating from the United States" and the first quotation is dated 1781. By the mid nineteenth century the term was well attested in the language since various headlines, in the British press, were dedicated to 'Americanisms':

7) Let me enumerate now a few of the peculiarities of American pronunciation and expression that attracted my attention. Mrs. Stowe's way of pronouncing "Duke," common enough in some parts of England, is universal in America. In almost all the words which with us have the sound of "u" the Americans give the sound of "oo". They speak about "noospapers," about "Noo York," "Noo Orleans" […]. Several times in New England, even amongst educated people, I heard "does" pronounced "dooz". The Americans are amused just as much at our provincialisms–at the Cockney "hasking for heggs," at the Scotchman's broad accent, and at the pronunciation given here to some of their proper names. (*Glasgow Evening Post*, 30 July 1870)

Interestingly enough, the other two neologisms, i.e. *Britishism* and *Briticism*, were coined, or first recorded, by newspapers, thus proving their impact on language creativity. *Britishism*, for example, is defined by the *OED* as: "A quality regarded as characteristic of British people, Britishness; (as a mass noun) such qualities collectively; (also, esp. in early use) pro-British influence or allegiance" and its first quotation is dated 1853. The first language-related citation is found in an extract taken from *The Galveston Daily News* (Galveston, Texas) and dated 1879: "Their compiler was an Englishman and introduced what are called Britishisms". And finally Briticism – "orig. *U.S." according to the OED – meaning: "*A word or phrase characteristic of the English of Great Britain but not used in the English of the United States or other countries". It is first recorded in 1868 with the following quotation taken from the American magazine *The Galaxy*: "This use of the word is a widespread Briticism".

Indeed, whereas yod-dropping, see example (7), had become a stereotypical 'Americanism' for the British press, non-rhoticity was depicted as a stereotypical 'Britishism' or 'Briticism' by American newspapers:

8) A girl at Long Branch speaks with an acquired London accent. 'Me cawt, me cawt, at 5 o'clock', she said to the family coachman, in a voice loud enough for a veranda full of people to hear 'Caught what, miss?' the man inquired. A repetition of the order did not make him understand it, and she had to say, in plain American pronunciation, though she lowered her voice and stepped closer in doing so: 'My cart, stupid; my village cart, at 5 o'clock'. (*Reading Times*, Reading, Pennsylvania, 3 August 1883)

All in all, those neologisms connoted the patriotic prescriptivism which characterised most of the nineteenth-century language debate, and which saw the speakers of the two codified varieties of English on opposite sides of the barricade.

4. *The present as a mirror of the past*

Newspapers did constitute an important platform for the debate around language issues also throughout the twentieth century and accent still makes news in twenty-first century Britain; probably, as a result of that obsession with accent which was made explicit to the general public in the article "Our obsession with regional accents is class warfare by another name" (*The Guardian*, 1 January 2006).

In more recent times, July 2014, all British media reported on Alexander Baratta's ongoing research (2017) on accent discrimination in working environments. Here is a list of the main headlines, in chronological order, dedicated to the study:

- Does a regional accent hold you back? Academic claims many workers have to 'posh up' how they sound to avoid discrimination, *MailOnline*, 8 July 2014;
- Victims of regional accent bias 'need legal protection', *The Times*, 9 July 2014;
- Is accentism a real problem?, *The Independent*, 9 July 2014;
- 'Accentism' similar to racism, suggests new research, *BBC*, *9* July 2014;
- Are regional accents discriminated against?, *The Independent*, 10 July 2014;
- 'Accentism' is another prejudice says academic, *Irish Examiner,* 10 July 2014;
- Do accents matter in modern Britain? A report has found evidence of 'accentism' – discrimination against people because of how they speak, *The Guardian* 14 July 2014.

The key word was *accentism*, mostly used in inverted commas to indicate its status as a neologism and sometimes glossed with the noun phrase 'accent discrimination'. To my knowledge the term was coined by Russell Tabbert in 1994 when he wrote:

9) I hereby announce a new -ism to be on the alert for. I call it 'accentism'. From now on it is – or at least should be – politically incorrect to discriminate against the differently accented or to harbor – even unconsciously-feelings of superiority about one's own speech. (Tabbert 1994: 18)

And since then, it has appeared, without inverted commas, also in novels, newspapers articles and academic works. I found a quotation in Peter Mortimer's *Broke through Britain*:

10) I wondered why people associated certain attributes with certain ac-
cents? Cuddy and rural for the West Country. Sharp practice for Cockneys.
Slow and ploddy for Black Country. Racism. Ageism. If accentism, had
been easier to say, people would have recognised it. (1999: 122)

Another example is offered by an article published by the *Guardian*
in 2003 ("It ain't what you do, it's the way that you say it") where one
can read: "There are quite a few linguists who favour legislation along
the lines of banning discrimination against what they call accentism"
(*The Guardian*, 20 December 2003, p. 16). More instances are also con-
tained in Joan Beal's *Language and Region* (2006) where she argued:

11) In countries such as the UK and the US that have legislation to outlaw
discrimination against job applicants on the grounds of age, disability, gen-
der, race and sexual orientation, is 'accentism' still rife? (Beal 2006: 30)

But, as has been said, it was in July 2014 that 'accentism' hit me-
dia coverage. More recent examples, however, are offered by Norman
Whitney's 2016 novel *The Water Babes*:

12) Thus began a gradual separation between the two children and their own
mother. It was a separation – built on nothing more than accent – that was
all too characteristic of parts of English society, even within families. And
it was a separation that already upset and embarrassed Gemma, to whom
accentism came naturally. (Whitney 2016: 34)

or by Pierre W. Orelus's book chapter "Accentism exposed. An an-
ticolonial analysis of accent discrimination with some implications for
minority languages" (Orelus 2017) and, of course, Alex Baratta's re-
search paper on "Accent and Linguistic Prejudice within British Teach-
er Training" (2017).

To sum up, despite its wide acceptance and use – as a word 'ac-
centism' has been around for almost twenty-five years now –, and un-
like more recent neologisms such as *selfie*[1], for example, *accentism*,
has gained no entry, so far, in either the *OED* or the *Merriam Web-
ster*. However, it has one in *Urban Dictionary* dated 6 November 2011
(*http://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=accentism*) and in
the *Macmillan* 'crowdsourced open dictionary' which is dated 2015
(*https://www.macmillandictionary.com/dictionary/british/accentism*).

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[1]   *Selfie* was recorded in the *OED* in 2014 and its first quotation is dated 2002.

5. *Concluding remarks*

The sociolinguistic data gathered from articles and letters to the editor show that newspapers, and their readers, have always made a concerted effort to indicate, and safeguard, a model accent as the linguistic ideal to be attained. In so doing the newspaper, along the same lines as language codifiers, played an important role in the prescription of English pronunciation (5-7). What is more the social divide resulted in language discrimination (2, 4, 13) and insecurity (1) and Tabbert's appeal of being on the alert for 'accentism', i.e. "the new -ism", is emblematic. And it is also emblematic that Baratta's research made news in a country where people with either a provincial or vulgar accent have long been discriminated in working environments as demonstrated by this wanted ad dated 1838:

13) *Wanted*, in a small school, a *young person* to take charge of the wardrobe, and who must be in every respect a good plain needle worker. Although accomplishments are not required, she must have genteel manners, and speak the English language well and without any provincial accent; she must also be so far educated in other respects as to be able to instruct the pupils in a plain way in the absence of the principal. Salary £12 per annum. Apply by letter, post paid, to G.Q. at 29, Harrow-road, Paddington. No personal application will be attended to. (*The Times*, 17 May, 1838, p. 1)

What is also emblematic is that a new -ism, coined to describe an old social problem, seems to be ignored by mainstream lexicography.

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CREATIVITY IN LEXICON
AND WORD FORMATION

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"MAKING A WAY OUTTA NO WAY": CONVENTIONALITY AND CREATIVITY IN BLACK SEMANTICS

Abstract

Starting from the assumption that phraseology is a means to analyse social events and human behaviour, the present paper aims at investigating the interplay of conventionality and creativity in *Black Semantics* (Smitherman 2006) and the diffusion of such phraseological units in a diachronic, diatopic and diastratic perspective, in an effort to reveal how Black formulaic language has evolved and taken roots over time and space, especially thanks to the global spread of Hip Hop Music, and to highlight to what extent it permeates any register, from daily language to specialized discourse.

Keywords: phraseology; conventionality; creativity; Black semantics.

1. Introduction

The term *Black Semantics* (Smitherman 2006) refers to a core of familiar expressions that have crossed boundaries of time, age, gender and social class in Black America. Most of these expressions have been in use for decades, others are more recent and have become linguistic property of the whole America and beyond, especially thanks to Hip Hop and to a phenomenon known as *Music Information Retrieval*. It is about the transcription of huge quantities of rap lyrics by web users, which shows the planetary diffusion of such expressions and may be also the source for corpora of digitized texts ready for text mining.

Starting from the assumption that phraseology is a means to analyse social events and human behaviour, the present paper aims at investigating the diffusion of such phraseological units in a diachronic, diatopic and diastratic perspective, in an effort to reveal how Black formulaic language has evolved and taken roots over time and space, and to highlight to what extent it permeates any register, from daily language to specialized discourse.

In particular, the analysis will focus on the interplay of conventionality and creativity in Black Semantics. On the one hand, convention-

ality encompasses the relationship between the individual and society, playing a crucial role in social cohesion. Creativity, on the other hand, involves what Toni Morrison, in her 1993 Noble Lecture, called "word-work", describing the way Black folks are in love "with the saying of words, holding them on the tongue, experimenting with them, playing with them" (Alim and Smitherman 2010: 175). Such "word-work" may be observed not only in the ever-evolving lexicon of Black language, which stands out for the ability of coining new words and giving new meanings to pre-existing words, but also in its numerous linguistic practices and cultural modes of discourse: signifying, playing the dozens, call and response, tonal semantics, freestyle. Here the interaction between conventionality and creativity has led to what has been named "Hip Hop Genius" (Seidel 2011), to describe the ability to cope with difficulties in a creative way or, as it is usually said in the *Hip Hop Nation*, in a sort of metaphorical dance between conventionality and creativity, "flipping something outa nothing" (Alim 2004).

Yet, even after more than forty years of sociolinguistic researches, someone still considers Black English just as "slang and cuss words" (Smitherman 2006: 3), a sort of broken English which deviates from mainstream language, as Barack Obama points out in *The Audacity of Hope*:

> In general, members of every minority group continue to be measured largely by the degree of our assimilation – how closely speech patterns, dress, or demeanor conform to the dominant white culture – and the more that a minority strays from these external markers, the more he or she is subject to negative assumptions (Obama 2006: 235)

Not surprisingly, the debate on the definition of Black English is still open: African American English or Ebonics? The latter regards Black English as a language in its own right rather that as a variety of Standard English. As a matter of fact, Black English is the language of a "nation within a nation [which] developed its unique way of using the English language" (Smitherman 1998: 206). Black English has its genesis in the *counter language* of enslavement: forced to use English, African Americans had to create a code unintelligible to the white master, and "even though AAL words may look like English, the meanings and the linguistic and social rules for using these words are totally different from English" (Smitherman 2006: 4).

Black English's uniqueness is in the power of the word, the *Nommo*, which is believed to be the driving force of life: speaking is making something come into being. This is why the statement *Don't speak on*

it sounds precautionary in the face of possible negative events. For the Black community, in fact, once something is given the force of speech, it is binding, as evidenced by another familiar African American statement, *Yo word is yo bond*, which entered Hip Hop phraseology with positive and reinforcing expressions like "Word is born, Word up, Word to the Mother" (Smitherman 1998: 208). It is no coincidence that in the Hip Hop community a skilful use of Black verbal traditions will earn rappers *props*, that is to say respect and recognition.

2. *Makin a way outta no way: proverbs and African Americans*

Proverbs are "the wisdom of many and the wit of one" (Dundes 1975: 104). They serve an important socialising purpose, as their use is an essential source of strategies to teach quickly and in no ambiguous terms about Black life and living. Repeated by parents to their children or to friends and siblings, proverbs embody the wisdom of Black people, a legacy that has allowed African Americans to keep their essential perceptions of reality and fundamental value orientations.

 The late rapper Tupac Shakur once summed up effectively the content of one of the most significant proverbs in African American tradition, *Makin a way outta no way*: "This longstanding African American folk saying reflects the Black struggle to survive 'against all odds'" (Alim and Smitherman 2012: 74). It is about the struggle of Black people for survival, their ability to strive for a solution even when it seems to be no way out. Indeed, for African Americans proverb use is a crucial source of survival strategies. *Making a way outta no way* is one of the most quoted proverbs by Martin Luther King in his sermons, speeches and interviews (Mieder 2004), as in his speech to the *Southern Christian Leadership Conference* in 1967:

> When our days become dreary with low-hovering clouds of despair, and when our nights become darker than a thousand midnights, let us remember that there is a creative force in this universe, working to pull down the gigantic mountains of evil, a power that is able to *make a way out of no way* and transform dark yesterdays into bright tomorrows. Let us realize the arc of the moral universe is long but it bends toward justice. (King Jr. 1967: 213 [my emphasis])

Furthermore, *Making a way outta no way* is the proverb cited by Obama in is 2008 speech *A More Perfect Union*, better known as the *Race Speech*. Obama's uttering of this familiar vernacular trope not only symbolises his Black identity, but also functions as an important

political statement, as he represents the Black condition in terms of accomplishment, not breakdown:

> What's remarkable is not how many failed in the face of discrimination, but rather how many men and women overcome the odds, how many were able to *make a way out of no way* for those like me who would come after them (Obama 2008 [my emphasis]).

Obama's *Race Speech* was delivered in a very delicate political moment, hence it symbolizes also his own ability to *make a way out of no way*, to break the deadlock in his presidential campaign, as the controversial sermon sound bites from Reverend Jeremiah Wright, Obama's pastor for more than twenty years, had been spread all over the media as evidences of *reversal racism*.

Linguistically speaking, articulating the vernacular idiom *Makin a way outta no way* in the standard English form *Making a way out of no way*, Obama "found a way to articulate Blackness on a national stage" (Alim and Smitherman 2012: 76), in an effort to unify a still divided America.

It is worth pointing out that this proverb has known an evolution in Hip Hop culture, where the expression *Flipping something outta nothing* refers to African American creative genius, "resourcefulness in the face of limited resources" (Seidel 2011). African American linguistic creativity is shown, for instance, in the performative nature of the *Dozens*, Black inner city verbal games where two opponents ritually insults each other in front of a public until one of them remains in hush mode (Attolino 2016).

The *Dozens* act as an outlet for physical aggression and respect the philosophy of *Laughing to keep from crying*, another well-known African American phraseological unit, which is also the title of one of the most significant works by Langston Hughes, a prickly social satire on the idea of race. This saying represents the indomitable spirit of Africans Americans, their answer to the harshness of life, and can be found in numerous traditional blues cited by Hughes:

> You don't know me
> You don't know my mind
> When you see me laughin'
> I'm laughin' to keep from cryin'.
>   (Haggins 2007: 2)

The struggle for survival cannot move away from hope, and for the African American community hope is consistent with faith. The Traditional Black Church, in fact, has played a fundamental role in the transmission of Black values and cultural traditions, standing as a reservoir of terms and expressions in Black lingo and fostering their migration from the religious to the secular, including entertainment. *Raise your hands and give Him praise*, for instance, is a statement used by Black preachers to encourage the audience to participate in democratic prayer. It falls under the *call-and-response* pervasive pattern, as it can be found as a *floater* in Black music and Dancehall discourse, where it can be usually found as "Raise your hands in the air and wave them like you just don't care" (Richardson 2006: 25).

Among the other expressions originated in the Traditional Black Church and successively spread in different contexts, there is the locution *What go round come round*, which conveys the essence of traditional Black belief about life, the idea of karma, of a natural if not divine justice: whatever has happened before will occur again, as pointed out in these rap lyrics:

> Are you illiterate, nigga? You can't read between the lines?
> In the Bible it says what goes around comes around
> "Hommo" shot me, three weeks later he got shot down
> Now it's clear that I'm here for a real reason
> Cause he got hit like I got hit, but he ain't fuckin' breathin'.
> <div align="right">(50 Cents, Many Men, 2003)</div>

3. *Race-conscious language: phraseology and race awareness*

Race is a key element in Black lexis and phraseology. Decades of slavery have left an indelible mark in the African American community: African Americans descend from a minority included in a population where White grooming standards were promoted in a shameful expression of racial supremacy. Not surprisingly, Black English presents evaluative expressions conveying a feeling of inferiority towards White mainstream, such as *bad hair* for Black people's extremely kinky hair and, by contrast, *good hair* for straight hair like that of Whites (Smitherman 1998: 211).

On the other hand, the Civil Rights Movement helped create race consciousness, a feature that permeates many Black idiomatic expressions across the years. The locution *Forty Acres and a Mule*, for instance, refers to a Congress Bill of 1866 and the missed promise of emancipation and self-sufficiency of former slaves, who should have

received "forty acres, fifty dollars and a mule" (Smitherman 2005: 205). Spike Lee's film production company is named after such a race-conscious expression, which can be found also in numerous political rap lyrics:

Dear Mr. Clinton, shit (send mo' troops) […]
What happened to our 40 acres and a mule fool?
    (2Pac & Outlawz, *Letter to the President*, 1999)

You all ain't give me 40 acres and a mule
So I got my Glock 40, now I'm cool.
                (Jay-Z, *Say Hallo*, 2007)

Another expression concerning race-consciousness is the acronym CPT, which stands for *Colored People Time*. Its connotation changes with its users. For African American the expression is an inside joke referring to their peculiar notion of time, their feeling of being *in time* rather that *on time*, of being in harmony with seasons, human events, natural rhythms and not slave to a clock, as required by the White, mainstream culture (Smitherman 2006). It is no coincidence that in numerous proverbs expressing White America cultural beliefs time is portrayed as a valuable commodity: *Time is money, Time will tell, Time flies, First come, first served, Better late than ever* (Mieder 2008).

For people, instead, the expression *CPT* embodies the stereotypical view of African Americans' indolence, untrustworthiness and lack of punctuality, hence it is connoted as a racist joke, as shown in a recent episode of Hilary Clinton's electoral campaign. In April 2016, during a New York charity event hosting her, Mrs. Clinton poked Mayor Bill De Blasio for his late endorsement of her candidacy. When De Blasio joked, "Sorry Hilary, I was running on CPT time" (Merica 2016), the host of the event, African American actor Leslie Odom jr., warned the two politicians not to make such a joke. A few days later, President Barack Obama wanted to reiterate this warning during his last *White House Correspondent Dinner.* Apologising for being late he said, "I was running on CPT, which stands for jokes that White people should not make" (Levine 2016). In other words, when White people want to use African American expressions, they can't move away from race-consciousness.

4. Talk that talk: Black English and crossover

The White mainstream has always considered Black English as a minor variety of American English, but at the same time Black talk has constantly fascinated White people. The *Minstrel Show*, for instance, a sort of "parody of Negro life" (Polillo 1988: 55) performed by White actors in blackface, was a form of entertainment very popular among White audiences in the second half of the 19th century.

In the 1920s, during the Harlem Renaissance, "when the Negro was in vogue" (Hughes 1940) and White people used to attend Harlem clubs and cabarets "to immerse themselves in the language, music, and culture of the 'New Negro'" (Alim and Smitherman 2012: 104), Langston Hughes pronounced a bitter comment on the process of Black language and culture absorption by White America: "They done taken my blues and gone" (Smitherman 1998: 217).

In the 1950s Norman Mailer, author of the essay *The White Negro,* ascribed the "Africanization of American English" (Smitherman 1998: 30), to White people's irresistible attraction to language, gesture and music of African Americans, who have always lived at the edge of dominant society, but have also been capable of daring their distinctive lifestyle.

The case of Vernon Winslow, alias Daddy O-Daylie, the first Black disk jockey in New Orleans, is thought provoking. His speech was so witty and catching for the White audience that he was asked to train a White radio talk jockey, Duke Thiele, to talk just like him. Winslow chose for his *radio double* the name *Poppa Stoppa*, which comes from the urban ghetto phraseological heritage, counting hyperboles and non-sense alliterations like "Look at your gold tooth in a telephone booth, Ruth" (Toop 1984: 38), aimed at testing language skills of African American and, at the same time, at disorienting the ones who didn't belong to the inner circle.

The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s fostered the "wigga phenomenon" (Smitherman 1998: 217), derogatory expression referring to the adoption of Black pop culture, language and lifestyle by White people. In a 1991 article, *Ebony* magazine defined this crossover as the "high-five revolution" (Alim and Smitherman 2012: 104) after the *giving five* congratulatory hand slap, which has become extremely popular all over the world.

Indeed, a fundamental role in the spreading of Black culture is played by Hip Hop. Since late 1970s, this cultural movement has had a huge impact on the USA and subsequently in every corner of the planet. Thanks to Hip Hop and new media outlet, Black talk and Black phraseology in particular keep spreading in an unprecedented way. Interestingly, when White people imitate style and practices originally belong-

ing to African American culture, it is not considered flattery, provided that they pay homage to *Black experience*, as pointed out by rapper Ice Cube: "when you 'talk that talk' […] you must be 'true to the game'" (Smitherman 1998: 218). Talking about Hip Hop global spreading and its linguistic implications, rapper Chuck D added:

> This is the sound and style of our young world, the vernacular used in today's speak from scholastics to sports. [Because of Hip Hop], young people around the world are training themselves to speak English quicker than their schools could, albeit a tad different from the King's version. (Smitherman 2006: 117)

Hip Hop contributes to English learning all over the world, but it is not the *King's English*, the standard language, but African American phraseological heritage that mixes with local idioms. The Black ghetto typical greeting *What's up?*, for instance, have become so popular to give name, after an ingenious and effective change in spelling, to the well known instant messaging application *WhatsApp*.

Despite a multi-billion-dollar turnover based around the crossover of Black language and culture, which has been "absorbed into the corporate mainstream and used for marketing everything from fast food and soft drinks to cereals and shampoo for White folks' hair" (Smitherman 2006: 120), the African American community remains economically, socially and educationally relegated. And the fact that their daily difficulties help to feed the great linguistic creativity of African Americans is indeed worth noting.

The issue of race in the United States is an open wound. This is shown, among other things, by the numerous episodes of police brutality occurred in several American cities until a few weeks ago, despite the pacific protest carried on by the *Black Lives Matter* movement. Born in 2013 from a hashtag on social media, the movement has established itself as a political interlocutor in today America and the locution *Black Lives Matter* has become a sort of mantra to reiterate the urgency of the problem of racial discrimination. An example is offered by *Black Jeopardy!*, a recurring sketch broadcasted during the television variety show *Saturday Night Live* as a funny parody of *Jeopardy!*, the most famous and longstanding television game show in the United States. In the October 2016 episode Tom Hanks played Doug, one of the three contestants, the *outsider*, as he is the only White guy in a game where you have to know about Black Language and Culture. Doug is clearly a Trump supporter, as he wears a *Make America Great Again* red cap, but he proves to be surprisingly adept at Black Jeopardy, as he breezes through the game without any trouble. However, the only time he gets stuck is the Final

Jeopardy category, *Lives that matter*, as he fails the right answer, which is obviously "Black" (Russell 2016). The dream of an only America, where the gap between Black and White cultures is finally filled, results into an illusion as it breaks on the rock of the question of race.

5. *Some closing remarks*

The present paper has attempted to show that Black formulaic language, in its symbolic dance between conventionality and creativity, is always seen as a performance. It is vital force. It is life. It is love for life, hence for *the word*:

> The language, only the language… It's the thing that Black people love so much – the saying of words, holding them on the tongue, experimenting with them, playing with them. It's a love, a passion. Its function is like a preacher's: to make you stand up out of your seat, make you lose yourself and hear yourself. The worst of all possible things that could happen would be to lose that language. […] There are certain things I cannot say without recourse to my language. (Toni Morrison quoted in LeClaire 1981: 28)

For Western Africa griots as well as for today rappers keeping their own language means keeping their own identity: "Every syllable of mine is an umbilical cord through time", says rapper Pharoahe Monch (Alim, 2006: 126).
 Black English phraseological heritage mirrors Black experience, which is an experience of pain and redemption that may be effectively represented by the proverb chosen as the title of the present contribution: *Making a way outta no way*.

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SUPER TUSCAN:
A FALSE ANGLICISM FOR WINE LOVERS

Abstract

Following a historical overview of Super Tuscan wines and a defini-
tion of the term *Super Tuscan*, which confirms its pseudo-English sta-
tus, the primary aim of this study is to reconstruct the origin of this false
Anglicism by considering the word formation processes involved in its
coinage. In addition, by resorting to the data supplied by dictionaries
and corpora of the Italian and the English language respectively, the fre-
quency of *Super Tuscan* is measured, its numerous spelling variants are
traced and some observations on its date of first attestation are included.
Finally, this article considers the possibility that the worldwide success
of Super Tuscan wines might have turned *Super Tuscan* from a special-
ised term employed by (wealthy) wine enthusiasts or professionals into
a word also known and used by non-connoisseurs.

Keywords: corpora; dictionaries; false Anglicism; *Super Tuscan*;
wine terminology.

1. *Introduction*

As attested by Gilardoni (2017: 125), confirming previous findings
by Cotticelli Kurras (2012), the presence of English lexis on Italian wine
labels is not at all widespread, not even when creating made-up or styl-
ish names – not mandatory by law – for specific wines, i.e. oenonyms.
Indeed, the Italian language still seems to dominate this niche market[1].
However, curiously enough, the false Anglicism *Super Tuscan* appears

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[1]   By analysing a sample of 335 brand names of Italian wines, Gilardoni (2017:
120) found that they are mostly created by means of Italian lexical elements (more than
70%), followed by Latin (7%) and Italian dialects (about 6%). English brand names
rank within the remaining 17%, which, however, also includes other languages, such
as German, Ancient Greek, Arabic, Spanish and French (Gilardoni 2017: 122-124).
In line with Furiassi (2011: 454), who highlights the fact that the food sector is one of
the semantic fields, alongside music and art, in which the English language is mostly
characterised by Italianisms, Gilardoni's (2017) findings prove that Italian still acts as

on some wine labels to denote a style of Italian wine – therefore not an oenonym proper (see Section 2.2) – that became popular in Tuscany in the late 20th century. Consequently, this confirms that *Super Tuscan* represents one of the rare instances in which English or, more precisely, English-looking words are found within Italian 'enogramma' (Speranza and Vedovelli 2003: 63).

After providing a definition of *Super Tuscan*, both encyclopaedic (see Section 2.1) and lexicographic (see section 2.2), and using dictionaries to corroborate its pseudo-English status (see Section 4), the primary aim of this study is to reconstruct the etymology of *Super Tuscan*, a term coined in the 1970s by certain Tuscan wine makers: these vintners decided to bypass the restrictive legislation governing the production of Chianti so as to distinguish their modern, tailor-made wines, usually obtained by blending international grape varieties, from the inexpensive, low-quality ones traditionally associated with the label 'vino da tavola', En. *table wine*, which they were forced to put on their bottles. In addition, by examining data retrieved from corpora of the Italian and the English language, the frequency of *Super Tuscan* is measured (see Section 5.1) and its numerous spelling variants are traced (see Section 5.2). Finally, some observations on its date of first attestation in both Italian and English are included (see Section 5.3).

2. *A definition of* Super Tuscan

The following sections, 2.1 and 2.2, provide a definition of *Super Tuscan* from both an encyclopaedic viewpoint, namely specifying its characteristics by resorting to world knowledge, and from a lexicographic perspective, expressly detailing its linguistic properties.

2.1 Super Tuscan*: the wine*

Encyclopaedically, *Super Tuscan* is an unofficial term – not a denomination proper – referring to a particular category of various Italian red wines made in Tuscany by "rebel winemakers" (Beavers 2015) since the 1970s. Their innovative style, conflicting with the over-restrictive wine regulations of the Sangiovese-based Chianti, broke traditional Italian wine-making practices by focusing more on quality than on tradition. Super Tuscans are usually made of international grape varieties based on the Bordeaux blend (mostly Cabernet Sauvignon and Merlot). However, at times the blend may also include Sangiovese grapes. In

a prestigious donor language – by lending a larger number of words to English instead of borrowing them – also in the wine sector.

general, regardless of the grape varieties employed, such wines are often matured in small, new oak barrels.

Notwithstanding their classification as VdT ('Vino da Tavola') until 1992, due to their contravention of the stringent, tradition-focused DOC laws, and then as IGT ('Indicazione Geografica Tipica')[2], a category that embraces more relatively relaxed production rules[3], Super Tuscans have become increasingly popular in the international, up-market wine-tasting world, thus constituting a limited but highly profitable export for Tuscany (and Italy in general). Notable pioneers are *Sassicaia* (Tenuta San Guido), which started being commercialised in 1972 when "[…] a marketing agreement was signed […] for the 1968 vintage" (Fini 2017: 51)[4], and *Tignanello* (Antinori), released in 1978 but whose first vintage – then called "Vigneto Tignanello" – dates back to 1970.

Super Tuscan wines are prized and pricey, some bottles have earned global recognition and, as a consequence, are sold for high prices, which, however, may vary greatly depending on the vintage. Super Tuscans, being recognizable on their own merits by consumers, are a clear example of "wine branding" (Rea and D'Antone 2010: 184) as they were conceived from the start for an affluent international market (Larner 2013). They are even considered by some as a form of invest-

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[2]   Prior to the EU Council regulation (EC) No 479/2008 of 29 April 2008 and the EU Commission regulation (EC) No 555/2008 of 27 June 2008, which entered into force on 1 August 2009, Italian wines used to be classified – in ascending order of quality – into *Vino da Tavola* (VdT), En. 'Table Wine' (TW), *Indicazione Geografica Tipica* (IGT), En. 'Typical Geographical Indication' (TGI), *Denominazione di Origine Controllata* (DOC), En. 'Controlled Designation of Origin (CDO)', and *Denominazione di Origine Controllata e Garantita* (DOCG), En. 'Controlled and Guaranteed Designation of Origin (CGDO)'. On 8 April 2010 Italian legislation (DL n. 61) eventually implemented EU regulations, thus modifying the former classification as follows: *vino*, En. 'wine', *vino varietale*, En. 'varietal wine', *Indicazione Geografica Protetta* (IGP), En. 'Protected Geographical Indication' (PGI), and *Denominazione di Origine Protetta* (*DOP*), En. 'Protected Designation of Origin' (PDO). As a consequence, the label IGP substituted IGT, and the label DOP now incorporates both DOC and DOCG, labels whose use, however, is still allowed together or as an alternative to DOP.

[3]   Most producers have recently brought their Super Tuscans back under legal regulations (Ewing-Mulligan and McCarthy 2001: 167-169): the IGT Toscana was established in 1992, the DOC Bolgheri in 1994 and the DOC Bolgheri Sassicaia in 2013.

[4]   "Paradoxically, Sassicaia was considered merely a table wine until 1994, when Italian law decided to protect it with a DOC label, Denomination of Controlled Origin Bolgheri Sassicaia. International recognition came a decade later with the intervention of the European Community and the Ministry of Agriculture, which, with the passing from DOC to DOP (Denomination of Protected Origin), created exclusive protection for the wine of Tenuta San Guido, the DOP Sassicaia" (Fini 2017: 69).

ment (Di Lenardo 2017). Thanks to a successful marketing strategy, their value is indeed determined by American wine critics publishing outstanding reviews in some of the leading specialised magazines, e.g. *The Wine Advocate*, *Wine Enthusiast*, *Wine Spectator*, to such an extent that some Super Tuscans were at one point being tailor-made to please both the critics and the American palate – in Larner's (2013) words, "it's no coincidence the term is in English".

   On a final note, the eventual partial demise of Super Tuscan wines (McInerney 2012; Biagiotti 2015) should be accounted for: indeed, they have been going into and out of fashion in recent times to the advantage of other well-established Tuscan appellations of ever-improving quality, e.g. *Chianti Classico* (O'Keefe 2009: 99). According to Teague (2006) and Asimov (2009), at present some Super Tuscans are just follow-the-trend wines with little intrinsic value beyond the price.

2.2 Super Tuscan*: the lexeme*

   From a linguistic perspective, *Super Tuscan* is an oenonym, see 'enonimi' (Gałkowski 2011: 83), that is a wine name[5]. It is also a false Anglicism (Furiassi 2010: 34), as it is recognizably English in form, it is part of the Italian vocabulary but does/did not exist in English (see Section 5.1 and 5.2).

   With regard to the word formation processes involved in its coinage, *Super Tuscan* may be viewed either as an Italian-made compound obtained by joining two genuinely English words, namely the combining form *Super*, plausibly meaning both 'very good' and 'very expensive' (see Section 2.1), and the toponymic adjective *Tuscan*, or as a derivative realised by adding the prefix *Super* to *Tuscan* – indeed, the graphic form *Supertuscan* is the most common one in Italian (see Section 5.2)[6]. This duplex option is motivated by the intrinsically ambiguous status of *Super*, which can be considered both an affix, more specifically a prefix (*OED*), and a combining form[7]. This controversy remains and seems to

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   [5]   The label *oenonym* was created on purpose by the author of this article through the blending of the two Greek combining forms *oeno-*, En. 'wine', and *-onym*, En. 'name' (*OED*).
   [6]   Plausibly, *Super*, being an internationalism, may also be classified as an Anglicism *per se*.
   [7]   Prćić (2005: 328) includes *super-* among the "prototypical synchronic prefixes" typical of the English language. Pulcini and Milani (2017: 179) add that "[…] unlike affixes (prefixes and suffixes), CFs [combining forms] seem to possess 'full' lexical meaning because in the classical languages they were independent words […]. […] this distinction remains controversial, especially if we shift our attention from the etymological sphere to the much more variable area of language use and lexical competence.

be, at least in practice, language-specific, as proved by the fact that the most widespread graphic realization is *Super Tuscan/s* in English but *Supertuscan/s* in Italian, as attested in corpus data (see Section 5.2).

All in all, whether *Super Tuscan* is viewed as an "autonomous compound" (Furiassi 2010: 39) – a non-English compound formed with two lexical elements only found separately in English but whose compound form is a genuine Italian product – or as an "autonomous derivative" (Furiassi 2010: 40) does not affect its being a fully-fledged false Anglicism. It must be emphasised that the decision to use a pseudo-English compound to denote – and even positively connote – certain Italian wines signals the explicit intent of Tuscan vintners to target a globalised English-speaking market from the start.

3. Research aims, methodology and sources

Lexicographic sources were exploited in order to qualify *Super Tuscan*, namely to verify whether the lemma is attested in Italian and English dictionaries and to report on what is known about its diachronic development (see Section 5.3). The general-purpose dictionaries considered are the following: *Devoto-Oli*, *Gabrielli*, *Grande dizionario italiano dell'uso* (*GDU*), *Sabatini-Coletti*, *Treccani* and *Zingarelli* for the Italian language and *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language* (*AHD*), *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*CALD*), *COLLINS COBUILD Advanced Learner's English Dictionary* (*COBUILD*), *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (*LDOCE*), *Macmillan Dictionary Online* (*MDO*), *Merriam-Webster*, *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (*OALD*) and *The Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) for English. The specialised dictionaries consulted are *Dizionario del vino* (*DdV*) and *Il glossario del vino* (*GdV*) for Italian and *The Dictionary of Italian Food and Drink* (*DIFD*), *The Oxford Companion to Wine* (*OCW*), *Oddbins Dictionary of Wine* (*ODW*), *The Wine Advocate Glossary Terms* (*WAGT*), *Wine Enthusiast Glossary of Wine Terms* (*WEGWT*), *The Wine Snob's Dictionary* (*WSD*) and *Wine Spectator Glossary* (*WSG*) for English. The bilingual Italian-English specialised glossary investigated is *Watson's Wine Glossary* (*WWG*).

The case of *super-* is, in this respect, emblematic, in that it derives from Latin *super* 'above' (invariable part of speech, adverb or preposition), and today is included in the category of CFs […], but generally labelled as a prefix by most Italian dictionaries […]". Yet, the fact that the *OED* also records *super* as an adjective meaning "[v]ery good or pleasant, excellent, superb, first-class" may support the claim that *Super Tuscan* is a compound rather than a derivative.

Corpora catered for the quantitative features of *Super Tuscan*, namely its frequency in both Italian and English (see Section 5.1), but were also used to detect possible orthographic variants in both languages (see Section 5.2). The Italian web-based corpus analysed is *itTenTen16*, accessible through *Sketch Engine*[8]; the English corpora investigated are *British National Corpus* (*BNC*)[9], *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*)[10] and *enTenTen13*[11].

Finally, as shown in Section 5.3, a combination of dictionary- and corpus-based approaches led to the earliest written attestations of *Super Tuscan* in both Italian and English sources.

4. Lexicographic analysis

As far as Italian general-purpose dictionaries are concerned, despite its absence from *Gabrielli*, *GDU* and *Sabatini-Coletti*, *Super Tuscan* was found in *Devoto-Oli*, *Treccani* and *Zingarelli* – the latter being the only one recognising its pseudo-English status. The following examples (1 to 3) show the microstructural features provided in the above dictionaries, including the date of first attestation:

1)
supertuscan
/sˈuːpˌərtˌʌskən *in it.* sˌupertˈaskan/ **s. ingl.** (pl. *supertuscans*), in it. ***s.m.***, *invar.* Vino toscano di alta qualità prodotto al di fuori dei disciplinari doc e docg, spesso utilizzando vitigni internazionali in aggiunta o in alternativa a quelli tipici del territorio.
ETIMO Comp. di *super* 'super' e *tuscan* 'toscano'
DATA 2006 (*Devoto-Oli*)

2)
supertuscan
neologismo
2004 (*Treccani*)

[8]   The *itTenTen16* is a tokenised and lemmatised corpus of web-crawled texts gathered in 2016, containing almost 6 billion words, precisely 5,864,495,700.
[9]   The *BNC* is a 100,000,000 word corpus of British English, containing exactly 96,263,399 tokens, compiled between 1985 and 1993.
[10]   The *COCA* is a corpus of American English which includes 533,788,932 tokens to date (2019) – more than five times bigger than the *BNC*: its compilation started in 1990 and, being an open corpus, it is constantly updated.
[11]   The *enTenTen13*, compiled in 2013, is a tagged web-based corpus available via *Sketch Engine*, which includes almost 20 billion words, precisely 19,685,733,337.

3)

supertuscan

supertùscan   /superˈtuskan,   *ingl.*   suːpəˈtʌskən/
[vc. pseudo-ingl., comp. di *super-* e dell'ingl. Tuscan 'toscano' 1996]
s. m. (pl. inv. o ingl. *supertuscans*)
(*enol.*) termine usato spec. dalla stampa specializzata per indicare vini rossi
toscani innovativi e di pregio che intenzionalmente non rientrano nella ca-
tegoria dei vini docg e doc, limitandosi a una semplice indicazione geogra-
fica, in quanto utilizzano anche vitigni non previsti dai relativi disciplinari
(in particolare Cabernet e Merlot rispetto al Sangiovese), e si caratterizzano
gener. per nomi di fantasia (per es. *Tignanello*, *Sassicaia*, ecc.) (*Zingarelli*)

As for the Italian specialised dictionaries consulted, *Super Tuscan*
was found in *DdV* but not in *GdV* – see example 4:

4)

Supertuscan Vini toscani moderni, da selezioni di uve Sangiovese e in-
ternazionali, caratterizzati da alta consistenza. I Supertuscan sono vini di
grande prestigio e qualità. (*DdV*)

Super Tuscan was recorded in *WWG*, the Italian-English specialised
glossary investigated, which considers it an Italian term and provides
no translation into English – see example 5:

5)

It. ***Supertuscan*** ↔ En. ***Supertuscan***
Italian term (*WWG*)

Taking into consideration English general-purpose dictionaries, *Su-
per Tuscan* was not encountered in any of the following dictionaries,
namely *AHD*, *CALD*, *COBUILD*, *LDOCE*, *MDO*, *Merriam-Webster*,
OALD and *OED*, confirming that the phraseme is not genuinely English
or, at least, that it has not entered authoritative lexicographic sources of
the English language yet[12].
Conversely, most English specialised dictionaries of wine, namely
DIFD, *OCW*, *ODW*, *WEGWT*, *WSD* and *WSG* – with the notable excep-
tion of *WAGT*, record the entry *Super Tuscan*. The following examples

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[12]   It is noteworthy that in a concordance line extracted from the *COCA* and dated
2005 (see Section 5.1) *Super Tuscan* is said to be "an expression that exists only in
English", which is in fact not true.

(6 to 11) include the microstructural features provided in the above spe-
cialised dictionaries:

6)

Many of Italy's most renowned red wines – ***Chianti Classico, Brunello di
Montalcino, Carmignano,*** and ***Vino Nobile di Montepulciano*** – are Tus-
can. They are made from the ***sangiovese*** grape and have a ***DOCG*** designa-
tion. Tuscany has 7 ***DOC*** zones, but there have also been recent attempts by
some of the region's most notable producers to make big-bodied red wines
of high quality, often with components of ***cabernet sauvignon,*** that do not
fall under the *DOC* regulations, which have taken on the unregulated name
"Super Tuscans." […]. (*DIFD*)

7)

Supertuscan, term sometimes used by English speakers to describe the in-
novative wines labelled as Vino da tavola made in the central Italian region
of Tuscany which emerged in the 1970s. Prototype Supertuscans were Ti-
gnanello and sassicaia, both initially marketed by antinori. The Vino da
Tavola denomination was replaced by IGT in 1994, but the term Supertuscan
remains. (*OCW*)

8)

Supertuscan a premium Tuscan wine with an intense fruit and heavy oak
character. The term was coined when the Marchese Incisa della Roc[c]hetta
of Tuscany worked with Baron Philippe de Rothschild to bring new varieties
of Cabernet Sauvignon grapevines into Tuscany. They aimed to concentrate
not on the traditional Chianti wines of the region but instead on high-quali-
ty, low-yield premium wines that have almost nothing in common with the
traditional Chianti DOC requirements. They are labelled Vino da Tavola.
Their changes have revolutionised the wine-making of the region. (*ODW*)

9)

Super Tuscan A red wine from Tuscany that is not made in accordance with
established DOC rules; often a blended wine of superior quality containing
Cabernet Sauvignon and/or Merlot. (*WEGWT*)

10)

Super Tuscan. Snob moniker for a superior class of unclassified red wine
from Tuscany. Legend has it that a British writer coined the phrase in the
60s after tasting Sassicaia, a wine which, like its Super Tuscan brethren,
was bafflingly labeled a vino da tavola – a humble table wine – despite its
obvious world-class quality. […] That Super Tuscans have since [the 1990s]

skyrocketed into the high three digits in price is testament […] to the supreme power of branding, even if the brand has a tongue-twisting name like Ornellaia or Tignanello. (*WSD*)

11)
Super Tuscan: Wines from Tuscany made using international varieties such as Cabernet Sauvignon and Syrah rather than relying primarily on local varieties such as Sangiovese. Although their quality can be outstanding, these wines must be labeled with the lower levels of Italy's classification system, Vino da Tavola or Indicazione Geografica Tipica, since they do not conform to Tuscany's traditional winemaking practices. (*WSG*)

5. *Corpus-based analysis*

Table 1 lists the raw frequency scores of *Super Tuscan* – in all its possible spelling variants and including both singular and plural forms – in the Italian and English corpora analysed, namely *itTenTen16*, *COCA* and *enTenTen13*. Whenever the label 'n.f.' appears, it means that no hits were displayed.

	itTenTen16	*COCA*	*enTenTen13*
Supertuscan	279	n.f.	44
Supertuscans	85	n.f.	19
supertuscan	136	n.f.	11
supertuscans	41	n.f.	5
Super tuscan	7	n.f.	1
Super tuscans	1	n.f.	n.f.
super tuscan	10	n.f.	3
super tuscans	5	n.f.	5
Super Tuscan	134	6	567
Super Tuscans	24	2	284
super Tuscan	2	1	59
super Tuscans	n.f.	1	24

	itTenTen16	COCA	enTenTen13
Super-tuscan	1	n.f.	n.f.
Super-tuscans	n.f.	n.f.	1
Super-Tuscan	25	2	59
Super-Tuscans	1	n.f.	44
super-Tuscan	3	3	29
super-Tuscans	1	1	12
super-tuscan	1	n.f.	7
super-tuscans	n.f.	n.f.	n.f.
total (raw)	756	16	1,174
total (pmw)	**0.13**	**0.03**	**0.06**

Table 1. Frequency of *Super Tuscan* in Italian and English corpora

5.1 Frequency

In order to retrieve all instances of *Super Tuscan* in both English and Italian corpora, each query had to include all the different possible spelling variants, i.e. solid compound, spaced compound and hyphenated compound, and also the presence or absence of capital initial in each part of the compound, i.e. <S> vs <s> and <T> vs <t>.

First of all, it should be mentioned that *Super Tuscan* never occurs in British English: this is the reason why no data referring to the *BNC* is included in Table 1 – the fact that no occurrences were found in the *BNC* may be due to its collection period, which ends in 1993 (see footnote 9 and Section 5.3). Conversely, the fact that it is found in American English (*COCA*) confirms that Super Tuscan wines are conceived for the American rather than the British market.

In greater details, the presence of twice as many occurrences in the *itTenTen16* (0.13 pmw) as in the *enTenTen13* (0.06 pmw) demonstrates that *Super Tuscan* is much more widespread in Italian than in English; furthermore, there being twice as many occurrences in the *enTenTen13* (0.06 pmw) as in the *COCA* (0.03 pmw) shows that *Super Tuscan* is more likely to be used in English-language websites instead of other, more traditional text types.

5.2 Spelling variants

As for Italian, the most common spelling in the singular is *Supertuscan* (279 hits in the *itTenTen16*), followed by *supertuscan* (136 hits in the *itTenTen16*) and *Super Tuscan* (134 hits in the *itTenTen16*). As far as the plural is concerned, in Italian *Supertuscans* is much more likely to occur (85 hits in the *itTenTen16*), followed by *supertuscans* (41 hits in the *itTenTen16*) and *Super Tuscans* (24 hits in the *itTenTen16*). On the one hand, the solid-compound spelling *Supertuscan* with capital initial is in line with the entries included in specialised dictionaries (*DdV*) and bilingual glossaries (*WWG*); on the other hand, the solid-compound spelling *supertuscan* with small initial mirrors the entries included in general-purpose dictionaries (*Devoto-Oli*, *Treccani*, *Zingarelli*).

With regard to English, in the singular *Super Tuscan* is the preferred choice by far (6 hits in the *COCA* and 567 hits in the *enTenTen13*), followed by the hyphenated spelling *Super-Tuscan* (2 hits in the *COCA* and 59 hits in the *enTenTen13*) and *super Tuscan* (1 hit in the *COCA* and 59 hits in the *enTenTen13*) on an almost equal footing; as for the plural, in English *Super Tuscans* is much more frequent (2 hits in the *COCA* and 284 hits in the *enTenTen13*), followed by *Super-Tuscans* (44 hits in the *enTenTen13*) and *super Tuscans* (1 hit in the *COCA* and 24 hits in the *enTenTen13*). The spaced-compound form *Super Tuscan* coincides with some specialised dictionary entries (*DIFD*, *WEGWT*, *WSD*, *WSG*) but contrasts with others (*OCW*, *ODW*), where the solid-compound form *Supertuscan* with capital initial appears – the same spelling variant used in Italian specialised dictionaries and glossaries (*DdV*, *WWG*).

It is striking that, in the *enTenTen13*, possibly because computer-mediated communication is less prone to following grammar rules, *Tuscan* is often found with small initial, as shown in the following cases: *Super tuscan* (1 hit); *super tuscan* (3 hits), *super tuscans* (5 hits), *Super-tuscans* (1 hit) and *super-tuscan* (7 hits).

5.3 Earliest attestations

By examining the evidence available in both dictionaries and corpora, it appears that the earliest attestation of *Super Tuscan* in Italian is 1996, at least according to the *Zingarelli*, which antedates by almost a decade the year provided by the *Treccani*, i.e. 2004, and the *Devoto-Oli*, i.e. 2006, respectively. However, unexpectedly, the first written attestation in American English is 1994 (*COCA*), two years earlier than the first appearance in Italian.

In this respect, it is worth mentioning Fini's (2017: 65-66) obser-
vation, which supports the hypothesis that *Super Tuscan* was coined in
1994 and adds that it may be attributed to an American author:

> 1985 was an extraordinary vintage and Sassicaia enjoyed the first of a long
> string of successes. […] that memorable summer of 1985 contributed a lot,
> and also the one hundred points Robert Parker of the American *Wine Advo-
> cate* gave that Sassicaia vintage when he came to the tasting in 1994. Those
> were the years when America joyously discovered the quality of Italian
> wines and coined the term Supertuscan.

A further interesting hint on the coinage of *Super Tuscan* is provided by
WSD, which attributes it to a British writer in the 1960s (see example 10).

6. *Conclusion*

Nowadays the English language occupies a privileged position as
donor language (Durkin 2014; Furiassi, Pulcini, Rodríguez González
2012) and is therefore prone to inventive manipulations by speakers
of other languages. This may lead to the coinage of false Anglicisms,
such as *Super Tuscan*, which are manifestations of language creativity,
catalysed by the flexibility and adaptability of English lexical material
which is freely nativised by Italian speakers.

However, some of these typically Italian creations may be consid-
ered cases of "reborrowing of false Anglicisms", that is lexical innova-
tions coined in Italian and – only if globally successful – later "rebor-
rowed by real English from pseudo-English" (Furiassi 2010: 70). Sim-
ilarly to the well-known culinary internationalism *slow food* (Furiassi
2010: 70), *Super Tuscan* also belongs to this category. In addition, both
Super Tuscan and *slow food* show that the directionality of (pseudo-)
borrowing – usually from English into Italian (Furiassi 2014: 68-69) –
is reversed in the semantic field of wine and food (see footnote 1).

Despite its reduced quantitative impact, namely its low frequency in
both Italian and English (see Section 5.1), and the fact that it could be
considered a neologism, as it has only recently been included in Italian
and English lexicographic sources alike (see Section 4), *Super Tuscan*
is a further sign of the influence of Italian on American culture, at least
in the specialised fields of wine-making and wine-tasting.

As for the degree of specialisation of *Super Tuscan*, found, on the
one hand, in Italian general-purpose dictionaries, specialised dictio-
naries, glossaries and corpora, and, on the other hand, only in English
specialised dictionaries and corpora – but not in general-purpose dictio-

naries (see Section 4), it should be regarded as a general word in Italian but still as a specialised term in (American) English.

Finally, as a desideratum, it would be worth delving deeper into the etymology and the dating of *Super Tuscan* since lexicographic sources and corpora in both languages seem in conflict (see Section 5.3). Moreover, due to the worldwide success of the wine itself, it would be interesting to check whether *Super Tuscan* is also used in languages other than English, e.g. French, Spanish and German, thus resulting in a pseudo-English internationalism, namely a false Anglicism that managed to proliferate and "spread across international boundaries" (Gottlieb and Furiassi 2015: 4).

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SPEAKING OF 'NUNAVUT':
A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF LEXICAL CREATIVITY IN CANADIAN NEWS DISCOURSE

Abstract

The aim of the paper is to investigate lexical creativity around the word 'Nunavut' in Canadian news discourse through a qualitative and quantitative analysis conducted on a subcorpus of the *News On the Web Corpus* (*CaNOW*). When on April 1, 1999 a new territory was officially created by the Canadian government out of the Northwest Territories, the term 'Nunavut' entered the Canadian English vocabulary. It was not a neologism, though, but a borrowing from Inuktitut, the language of the Inuit, meaning 'our homeland', capitalised to become a brand new place-name. In recent years the term has undergone a series of morphological and syntactic processes of adaptation, integration and naturalization, forming derivations and compounds. The existing item has, therefore, been manipulated, combined and recombined to form creative lexical inventions (Pope 2005), being that compounding is one of the most used word-forming processes in English (Munat 2015). The analysis shows that news discourse is a fertile ground for new vocabulary, since productive word-formation processes are used to popularize new items. By adopting a discourse analytical approach, the intent is also to state what is the political meaning of creativity, i.e. how linguistic innovation can be used to reshape social relationships and create new social identities.

Keywords: lexical creativity; Canadian English; news discourse.

1. *Introduction*

In *Language and Creativity, the Art of Common Talk*, Ronald Carter (2004) maintains that creative language is not to be looked at as something separate from the social conditions of its production. On the contrary, "it is seen as something that is co-constructed in interaction and dialogue […] in a wide variety of different forms of communication" (p. xviii). It is, then, a product of the people who use language to accomplish the most diverse social functions. The implications of such a

statement are numerous. Firstly, it confirms that in the past twenty years the academic interest towards creativity has shifted from considering creativity in language as an exclusive feature of the artistic/literary realm to seeing it as a condition of everyday communication and interaction, operating in groups of peoples and individuals (Swann 2012; Holmes 2007). Seen in this light, creativity can be understood broadly "as a property of all language use in that language users do not simply reproduce but recreate, refashion, re-contextualise linguistic and cultural resources in the act of communicating" (Swann and Maybin 2007: 493). The second implication of Carter's perspective, strictly related to the first, is that it places language creativity within a network of social and cultural interactions that are inevitably affected and changed by the ultimate products of linguistic creativity. The considerations that follow move from these assumptions and draw on Rodney Jones's (2010) approach that sees a strong relationship between discourse and creativity, which will be used here as a starting point to explore a case of lexical creativity in Canada in light of "the broader social, cultural and critical dimensions of discourse" (Jones 2010: 467). Our initial hypothesis is that lexical creativity occurring in the form of borrowing, compounding and unique collocates can be used strategically to create changes that have a socio-political impact. The creative formations that we will analyse herein are nonce formations (Bauer 2001), or spontaneous creations, used in few occasions, not yet part of the norm of the language, but still coined to cover some immediate communication needs. By looking at recent cases of linguistic coinage in Canada involving the word 'Nunavut' since it entered the Canadian dictionary after the formation of the homonymous territory in 1999, we are going to discuss some creative acts of language in the news domain as strategies used to build a new territorial identity.

According to Jones, "[…] creative products, whether they be durable artefacts such as written texts, or more ephemeral verbal phenomena, or phenomena that may not seem on the surface to have much to do with language at all (such as paintings, machines, music, social identities and social practices), all depend on the interaction of cognitive processes, social processes and semiotic resources" (2010: 2). By arranging and rearranging the finite number of semiotic resources that we can use as speakers, language allows us to articulate the world and create new social relationships through the inventive production of infinite creative linguistic solutions. The discourse-analytical approach to language creativity that Jones adopts is one that concentrates on the social impact of inventiveness in language rather than on the formal aspects of the creative product. In other words, it highlights how the

creative potential of language used in situated social contexts can lead to the creation of new kinds of social practices, power relationships and even social identities. And it, consequently, requires paying attention to what stands within and beyond the text, in order to catch the network of relationships surrounding it. Ultimately, in light of this, by means of creativity in language use, hegemonic discourses (Fairclough 1992) can be transformed and undermined by shifting power relations to create "possibilities for social action that did not exist at the outset of the interaction" (Jones 2010: 473).

2. *Methodology and research questions*

This study relies on Corpus Linguistics as a method to investigate linguistic creativity in a discourse-analytical perspective. Electronic corpora have been an asset to the study of creativity, pushing forward the field of Creativity Studies (Carter 2004), especially since findings from Corpus Creativity Studies have shown that creativity is not literature-exclusive (Vo and Carter 2010). Although corpora, intended as collections of texts (Biber *et al.* 1998), normally testify to recurrent patterns of language and are analysed as "a sample of the language" (Sinclair 1996: 4), nonetheless they can be used to detect uniqueness and creativity in that they provide "a background of what is normal and expected in general language use" (Stubbs 2005: 5). According to Vo and Carter, "corpora, if carefully compiled (or properly chosen), will be far more representative of the norms of contemporary English than any existing set of prescriptive rules, providing much more accurate backgrounds for analyses of creativity/uniqueness" (2010: 304). However, to spot novelty across corpora is not an easy task, given the current state of software tools that do not allow the automatic retrieving of creative choices, and the still needed additions to corpus annotation systems. Yet, searches for variants may be conducted by adopting qualitative methods, repeated searches of key words or on the basis of existing hypotheses.

The methodology adopted in this study cannot but take into account the numerous studies conducted in the field of Corpus Linguistics, especially the models of analysis provided by Baker and Gabrielatos (2008), McEnery and Hardie (2012) and Tognini-Bonelli (2001). Our study involves a set of software filters used to detect novel uses of the word 'Nunavut' and their collocational environments in the *News on the Web* (*NOW*) *Corpus*. The *NOW* corpus[1], created by Mark Davies, is

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[1]   Online at *https://corpus.byu.edu/now/*, last accessed April 10, 2018.

web-based and contains over 4.9 billion words from online magazines and newspapers in twenty English-speaking countries, collected from 2010 to the present day. Being a web-based corpus it offers a customizable interface that allows its users to create their own virtual corpora, selecting specific time-frames and/or countries. Our search was limited to a specifically created subcorpus of the *NOW* corpus that we named *CaNOW* Corpus, of 4 million words, collected between 2010 and 2016. The *CaNOW* corpus includes 5541 news articles from online news providers physically based in Canada. Some of the newspapers included in the corpus, such as the *Globe and Mail* and the *National Post*, have a national focus. Others, like the *Windsor Star*, the *Edmonton Journal* and *Nunatsiaq News*, have a more local or provincial coverage. Of these, *Nunatsiaq News* is a web-based newspaper offering the most interesting findings, as we will discuss shortly. This is Nunavut's bilingual newspaper, founded in 1973, issued weekly in English and Inuktitut and based in Iqaluit, the capital of the northern territory.

  Our initial hypothesis is that since the name 'Nunavut' has entered the Canadian dictionary in 1999, the term has been used to generate a number of linguistic inventions, using existing rules in English to create unique lexical manipulations. The aim of the analysis is to detect such unique lexical features generated from 'Nunavut' and to observe them in light of how they "integrate ideas in our conceptual system that have not been previously connected" (Lamb 1998: 205). In Munat's words, "creative lexical inventions are new words produced intentionally by the speakers, generally formed analogically on the models of other words in the lexicon" (2015: 95). While according to Antoinette Renouf lexical creativity in journalism as in literary prose or poetry "is employed for the purposes of achieving certain stylistic effects, such as humour or irony" (2007: 71), our initial steps move from the assumption that some of the linguistic creativity involving 'Nunavut' in our corpus serve an impellent communicative need. Therefore, our intent is to address the following research questions:

  1. Can an inventive linguistic product be used to fill a linguistic gap that produces a set of new social, cultural and political relationships? And, consequently, a new way of seeing given realities?
  2. How can loanwords be manipulated and circulated in order to be shared?

3. *The linguistic coinage of 'Nunavut'*

Before 1999, the northernmost region of Canada was simply known as 'The Northwest Territories'. In years of exploration and colonization of North America, Europeans and then Canadians had not showed much creativity in naming the area, probably because of the lack of strong economic interests and the fierce living conditions. However, the land was not a lifeless, frozen desolation, as discourses of 'nordism' claimed in travel journals of the early explorers (Rudiger 2009). On the contrary, it has been inhabited since time immemorial by the Inuit, previously misnamed as 'Eskimos'. Between the Inuit and the land there is no relationship of ownership but of land use and this is very well symbolized at the level of lexicon by the Inuktitut word *nunavut*. Inuktitut belongs to the Eskimo-Aleut family (Allen 1996) and is the language spoken by the Inuit. As other languages belonging to the same family, Inuktitut is well-known for being extremely polysynthetic since one word made of several morphemes may express what would normally take a sentence of several words in other more analytic languages (Allen 1996: 14). 'Nunavut' offers an example of this feature. The suffix -*vut* broadly translates into English as 'our', not much in the sense of possession, but more in terms of a place where one lives, or which is used without implying a relationship of ownership, while the root *nuna* refers to the land as home where dwelling in without owning, and includes everything existing therein. The term is culturally loaded with meanings that lead back to the Artic demography and traditions, as it states that the Inuit have been the Aboriginal people of Nunavut and they are part of the Artic landscape and seascape.

In 1993, after continued demands for more independence had come from the Inuit living in the Northwest Territories, the *Nunavut Land Claims Agreement Act* and the *Nunavut Act* were signed and started the formation process of a new territory on the federal ground. It was the biggest land rights agreement to be signed in the history of Canada, as it covered one-fifth of Canada's land mass and a very large marine area. It was also the first time that the term *nunavut*, reclaimed by the Inuit as the place-name for their land, entered the language of the Canadian government as a borrowing taken from Inuktitut and used officially in mainstream Canadian English to indicate a land rights settlement with the Crown. In 1999 the territory of Nunavut was officially created, so the term gained another meaning, its official one, that of a territory carved out of the existing Northwest Territories and equipped with its own government, celebration day (July 9) and official languages (Inuktitut, Inuinnaqtun, English and French). Consequently, *nunavut* ceased to be a mere Inuktitut word and became a Canadian proper noun, cap-

italised to designate a geographic area of 350,000 square kilometres, 23% of Canada's land mass.

At the level of discourse, the term has made semantic space for Inuit sovereignty over their land in contemporary Canadian English and has consistently undermined the colonial discourses of exploitation and otherness brought by the previously imposed place-name 'Northwest Territories'. In fact, the previous name was not simply descriptive, but had been strategically used to erase the history of Inuit presence on their land, revealing a flaw in the ideological construction of 'the North'. Linguistically, as a borrowing from Inuktitut, *nunavut* has gone through the three stages of borrowing described by Picoche and Marchello-Nizia (1989). At the first stage, the term was taken from Inuktitut and started to be used as a foreign word. At the second stage, *nunavut* was adapted phonologically, morphosyntactically and semantically to Canadian English, resulting, for instance, from the transcription of the Inuktitut word ᓄᓇᕗᑦ[2] into the Latin alphabet, then capitalised to adapt semantically and morphologically to the hosting language. At the third stage of borrowing, the term was 'naturalized' and brought about more considerable transformations that will be discussed in the next section. At this stage the word has been used to form derivatives that do not exist in the donor language and is treated like a lexical item of the borrower language. This last stage involves a certain amount of creativity, as the major word-forming processes of derivation, compounding and inflection give rise to creative lexical inventions. This is also the stage we are mostly interested in.

4. *Results and discussion*

'Nunavut' has firstly been used alone as an entry term to check the overall frequency of the word in the *CaNOW Corpus*. The word occurs 21,313 times, most of them in news items from *Nunatsiaq News*. The frequency rate suggests that, broadly speaking, there is not much talking of Nunavut outside the territory, on a national scale. What is of interest, though, is the way in which the term is manipulated in order to form new creations following what normally happens with other territory and province names in Canada, for example Ontario. The corpus

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[2]   Syllabics are the most common writing system in Nunavut. The writing system was developed by James Evans for Cree, since Indigenous languages used to be spoken-only languages. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Cree syllabics were adapted to fit Inuktitut. In 1976 the writing system was standardized with the creation of a double orthographical system both in syllabic and Roman characters (Hot 2009).

was further investigated to search for occurrences of 'Nunavut-*', in order to include word formations having 'Nunavut' in the position of modifier. The results showed 36 compounds of two kinds, *name+adjective* and *name+noun*, part of which are showed in Table 1, occurring 147 times throughout the corpus. In some way, the findings come as no surprise given that compounding itself is one of the most creative processes in English (Benczes 2006).

The compounds emerging from the search (Table 1) are descriptive and range from 'Nunavut-based', being the most common (47 occurrences) to 'Nunavut-centered' (only one occurrence). Interestingly, while the first items in the list occur in news reports taken from the *Toronto Star* and *CBC.ca*, the most unusual compounds (with one or two occurrences) are those created by *Nunatsiaq News* and in some cases they find no correspondence with compounded forms where one constituent is, for instance, 'Ontario'. In order to detect the most creative compounds in this list we decided to compare it with one generated for 'Ontario-*'. As we can see in Table 2, while 'Ontario-based' and 'Ontario-born' show a very high frequency rate being the most common compounds, 'Nunavut-centred', 'Nunavut-tailored' and 'Nunavut-supported' from Table 1 find no correspondence in the Ontario list. This means that these compounds are new, although quite transparent, forms, specific to the reality of Nunavut in that they are coined to fill a semantic gap on the basis of common productive patterns. Nonetheless, the process leading to the results is creative in that these lexemes are coined to refer to brand new concepts. As for the low frequency, it is assumed with Dorothy Kenny (2001) that creative word forms are those that occur with a very low frequency in a given corpus. This seems to be the case if we compare the total occurrences of 'Nunavut-based' (47) and 'Ontario-based' (1100), that are the two most recurrent compounded forms in the two lists, with 'Nunavut-tailored' (1) and 'Nunavut-centered' (1), which are much less frequent and, therefore, more creative.

Compounds	# Occurrences
Nunavut-based	47
Nunavut-wide	31
Nunavut-specific	17
Nunavut-born	16
Nunavut-raised	5
Nunavut-owned	4

Compounds	# Occurrences
Nunavut-bound	3
Nunavut-focused	2
Nunavut-made	2
Nunavut-produced	2
Nunavut-set	2
Nunavut-tailored	1
Nunavut-supported	1
Nunavut-style	1
Nunavut-led	1
Nunavut-inclusive	1
Nunavut-generated	1
Nunavut-derived	1
Nunavut-bred	1
Nunavut-commissioned	1
Nunavut-centered	1

Table 1. Compounded forms of *Nunavut* in the *CaNOW*

Compounds	# Occurrences
Ontario-based	1100
Ontario-born	180
Ontario-wide	132
Ontario-grown	111
Ontario-made	63
Ontario-bred	30
Ontario-raised	22
Ontario-native	16
Ontario-focused	16

Compounds	# Occurrences
Ontario-style	9
Ontario-produced	8
Ontario-specific	8
Ontario-led	5
Ontario-bound	5
Ontario-owned	5
Ontario-inspired	3
Ontario-set	2

Table 2. Compounded forms of 'Ontario' in the *CaNOW*

The least recurrent compounds in the Nunavut list that do not find a correspondent in the Ontario list are not mere inventive linguistic products but seem to have a pragmatic value in that they play a role in building a discourse of Nunavut as a place with its own specific history and needs which make it different from other territories and provinces.

4.1 The case of 'Nunavummiut'

The second case under discussion is that of the loanword 'Nunavummiut'. While Nunavut was officially formed as a territory in 1999, still there was no term to name the people from Nunavut. Although the majority of Nunavut's inhabitants are of Inuit descent (85%), yet there is another 15% of people of other than Inuit identity living on the territory, which explains why the word 'Inuit' is not appropriate and would leave space for semantic inaccuracy. Therefore, in 2003, 'Nunavummiut' became part of the *Canadian English Dictionary* to designate all people from Nunavut. The term, borrowed from Inuktitut, derives from *nuna* by means of suffixation with the collective *-miut*, which identifies families and communities, and the spaces and places they live in and use. While in Inuktitut 'nunavummiut' indicates people who have with the land they live on a relationship of identification, in Canadian English the word has gained the role of ethnonym to designate Nunavut citizens. It was therefore capitalised accordingly. Interestingly, in Canadian English other ethnonyms, like 'Ontarian' or 'Albertan', rely on the suffix '-an/-ian', which is very productive. In our case, 'Nunavummiut' was chosen by the newly formed Government of Nunavut to ensure the formation of a new territorial identity which relied on demographic

presence and cultural tradition, and could incorporate all Inuit as well as the people of non-Inuit descent into a common identity (Légaré 2002).

Once used as an entry term for our search, we noticed that occurrences of 'Nunavummiut' in the *CaNOW Corpus* total 727. Again, 80% of the results come from *Nunatsiaq News*. The word is mainly used as a noun (Table 3), although in a smaller percentage of instances it also occurs as a modifier, in which cases it is normally followed by collective nouns or plurals as in the following example: "Asked to update its plans for spill response equipment and annual training to *Nunavummiut* communities […]" (*Nunatsiaq News*, 06/01/2015).

Phrases	# Occurrences
young Nunavummiut	9
other Nunavummiut	9
fellow Nunavummiut	6
homeless Nunavummiut	4
prominent Nunavummiut	3
disabled Nunavummiut	2
deaf Nunavummiut	2
eligible Nunavummiut	2
unemployed Nunavummiut	1
successful Nunavummiut	1

Table 3. Collocates for 'Nunavummiut' (N) in the *CaNOW Corpus*

Retrieved data were compared to the results obtained from a parallel search within the same corpus, using 'Ontarian' as an entry term. The word was chosen as a standard ethnonym deriving from the place-name 'Ontario' with the intent of highlighting creative uses of the word 'Nunavummiut' which deviate from the norm or are, in some ways, unexpected or unique. What emerged is that 'Ontarian' is much less used compared to 'Nunavummmiut' (401 times vs. 727); the result already suggests something relevant at the level of discourse: there is more necessity to build Nunavut territorial identities by means of intensive usage of a relatively new word such as 'Nunavummiut', compared

to what happens with regard to other provincial realities. Furthermore, 'Ontarian' mainly occurs in national newspapers such as the *National Post* or *MetroNews Canada*, whereas 'Nunavummiut' is mostly used in news articles in the *Nunatsiaq News*, which suggests that the attention is local rather than national. Another aspect to highlight is the way the terms collocate. While 'Nunavummiut' is almost exclusively followed by plural nouns when it is used as a modifier or by verbs in the plural form, 'Ontarian' tends to collocate with singular nouns or verbs in the third person singular. It may be argued that the ways in which 'Nunavummiut' is used involve the creation of novel texts and inter-texts that aim at building, discursively, the cultural identity of people from Nunavut. In fact, the most common verb collocating with 'Nunavummiut' is 'are' (42 occurrences), followed by verbs of action such as 'challenging', 'facing', 'experiencing', 'doing' and so on, while 'Ontarian' never collocates with the verb 'to be' in the plural form. At a lexical level, the results suggest how 'Nunavummiut' is strategically employed to politically load the discourse on and by Nunavummiut, and to restructure, creatively, norms and practices embedded in how normative ethnonyms such as 'Ontarian' are used.

5. *Conclusions*

The paper has tried to highlight connections between lexical and discourse creativity by analysing the case of the words 'Nunavut' and 'Nunavummiut' in Canadian news discourse. The idea here is that, starting from lexical creativity, by means of nonce formations (Bauer 2001), discourses can be altered, subverted, invented and changed to restructure positioning practices (Fairclough 1992) and produce new meanings.

It seems possible that inventive linguistic products can be used not only to fill linguistic gaps but also to generate sets of new social, cultural and political relationships. Throughout the *CaNOW Corpus*, uses of the word "Nunavut" with its creative compounds and the derivative 'Nunavummiut' along with its collocates, especially in *Nunatsiaq News* articles, show that cultural identities can be negotiated by means of creative lexical choices which can make some semantic space, new knowledge of and a way to speak about Nunavut, inspired by the communicative context. Before the creation of the territory of Nunavut there was a generic designator to talk about the North, but by adding the loanwords 'Nunavut' and 'Nunavummiut' to the Canadian dictionary, semantic space was made for a new place-name and a new geographic identity

which, nonetheless, bring about an already culturally loaded identity within the broader Canadian national identity.

Therefore, we can conclude that loanwords can be naturalized in ways that create new meanings, in our case circulated through the news. For instance, compounds of the word 'Nunavut' allow discourses on the specificity of Nunavut's history and territorial identity, and collocates of 'Nunavummiut' emerging from *Nunatsiaq News* reports, suggest how, through unique lexical choices, the context of discourse can be altered in ways that draw, for example, 'Nunavummiut' as a collective but still very local identity.

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PROPER NAMES IN ENGLISH
NAME-NOUN CONSTRUCTS

Abstract

Working on the assumption that proper names and appellative nouns form prototypical categories with fuzzy boundaries (Van Langendonck 2007; Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016), this paper addresses the question of how proper names, which identify referents, become elements with other functions in complex English Name-Noun constructs. Qualitative data analysis shows that appellativization via metaphor or metonymy is an important determinant of the shift from name to noun. Additionally, considering the linking rule R in the composite structure, it seems reasonable to suggest that, firstly, the COMMEMO-RATIVE function (cf., e.g., Schlücker 2016) underlies CLASSIFY (cf. Jackendoff 2010) in non-descriptive specifications like *diesel engine* or *HeLa cells*, and, secondly, the shift to EPITHET (Breban 2017) can be motivated metonymically whenever associative meanings and complex descriptions enter into the picture (e.g., *Kelly bag*).

Keywords: proper names; appellative nouns; complex name-noun constructs; epithet; metonymy; metaphor.

1. *Introduction*

This paper addresses the question how English Names, which identify unique referents, may take on other functions in Name-Noun constructs (sensu Booij 2010), including but not limited to classifying uses (cf., e.g., Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013, for Swedish).

To this purpose, we carry out a qualitative investigation into 400 constructs. A first set of examples was initially gathered from the literature on names, naming and names as modifiers (Van Langendonck 2007; Breban 2017, *inter alia*), and manually selected from the wordlist of the *Oxford English Dictionary* online (*OED: http://www.oed.com*). Additional examples come from subsequent searches for the relevant compound heads into the *Contemporary Corpus of American English*

(COCA: *https://corpus.byu.edu/coca/*), British broadsheets (notably, *The Guardian*: *https://www.guardian.co.uk*), as well as the Internet[1].

The challenges are manifold: to identify what counts as a name, to flesh out the function of names as modifiers in noun compounds, and, third, to come up with an account of meaning construction in Name-Noun constructs (i.e., Name-Noun compounds and Name-Noun phrases). Insights from Van Langedonck's (2007; Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016) work on proper names and appellative nouns give us some of the apparatus that we need to consider these issues (Section 2), but are not quite enough. In order to investigate mechanisms of meaning construction, we therefore borrow the notions of constructional schema, hierarchical lexicon and construct from Booij's (2010) Construction Morphology. As regards the semantics of the linking rule R in the composite structure, we proceed on the assumption that the same semantic relations can fill out the interpretation of both compounds and phrases (cf., e.g., Radimský 2015). We shall broadly refer to Jackendoff's (2010) work on argument and modifier schemas in Noun-Noun composition (Section 3). Throughout the analysis (Section 4), information on meaning and etymology is gathered from lexicographic and encyclopaedic tools (*OED* and other online directories). For the construction of figurative meanings and metonymic readings in particular, we shall briefly refer to insights from Van Langendonck (2007) and Ruiz De Mendoza Ibáñez (2010).

2. *Proper names and appellative nouns*

For the purposes of this paper, we adopt Van Langendock's (2007; Van Langendock and Van de Velde 2016) oft-quoted definition of proper names. They are nouns that "denote a unique entity at the level of established linguistic convention, to make it psychosocially salient within a given basic level category [pragmatics]" (Van Langendonck 2007: 4, 131). They individualize, identify and localize meanings. This is apparent with prototypical cases like personal names, bynames or place names, which are "construed as countable and nongeneric (i.e. non-recursive) NPs" (Van Langendonck 2007: 186).

Another important point concerns the meaning of the name (if any) which "does not (or not any longer) determine its denotation [semantics]" (Van Langendonck 2007: 4, 131). In that sense, initially descriptive family names such as *Hunter* or *Smith* do no longer identify an occupation – which they might have done as descriptive bynames. In

[1]   The sources were last accessed on October 31, 2018.

like manner, in *the White House* "the original definite description lost its appellative meaning by semantic bleaching, so that a gradual proprialization took place" (Van Langendonck 2007: 44)[2].

The close link between semantic bleaching and proprialization suggests that names and nouns do not form watertight categories. As a matter of fact, there are several transitional cases. Nouns from the lexicon combine into genuine proper names to designate unique entities in time and space. For instance, institutions, organizations, bands, artefacts, fictional characters. Some examples here are *the United Nations* (organization), *The Wall* (song and studio album), *The Rolling Stones* (band), *Snow White* (fictional character). Additionally, whereas prototypical names are stored as proprial lemmas in the onomasticon (*vis-à-vis* the mental lexicon), factive clauses (*the fact that…*), nouns and autonyms (metadiscoursive names) found in appellative constructions with their category (*the word bank*, *the notion of lemma*, *the element gold*) and marginal proper names do not have an *ad-hoc* proprial lemma.

Moving on to names, consider *Zeppelin/zeppelin.* As it were, *Zeppelin* is a proprial lemma (with initial capital letter) in the onomasticon, but it can be used as proper name and appellative noun. While the proper (family) name (as in *Mr Zeppelin*) relates via metonymy to its presupposed category, 'man', metonymy also motivates extension to the product name *(the) Zeppelin*, and, from there, zero-derivation to the appellative noun *a/the zeppelin* – which classifies and describes a given product as a large gas-propelled airship. Hence, *Zeppelin* is a multi-denotative proprial lemma (Van Langendonck 2007: 96), or a proprial lemma that is semantically ambiguous on the level of linguistic convention between uses as proper name with different inherent categories and uses as appellative noun (Van Langendock 2007: 10).

Staying with names, proprial lemmas can undergo *appellativization* (or the shift to nouns; cf. Van Langendonck 2007: 173-175) via *metaphor*, as in *a second Napoleon* (Van Langendonck 2007: 223, Ex. 43a) or (1), where *Hitler* is the speaker's bossy and despotic, Hitler-like, mother-in-law, and via *metonymy*, as in *another John* (Van Langendonck 2007: 223, Ex 43b) or (2), with a denotational shift from *John* to 'man':

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[2]   As regards formal correlates of proprial meanings, prototypical names do not take a determiner in that inherent definites (Van Langendonck 2007: 154-158); second, names in general are able to appear in close apposition structures (e.g., *the poet Burns*, *Fido the dog*, *the River Thames*, or *the city of London* (Van Langendonck 2007: 6, 125-128).

1. *Hitler is coming for dinner.* (Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016)
2. *I was talking about a different John.* (Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016)

Notice, however, that appellativization is rare (if possible) with non-prototypical names and, more particularly, with so-called appellative proper names like names of languages and numbers, names of diseases, as well as trade names and brand names[3] (Van Langendonck 2007: 173-176) – which have an underlying proprio-appellative lemma in the dictionary (Van Langendonck 2007: 235).

Another issue that will figure in what follows is that proper names do not have asserted lexical meaning. Rather, they display presuppositional meanings of several kinds – categorical, associative, emotive and grammatical. By *categorical* meaning (i.e., intension, sense or type specification), we understand the ability of names to presuppose (rather than assert) the (basic level) category or kind of their referent (cf. Van Langendonck 2007: 76-79). Hence, a name like *Charlotte* is generally used for a 'female human'[4]. Turning to the level of usage, *associative* meaning can be introduced either via the name bearer or the name form. For instance, names of singers, football stars and VIPs may take on positive meanings and be assigned to newborns. Related to this, another category of interest is that of *emotive* senses (e.g., *the Gold Coast* vs. *the Land of Misery*) and *grammatical* meanings (e.g., *Lizzie* and other hypochoristics) (Nyström 2016; Van Langendonck and Van De Velde 2016).

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[3]   In this regard, one anonymous reviewer mentions *Kleenex* and *Hoover.* Importantly, *Kleenex* illustrates a shift from name (*OED*: Kleenex, n. 'a proprietary name') to noun that is not recorded in the *OED* yet (though see *MacMillan Dictionary*: kleenex. 'A small paper handkerchief'; *http://macmillandictionary.com*). *Hoover* is a slightly different example, which accounts for subsequent shifts, from patent holder to company name and product name, to noun and verb (*OED*: *Hoover*, N. (a) (With capital initial.) 'The proprietary name of a make of vacuum cleaner (patented in 1927).' (b) *loosely*. (With small initial). 'Any vacuum cleaner'; *hoover*, V. *transitive* 'To clean with a Hoover (or, by extension, any vacuum cleaner). Also *intransitive*').

[4]   Proprial categories for basic level entities comprise names for men, women, countries, etc. Whenever a referent is given a proprial name, it is also assigned to the specific category of entities.

3. *Composite structures and the linking rule R*

As stated in the Introduction, our focus is on the identifying and classifying uses of names in composite wholes and in English Name-Noun constructs in particular. We share with Booij's (2010) Construction Morphology the basic ideas of constructional schemas as abstractions over sets of related words, and of a hierarchical lexicon: we thus understand constructs as empirically attested tokens of constructions, or constructional schemas with different degrees of abstractness. Name-Noun constructs are specifications that unify properties at the phonological, syntactic and semantico-pragmatic level, thus forming the bottom-level of a specific pattern or schema.

As regards the semantics of the linking rule R in the composite structure, we broadly refer to Jackendoff's (2010) work on argument and modifier schemas in Noun-Noun composition, as well as to the notions of proper function, action modality, combination and co-compositionality. The list of functions is further enriched by adding the COMMEMO-RATIVE 'is named after' function (Schlücker 2016) and the EPITHET function (Breban 2017), which allows to account for so-called "TYP-IFYING uses" (Koptjevskaja-Tamm 2013, on names as modifiers in Swedish). Because a thorough linguistic analysis of the semantics of the rule R in Name-Noun composition and other nominal constructs is beyond the scope of this research, we do away with theoretical modelling into detailed morpho-syntactic and conceptual-semantic structures: we shall only proceed equipped with a list of relations that we do not state formally. Also, we shall work on the assumption that multiple paraphrases are possible for the same construct. For our purpose, this seems to be a reasonable simplification. For the sake of brevity, we will introduce theoretical notions along the way, together with the examples under scrutiny.

4. *Data analysis*

We have seen that prototypical proper names identify and have a proprial lemma in the onomasticon. Conversely, prototypical nouns (appellatives) classify (*mum*, *dad*, *house*). Moving on to nominal compounds, their prototypical function is to refer to a concept that is the subconcept of the one denoted by the head (i.e., the hyperconcept) and this subconcept is created by conceptual restriction (Gunkel and Zifonun 2009). Thus, constructs such as *Gordon setter* (with a proper name modifier) and *Irish setter* (with an adjective modifier) classify, in that they refer to subtypes of *setters* (gundogs). Classification, however, does not pertain to the ad-hoc composite whole in *my/the*

Sarah boots (boots that I received from Sarah) and *my/the RR throw* (the throw that Riccardo, also known as RR, bought for me). Here, the names *Sarah* and *RR* identify their heads as specific instances of the subtypes *boots* (shoes) and *throw* (bedding).

In the following we concentrate on the juxtaposition of prototypical (personal) names and nouns in Name-Noun constructs that might be complex proper names and appellative nouns, or serve a proprio-appellative function as composite wholes. Because prototypical proper names presuppose their category and prototypical appellative nouns assert their basic-level category, the interesting question is, how do these functions combine in nominal constructs where names may take different positions on the individualize-classify continuum (e.g., via appellativization; cf. Van Langendonck 2007: 173-175)? And how do they take on associative and emotive meanings as a result of the interaction of Name and Noun in the composite whole? To tackle this issue, we shall turn attention to the case of composite wholes whose interpretation can be filled out by the semantic relations CLASSIFY and COMMEMO-RATIVE in Section 4.1, and then move on to discuss the semantic relations IDENTIFY and EPITHET in Section 4.2.

4.1. *CLASSIFY and COMMEMORATIVE*

In Jackendoff's (2010) Parallel Architecture, the basic modifier function CLASSIFY specifies the semantic relation R that fills out the interpretation of nominal compounds. Hence, complex words like *Molotov cocktail*, *HeLa cells* and *diesel engine* would behave like the lexicalized nominal compounds *xray* or *beta cell*, which consist of two concatenated nouns.

More recently, however, Schlücker (2016; based on Warren 1978 and Ortner and Müller-Bolhagen 1991) has argued for positing a COMMEM-ORATIVE ('is named after') relation as part of the semantic-conceptual structure of compounds like *Molotov cocktail*, *Hela cells* and *diesel engine* – with a personal name for the given sub-kind. There are nevertheless multiple ways to capture head-modifier relations, and it is intuitively plausible that multiple interpretations may coexist happily (Jackendoff 2010). For instance, *diesel engine* was originally used as a product name and served what we call an individualizing or IDENTIFYING function, where COMMEMORATIVE was clearly grounded in the CAUSE relation. In the mental lexicon, however, *diesel engine* has always served a nonproprial, classifying reading, on a par with specifications such as *steam engine*, *heat engine* and *water engine* (with an INSTRUMENT relation). The fact that the diesel engine was invented by the German engineer Rudolf Diesel (*OED*: *diesel*) does not add to the description of the

referent: *diesel engine* denotes a new concept and a subtype of engines, 'a machine that converts power into motion', and a 'type of internal-combustion engine' with particular characteristics. Here, appellativization can be accounted for in terms of reanalysis and double-domain metonymic reduction (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibañez 2010) from personal name (Rudolf Diesel) into registered name (name of an engine), to appellative noun for a machine (a subtype of engines), and then the fuel on which it runs[5]. We therefore posit a default classifying reading of the right-headed nominal compound *diesel engine* in the $[N_1\text{-}N_2]N_2$ schema, where 'N_1 is the INSTR of N_2' and 'N_2 HAS (i.e., USES) N_1'.

   Crucially, $[\text{Name}_1\text{-}N_2]N_2$ schemas with a classifying reading and underlying COMMEMORATIVE, MAKE and/or CAUSE relation are common in the field of science, but also in other subject fields[6]. As regards the former, let us take *HeLa/Hela/Hela cells* and *Jurkat/JM cell*s, which name immortal cell lines derived originally from tissue of Henrietta Lax, or the siblings J/Jurkat and M[7]. While we can readily assume a COMMEMORATIVE relation, we can also envisage an underlying PART relation, 'N_2 is PART of N_1', where the modifiers *HeLa* (*Henrietta Lax*), *Jurkat* and *JM* form the initial POSSESSOR or LOCATION and therefore restrict the denotation of the head *cells*. Overall, such composite wholes appear to be proprio-appellative names that minimally combine CLASSIFY (or A TYPE OF) and COMMEMORATIVE. As such, they lack not only the descriptive function attached to compounds like *cancer cell* or *taxi driver,* but also the direct intersective or co-compositionality relations of Adjective-Noun compounds such as *red wine* and *busy signal*, respectively.

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   [5]   Contrast with *dirty engine*, with and intersective and non-restrictive modification, which does not create a new concept.
   [6]   Some specifications from the OED are: *Ackermann steering gear/angle/principle* (1898) (technology); *Alexander polynomial* (1932) (maths); *Gregory-powder* (1821) (medicine).
   [7]   The Leibniz Institute DSMZ - German Collection of Microorganisms and Cell Cultures defines *HeLa cells* and *Jurkat/JM cells* as follows:
   HeLa cells / ACC57*:* established from the epithelioid cervix carcinoma of a 31-year-old black woman in 1951; later diagnosis changed to adenocarcinoma; first aneuploid, continuously cultured human cell line. (*https://www.dsmz.de/catalogues/details/culture/ACC-57.html*). Jurkat cells / JM cells / ACC282*:* established from the peripheral blood of a 14-year-old boy with acute lymphoblastic leukaemia (ALL) at first relapse in 1976; often this cell line is called "JM" (JURKAT and JM are derived from the same patient and are sister clones), occasionally JM may be a subclone with somewhat divergent features. (*https://www.dsmz.de/catalogues/details/culture/ACC-282.html*).

4.2. IDENTIFY and EPITHET

Though CLASSIFY and COMMEMORATIVE account for several specifications, restricting the analysis to these functions only returns a partial picture. In fact, any analysis of Name-Noun constructs must account for the fact that they are not necessarily classificatory. Thus, the following specifications answer the question 'What kind of NP?': *Klaus Fugge prize/picture-book award* (*http://www.guardian.co.uk*) and *Maurice Sendak picture book*; *the Bush administration*; *the Berlusconi Show* (2010; BBC documentary); *the Valentino buyout*, *the Valentino website*, *Valentino gowns* (2012); *the Trump handshake* (2017).

Generally, a prototypical Name (forename and/or family name) as modifier answers the question 'Which NP?', thereby specifying an instance of the type (head), and the IDENTIFYING examples can be paraphrased using the COMMEMORATIVE function or the argument schema 'N_2 BY/OF N_1'. Thus, *Bush administration* designates a kind of administration on the IDENTIFYING end of the continuum. Another example from US foreign politics is *Trump handshake*. While we do not have a subconcept for the Trump handshake yet, the name serves as an access point to reconstructing a longer, complex description (a weird and vigorous handshake). Submodifiers like 'typically' and 'type of' pertain to this relation. Likewise, in *Valentino gown* EPITHET (referring to attributes; cf. Breban 2017) is the metonymically motivated function behind IDENTIFYING.

In a slightly different manner, in *Hitler moustache* and *Kaiser moustache* the COMMEMORATIVE relation and the IDENTIFYING reading are grounded in SIMILARITY to specific exemplars that are characteristic of, or in possession of, the (well-known) feature(s) named after the person referred to by the proper name.

Moving on towards the EPITHET dimension of Name-Noun constructs, we find complex descriptions in specifications such as *Hermès Kelly bag*, *Jackie O bag* (Kelly-style, Jackie-style accessories) or *Panton table* (Panton-style/Panton-like furniture). Let us start with *Kelly bag* or *Hermès Kelly bag*. This iconic bag was originally intended by high-street designer Hermès for *Grace Kelly*. *Hermès Kelly* and *Kelly bag* are non-prototypically identifying product names or proprio-appellative lemmas. Many replicas are on the market now; the identifying name thus turns into a subtype of bags, with distinctive characteristics. In the same vein, *Gucci Jackie O* appears to be a classic must-have and fakes and imitations try to approximate this exquisite and exclusive subtype. The bags replicate a well-established fashion style category inspired to (and 'named after' – COMMEMORATIVE function) Grace

Kelly and Jaqueline Kennedy's signature style. A fashion victim might have subconcepts for this.

The meaning of the personal name, which is not only and not exclusively identifying, is key to this type of branding. Based on our knowledge of the world, we construct the late Grace Kelly with reference to her glamorous and fabled life as a Hollywood actress first and Princess of Monaco later. In like manner, Jackie Kennedy Onassis is celebrated as an icon of enduring style, allure and charm. These properties are part of the real world and known to the decoder, but the description is more complex than the one that could be given by intersective adjectives. These identifying names are EPITHETs that come with positive meanings from the fields Status, Romanticism and Sensuality, Wealth, Power and Independence (Kotticelli Kurras 2013). They epitomise or, to put it with Koptjevskaja-Tamm (2013), they TYPIFY.

It is not new that nouns serve as cues for activating world knowledge that is compatible with the head and for activating a selection task that involves the reconstruction of complex descriptions in nominal compounds. Similarly, the premodifying name in the examples under scrutiny serves as a reference point for the metonymic process of domain reduction (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibañez 2010): in plain English, the name of the fashion icon stands for selected attributes that are conceptually compatible. Thus, the name can semantically enrich the noun with highly seductive properties. In like manner, if Verner Panton's furniture from the sixties epitomises (EPITHET) vibrantly coloured furniture made in plastic, a bright yellow plastic table may be classified as a *Panton table* because it has properties that are typical of Panton's work in general.

Importantly, access to complex descriptions in identifying constructs may go all the way to inviting the decoder to reconstruct a descriptive characterization of the referent, which might eventually result into a shift from associative and emotional meanings to intensification, as in *Kardashian trash/trashy*, where Kardashian is picked out and constructed as an *ad-hoc* semantic-feature-copying degree modifier (cf. Cacchiani 2009 and references there).

5. *Conclusions*

My goal in this paper has been to discuss some types of English Name-Noun nominal constructs. Though more research into the issue is needed and extensive data analysis would return a more complete picture, we can minimally bring home some major points. First, prototypical names, we have seen, presuppose their basic level category and are inherent definites. They individualize or identify. The other way

round, prototypical nouns and nominal compounds classify. As far as Name-Noun nominal constructs are concerned, however, it is clear that CLASSIFY alone cannot fill out the linking relation between name and noun. The COMMEMORATIVE function appears to be a better option because it accounts for non-descriptive name modifiers in classifying specifications like *diesel engine*, an outcome of appellativization from the registered name *Diesel engine*.

If we want to provide a more comprehensive picture, however, we must allow for IDENTIFY, which answers the question 'Which NP?' in specifications like *Bush administration*. It is a small step from IDEN-TIFY to expressing SIMILARITY to the features epitomized by the person that the name designates, as in *Kaiser moustache* or *Hitler moustache*. The linking relation here is better understood as EPITHET. Yet, EPITHET can be fleshed out in a number of ways. For instance, access to associative meaning and emotive senses in complex descriptions comes with a complex descriptive characterization of the referent in *Kelly bag*, and goes all the way to inviting an *ad-hoc* intensifying reading in *Kardashian trash*.

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"*BREXIT*, *GREXIT*, WITH THE POSSIBILITY OF *SPEXIT*": BLEND SPLINTERS AND SECRETED AFFIXES AS CREATIVE WORD-FORMATION MECHANISMS

Abstract

The emergence of new splinters, such as *-tainment* or *-tarian*, is becoming a pervasive phenomenon in English word-formation. They are originally non-morphemic portions of words that are split off and used in the creation of new words, through a blending process. However, some of them can acquire a specific new meaning and be recurrently used on new bases, thus becoming more productive bound morphemes, either combining forms or secreted affixes.

This study investigates splinters and their evolution from creative blend elements to more regular affix-like forms undergoing a secretion process. It shows that the birth of splinters and the coinage of new words containing them is a paradigmatic process, based on formal and semantic similarity to well-known existing words. In particular, the study focuses on an emerging case of splinter – i.e. *-exit* – earliest found in *Grexit* and *Brexit*, and recently in analogical formations that constitute a series. Using a corpus-based approach, the study demonstrates that series represent the shift from creative local mechanisms of surface analogy to more extended phenomena of analogy via schema. Therefore, a schema can be viewed as the first step towards the development of productive grammatical rules.

Keywords: splinters; blending; combining forms; secreted affixes; analogy; schema.

1. *Introduction*

The evolution of new splinters from non-morphemic portions of words to more established and regular affix-like forms is part of a heated debate in English word-formation. Bauer, Lieber, Plag (2013: 525) claim that splinters are phenomena of paradigmatic morphology, based on similarity among words in the lexicon. For instance, the new word *promotainment* [1999] has been created after previously coined words (i.e. *docutainment* [1978], *infotainment* [1980], *edutainment* [1983]),

which are similar to the new word, both formally and semantically[1]. From the formal viewpoint, all these words can be analysed in terms of a blending process:

(1) docu(mentary) + (enter)tainment
    info(rmation) + (enter)tainment
    edu(cation) + (enter)tainment
    promo(tional) + (enter)tainment

while, semantically, they share the meaning 'entertainment' indicated by the second abbreviated element -*tainment*.

A different case is provided by *fruitarian* [1893], *nutarian* [1909], and *breatharian* [1979], which all display formal similarity with *vegetarian*, but only retain part of its meaning. Indeed, they generally indicate 'someone with a diet restriction', e.g., to fruit, nuts, or nutrients absorbed from the air, but not to vegetable foods. Hence, -*tarian* new words cannot be analysed in terms of blending (cf. Kemmer 2003; Lehrer 2007), as confirmed by occurrences such as *eggitarian* [2005], *pescetarian* [2010], *pollotarian* [2010] (all in *COCA*)[2], whose meanings are semantically incompatible with 'vegetarian':

(2) veget(able) + -(t)arian
    fruit + -(t)arian
    nut + -(t)arian
    breath + -(t)arian
    egg(-i-), pesce 'fish', pollo 'chicken' + -(t)arian

Differently from the words in (1), the words in (2) do not undergo mere abbreviation, but a process of semantic reinterpretation called 'secretion' (see § 2).

Still a different case of paradigmatic morphology is in the formation of *Brexit* [2012] ← *Br*(itish) + *exit*, based on the precise model of *Grexit* [2012] ← *Gr*(eek) + *exit*, but becoming in its turn the model for a series of new words, all attested in *COCA*:

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[1]   If not otherwise expressed, the years in square brackets and the word's meanings refer to the earliest attestations/definitions of the words in the *OED* online. Throughout the paper, 'new word' will be used as an umbrella term for both 'neologisms' – i.e. new words that are meant to enrich the lexical stock of a language – and 'nonce words' or 'occasionalisms', which are used only on one specific occasion or text (Algeo 1991: 3).

[2]   *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, available at *http://corpus.byu.edu/coca/*.

(3) Fr(ance) + -exit
    N(etherlands) + -exit
    Cal(ifornia) + -exit
    Amer(ica) + -exit

In this set of words, *-exit* is not abbreviated, only secreted. In other words, it is an independent morpheme which acquires the new meaning 'withdrawal from the EU, UN, or from another Union or country' when it is added to word parts.

The initial counterpart *Br-* in *Brexit* is also becoming frequently used, especially in journalistic language, for the creation of humorous words connected with the British regret for leaving the European Union. Some instances include *Bregret* (*The Independent*, 25/06/2016), *Bremorse*, *Breturn* (*Daily Sabah*, 02/07/2016), and *Brecession* (*The Sunday Times*, 06/07/2016), all analysable according to the same blending pattern:

(4) Br(itish) + (r)egret
    Br(itish) + (r)emorse
    Br(itish) + (r)eturn
    Br(itish) + (r)ecession

However, unlike *-exit*, *Br-* does not involve reinterpretation, but is a mere shortening of *Br*(itish) that may merge with words beginning in *r-*. The similarity displayed by the new words in (4) is therefore reinforced by an overlapping *r*, encouraging the paradigmatic substitution and helping the association of other words to this series.

This paper examines series from the viewpoint of their creativity vs. productivity, and extra-grammaticality vs. grammaticality. First, it explores the pertinent literature on combining forms, splinters, and secreted affixes and their heterogeneous classifications as blending elements of word-creation (Fradin 2000; Ronneberger-Sibold 2010), or as part of marginal morphology (Dressler 2000). Second, on the basis of lexicographic investigation, it hypothesises that these elements of English word-formation are not static but evolve in time, producing series of words which share the same formation. In particular, we claim that splinters, combining forms, and secreted affixes represent different (progressive) degrees towards regularity and productivity. Finally, the paper adopts a corpus-based approach to investigate the case of *-exit* and its diachronic evolution towards a secreted affix. In the paper, we assume that the process behind this evolution is analogy via schema (see Mattiello 2017), which, unlike surface analogy, is not a local mech-

anism, but a regular and productive phenomenon generating homoge-
neous sets of new words.

2. *The literature on combining forms, splinters, and secreted affixes*

In the literature on English word-formation, scholars use different
labels – i.e. combining forms, splinters, and secreted affixes – to refer
to close or similar phenomena, or focus on different aspects of the same
phenomenon, but disagree with others on various issues.

Warren (1990), for instance, uses the label "combining form" to re-
fer to non-neoclassical elements (e.g. -(*a*)*holic*, -(*a*)*thon*, -*gate*, -*ware*)
which obtain new words, such as *spendaholic*, *swimathon*, *Yuppiegate*,
and *firmware*. In her classification, she remarks that some of these ele-
ments represent parts of words (e.g. *cyber*-(netics), (alco)-*holic*), where-
as others are not new morphemes, but have novel meanings in compar-
ison to the free forms (e.g. -*gate* meaning 'political scandal' or -*ware*
meaning 'software'). Warren (1990: 125) also discriminates between
"initial combining forms" (e.g. *eco*- ← *eco*(logy), as in *ecosocialism*)
and "final combining forms" (e.g. -*erati* ← (lit)*erati*, as in *glitterati*),
claiming that initial elements differ from final ones because: (1) they
are modifiers (vs. heads), (2) they have a characteristic shape ending in
vowel, and (3) they tend not to be secreted.

In her work, she makes a very useful distinction between secretion
and abbreviation:

> Secretion is a process in which certain semantic elements in a linguistic unit
> are kept and others discarded. Abbreviation is a process in which all the
> semantic elements are kept, although the form of the unit is made shorter.
> (Warren 1990: 119)

Accordingly, -*gate* is a secreted combining form generalising the
meaning of Nixon's *Watergate* scandal, whereas -*ware* is an abbreviat-
ed combining form shortening 'software' in *firmware*, *freeware*, etc. In
this paper, we are especially interested in secreted combining forms, in
that they appear to be better candidates for the development into inde-
pendent morphemes.

Another commonly used label for these types of element is "splin-
ter" (earliest in Adams 1973), which is often associated to the blend-
ing phenomenon. For instance, Lehrer (2007: 116) defines blends as
"underlying compounds which are composed of one word and part of
another, or parts of two (and occasionally three) other words", the word
parts being called "splinters". However, Lehrer uses this term as syn-

onymous with "combining forms". Like Warren (1990), she claims that some splinters "are homonyms of independent words and are semantically and etymologically related to them" (Lehrer 2007: 124): e.g., -*speak* in *computerspeak* 'computer jargon'.

In an article on combining forms and blends, Fradin (2000) discusses the same particles in terms of secretion, using the label "secreted affix" for elements such as -*aholic* (in *workaholic*) and -*tini* ← (Mar)*tini* (in *vodkatini*). Fradin (2000: 54) considers these phenomena as occurring outside morphology and, despite admitting that they involve a certain level of abstraction, he regards them as extra-grammatical (non-rule-governed) means of forming new lexemes (see Mattiello 2013).

By contrast, an account of splinters in terms of paradigmatic morphology and analogy is in Bauer, Lieber, Plag (2013). In their seminal work, the authors claim that the use, recognition, and interpretation of a splinter as found in a new word requires a "paradigmatic relationship" (Bauer, Lieber, Plag 2013: 525). For instance, in line with them, we can interpret the splinter -*gate* as 'scandal, disaster' in the occasionalism *Breastgate* [2010] (*COCA*) on the basis of the formal and semantic similarity of the new word with its model *Watergate*. In this study, we rather believe that *Watergate* was the original model for words coined in the 1970s, like *Volgagate* [1973] or *Dallasgate* [1975]. However, the expansion of the -*gate* series and its extension to new bases, from place names to proper names and common nouns, suggest that the model for new words, such as *Monicagate* [1998] (*COCA*) or the above-mentioned *Breastgate*, is no longer *Watergate*, but the series obtained via a schema model.

Hence, in this study we distinguish between:

a) Surface analogy, i.e. the word-formation process whereby a new word is coined after a precise actual word (e.g. Starbucks' *frappuccino* ← *frapp*(é) + (capp)*uccino* is modelled on *mochaccino* [1963] ← *mocha* + (cappu)*ccino*);

and

b) Analogy via schema, i.e. based on prototype words that provide a concrete pattern for either a word family or a series (e.g. -*ercise* ← (ex)*ercise*, found in *sexercise* [1942], *dancercise* [1967], *Jazzercise* [1976], and *boxercise* [1985]).

Thus, unlike grammatical rules, which are abstract generalisations, both surface analogy and analogy via schema represent concrete models for the formation of new words (Mattiello 2017; cf. Booij's 2010 abstract notion of 'schema' within Construction Morphology).

The shift from surface analogy to a schema model could be illustrated, for instance, by the formation of *software* [1958] after the unique model of *hardware* [1947], and later both becoming the model for a

series of formations sharing the second element -*ware*: e.g., *firmware* [1968], *courseware* [1978], *freeware* [1982], *shareware* [1983], *vapourware* [1983], etc. This schema is available for new formations referring to some type of 'software'.

Given the dynamic character of word-formation, classifications cannot be static, in that splinters from blends may quickly become combining forms, or even affixes. Therefore, we believe that the elements that Bauer, Lieber, Plag (2013: 525ff.) discuss under the same heading – i.e. "splinters" – should be categorised more clearly, in that they differ in several respects.

First, some derive from reanalysis while others come from morphological re-segmentation. For instance, -*zilla* referring to 'an overbearing person or thing', as in *bosszilla* [1988] and *bridezilla* [1995] 'a woman who has become obsessive about planning her wedding', originates after the reanalysis of *Godzilla* as a complex word *God* + -*zilla*, although it is actually an alteration of the Japanese word *Gojira*. By contrast, the complex word *delic-i-ous* has been morphologically re-segmented to obtain the element -(*a*)*licious* (e.g. *babelicious* [1991], *bootylicious* [1994] 'sexually attractive').

Second, some of Bauer, Lieber, Plag's (2013) splinters involve mere abbreviation (e.g. (enter)-*tainment*, (auto)-*matic*), but most of them are secreted. For instance, -*stan* ← *Pakistan*, *Afghanistan*, etc. is used as the second element in fictitious place names with the sense 'the notional realm dominated by – ' (e.g. *Homostan* [1970], *Somewherestan* [1993]).

A third aspect to consider is the actual profitability of these elements, that is, the extent to which a speech community exploits them to create new words. Indeed, some of the instances that Bauer, Lieber, Plag (2013) mention are well-known and amply accepted combining forms. The *OED*, for instance, includes -*adelic*/-*edelic* ← *psychedelic* (e.g. in *funkadelic* [1970] 'cool, stylish, funky') among "combining forms" and considers -*aholic* as a proper "suffix".

On the other hand, Bauer, Lieber, Plag (2013) also include in their list some splinters which are used sporadically, and thus not deserving the label "combining forms" in lexicographic works. The most blatant case is -*o*, obtained from the reanalysis of the clipping *typo* 'typographical error' as having a final suffix. The word *speako* 'an error in speaking' may represent a case of surface analogy on the unique model *typo*, but not a productive case forming a series (cf. the slang suffix -*o*; see also *writo* 'an error in writing' in *Wordspy*).

A final aspect to note is the variability in phonological shape of some of these elements (e.g. -*rama* vs. -*orama*, -*holic* vs. -*aholic*), which contributes to make their form more complex, and their clas-

sification wavering between extra-grammatical splinters from blends to more regular morphemes, either combining forms or even secreted affixes. From the theoretical viewpoint, combining forms do not belong to "extra-grammatical" morphology, but to that part of morphology that Dressler (2000) calls "marginal", in this case, at the boundary between composition and affixation.

In this paper, we hypothesise that, in the creation of these morpheme-like elements, there is a diachronic evolution from blend splinter to combining form, and therefore from surface analogy to analogy via schema. We also hypothesise that, semantically, this evolution is marked by a secretion process, that is, a reinterpretation in terms of specification or generalisation. The case study that we have selected for the corpus-based analysis is *-exit*. The method for the analysis is explained in Section 3.

3. *Method*

The two corpora of English used for the analysis are both retrievable from the Brigham Young University's website (*https://corpus.byu.edu/*):

   a) *News on the Web Corpus* (*NOW*): The *NOW* corpus contains 5.7 billion words of data from web-based newspapers and magazines from 2010 to the present time.
   b) *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*): *COCA* is the largest freely-available corpus of American English. The corpus contains more than 560 million words of text (20 million words each year 1990-2017).

Given the different sizes of the corpora employed, token frequencies were also normalised per million words (pmw).

The data for the analysis was both automatically and manually selected. First, a machine-driven advanced search of the complete lists of examples was made by typing '*exit' in the 'Find matching strings' slot of each corpus. Automatic search also allowed to flag the 'Sections' option, sorting data by year of occurrence. This option was especially useful to investigate the diachronic evolution of *-exit* words and their recent development. For each corpus, only the first 100 results were taken into account. Second, a further manual selection was made to delete unnecessary or irrelevant data, such as derived words (e.g. *anti-Brexit*, *pre-Brexit*) or irrelevant cases of compounding (e.g. *hard-Brexit*, *entrance-exit*). The remaining data provided a current overview of *-exit* formatives.

4. *The case of -exit: Analysis and discussion*

In the title of an article of *The Economist*, dated 21st June 2012, the word *Brixit* appeared for the first time in the news:

> Yet the chances of Britain leaving the EU in the next few years are higher than they have ever been. A *Brixit* looms for several reasons. (Bagehot, *The Economist*, 2012)

and, on the following day, in another online article, a journalist commented:

> The reason for the increasing likelihood of what some are terming a '*Brixit*' (short for British exit, like Grexit for Greek exit) is quite simple. (Iain Murray, The Daily Mail, 2012)

Hence, the original form of the word suggests an analysis as blend from *Bri*(tish) + (e)*xit*. More specifically, we could analyse *Brixit* according to a paradigmatic substitution in the proportional equation:

  (5) Greek ^ exit : Grexit = British ^ exit : X   (X = Brixit)

Later on, *Brixit* was replaced by *Brexit*, probably because of the greater resemblance with the model *Grexit*, differing from it only for the initial consonant sound.

 However, both model and target have entered the *OED* only in March 2017. In the dictionary, the model *Grexit* is described as 'a term for the (potential) withdrawal of Greece from the Eurozone' and its target *Brexit* as 'the (proposed) withdrawal of the UK from the EU'. The referendum held in the UK on 23rd June 2016, in which a majority of voters favoured a British withdrawal from the EU, marked a turning point for the future of Great Britain, and certainly had an enormous effect on the development of new words ending in -*exit*.

 A quantitative analysis of -*exit* words in the corpora selected provides the results reported in Table I. The items in the first column are progressively arranged in order of frequency and followed (in brackets) by the name or noun originating them. The numbers in the second and third columns refer to the words' raw/normalised (pmw) frequency. The contextualised examples in the last column are all drawn from *NOW*.

-exit Word	*NOW*	*COCA*	Example
Brexit / Bexit (British)	242,730/ 56.45	96/0.17	UK Labour Party pressures its leader to change *Brexit* stance. (2018)
Grexit (Greek)	1,258/0.29		Greece might have to sever ties and do *Grexit* and exit the euro. (2017)
Frexit (France)	403/0.09	3/0.01	Ms Le Pen has vowed to hold a referendum on '*Frexit*', France's departure from the bloc. (2017)
Calexit (California)	153/0.04	2/0.00	'*Calexit*' is short for 'California exit' – the idea that the US state could break away from the rest of the nation. (2017)
Irexit (Ireland)	151/0.04		The logic of *Irexit* would be for Ireland to rejoin the UK. (2017)
Nexit (Netherlands)	149/0.03	1/0.00	Now let us debate on *Nexit* (Netherlands' exit from EU). (2017)
Rexit (R. Rajan, Royal Bank of India)	121/0.03	1/0.00	Indians dubbed Raghuram Rajan's stepping down from the Royal Bank of India the *Rexit*. (2016)
Zexit (J. Zuma, President of South Africa)	70/0.02		Zuma quits as president of South Africa: '*Zexit*' dominates international media. (2018)
Wexit (A. Wenger, French football manager)	66/0.02		In a protest before the game fans held up banners calling for Wenger's departure or '*Wexit*' as one sign read. (2017)
Lexit (the Left)	63/0.01		However, there was also the *Lexit* campaign: the Left Leave Campaign. (2016)
Italexit / Itexit (Italy)	41/0.01		The Euroskeptic party has previously vowed to hold an EU referendum, stoking fears of an '*Italexit*' – Italy's exit from the Eurozone. (2018)

-exit Word	*NOW*	*COCA*	Example
Dexit (Deutsch-land 'Germany' / Denmark)	33/0.01		Soon to come could be Frexit, Grexit, and Italexit and maybe *Dexit* (German Exit). (2017)
Texit (Texas)	32/0.01	3/0.01	One extreme reaction is that California and Texas want to secede from the USA ('*Texit*'). (2017)
Regrexit (Regret)	33/0.01	1/0.00	*Regrexit*: Regretting the decision to vote for Brexit. (2018)
Swexit / Sexit (Sweden)	31/0.01		Sweden Democrats are anxious to capitalise on the British vote to boost their own '*Swexit*' demands. (2016)
Biafrexit / Biafexit (Biafra)	27/0.01		The group also called on the British government to guide President Muhammadu Buhari and his colleagues to organize a *Biafrexit* in Nigeria. (2016)
Pexit (Portugal)	27/0.01		Spexit, *Pexit*, Fixit, Polexit, Swexit, even Czexit: Each country in the EU is getting the 'exit' treatment. (2016)
Czexit (Czech Republic)	26/0.01		And there are also fears that Brexit could also trigger a *Czexit*, a Swexit, and a Grexit in the Czech Republic, Sweden and Greece. (2016)
Wolexit (W. Soyinka, Nobel laureate)	26/0.01		While speaking at a media parley at Freedom Park, Soyinka said he was planning his own *Wolexit*, an adaptation of Brexit. (2016)
Trexit (Turkey)	23/0.01	1/0.00	Another reminder that a so-called *Trexit* could come even before Turkey actually joins the union. (2017)
Clexit (Climate)	20/0.00		The *Clexit* Campaign aims to prevent ratification or local enforcement of the UN climate treaty. (2016)

-exit Word	*NOW*	*COCA*	Example
Spexit **(Spain)**	19/0.00		Brexit, Grexit, with the possibility of *Spexit*. Whose bright idea was this? (2015)
Ausexit / Ozexit **(slang Oz 'Australia')**	18/0.00		It nearly won out in Australia in fact, where '*Ausexit*' (severing ties with the British monarchy or the United Nations) was on the short-list. (2016)
Catalexit **(Catalonia)**	18/0.00		Now came the *Catalexit* vote in Catalonia – the semi-autonomous region in northeastern Spain. (2017)
Scexit **(Scotland)**	15/0.00		Nationalism is going to be a force behind '*Scexit*' to make Scotland leave the UK. (2016)
Eirexit **(Eire)**	14/0.00		*Eirexit*: Could Ireland follow Britain out of the EU? (2016)
Oexit **(*Österreich* 'Austria')**	13/0.00		Mr Hofer wants Austria to follow Britain's Brexit referendum with an '*Oexit*' vote of its own. (2016)
Polexit **(Poland)**	13/0.00		Now the focus has swung to *Polexit* (Poland exit). (2018)
Chexit **(China)**	13/0.00		Filipinos coined a new word, '*Chexit*', inspired by the term Brexit, to symbolise that China is out of the South China Sea. (2016)
Afrexit **(Africa)**	11/0.00		Simultaneously, a North *Afrexit* from the African Union is under-way. (2016)
Amexit / **Amerexit** **(America)**	9/0.00	1/0.00	Thomas Massie is pushing what he calls an '*Amexit*' from the United Nations. (2016)
Indexit **(India)**	8/0.00		An *Indexit* from Saarc could hurt India's image among smaller states. (2016)

Table I. Frequency of *-exit* words in *NOW* and *COCA*

Corpus-based results show that, since the Brexit referendum of 2016, especially in the years 2016-2017, there has been a proliferation of words created on the pattern of *Grexit* and *Brexit*, and their creation is still under way in 2018. For most EU member countries, a potential withdrawal from the Eurozone has been envisaged (e.g. *Frexit*, *Itexit*, *Nexit*, *Swexit*, etc.). Some of these nonce words are hybrid formations with a native base and English -*exit* (e.g. *Oexit* ← Österreich 'Austria', *Dexit* ← *Deutschland* 'Germany').

Other words in *NOW* and *COCA* have been coined for the possible departure of Scotland (*Scexit*) and (Northern) Ireland (*Irexit*, *Eirexit*) from the UK. Still other states, or regions, have assumed an exit of some type: e.g., America and Australia from the UN (*Am*(*er*)*exit*, *Aus-exit*/*Ozexit*), California and Texas from the USA (*Calexit*, *Texit*), North Africa from the African Union (*Afrexit*), China from the South China Sea (*Chexit*), India from SAARC (*Indexit*), and Catalonia from Spain (*Catalexit*).

In the news, the -*exit* pattern (with adapted meaning) has become so productive and widespread that it has extended its applicability to other bases, namely, personal names (*Rexit*, *Wexit*, *Wolexit*, *Zexit*) and even common nouns (*Regrexit*). Finally, *Lexit* is from the 'Left' political party and *Clexit* from the 'climate' treaty.

Therefore, analogy has created a series of concrete prototype -*exit* words that constitute a schema model for novel words. This process of morphological extension is accompanied by a semantic specification, i.e. 'withdrawal from a Union, Treaty, State, or political/professional position'. The process that is now occurring with -*exit* is very close to what happened in the past with -*gate*, extended to new bases and indicating various types of actual or alleged scandal and cover-up.

Although the productivity of -*exit* is especially restricted to journalistic language and to web-based texts, the recent entering of *Grexit* and *Brexit* in the *OED* and the occurrence of their analogues in corpora confirm our hypothesis that, for -*exit* and similar morpheme-like elements, there is a diachronic evolution from blend splinters to more regular combining forms (or secreted affixes).

5. *Conclusions*

The corpus-based analysis of a case study – i.e. -*exit* – has shown that blend splinters can evolve into more established and productive elements that are reused in language to create new words. The element -*exit* was originally used to form the blend *Grexit* and later, after this

precise model, to obtain *Brixit*/*Brexit*. Nowadays, a series of concrete words exists (*Frexit*, *Spexit*, *Italexit*, etc.) that confirms the regularity of this formative, in terms of frequency, productivity, and profitability. Thus, *-exit* suggests a shift from surface analogy, based on a unique model, to a schema model, based on several, but still concrete words. Theoretically, *-exit* suggests that extra-grammatical formations, such as blends, can evolve into more regular forms, such as combining forms or secreted affixes, which belong to marginal, but still grammatical morphology. *-Exit* is transitional between composition and derivation: although it is an independent word, like *ware*, when used as a second element, it acquires a more specific meaning indicating 'a withdrawal from the EU, or a union, treaty, or country'. The semantic process of secretion confers stability on this formative and productivity on its word-formation pattern.

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IN WHAT SENSE DO YOU SENSE THAT SENSE:
A COGNITIVE LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF 'SENSE' POLYSEMY

Abstract

This paper proposes a cognitive linguistic approach and corpus analysis to verify both the synchronic and the diachronic conceptualisation of 'sense' in natural language and investigates the polysemic nature of the lexeme. It addresses the complex interplay of variables that dynamically interact with the context as the meanings emerge in more or less predictable ways. According to the collocations and constructions that occur with a given lemma and the target and source domains involved in the metaphoric extension of the word's polysemy, the emerging conceptualization process becomes evident. I propose that the primary conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SENSING extends from the original meaning of *sense* – 'going' or 'way'– that represents the schematic conceptualization of the event where the information travels from our sense organs along a path to our brain. The path image schema thus serves as cognitive reference also for the conceptual metaphor: MEANING IS SENSING, which is part of a metaphor complex that includes PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION and UNDERSTANDING IS PERCEIVING.

Key-words: conceptual metaphor; polysemy; corpus analysis.

1. *Introduction* to Sense

HAMLET […] *Sense*, sure, you have,
        Else could you not have motion; but sure that *sense*
        Is apoplexed; for madness would not err,
        Nor *sense* to ecstasy was ne'er so thralled,
        But it reserved some quantity of choice
        To serve in such a difference. What devil was't
        That thus hath cozened you at hoodman-blind?
        Eyes without feeling, feeling without sight,
        Ears without hands or eyes, smelling sans all,
        Or but a sickly part of one true *sense*
        Could not so mope.
        O shame! where is thy blush? […] *Hamlet* (3.4.71-82)

This quote from William Shakespeare's *Hamlet* is a superb example of how the word 'sense' can be used with 'double senses'. This paper proposes to analyse the use of 'sense' in natural language and investigate the polysemic nature of the lexeme. It addresses how an interplay of variables dynamically interact with the context as the meanings emerge in more or less predictable ways.

'Sense' has been defined as a noun, 'faculty of perception', also 'meaning, import, interpretation' since c. 1400. *Etymology Online Dictionary* lists the lemma as being from Old French *sens* 'one of the five senses; and meaning; wit, understanding' c. 1100 and directly from Latin *sensus* 'perception, feeling, undertaking, meaning', which is originally from *sentire* 'perceive, feel, know' – probably a metaphorical extension of the more concrete meaning 'to find one's way', or 'to go mentally' – from PIE root **sent-* 'to go' and Old English *sið* 'way, journey'. The lexeme was then used for any one of the external or outward senses (sight, taste, touch, hearing, smell), first recorded in English in the 1520s. The verb meaning 'to perceive by the senses' emerged only in the 1590's from the noun. It was used to mean 'to be conscious inwardly of (one's state or condition)' from the1680s and 'to perceive (a fact or situation) not by direct perception' c. 1872; which is related to *sensed*; *sensing*. Thus, in summary, the meanings shift from *to sense*, to *to perceive*, then *to become aware*, later *to imagine*, and *to feel*.

The *Historical Thesaurus* lists *sense* in fourteen different categories. With this complex of meaning in mind, I apply the cognitive linguistic approach with a corpus analysis to propose both the synchronic and the diachronic conceptualization of the lexeme 'sense'. Linguistic data are retrieved from various sources, which allow for comparison of the actual usage. They include the corpora *Lancaster-Oslo/Bergen* (*LOB*) and Brown, the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*), and the *Metaphor Map of English* (*Mapping Metaphor Project*) that is based on the *Historical Thesaurus*. The study aim is also to verify what collocations occur with the lemma and observe which target and source domains are involved in the metaphoric extension of the word's polysemy to explain the conceptualization process. I propose that the primary conceptual metaphor KNOWING IS SENSING extends from the original meaning of *sense* – 'going' or 'way'– that represents the schematic conceptualization of the information that travels from our sense organs along a path through our bodies to our brain where 'sense is made of the sensation'. The path image schema thus serves as cognitive reference also for the conceptual metaphor: MEANING IS SENSING, which is part of a metaphor complex with PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION and UNDERSTANDING IS PERCEIVING (e.g., Lakoff *et al.* 1991: 127; Sandford forthcoming).

The paper is structured in the following way. After introducing the aim of the paper and the diachronic development of the lexeme 'sense' as illustrated in the online etymology dictionary, the categories associated to it in the *Historical Thesaurus* and those in *The Mapping Metaphor Project* are presented in Section 1. Section 2 introduces the synchronic comparison from the sample corpora *Brown* and *LOB*, and a comparison from a monitor corpus the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (*COCA*). Section 3 investigates the *COCA* verb collocates and constructions with the goal of analysing the underlying conceptualization processes. Section 4 presents the emerging conceptual metaphor complex as it results from corpus usage, and some conclusive remarks.

1.1. Categories Associated in the Historical Thesaurus

The Historical Thesaurus lists over 56 results to the search query of 'sense'. I have narrowed the most basic meanings down to 14 that developed between the 1400 and 1604, listed in example (1) a-n with the category, the year attested, and an example utterance.

(1)
    a. Interpretation, 1400 - *in the sense that it is a good thing*
    b. Content, 1400 - *in what sense do you mean*
    c. Meaning (of a word), 1513 - *that word has 3 different senses*
    d. The faculty of sensation, 1526 - *he had a sense of cold.*
    e. Understanding, 1540 - *they had a good sense of what to do*
    f. Belief, opinion, 1552 - *'cause it makes sense to me.*
    g. Perception, cognition, 1567 - *she has a just sense of worth*
    h. Perception, awareness, 1567 - *a sense of what's going to be*
    i. Intelligibility, rational, 1568 - *he has no common sense at all*
    j. The faculties collectively, 1585 - *the role of the senses in life*
    k. Gist, 1586 - *you missed the sense of his words*
    l. Mental capacity, sanity, 1590 - *taken leave of your senses*
    m. Judgement, discrimination, 1604 - *talk sense instead of*
    n. Emotional perception, 1604 - *he has a great sense of humor.*

The most relevant aspect in this part of the analysis is the extension of meaning development that goes from *interpretation* and the *content* of which, that constitutes its *meaning*, and allows for *understanding*. *Understanding* reveals one's *belief, perception* and *cognition*, to *having in mind*, which in turn brings about *awareness* and *reason* that represents *sanity* and *feeling*, moving to *judgment* and *importance,* and lastly to *emotional perception*. In summary the meaning of 'sense' goes from the direct transfer of sensation of the 'outward' senses of the world

around us to the indirect transfer of meaning of the 'inward' senses of the mind. Each of these steps in meaning extension illustrated in Figure 1 are evinced in the *Historical Thesaurus* results.
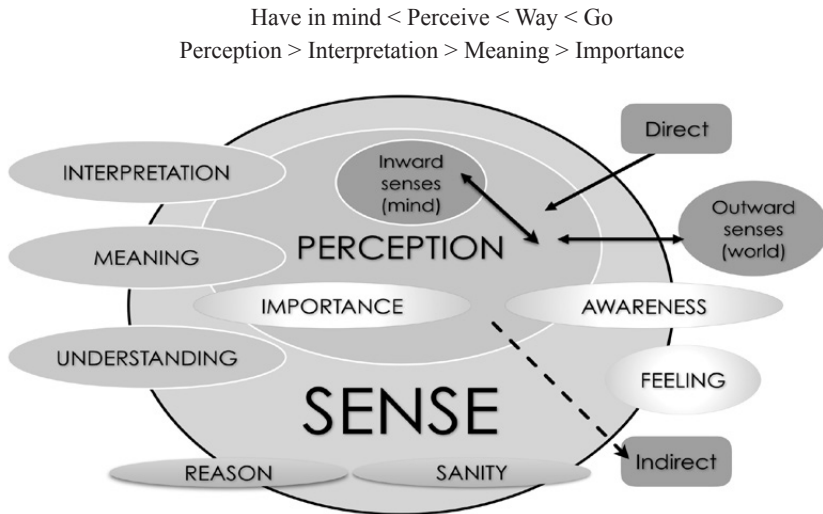
Have in mind < Perceive < Way < Go
Perception > Interpretation > Meaning > Importance

Fig 1. Diagram of 'sense' polysemy relations

1.2. Categories Associated in The Mapping Metaphor Project

The Metaphor Map of English shows examples of matching metaphor for 'sense' in five categories. They are 1B16[1] Sense and speech organs, 1I01 Physical sensation, 2A12 Reason and argument, 2B02 Enquiry and discovery, 2D01 Emotion. The section 1B16 Sense and speech organs is listed 58 times total, with only one realization of the lexeme 'sense'. All categories that illustrate the definitions of 'sense' in the *Historical Thesaurus* are presented in Table 1.

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[1]   The first figure in the code indicates one of the three main divisions respectively (1 External world, 2 Mental world, 3 Social world). Secondly, the 37 major categories in *The Metaphor Map* are indicated by a capital letter (e.g. 1B Life, 2A Mental capacity, etc.) that come directly from the hierarchy of the *Historical Thesaurus* of English. And the third number stands for one of the 415 more detailed categories represent further divisions of the categories, which contain over 225,000 subcategories. The concepts within the *Historical Thesaurus* hierarchy were divided by *The Mapping Metaphor* editors into semantic categories which were deemed as close to 'basic' concepts as was possible within the constraints of the data (e.g. Sense and speech organ, Physical sensation, etc.).

The other primary section 1I01 Physical sensation is listed 93 times total, though only 10 with the realization of 'sens*' (which include: *insensate, insensible, insensibleness, insensibly, insensitive, resentment, sense, senses, senseless, senselessness, sensible, sensibly, sensor, sensual, unsensible*).

Category 1 ➔	Category 2	Strength	Start Era	Examples of metaphor
1B16: Sense and speech organs ➔	2D01: Emotion	Strong	1500 - 1549	humour, *sense*
1I01: Physical sensation ➔	1J23: Physics and mechanics	Weak	1950 - 1999	*insensitive*
➔	1P28: Greatness and intensity	Strong	1350 - 1399	*sensible, sensibly*, snug, dizzy
➔	2A13: Lack of understanding	Strong	1500 - 1549	*insensate, insensible, senseless, insensibleness,* stupid
➔	2A01: Mind	Weak	1550 - 1599	*senses, sensual*
➔	2A12: Reason and argument	Weak	1550 - 1599	*sensible, sense*
➔	2A17: Foolish person	Strong	1700 - 1749	stupid, *insensible, insensate*
➔	2A15: Foolishness	Weak	1550 - 1599	*senseless, unsensible, senselessness*
➔	2A22: Truth and falsity	Weak	1950 - 1999	*insensitive*
➔	2B01: Attention and inattention	Strong	1350 - 1399	astonied, astonish, *insensibly*, dizzy, *resentment*, mesmerize
➔	2B02: Enquiry and discovery	Weak	1900 - 1949	*sense, sensor*
➔	2D06: Emotional suffering	Strong	Old English	swenche < (ge) swencan, pain, *sensible*, numb

Table 1. 'Sense' in the *Mapping Metaphor Project*
with the direction of the metaphor from Category 1 to Category 2

These concepts are listed as having either weak or strong metaphorical transfer between the two categories and the date of the first attestation. In this case the examples range in date from Old English through to 1949 and half show strong metaphorical links. Weak links (see glossary in *Mapping Metaphor*) are illustrated as existing between Physical sensation and Mind, Reason and argument, Foolishness, Truth and falsity, and Enquiry and discovery, being less systematic.

2. *Synchronic and Diachronic Usage*

Synchronic analysis of word use may be observed in both sample corpora and monitor corpora. The difference is that in sample corpora, also called snapshot corpora, each corpus is put together in a balanced fashion using representative types of texts from the same period, with a similar number of words. Whereas a monitor corpus allows us to make comparisons through time and types of text, and is useful for diachronic studies.

2.1. Sample Corpora and Synchronic Usage

In the synchronic analysis I used the sample corpora *Brown of American English* and *LOB* (*Lancaster, Oslo, Bergen*) of British English compiled later for comparison. Both corpora are made up of circa 1 million words (500 samples of 2000+words each) of texts from 1961 (they are free to download and use). I queried the corpora through AntConc a freeware toolkit for concordancing and text analysis.

Following are the results from the compared corpora. A search for 'sense' returned 580 total hits, ranking 336 in frequency out of all the 57,152-word types that emerged from the 2,046,455-word tokens. There are 15 categories[2] in the two corpora.

Section	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	J	K	L	M	N	P	R	Tot
Brown	14	16	22	20	6	31	86	13	66	7	13	5	4	8	2	313
LOB	10	16	24	20	3	22	75	3	48	11	6	2	11	12	4	267

Table 2 'Sense' Frequency in *Brown*/*LOB* Corpus Sections Compared

[2] A Press: reportage; B Press: editorial; C Press: reviews; D Religion; E Skills, trades and hobbies; F Popular lore; G Belles lettres, biography, essays; H Miscellaneous (government documents, foundation reports, industry reports, college, catalogue, industry house organ); J Learned and scientific writings; K General fiction; L Mystery and detective fiction; M Science fiction; N Adventure and western fiction; P Romance and love story; R Humour.

Table 2 lists the frequency of 'sense' in each category, showing that the two most common categories were G Belles lettres, biography, essays, and J Learned and scientific writing; contexts which are fitting with the lexeme meaning. There is no significant difference in use between American and British English.

Coll MI Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	MI	Collocate
1	5	0	5	9.46	urgency
2	9	0	9	9.40	humor
3	6	0	6	9.24	humour
4	35	34	1	7.91	common
5	5	1	4	7.80	identity
6	10	0	10	7.73	touch
7	6	0	6	6.77	responsibility
8	7	0	7	6.32	purpose
9	5	2	3	6.28	moral
10	10	10	0	6.20	real
11	12	0	12	6.12	word
12	5	0	5	6.10	direction
13	5	4	1	5.79	makes
14	5	0	5	5.75	community
15	5	1	4	5.66	values
16	5	4	1	5.65	lost
17	6	0	6	5.62	self
18	6	4	2	5.35	experience
19	17	17	0	5.22	make
20	7	3	4	5.20	social

Table 3. Frequent 'Sense' Collocates *LOB*/*Brown Corpus* Ranked by MI

The second type of search involved verifying the collocates that occur with *sense*. A collocate is a word that occurs together with another word with a frequency greater than chance. Table 3 lists the most fre-

quent collocates by MI[3]. In this case the highest MI score is for 'ur-
gency' with the frequency of 5 always to the R(ight), as in 'a sense of
urgency'. Next by MI, though higher in frequency, are the 2 spellings of
'humo(u)r' that also collocate to the right, as in the expression 'a sense
of humor'. The next in MI rank, but higher frequency, which is due
to the collocate being generally more frequent in the corpus, is 'com-
mon' collocating to the L(eft), as in 'common sense'. Only two other of
the top-ranking MI collocates occur to the left: 'real sense', and 'make
sense', all the other 17 collocates occur to the right.

Rank	Freq	Freq(L)	Freq(R)	MI	Collocate
25	219	176	43	4.17	in
29	334	27	307	4.03	of
41	6	5	1	3.10	made
54	15	8	7	2.62	have

Table 4 . 'Sense' Collocates *LOB*/*Brown Corpus* prepositions and verbs

Table 4 lists the two highest MI score and frequent prepositions (*in,
of*) and verbs (*made, have*). *In* occurs most often to the left e.g. 'in a
sense' and 'of' to the right e.g. 'sense of'. 'Made' occurs most to the left
e.g. 'made sense', like \\'have' e.g. 'have sense'.

2.2. Monitor Corpora Diachronic Usage

In this analysis I use the monitor *Corpus of Contemporary American
English* (*COCA*), which consists of over 520 million words[4]. Here I
compare two search modes, one by frequency and the other by MI,
which allows me to identify the most common words and how they
compare to the most particular collocations. For example, the ten most
frequent collocations in order of ranking are: *make, makes, common,
made, any, humor, give, community, strong*, and *making*. Thus, the
predominance of the verb *make* with 'sense' emerges along with *give*.
Common, any, and *strong* collocate before 'sense' whereas, *humor* and

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[3]   The Mutual Information (MI) score expresses the strength of association be-
tween words x and y. In a given finite corpus MI is calculated on the basis of the number
of times the pair is together versus the number of times the pair is separate.
[4]   The *COCA* is divided both by date, 1990 to present, and also by types of texts,
which include spoken (SPO), fiction (FIC), magazine (MAG), news (NEWS), and ac-
ademic (ACAD), though these specific details are not presented here for lack of space.

community collocate after 'sense'. The highest-ranking MI score collocates are: *aggrievement, Smilla, Solmans, humor, loosest, broadest, invulnerability, belongingness, humour,* and *urgency* since they occurred in the corpus almost exclusively with 'sense'. The use of *humor,* and *humour* are clearly strong collocates, emerging in both search modes. The unusual names *Smilla* (Smilla's Sense of Snow) and *Solmans* (Paul Solmans Making Sense) are used in titles. The superlative adjectives *loosest* and *broadest* are used specifically to describe the range of 'sense' when referring to meaning. The lexemes *aggrievement, invulnerability, belongingness,* and *urgency* are collocated in close to 20% of their usage with 'a sense of'.

3. *COCA Verb Collocates and Constructions*

The predominance of the verb 'make' collocation with 'sense' highlighted the significance of analysing the *COCA* verb collocates together with the basic phrase constructions that appear with the prepositions.

Verb	Examples of Collocation	Metaphorical Meaning
A SENSE IS A CONSTRUCTION		
make	*though it seems to make very little sense*	to construct
create	*it creates the sense that*	to make
evoke	*the image evokes a sense of sadness*	to produce
reinforce*[5]	*it reinforces their sense of helplessness*	to make strong
A SENSE IS A PLANT		
foster	*by fostering a greater sense of community*	to promote growth
heighten	*and heighten their sense of urgency*	to make bigger size
engender	*will engender a sense of community*	to increase

Table 5. 'Sense' Verb Collocates and Metaphorical Conceptualization

[5]   Some words are used in two metaphorical meanings (*).

It appears that verb use manifests the conceptualization process employed to express the polysemy of 'sense' in a more precise and revealing manner. I searched by verb lemma collocate. The tables include the 18 verbs that emerged with more than 5 occurrences in my analysis. The resulting verb groups in Tables 5-7 illustrate three types of conceptualization. The Tables are structured according to the specific conceptual metaphors that serve to understand how the word's polysemy is structured. Each table lists the verb, an example of the collocation, and the metaphorical meaning.

Verb	Examples of Collocation	Metaphorical Meaning
A SENSE IS AN OBJECT TO POSSESS		
belonging	*it was the sense of belonging*	to transfer
give	*it gives you a sense of the history*	to transport
regain*	*to regain my sense of self*	to acquire
convey	*while conveying an irreverent sense of humor*	to transport
impart	*would impart a sense of optimism*	to make known – share with
A SENSE IS LIQUID OR GAS THAT POSSESSES		
Instil	*to instil a sense of fear*	to introduce in drops
exude	*team exude a sense of urgency*	to come out gradually in drops
Imbue	*This sense of purpose imbues narrative*	to saturate with moisture
pervade	*a sense of optimism pervaded after*	to transfer as a gas
suffuse	*suffused with a sense of wonder to*	to transfer as a gas
inculcate*	*has inculcated a sense of inferiority*	to transfer with constancy (instil)

Table 6. 'Sense' Verb Collocates and Metaphorical Conceptualization

Verb	Examples of Collocation	Metaphorical Meaning
A SENSE IS A COMMANDER		
dictate	*common sense dictates that in cases*	to prescribe or order
defy	*it defies common sense*	to resist or challenge
inculcate*	*to inculcate a strong sense of right and wrong*	to cause with persistence /force
A SENSE IS A FORCE (TO USE AGAIN)		
reinforce*	*it reinforces their sense of helplessness*	to force again
regain*	*and regained a sense of purpose*	to gain again
recapture	*trying to recapture a sense of community*	to take by force again
reawaken	*reawaken their sense of responsibility*	to make aware again

Table 7. 'Sense' Verb Collocates and Metaphorical Conceptualization

Table 5 shows the two types of metaphors that fit with the *complex system* metaphor (Lakoff *et al.* 1991, Kövecses 2010: 155): *a sense is a construction* and *a sense is a plant*, which are revealed in the verbs used for construction (*make*, *create*, *evoke*, *reinforce*) and the growth event (*foster*, *heighten*, *engender*).

Table 6 illustrates the verbs that fall under the bidirectional metaphors A SENSE IS AN OBJECT TO POSSESS (*belong*, *give*, *regain*, *convey*, *impart*), and A SENSE IS LIQUID OR GAS THAT POSSESSES (*instil*, *exude*, *imbue*, *pervade*, *suffuse*, *inculcate*). These two metaphors appear to structure the outward vs. inward understanding of 'sense' polysemy mentioned earlier.

Table 7 shows the two types of metaphors that fit with the representation of "sense" as a force or a controlling aspect of perception. They are the metaphors A SENSE IS A COMMANDER (*dictate*, *defy*, *inculcate*) and A SENSE IS A FORCE *(to use again)* (*reinforce*, *regain*, *recapture*, *reawaken*). These seem to represent how the sensory impact are the means from which we gather information. Thus the 'senses' control the meaning and give strength to the understanding we elaborate of the world around us.

3.1 Constructions and Emerging Conceptual Metaphors

Moreover, the fixed constructions that emerge with the use of 'sense' illustrated in example (2) manifest the conceptual metaphor A SENSE IS A CONTAINER. The most common multi-word constructions with 'sense' are:

(2) a.   [in the X sense]   *community in the human sense*

     b.   [in a X sense]   *in a genetic sense*

     c.   [in the sense that X]   *in the sense that simplicity is pure*

     d.   [in the sense of X]   *in the sense of the constitution*

This predominance has also emerged with the most frequent collocations illustrated in Table 4.

4. *An Overview of the "Sense" Metaphor Complex and Conclusions*

Consequently, a summary of the conceptual metaphors according to the most common collocates with "sense" when SENSE is a Target Domain are:

A SENSE IS A CONSTRUCTION
A SENSE IS A PLANT
A SENSE IS AN OBJECT TO POSSESS
A SENSE IS A LIQUID OR GAS THAT POSSESSES
A SENSE IS A COMMANDER
A SENSE IS A FORCE.

According to the development of 'sense' polysemy as illustrated in the Historical Thesaurus with SENSE as a Source Domain yields:

SANITY IS SENSE
REASON IS SENSE
UNDERSTANDING / KNOWING IS SENSE
PERCEPTION IS SENSE.

In a schematic conceptualization, similar to the "conduit metaphor" (Grady 1998), I propose that the stimulus 'the sense object' goes from a point of departure 'the world' along a path through our bodies to a point of arrival 'the mind' where 'meaning is made of the sensation', thus

A SENSE IS A CONTAINER (OF MEANING).

The path image schema serves as a cognitive reference for the conceptual metaphors:

KNOWING IS SENSING and MEANING IS SENSING,

which is the resultative part of a metaphor complex with

PERCEPTION IS RECEPTION (SENSING) and
UNDERSTANDING IS PERCEIVING.

The diachronic development of the lemma 'sense' changes according to whether it is used as a countable or uncountable noun, as in 'a sense', 'the sense', or 'the senses', and with the verb 'to sense'. I would like to emphasise, in keeping with the "idea of complexity as a way of looking at the world" presented by the curators of this volume, that the complex system and the following subsystems that develop around the variables of 'sense' is flexible and adaptable, though in an apparently non-linear fashion. The system reveals an underlying coherence through the structure of the series of conceptual metaphors that allow for a dynamic construal process where the speaker/listener is able to access the correct meaning according to the context. This process is characterized by the constructions and collocations that interact under the metaphoric constraints 'sense' reveals as target or source domain, and the context of the utterance where the polysemic meanings emerge in more or less predictable ways. The ensuing constructions are retrievable via corpus analysis, where repeated forms appear to become more entrenched through the occurrence of specific elements which are generically frequent or exclusively associated. The MI score serves as a useful measure to understand the strength of the collocations. The conceptual patterns produce a means of accessing the word meaning, which in turn are favoured as reducing the mental processing load.

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CREATIVITY AND STYLISTICS
IN LITERARY TEXTS

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THE CREATIVE USE OF LINGUISTIC DEVIATION
IN ALAN BISSETT'S NOVEL *THE INCREDIBLE ADAM SPARK*

Abstract

The first-person narrator, Adam, has a cognitive disorder, believes he has supernatural powers and speaks an extraordinary idiolect. Using the investigative tools of stylistics, this work examines the author's employment of linguistic deviation and innovative coinages to foreground aspects of Adam's struggle to interact with his fellow humans. His deviations from linguistic norms are not random; recurrent features emerge and it becomes evident that his peculiar language enables him to construct a bridge between the 'normal' communication going on around him and his unconventional processing of such input. His linguistic creativity is not in conflict with conventionality; on the contrary, it helps him make sense of what he hears and rescues him from the danger of social isolation.

Keywords: deviation; foregrounding; defamiliarisation.

1. *Introduction*

Alan Bissett's novel *The Incredible Adam Spark* is recounted by a cognitively-impaired first-person narrator whose idiolect features a variety of deviations from linguistic norms as well as a series of creative puns and word games. The approach adopted in this work is to employ the investigative tools of stylistics to analyse the different types of linguistic deviation, show how each creates the effect of foregrounding certain words or phrases, and then demonstrate how the highly unconventional use of language results in defamiliarisation, that is, a psychological disorientation that prevents readers from interpreting reality in the usual or normal way and obliges them to see the events described from the narrator's decidedly unusual point of view. The aim of this study is to show how the narrator's linguistic deviations are far from random. On the contrary, a person who is acutely aware that society sees him as abnormal uses his idiosyncratic processing of the non-deviant language he hears all about him to create a bridge between his world and that of the 'normal' people who are not stared at or subject to

verbal abuse on a daily basis. By the end of the novel the whole question of normality, whether in language or in human behaviour, is open to question.

Adam Spark, or Sparky, is eighteen but has the mental age of a ten-year-old. The precise nature of his disability is never specified, but from people's reaction to seeing him for the first time it is clear that there is some physical manifestation of his condition. Growing up in a working class community in Falkirk, a Scottish city of 150,000 inhabitants, he has grown used to being called *mongol* or *spastic* not only by his peers, but also by people old enough to know better. Intellectual disability is defined by an IQ score below 70 although it is nowadays common practice to evaluate not only cognition, but also the individual's ability to function in society, and in this respect Adam is far from helpless. He is not illiterate, his favourite reading material being the comic books that fuel his fantasies of himself as a superhero. He also holds down a job in a fast-food restaurant where he does all the tasks required from washing floors to frying chips to taking customers' orders.

Adam is not just the protagonist but also the narrator of the novel, and the employment of a story-teller of low IQ invites comparison with William Faulkner's *The Sound and the Fury* (1929). The first part of Faulkner's novel is narrated by the cognitively impaired Benjy Compson – the title is obviously a reference to Macbeth's description of life as "[…] a tale / Told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, / Signifying nothing" – and Benjy tells his tale through stream-of-consciousness narration with frequent temporal shifts, the same narrative style that Alan Bissett adopts to allow Adam to tell us how he perceives the world. In both cases the result is a story that certainly does not signify "nothing", but the reader must invest some effort to follow the teller's thought processes.

The parallels do not end there, however. The most important person in Benjy's life is his elder sister, Caddy. Similarly, for Adam, whose parents both died in middle age, his sister Jude is his best friend, his carer (without her he would have to go into an institution) and, since she is a feisty young woman, his bodyguard when the local bullies target him.

Something that in the 21st century remains, if not a taboo exactly, certainly a delicate subject concerns the sex life and reproductive potential of the intellectually disabled. In the Mississippi of the early 20th century, people do not agonise over the ethical issues: when Benjy is accused of sexually assaulting a woman he is castrated. Adam enjoys the company of children because, despite his eighteen-year-old body, he is mentally on their level and wants to play just as they do, but in the Falkirk of the 1990s his behaviour arouses suspicion. When it emerges

that he has had consensual sex with the neighbours' daughter, the girl's father believes that Adam should suffer the same fate as Benjy, until investigations reveal that it was actually his sweet little daughter who took the initiative in introducing Sparky to the joy of sex.

As noted above, both Benjy and Adam narrate their respective stories through stream of consciousness with temporal shifts. However, the effect on the reader differs greatly in the two novels. We may pity Benjy but we cannot identify with him, while his narrative style is interesting and challenging but never amusing. In contrast, we find ourselves rooting for Adam and admiring his plucky defiance despite the odds stacked against him, and his narration is often very funny. The humour derives from his extraordinary idiolect, which features multiple deviations, not only from the norms of standard English, but also from the Scots dialect used by his peers. Many of those deviations are entirely intentional since Adam has a child-like fascination with puns and verbal jokes. However, Bissett does not turn Adam into a merely comic character and the linguistic deviations analysed below serve a serious purpose; Sparky does not process the 'normal' language he hears in a conventional way, and the creativity of his word games are his way of interpreting input and finding a way to understand a world that often makes little effort to understand him.

2. *Linguistic deviation, foregrounding and defamiliarisation*

Deviation is a departure from linguistic norms, a breaking of the rules, and it is one of the techniques used by poets, comedians or advertising copywriters to create what Halliday (1973) calls "motivated prominence", that is the highlighting or foregrounding of those deviant forms so that they demand the reader's or listener's attention. Because the foregrounded elements are technically incorrect or in some way odd, they trigger the phenomenon of defamiliarisation, which involves "[…] impeding normal processing by showing the world in an unusual, unexpected or abnormal manner" (Douthwaite 2000: 178). Lots of things in Adam Spark's world are unusual, unexpected or abnormal, and it is through his creative use of linguistic deviation that the reader is permitted an insight into how he perceives what is going on around him.

With specific reference to the language of poetry, Leech (2013: 42ff) identifies the following types of deviation: lexical, grammatical, phonological, graphological, semantic, dialectal, deviation of register and deviation of historical period. Short (2013: 37ff), considering all genres of literature, adds discoursal deviation to Leech's list, distinguishes between grammatical and morphological deviation, and does not consider

deviation of register or historical period. The approach adopted in this work does not seek to depart radically from the categories identified by Leech and Short decades ago.

A distinction is made between external deviation, a breaking of linguistic rules or conventions, and internal deviation, "deviation against a norm set up by *the text itself*" (Short 2013: 59, Short's italics). On the use of external deviation to foreground linguistic elements, Jeffries and McIntyre (2010: 33) note that: "One of the issues raised by the concept of foregrounding is that it begs the question of the status of the large majority of the words in any text, which by definition are not foregrounded". *The Incredible Adam Spark* is not "any text", however, and neither is the first part of *The Sound and the Fury*; the idiolects of narrators like Benjy and Sparky are such that practically the entire text deviates from the norms of the language. In the case of Bissett's novel, the very few instances of standard English occur when Adam quotes people verbatim, usually with the purpose of poking fun at their pretensions of superiority. The norms set up by the text itself involve intensive use of external deviation, so paradoxically those instances of standard English are examples of internal deviation. Our idea of 'normal language' is turned on its head, which, as we shall see below, parallels the author's aim to make us question our notion of normality in general.

2.1 Discoursal deviation

Stream-of-consciousness narration always involves discoursal deviation since the usual relationship between addresser and addressee does not exist. In a conventional novel the narrator, whether first- or third-person, is the addresser and the reader is the addressee. With stream-of-consciousness, the so-called narrator does not relate events to others but recalls experiences and reflects upon them in his/her mind, while the reader is in the role of eavesdropper. In Adam Spark's case the situation is further complicated by the fact that he sometimes refers to himself in the third person, particularly when he fantasises about himself as a comic book superhero, as, for example, in the opening lines of the novel given below (Bissett 2005: 1):

> Thunderclap! Theme music! Adam, prince of eternia, raises his sword roars i have the power then lo and behold – hes he-man! Most powerful dude in the known yooniverse dudes. He grits his teeth grrrr wields his sword and the evil forces of skeletor they get ready to attack. Beastman. Trapjaw. Evillyn. Skeletor laughs throws back his skeleheid. Lightnin strikes! All goes dark ooooh. The forces of good look doooomed dudes.

It is clear from the above that in *The Incredible Adam Spark* a single segment of text may exhibit several types of deviation. Here we have onomatopoeic forms that are normal in comics but not in novels ("grr-rr", "ooooh", "doooomed"), Adam's idiosyncratic approach to spelling ("yooniverse") and graphological deviation evinced by his failure to use apostrophes or capitalise the pronoun I. It is, however, a variety of English. The ultimate in discoursal deviation would be the narrator's decision to switch to a language that most readers do not know, something that happens several times in Bissett's work.

While watching an American football match between local teams of amateurs, Adam spots a child wandering onto the field of play. Fearing for the little boy's safety among burly men playing a contact sport, Adam, still in superhero mode, runs onto the pitch to rescue the child, with predictable consequences: "Four big meaty merican football players jumpin for it all at the same time they don't see us then ba—" (Bissett 2005: 9). He is taken to hospital where a doctor's somewhat insouciant examination of a brain scan results in a problem going undetected and Adam being sent home with reassurances that there is nothing wrong. It soon emerges that there is something very wrong indeed, but the symptoms are interpreted by Adam as the acquisition of genuine superpowers, specifically, the ability to see coloured lights above people's heads that indicate what sort of mood they are in, the power to slow down or speed up time, and the ability to communicate with both animals and inanimate objects. It is the third of these delusions that Bissett conveys through extreme discoursal deviation. When Adam's neighbour, Ryan, is unable to understand why his car won't start, Sparky decides to use one of his superpowers (Bissett 2005: 115):

> But i kens what to do. I *kens* what to do. Ma head hurts: doom: the power. Says to the car alright sunny jim whats goin on here? How come yere no gonnay start for ma pal ryan?
>   The cars says

> Τηε ωαρ ισ ωαγεδ βψ εαχη ρυλινγ γρουπ αγαινστ ιτσ
> οων συβφεχτσ, ανδ τηε οβφεχτ οφ τηε ωαρ ισ νοτ το
> μακε ορ πρεϝεντ χονθυεστσ οφ τερριτορψ, βυτ το κεεπ
> τηε στρυχτυρε οφ σοχιετψ ινταχτ.

> Aye i ken i says. But that's no gonnay help ryan is it?

Dialectal deviation is evident in the use of the verb *ken* (know), the contractions *yere* (you are) and *gonnay* (going to) and the negative particle *no* (not), while the –s inflection on first-person singular verbs is not part of Scots dialect but is a characteristic of Adam's idiolect. Obviously, it is the discoursal deviation of the switch to Greek that demands our attention and triggers defamilarisation. The 'conversation' continues for eighteen more lines of text with the vehicle speaking Greek and Sparky responding in his version of English, at the end of which Adam informs his neighbour that the carburettor needs replacing, the oil is low and the car is heartily fed up with Ryan singing *Guns N' Roses* songs. If the notion of a talking car is already preposterous, Bissett's use of deviation takes us to a higher level of surrealism. Running the Greek text through a search engine reveals that the car's words are direct quotations from the translation of George Orwell's *Nineteen Eighty-Four*. Only towards the end of the the novel do we discover that Adam's superpowers are actually symptoms of cerebral malfunction caused by untreated cranial trauma.

2.2 Dialectal deviation

Adam and Jude live in a neighbourhood called Hallglen where a social event known as the Gala is held each year. Among the various activities during the Gala there is a fancy dress competition, and Adam elects to participate dressed as the superhero He-Man while his sister goes along to keep an eye on him. Here they encounter the local youth gang, the H-Glen Animalz, and their leader Mark Baxter (Bissett 2005: 4):

> Baxter sees me and hes like hey. Its that mongol adam spark and his lesbian sister! They comes overtay watch the prade goin by, bigdogfaces tongues out drool. Start shoutin stuff ooh i like yer blonde wig sparky suits ye downtay the ground, who ye meantay be? Marilyn monroe?
> He-man i goes.
> He-man! laughs mark. Oh aye and is yer sister beast-man?
> Jude turns quickasaflash, think yese are funny? she shouts. Think yese are smart? Come on then ya muppets il take yese the now.
> Watch hen laughs craig. Dont hit us with yer plastic sword or nothin!
> Il no needtay goes jude. Il just knock yer teeth down yer throat.

Typical features of Scots dialect evident here are the preposition *to* pronounced as *tay*, the singular and plural second person pronouns *ye* and *yese*, the possessive pronoun *yer*, the use of the direct article before *now* to stress immediacy, and the condescending term *hen* to refer to a girl or a woman. Once again graphological deviation is evident in

Adam's non-use of capital letters and apostrophes, his spelling of parade as "prade" and his running together of words in fixed expressions ("quickasaflash"), while the influence of American slang is clear in the adoption of *like* to introduce direct speech. The expression "bigdogfaces tongues out drool" attests to Sparky's interpretation of what he sees according to the stylised images of comic books.

Elsewhere in the novel recurrent lexemes of Scots dialect include *wean* (child), *greet* and the past tense *gret* (cry or weep), *jobbies* (shit), *boaby* and *tadger* (penis) and *mind* (remember). A grammatical feature is the use of the preterite instead of the past participle ("Wheres she went?", "Its fell") plus a hybrid irregular/regular past tense form ("The wee village… where they grewed up").

In the lines quoted above Jude's willingness to use violence to protect her brother is made abundantly clear. She had promised her late mother that she would look after Adam but tensions emerge as she enrols at university, meets new friends there and finds a girlfriend (she is indeed a lesbian). Her creation of a life of her own terrifies Adam, who has no one else at all to take his side.

2.3 Semantic and lexical deviation

Adam loves playing with language. Semantic deviation is evident when a lexical item is polysemous and he wilfully latches onto a meaning that his interlocutor had not intended. The following exchange occurs at the fast-food restaurant where he works when a workmate, Gordon, warns him that Angie, the manager, is in a foul mood (Bissett 2005: 19):

> Aye well yed better watch gordon says, leans on his mop shh whisper. Angies on the warpath. Caught debbie chewin gum earlier blew the nut. Sent her home no joke, been bangin on ever since bout standards droppin.
> Il look out i says, checkin the floor to see if anybodys dropped a standard or two there but no. Only floortiles and soapsuds and eh why was angie blowin on a nut? Did it have fluff on it like? Or pubes? Or pubes! Too much pubic hair round here man oh aye. Gordon says: just keepin ma head down man. Doin what im telt till hometime likes.

In his warning Gordon uses two polysemous nouns: *nut* and *standards*. The first meaning of nut listed in dictionaries is that of a fruit consisting of an edible kernel inside a hard shell, but it is clear that Gordon uses the word as a metaphor for the head and that "blew the nut" is a variation upon the expression "to blow one's top" to refer to an extremely angry outburst. It is equally clear that there is nothing deviant

in his use of *standards* as an abstract noun often collocated with the intransitive verb *drop*.

In his reply Adam pretends to have interpreted the word standards as a concrete noun referring to tangible objects that someone has let fall (that is, "dropped" used as a transitive verb). He then feigns not to have understood Gordon's metaphor for Angie's fury and switches to the vulgar meaning of the plural nuts to refer to testicles with "why was angie blowin on a nut?", which is also an example of morphological deviation given the absence of the plural -s inflection for organs usually found in pairs. That Adam habitually plays with meanings in this way is evident in Gordon's lack of surprise as he merely underlines his intention to do as he is "telt" (told) till his shift is over.

Lexical deviation is realized through Adam's creative use of lexical blending – "What a lunatic! What a tit! What a lunatit!" (Bissett 2005: 212) – and most of all through puns. Attending university does not just give Jude the opportunity to meet new people but also politicises her at a time when many Britons were unhappy about Tony Blair's unquestioning support for George W. Bush's plan to invade Iraq and topple Saddam Hussein. She involves Adam in some of her activities in a vain attempt to make him less hostile towards her friends, most of all towards Maryann, her lover. When an anti-war demonstration is organised in Glasgow, Jude takes Adam along with her (Bissett 2005: 122): "Today judys takin me to glesga for an aunty war demons-tray-shin. Golly! Just hope we don't see any demons! Or aunties!".

Adam suffers headaches and delusions as a result of undiagnosed brain injury and is tormented by the fear that Jude will abandon him for her clever friends, but he finally gets a lucky break when Bonnie starts work at the fast-food restaurant. She suffers from cystic fibrosis, which makes her breathe noisily and need to wipe her nose frequently, and she and Adam discover that they have had similar experiences of being bullied at school and treated with suspicion in their community because of their respective abnormalities. They immediately become friends, then lovers, until Adam ruins everything by doing something that characterises 'normal' people the world over: he vents his frustrations on the very person who least deserves to be thus treated, and as he does so he uses a pun that he of all people ought to know is gratuitously cruel (Bissett 2005: 251):

> Bonnie says anything wrong adam? I says no no everythins great bonnie. She smiles. Bigtoothy grin. Is that a thing about sickstick fibreoptic? Makes ye smile like a pric− Oh cmon sparky, don't be such a bad dude just cos yer in a bad mood.

But Adam cannot overcome his impulse to be a very bad dude indeed, and shortly after this exchange a tearful Bonnie leaves him.

2.4 Deviation of register

Sparky does indeed become a hero. When a three-year-old child falls into the canal, Adam dives into the water to save the *wean*, trusting in his superpowers to compensate for the fact that he cannot swim. Somehow he manages to put the child safely onto the bank before being dragged down into the water. When he is rescued, he is unconscious.

After emerging from a coma he learns three things: he had actually been clinically dead for a few minutes, the local media have hailed his heroic gesture, and his superpowers have gone (i.e. the previously untreated brain injury has been cured). His sense of humour remains intact, however. Conversational analysts have studied asymmetrical exchanges and the participants' relative power and status, and Stivers, Mondada, Steensig (2011) have focused on the role of specialised knowledge in establishing such imbalances. The doctor-patient relationship is a classic case in which an expert addresses the uniformed and *vice versa*. The doctor overseeing Adam's case holds all the power cards – knowledge, social status, age – while his patient is medically ignorant, young, working class and cognitively impaired, so it is unsurprising that the medic uses a pronoun that signals a patronising attitude: "Doctor standin there clipboard clipped underarm. Takes it out tick tick tick scratches his nose. Looks at me smiles oh hello adam, awake are you? How are we feeling now? I mashes ma lips together dry – dry-mouth um".

The use of the first-person plural pronoun in "How are we feeling today?" is typical of the medical expert addressing a vulnerable and ignorant patient, but if the doctor expects to hear the usual deference in Adam's reply he is immediately deflated: "Well *cough* im feelin pretty groggy doctor. Ive no idea how youre feelin" (Bissett 2005: 284).

Concluding remarks

Adam surprises his doctor by pretending to interpret the pronoun *we* literally, just as he simulates misinterpretation of 'blew the nut' and feigns concern that aunts and demons will be present at an anti-war demonstration. Most of the examples of linguistic deviation in his narration are entirely intentional, the product of his sharp wit. All his life he has been told that he is dense, thick, a mongol, yet his word games and linguistic rule-breaking require a level of creativity that 'normal' people might not expect of someone with a cognitive impairment. He

cannot change the physical appearance that makes people view him in a certain light, but his linguistic dexterity challenges stereotypes and forces reappraisal. In his creation of Adam Spark, Alan Bissett obliges us to examine our notion of what constitutes normality.

Although life has dealt him a poor hand, Adam remains a battler in a world that is suspicious of or even downright hostile towards him. The novel ends on a positive note. He learns to prepare his own meals and do more and more things for himself after Jude's departure for Glasgow (though she makes frequent trips back to check up on him). He goes to her graduation ceremony and comes to accept her partner, Maryann. Finally, we revisit the semi-taboo mentioned in the introduction to this work. Months after their splitting up, he meets Bonnie pushing a pram in the street. He assumes that she is babysitting for someone. They chat: she has read about his heroic deed and he apologises for the hurtful things he said to her before being hospitalised. When she starts walking away again, he finds that he cannot proceed in the opposite direction as planned. Something is bothering him (Bissett 2005: 306):

> But i doesnt get far dudes. Strange strange feelin after seein bonnie that cant quite put ma finger on. Not sure but.
>
> That wean.
>
> Turns round sees bonnie standin in the middleay the high street. She drops her head. Sighs. Pushes the pram away, and for some reason i stays and watches, watches her, just watches her go til she nearly disappears off the enday the street.
>
> Then i runs after her.

Given that male children tend to see their father as superman, he seems set to shed his childish fantasies about being a comic book hero. Reality has shown him something better.

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THE SYMBOLIC ARTICULATION OF OTHER-NESS: A CORPUS-ASSISTED ANALYSIS OF *WIDE SARGASSO SEA*

Abstract

This contribution presents a corpus-assisted analysis of Jean Rhys' *Wide Sargasso Sea* (1966), a postcolonial prequel to *Jane Eyre*. The study is part of a larger research project on the role of corpus linguistics in Hasan's ([1985]1989; 2007) Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics. Combining quantitative findings from corpus-assisted investigation with qualitative considerations, it focuses on the Appraisal patterns (Martin and White 2005) involving the adjective *white* in Rhys' novel and examines their role in symbolically articulating part of the text's deepest meaning, or theme (Hasan [1985] 1989: 97-98).

Keywords: Corpus-assisted Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics; Appraisal; *Wide Sargasso Sea*; white; collocation.

1. *Introduction*

This contribution stems from an ongoing research project on the role of corpus linguistics (henceforth CL) in Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics (SSS; Hasan [1985] 1989; 2007): a framework for the analysis of literature rooted in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL; Halliday and Matthiessen 2004)[1]. The focus is on *Wide Sargasso Sea* (WSS): a prequel to *Jane Eyre* (JE), published in 1966 by Dominican-British writer, Jean Rhys. The analysis presented below combines quantitative findings from corpus-assisted investigation of WSS, also in connection with JE, with qualitative considerations, focusing on one of the items emerging as prominent in Rhys' text: the adjective *white*.

 The 'marriage' between CL and stylistics is, of course, not new. The first steps in *corpus stylistics* date back to the early 1990s (McIntyre 2015: 59); since then, numerous works have followed (see Biber 2011

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[1]   The research project is hosted at the Centre for Linguistic-Cultural Studies (CeSLiC) of the LILEC Department, University of Bologna: *http://www.lingue.unibo. it/it/ricerca/progetto-ceslic-sss-the-corpus-and-the-consumer*.

for a review). This study and the project behind it, however, take an innovative perspective, specifically addressing the role of the corpus in SSS. The difference is not negligible, given the distinctive trait of Hasan's framework: the specialness of literature it advocates, which calls for a special theoretical/methodological take.

1.1 SSS: double-articulation and the literature text's multiple contexts

SSS sees literature (or *verbal art*, as in Hasan [1985] 1989) as "a kind of art [...] *crafted with language*" (Hasan 2007: 16, emphasis added), but also as a special text-type. The specialness of literature is both semiotically and socially motivated (Hasan 2007: 23ff).

The analysis of literature starts, as with any other register, with the *semiotic system of language*, but then goes on to consider a *second order of semiosis*: what truly determines the uniqueness of verbal art. At this deeper level, first-order meanings are enriched, and the *art crafted with language* becomes manifest. The resulting *double-articulation* model is visually represented below.

Semiotic system of verbal art

| THEME |
| SYMBOLIC ARTICULATION |
| VERBALIZATION |

| SEMANTICS |
| LEXICOGRAMMAR |
| PHONOLOGY |

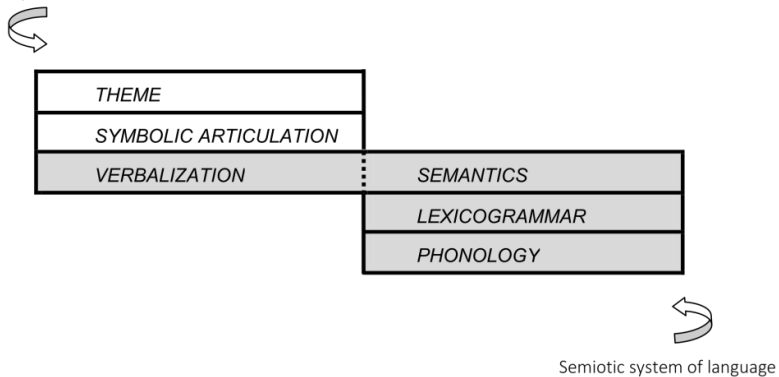Semiotic system of language

Fig.1. The double-articulation model
(e.g., Miller 2016a: 64, based on Hasan [1985] 1989)

Both semiotic systems show a stratal organisation: each layer becomes accessible through the one(s) below it. The first order semiosis mirrors the typical SFL architecture: moving top-down, semantics is realised in/by lexico-grammar, which is in turn realised in/by sounds or graphic symbols. 'Semantics', in SFL, is an umbrella term covering three areas of meaning, corresponding to three basic *metafunctions* played by language: construing patterns of experience (*ideational*); act-

ing out personal and social relationships (*interpersonal*); organising coherent and cohesive flows of discourse (*textual*). Text-makers interact with each of these areas by making choices within specific lexico-grammatical systems: TRANSITIVITY and CLAUSES IN COMBINATION for ideational semantics; MOOD, MODALITY and APPRAISAL for interpersonal semantics; COHESION for textual semantics.

TRANSITIVITY and ATTITUDE (the main system within APPRAISAL) are referred to in the analysis of WSS below. TRANSITIVITY includes options to provide linguistic representations of events, through configurations of states or activities (*processes*, falling within six main categories), entities involved (*grammatical participants*), and optional circumstantial details (see Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: Chapter 5). ATTITUDE includes options to express evaluations of people's feelings (AFFECT), people's behaviour in terms of normative principles (JUDGEMENT), and aesthetic/social value of things and phenomena (APPRECIATION). JUDGEMENT is divided into *social esteem* (SE, referring to how special, capable, or dependable someone is), and *social sanction* (SS, referring to how truthful or ethical someone is). An evaluation can be positive (+ve) or negative (-ve), but also explicitly or implicitly encoded in the text (*inscribed* or *invoked*); the source and target of evaluation (*appraiser* and *appraised*) are also of key analytical importance (see Martin and White 2005: Chapter 2).

Turning to the second order of semiosis in Figure 1, this time moving bottom-up, verbalisation is the point of connection between the two semiotic systems: it embraces the entire first order, hence the broken line in the figure (Miller 2016a: 64). The stratum of symbolic articulation is "where the meanings of language are turned into signs having a deeper meaning" (Hasan [1985] 1989: 98) – thus becoming *art* – through *foregrounding*: a notion that Hasan largely derives from the work of Mukařovský (e.g., 1964). By foregrounding, Hasan means patterns of *significant* contrast against what the text establishes as a 'norm'. Significant foregrounding will also be *consistent*, in terms of two essential conditions: *stability of semantic direction* and *stability of textual location*, meaning that "the various foregrounded patterns point towards the same general kind of meaning", and that "the significant patterns of foregrounding have a tendency to occur at a textually important point" (Hasan [1985] 1989: 95). Miller (e.g., 2016a) argues that symbolic articulation can be equally seen as a question of *pervasive parallelism* (Jakobson 1966). Through symbolic articulation, we arrive at the highest stratum, the theme: the deepest message of a verbal artefact, a poignant reflection on some relevant aspect of human existence (Hasan 2007: 25).

Literature is not a register like any other also because "the context-language connection in verbal art is fraught with complexities to which other registers are simply not heir" (Miller 2017: 508; see also Hasan 2007: 22-23). The intrinsic connection between language and situational/cultural context is one of the axioms of SFL, and verbal art is no exception: Hasan herself insists that the literature text, like any other register, cannot be dissociated from the peculiarities of the community in which it was created ([1985] 1989: 101). Here, however, *multiple* contexts come into play and call for the analyst's attention: the *fictional context* created by the text, the reader's *context of reception* and the author's *context of creation*. Probing the context of creation is fundamental to arrive at a final formulation of the theme: it means engaging with the author as member of a community, investigating his/her positioning *vis-à-vis* the *language*, *world view(s)* and *artistic conventions* of his/her time and place of writing.

1.2 WSS: brief synopsis

Divided into three parts, with temporal gaps between them, Rhys' novel reconstructs the life of Rochester's first wife, Bertha (Antoinette) Mason, from a postcolonial perspective.

In Part one, Antoinette recounts her childhood as a white creole in Jamaica. Set in the years following Emancipation, a moment marked by growing tensions between former slave-owners and black labourers, it culminates in an arson attack that totally destroys Antoinette's family residence, Coulibri Estate.

Part two gives voice to Rochester (who is, however, never explicitly named), with only occasional passages narrated by Antoinette. It recounts the honeymoon spent by the couple in Dominica, and the gradual demise of their marriage.

Part three is set at Thornfield Hall. After a short introduction entrusted to Grace Pool (making the intertextual link explicit), it takes the form of a long interior monologue by Antoinette, now definitively Bertha.

2. Methodology

For this study I used the online corpus query system SketchEngine (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2014), with the plain text files (lemmatised and part-of-speech tagged) of WSS and JE: approx. 47,000 and 185,000 words, respectively. The research methods included:
   a)   Lemmatised wordlist (a list of a text's lemmas, ranked by frequency) for WSS;

    b)   Lemmatised keywordlist (a list of lemmas whose frequency is significantly high in a text, in comparison to a reference corpus) for WSS against JE[2];

    c)   Patterns of collocation (the company kept by certain words: Firth 1957: 11) involving *white* in WSS;

    d)   Manual Appraisal analysis of extended (sentence-length) concordances with *white* as node.

3. *Select findings*

3.1 *Wordlists, keywords, collocates*

Table I provides the top 30 lines (lemmas with frequency > 75, or 1.6‰) of the wordlist for WSS.

Rank	Freq	Lemma	Rank	Freq	Lemma
1	2202	I	16	140	*frenchpatois*
2	979	she	17	133	<u>get</u>
3	875	you	18	113	time
4	759	it	19	100	house (n) / Christophine
5	604	say (v)	20	98	**hear**
6	459	he	21	95	white
7	282	they	22	93	man
8	256	<u>go</u> (v)	23	92	<u>leave</u> (v)
9	250	**see**	24	91	room (n)
10	229	**know**	25	86	woman
11	197	look (v)	26	85	mother (n)
12	179	<u>come</u>	27	84	eye (n) / girl
13	178	tell	28	83	laugh (v) / **want** (v)
14	166	**think**	29	78	Antoinette
15	164	we	30	77	<u>take</u> (v)

Table I. WSS wordlist

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[2]   The most common grammatical words, which tend to create 'noise' in the results, were excluded from the wordlist and keywordlist using a specifically compiled *blacklist*.

All the subject pronouns are concentrated at the top, between lines 1 and 7, with the exception of the most 'inclusive' of all, *we*, which ranks 15th. In line 5, unsurprisingly, we find *say*, a *verbal* process in SFL Transitivity, mainly functioning to introduce dialogue turns (as a look at the related concordances confirms). The remaining verbs can be mainly ascribed to other two process categories: *mental* (in bold in the table) and *material* (underlined). Among the nominal and adjectival components, possibly noteworthy elements include: *frenchpatois*, an *ad-hoc* lemma specifically created to capture instances of languages other than English in the novel, mirroring the fictional context's composite sociolinguistic nature; *Christophine*, Antoinette's Martinican nurse, never mentioned in JE, but prominent, frequency-wise, in WSS; also with reference to the numerous feminist readings of both novels (e.g., Spivak 1985), the binomial *man*/*woman*, plus *mother*, almost invariably referring to Antoinette's Martinican mother, Annette; and finally, especially considering WSS as an instance of postcolonial literature set in 'Emancipated' Jamaica, the adjective *white*.

Let us now turn to the top 25 lines (with Keyness ≥ 4) of the keywordlist for WSS against JE as a reference corpus, reported in Table II.

Rank	Lemma	Keyness	Rank	Lemma	Keyness
1	Christophine	18.4	14	tree	4.7
2	Antoinette	14.6	15	mother (n)	4.7
3	Cora	7.8	16	white	4.7
4	Baptiste	7.3	17	Jamaica	4.7
5	veranda	6.2	18	money	4.6
6	rum	6.0	19	stare (v)	4.6
7	laugh (v)	5.8	20	Hilda	4.5
8	Aunt	5.7	21	red	4.4
9	Coulibri	5.7	22	drink (v)	4.4
10	Amélie	5.3	23	island	4.1
11	Pierre	5.0	24	Martinique	4.0
12	dress (n)	5.0	25	bottle (n)	4.0
13	boy	4.7			

Table II. WSS keywordlist

As expected, the top-most part of the keywordlist includes proper names of characters specific to WSS, and elements pointing to geographical and cultural features of the fictional context (*veranda*, *rum*, *Coulibri*, *Jamaica*, *island*). Two elements already singled out in Table I above recur: *white* (possibly linked to the closely-allied adjective *red*, line 21) and *mother*. Also noteworthy, because one of the few verbs in this part of the keywordlist, and present in the wordlist as well (Table I, line 28), is *laugh*, which SFL classifies as a *behavioural* process.

Zooming in on *white*, Table III provides its top collocates, in the range from 2 words to the left to 2 words to the right. Findings are ordered by *T-score* (> 2), a statistical measure of collocational strength.

Collocate	T-score
a	3.885
the	3.848
and	3.845
people	3.432
cockroach	2.993
nigger	2.992
with	2.677
black	2.416
dress	2.190
like	2.111
of	2.014

Table III. Top 2L-2R collocates for *white* in WSS

Excluding grammatical words, *people*, *cockroach* and *nigger* (these last two, in particular, with strong negative connotation) emerge as the most relevant collocates, closely followed by *black* (occurring in a trigram, *black and white*) and *dress*.

The corpus tools used so far have proved to be convenient and robust allies in picking out patterns of potential interest, which could hardly be discovered manually. Still, SSS requires that those patterns be analysed in the semiotic system of language, and probed in the semiotic system of verbal art. Here is where manual analysis necessarily comes into play.

3.2 Appraising white

To avoid the risk of overlooking meaningful patterns, all 95 occurrences of *white* were manually examined. Analysis often required going even beyond sentence-length concordances, as evaluation "tends to be found throughout a text rather than being confined to one particular part of it" (Thompson and Hunston 2000: 19). Appraisal and Transitivity choices were also, where necessary, considered together, since often "the selection of ideational meanings is enough to invoke evaluation, even in the absence of attitudinal lexis that tells us directly how to feel" (Martin and White 2005: 62).

The concordances can be divided into three main groups, based on analytical findings[3]: (i) those in which *white* does not play an evaluative function, but simply expresses objective qualities (colour) of things; (ii) those in which *white*, in combination with other adjectives, enacts Appreciation of things; (iii) those in which *white* contributes to assessing the status or moral qualities of people, enacting Judgement: SE/SS. There is, in addition, one isolated instance of Affect, enacted by the verb *hate*, with *white people* as appraised and a 'coloured' character[4] as appraiser. Groups (i) and (ii), taken together due to their common target (things rather than people), include 51 concordances out of the total 95 (53.7%); against this backdrop, the presence of Judgement is noticeable (foregrounded?), with 43 concordances in group (iii) (45.3%). Interestingly, in most of the concordances from this group (31/43, or 72.1%) *white* co-occurs with one of the collocates singled out in Table III above: *people*, *cockroach*, *nigger* and *black* (the sole exception being *white dress*, whose occurrences fall entirely within groups (i) and (ii): non-evaluative/Appreciation). The quantitative data generated by the corpus tools seem to have pointed out a relevant textual pattern, so far supported by qualitative analysis. Let us now take a closer look at these four collocates: Table IV provides information regarding the sub-types of Judgement enacted in the related concordances (SE/SS; +ve/-ve; inscribed/invoked), and appraiser/appraised involved.

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[3]   It should be noted, however, that a certain amount of fuzziness between attitude categories is the norm, also linked to what Thompson calls the "Russian doll dilemma": "the way in which an expression of one category [...] may function as a token (an indirect expression) of a different category" (2014: 49). The data reported here only refer to the type of attitude emerging as overriding from analysis.

[4]   The term 'coloured' is never offensive in WSS: as in many former colonial territories, it refers to mixed-race people.

Collocate pair	Function	Judgement: sub-types	Appraiser	Appraised
White people	Appraised	Invoked +ve SE: normality (6 concordances)	Black/'coloured' characters	
		Invoked +ve SE: normality (1 concordance)	Rochester	
		Inscribed -ve SE: normality (1 concordance)	Tia	
		Inscribed -ve SE: capacity (1 concordance)	Author of book on obeah (voo-doo)	
		Invoked -ve SS: propriety (1 concordance)	Antoinette	
White cockroach	Evaluative item	Provoked (metaphorical) -ve SS: propriety (9 concordances)	Black/'coloured' characters	Antoinette and family
White nigger	Evaluative item	Inscribed -ve SE: normality/ SS: propriety (6 concordances)	Black/'coloured' characters	Antoinette and family
		Inscribed -ve SE: normality/ SS: propriety (3 concordances)	White characters	Antoinette and family
Black and white	Appraised	Flagged (sarcastic) -ve SE: normality (1 concordance)	Black/'coloured' characters	
		Invoked -ve SS: propriety (2 concordances)	Black/'coloured' characters	

Table IV. Appraisal in concordances with *white people*,
white cockroach, *white nigger*, *black and white* as node

Overall, the evaluative patterns enact a deep cleavage in the fictional context's society, sharply divided between black and 'coloured' people, on one hand, and white people, on the other, with Antoinette and her family falling in between.

The collocate pair *white people* functions as the appraised in the related concordances, where judgement is almost exclusively invoked. White people are evaluated positively, in terms of SE: normality, by various black/'coloured' characters (as rich, powerful, refined), and by Rochester, who implicitly recognises them as his peers. One (apparent) exception is the negative evaluation expressed by a black child named Tia, which, however, only concerns a specific subgroup of white people: those, like Antoinette's father, who engaged in intermarriage[5]. The only appraiser who truly evaluates white people (as a social group in general) in a negative way is Antoinette. Even more importantly, her evaluation has to do with SS – morality rather than status – and is located at a textually important point: the novel's opening.

(1) They say when trouble comes close ranks, and so the *white people* did. But we were not in their ranks. The Jamaican ladies had never approved of my mother, 'because she pretty like pretty self', Christophine said. (WSS: 3)

Antoinette positions herself immediately as an outsider and, in so doing, implicitly forefronts the reproachable behaviour of those (*the white people*) who not only 'close ranks' in view of the 'trouble' approaching (the mood following Emancipation), but do so selectively and selfishly. A second evaluative thread spotlights the small-mindedness of the (white) Jamaican ladies who, it is implied, are simply envious of Annette's beauty.

The nominal group complex *black and white* also functions as appraised in the concordances in which it occurs (all from Part one), which show evidence of both SE (1 occurrence) and SS (2 occurrences). The appraisers in this case are exclusively members of the black/'coloured' group. One of them is a man involved in the arson attack at Coulibri Estate. When Antoinette and her family run out of the house, he tries to stop them saying:

(2) So *black and white*, they burned the same, eh? (WSS: 26)

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[5]   Another exception is the author of a book on Obeah, quoted by Rochester, who claims that the white people are *sometimes credulous* (-ve SE: capacity). This, however, is not central to the novel's meanings.

This abrasive sarcasm "flags" (Martin and White 2005: 61ff) -ve Judgement: SE: normality of white people (stressing their vulnerability, despite their purported 'superiority'), while also invoking a strongly negative Affect. The sharp social division already noted above emerges forcefully here.

White cockroach and *white nigger* are evaluative items, exclusively addressed to Antoinette (plus, occasionally, her family). *White cockroach*, which occurs in the discourse of one single group of appraisers (black/'coloured' characters), is a lexical metaphor: a linguistic instantiation of a general category of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson 1980) linking human beings to non-human animals. One of the main effects of *man is animal* metaphors is *dehumanisation*: for this reason, they are frequently used to stigmatise ethnic/racial groups (see, e.g., Goatly 2006; Volpato 2012). In WSS, *white cockroach* enacts "provoked" (Martin and White 2005: 64) -ve Judgement: SS: propriety, portraying Antoinette and her family not only as *in*human, but also as infesting animals. This complex metaphor works on two implicit and interrelated planes: on the one hand, Antoinette is a *cockroach* because she is *white* (opposition between white colonisers – metaphorically portrayed as infesting animals – and black/'coloured' people); on the other hand, she is a *cockroach* because she is *not* 'really' *white*, her mother being a Martinican woman (opposition between 'real' white people and creoles). The two perspectives fuse to give us a view of the *white cockroach* as a disturbing outsider. *White nigger* was analysed as enacting inscribed -ve Judgement, with SE: normality shading into SS: propriety. The appraisers in this case include both black/'coloured' and white characters, further construing Antoinette's marginalisation. There is space for but one example, from Part two. Antoinette is talking to Rochester: the deep connection between the two derogatory epithets, with their respective appraisers, sharply emerges in this passage, pointing to Antoinette's hybrid (and so undesirable) condition.

> (3) Did you hear what that girl [= a black servant] was singing? [...] It was a song about a *white cockroach*. That's me. [...] And I've heard English women call us *white niggers*. So [...] I often wonder who I am and where is my country and where do I belong and why was I ever born at all. (WSS: 76-77)

I would argue that the patterns of Judgement discussed above work at the level of symbolic articulation as instances of foregrounding. They stand out against a 'background' (non-evaluative/Appreciation uses of

white), and are characterised by stability of semantic direction (cumu-latively construing Antoinette's *other-ness*) and stability of textual lo-cation (being concentrated in Parts one and two, set in the West Indies, before Antoinette truly becomes 'Bertha'). Indeed, a look at a specific wordlist generated for Part three shows that this section of the novel is *sui generis*; interestingly, *white* is here replaced by *red* as the predom-inant colour. A tentative formulation of the theme can be proposed on the basis of the (albeit partial) analysis above: *the conflicts inherent in cross-cultural encounter as a cause of alienation*. Investigation into the context of creation, which cannot be discussed here for reasons of space, supports this hypothesis.

4. *Conclusions*

Studies carried out so far by the members of this research group (e.g., Miller 2016b; Miller and Luporini 2018) suggest that the use of corpus techniques in SSS has inbuilt shortcomings, but also an indisputable advantage: it guarantees reliability and statistical significance difficult to achieve manually, especially in the case of longer and/or particularly 'complex' texts. The findings presented here reinforce this view. Au-tomated quantitative analysis was essential to compare WSS with JE, leading to the selection of *white* and a subset of its collocates as items worth further investigation. Qualitative analysis, necessarily manual, was then key to probing those patterns at the semiotic levels of language and verbal art. A much more extensive analysis is, of course, needed to confirm the tentative formulation of the theme proposed above: possi-ble future developments include, for instance, the relationship between *white* and *red* (i.e., other-ness and insanity?), and the ideational patterns involving *laugh* and *mother* in WSS.

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INTERPERSONAL METADISCOURSE IN WORDSWORTH'S "PREFACE" TO *LYRICAL BALLADS*

Abstract

This article analyses the linguistic practices utilised by W. Wordsworth in "Preface" to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads* (1800) in order to construct his own identity as an innovative writer and his interaction with his reader. Within the aims and scope of the new discipline of historical pragmatics, "Preface" is examined as a dialogic text and the features of its interpersonal metadiscourse are identified and investigated. This historical pragmatic scrutiny demonstrates that the interpersonal metadiscourse items represent the figure of the writer as authoritative and persuasive. Moreover, they also lead his addressee to share the writer's viewpoint on Romantic poetry and language by means of positive politeness building a common context directly involving the reader.

Keywords: Historical pragmatics; identity construction; interpersonal metadiscourse; Late Modern non-fictional discourse; "Preface" to *Lyrical Ballads* (1800).

1. *Introduction, methodology and aims*

In "Preface" to the second edition of *Lyrical Ballads*, W. Wordsworth ([1800] 2005) theorises and describes the linguistic features of English Romantic poetry[1]. He thereby consciously creates and codifies an innovative poetic language against the background of the conventional poetry of the same period. An articulate system of dialogic strategies in the text reveals the writer's awareness of both his own identity and his interaction with his reader. Actually, when scrutinised within the theoretical framework of academic discourse as an instance of historical professional writing, the text shows a continuum between the two extremes of conventionality, or accountability to disciplinary rules and genre practices, and individuality, here the interactive traits expressing

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[1]   This article draws from Virdis 2017.

the writer's identity and his relation with his reader (Hyland 2000; Gotti 2009; Hyland 2012).

The investigation in this article falls within the aims and scope of historical pragmatics, i.e. written discourse is considered as communicative and social involvement. The model provided by this discipline presupposes interactivity between the writer/speaker and the reader/hearer which, in turn, presupposes the presence of both of them in the text. These participants are present not only at a discursive level as the addresser and the addressee of a written or spoken text, but also at a textual level, where their presence and identity, particularly the addresser's, are conveyed by a number of linguistic practices and markers (Fitzmaurice and Taavitsainen 2007; Mazzon 2009; Culpeper and Kytö 2010; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2010; Mazzon and Fodde 2012; Jucker and Taavitsainen 2013; Nevala *et al.* 2016).

In this article, I analyse the interpersonal metadiscourse of "Preface", which is the main interactive strategy employed by the writer to construct and perform his own individuality and identity and to directly address his reader. The research hypotheses to be tested are twofold: 1. That the writer's idiosyncratic style, along with his assertive identity, is crafted by the recurrent use of interpersonal metadiscourse items; 2. That interactivity and assertiveness result in a favourable disposition towards his reader and positive politeness, or the need to be connected with that reader (Brown and Levinson [1978] 1987).

2. *Analysis and results*

As mentioned in the introductory Section 1, "Preface" can be scrutinised as a historical instance of academic discourse. In accordance with this paradigm, Hyland (2000: 109-113) calls "interpersonal metadiscourse" the items in a text directly hinting at its author's stance towards the content and the reader: "because it [metadiscourse] is based on a view of writing as a social and communicative engagement, it offers a very powerful way of looking at how writers project themselves into their work to manage their communicative intentions" (Hyland 2000: 109). As this scholar acknowledges, approaches to metadiscourse have been considerably affected by Halliday's (2014) functional view of grammar and concept of interpersonal metafunction. As a result, interpersonal metadiscourse denotes non-propositional discursive elements signalling the author's linguistic and rhetorical presence as well as their identity, professional reputation and connection with their reader and message.

Hyland's (2000: 110-113; 191-193) classification scheme of interpersonal metadiscourse is constituted by a list of commonly-used items organised into five functions: hedges (e.g. 'might', 'perhaps'), boosters ('actually', 'definitely'), attitude markers ('unfortunately', 'agree'), relational markers ('frankly', 'note'), person markers ('I', 'we'). This author employed his list to study metadiscourse in a corpus of academic textbooks of eight hard- and soft-knowledge disciplines (Hyland 2000: 113-116). Extremely frequent use of interpersonal metadiscourse turned out to be made in philosophy. The textbooks in this field comprise twice, in a case three times, as many interpersonal features as any other field, *viz.* 51.9 per 1,000 words; this is especially due to the substantial number of personal pronouns utilised (5.7 per 1,000 words). Table 1 below shows the figures for interpersonal metadiscourse in the textbooks about philosophy, applied linguistics (featuring the second highest occurrence) and electronic engineering (featuring the lowest occurrence).

In order to examine the interpersonal metadiscourse of "Preface" and to compare it with Hyland's findings, a concordancer (Reed 1997-2016) was deployed to carry out an analysis of the metadiscourse items he investigated. His list (Hyland 2000: 191-193) was adapted to meet the technical needs of concordancers by excluding the items that cannot be computer-searched: punctuation marks (exclamation mark, brackets, question mark) were not included; strings constituted by Subject followed by Finite (e.g. 'I agree') were simplified to the Finite ('agree'); verbal groups (e.g. 'appear to be'), adjectival groups ('certain that') and thematised comment clauses ('it is clear') were reduced to the key words ('appear', 'certain', 'clear').

Discipline or text	Interpersonal metadiscourse	Personal pronouns
Philosophy	51.9	5.7
Applied linguistics	28.2	1.8
Electronic engineering	18.7	0.8
Preface	83.37	19.32 ("I" only)

Table 1. Interpersonal metadiscourse and personal pronouns per 1,000 words
in Hyland's model (2000) (academic textbooks) and in "Preface"

Of the 124 interpersonal metadiscourse items in the adapted list, the following types, along with their tokens, were retrieved in "Preface" (6,417 total tokens; 1,451 total types):

· 61 types (4.20% of the whole vocabulary);
· 535 tokens (8.34% of the total wordcount);
· 83.37 tokens per 1,000 words (see Table 1).

These are the data for first-person singular 'I':

· 1 type (0.07% of the whole vocabulary);
· 124 tokens (1.93% of the total wordcount);
· 19.32 tokens per 1,000 words (see Table 1).

As mentioned above and presented in Table 1, the use of interpersonal metadiscourse in the philosophy textbooks (51.9 items and 5.7 personal pronouns per 1,000 words) is striking in comparison with the other disciplines. Consequently, the higher frequency of interpersonal metadiscourse in the text under investigation (83.37 items and 19.32 instances of 'I' per 1,000 words) is even more impressive. Such a frequency reveals that the writer has established an intimate, not at all remote, relationship with his addressee and is concerned with setting up an interpersonal context for the negotiation of his theoretical meanings and presentation of Romantic poetry.

3. *Concluding remarks*

From a quantitative perspective, the analysis of "Preface" has disclosed that the text comprises 535 total interpersonal metadiscourse items out of a total wordcount of 6,417 tokens. This amounts to 83.37 occurrences of these items per 1,000 words: that is to say, almost one word out of ten is an interpersonal metadiscourse item. Hence, such an extremely high frequency confirms the first research hypothesis of this examination: the writer's prose style in the text is unquestionably typified by these markers of interactivity.

From a qualitative perspective, the role of the interpersonal metadiscourse items appears to be that of shaping the author's style as highly individualised and self-aware. "Preface" has an argumentative and persuasive macrofunction, since it develops and positively evaluates a Romantic philosophy of poetry and poetic language. It can be safely stated that the interpersonal metadiscourse items which have been recognised and their distinctive usages are specifically employed to represent the writer as the authoritative source of these innovative ideas on poetry and to express guidance and orientation for the reader.

Furthermore, with regard to the second research hypothesis, these items contribute to creating a context and speech event shared by the writer and his reader and to establishing positive politeness and an 'addressee-friendly' attitude. This common ground facilitates communication: it requires the reader's active participation, influences their response and encourages them to readily share the author's theoretical perspective on Romantic poetry and language.

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