TOPICS IN LINGUISTICS
Issue 4 – December 2009

Interface Between Pragmatics and Other Linguistic Disciplines

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IN MEMORY OF PROFESSOR ALEŠ SVOBODA

Aleš Svoboda, Professor of English Language at the Faculty of Arts in Ostrava, Czech Republic, a linguist of world-wide reputation and a highly esteemed follower of the Prague School linguistic tradition, died on 9 January 2010 at the age of 68. With his death, the scholarly community lost one of its most distinguished Anglicists. His students and colleagues have to face the loss of an eminent teacher who was always willing to share his immense knowledge and experience. We all lose an exceptionally inspiring and broad-minded personality.

Aleš Svoboda was born on 2 April 1941 in Zlín, but spent his childhood and boyhood in Kyjov. After finishing secondary school in 1958, he enrolled at the conservatoire in Brno, the capital city of South Moravia, where for four years he specialized in the clarinet. Brno grew close to his heart, so he enrolled at the city’s university to study modern philology. In 1966 he graduated in English and German with a Master’s teaching degree from the Faculty of Arts, where he also successfully defended his PhDr. doctoral dissertation in 1968, followed by his Candidate of Sciences doctorate in 1978. In 1980 he was awarded his Associate Professorship by the Faculty of Arts, Charles University, Prague, and in 1981 he became Associate Professor of English Language. Aleš Svoboda’s professional career progressed significantly in the second half of the 1980s. In 1986 he extended his Associate Professorship to cover Czech Language (Brno), and in 1989 he was awarded a Doctorate of Sciences for research in general linguistics (Brno). Finally, in 1992 he was awarded his Professorship of English Language by Masaryk University, Brno.

To give a satisfactory account of Professor Svoboda’s work and professional activities as a teacher and scholar seems almost impossible. He began his career as a secondary school teacher in Hodonín (1966–1969) and Brno (1969–1970). His linguistic talent, however, could not pass unnoticed, so from the early 1970s he held university teaching positions at various institutions both in the Czech Republic and abroad. Expectedly enough, it was Brno’s Department of English and American Studies that offered Aleš Svoboda the first opportunity to address university students. With the exception of his stay at London University’s School of Slavonic and East European Studies (1973–1975), where he worked as a lecturer of the Czech language, he spent the years 1970–1984 in Brno. After that, he swapped the gentle southern climes of the Moravian vineyards for the rougher cities of the north (returning to Brno for a short period between 1989–1990).

He worked, successively, at the Faculty of Education in Ostrava (1984–1989), at the Faculty of Arts of the University of Ostrava (1990–1994), at the Faculty of Philosophy and Science of the Silesian University in Opava (1994–2005), and again at the University of Ostrava’s Faculty of Arts (2006–2009). Concurrently, from 1995 to 2006, he lectured at the Faculty of Arts in Preslov, Slovakia.

Alongside his teaching obligations, Professor Svoboda conducted linguistic research of great depth and scope. As a student of Professor Josef Vachek and Professor Jan Firbas, and as Jan Firbas’ closest collaborator, he was able to benefit from and further develop the ideas of the Prague School of Linguistics, grounded in the comparative analysis of English, German, Czech, and other languages. Since his undergraduate years, he was involved in two main areas of research: functional syntax and pragmatics. He managed to enrich Firbas’ theory of functional sentence perspective (FSP) in several domains: particularly in the hierarchy of communicative units and fields (1968) and in the elaboration of thematic elements, which resulted in the discovery of a specific communicative element labelled diatheme (1981, 1983). In his subsequent research, he focused on the functional perspective of the nominal phrase (e.g. 1986, 1987a), on the functional perspective of Czech word order (1984, 1989), and on the application of F(S)P mechanisms on the units above and below sentence level (1989, 1996a, 2000, 2001). His pragmatic line of research was carried out either individually (1976a) or with the collaboration of the logician Pavel Materna and the linguist Karel Pala (1976b, 1979, 1987b). In the final years of his life, Professor Svoboda directed the focus of his research to the analysis of texts written by authors of fiction, employing the conception of Firbasian semantic scales (e.g. 2005a, 2006a). Unfortunately, he was not given enough time to develop his findings into firm conclusions.

Professor Svoboda was not only an exceptional scholar, but also a dedicated teacher. Generations of students of English could, can, and will be able to benefit from an extensive and wide-ranging list of textbooks, primers, collections of lectures, and introductions into various sub-fields of linguistics. During his life, Professor Svoboda taught all the major linguistic disciplines, and for most of them he prepared specially designed teaching materials, either alone or with the collaboration of students or colleagues. Regardless of whether it was morphology (1993, 2003, 2004a), syntax (1996b, 2004b), the history of English (2005b) or the Gothic language (1994), he always approached the task with the aim of providing a handy, concise and reader-friendly text which would hold students’ attention. His long-term teaching experience resulted in the publication of a comprehensive textbook of linguistics for university students of English at all three degree levels: BA, MA, and PhD (2006b).

If I was asked to characterize Aleš Svoboda in one word, it would be systematicness. Due to this quality, he was able to be engaged in a large number of projects, many of which he organized himself. Worth mentioning is the Italian anthology of functional syntax texts which he collected and translated with R. Sorbicola (1991). Not to be forgotten is his contribution to the encyclopaedic dictionary of the Czech language (2002), for which he authored 51 entries on the theory of functional sentence perspective. He was also the founder and the first Head of the Vílem Mathesius Society. His swansong was the preparation of the collected works of Jan Firbas, his teacher, colleague, and friend.

Much more could be said about Professor Svoboda’s work and life. About his research stays at Leeds University and the University of Pennsylvania. About his membership in the editorial boards of various linguistics periodicals (e.g. Linguistica Praagensia, Topics in Linguistics). About the number of dissertations he supervised or assessed. Yet no words can express our gratitude and respect deeply enough. We owe him so much.

Miroslav Černý
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Príspevky/Papers
Implicatures in Discourse Space or Grice's Rationality Reconsidered

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Abstract
The paper makes a small-range, tentative contribution to the defense of the Cooperative Principle (cf. Grice 1975), against the accusations of its logical incompatibility with the Conversational Maxims (cf. the criticism in Tsohatzidis 1993, etc.). It is claimed that the full methodological feasibility of the CP can be appreciated if the inference processes it subsumes are considered from a temporal perspective. Such a perspective is available from the apparatus of the discourse-analytic branch of Cognitive Linguistics (cf. e.g. Langacker 2001).

Keywords
Grice; Cooperative Principle; Conversational Maxims; implicature; Cognitive Linguistics; Current Discourse Space

1. Introduction
The Cooperative Principle by H.P. Grice (1975) counts among the most important concepts which have been influencing the development of the theory of (conversational) implicature. As such, it has been widely discussed and evaluated in the literature, from a number of cognitive, societal and experiential standpoints. Much of the evaluation has centered around the apparent incompatibility of the CP with the kind of reasoning required for the calculation of implicatures. Oftentimes, the CP has been deemed incoherent with the Conversational Maxims underlying it (this criticism is implicit in e.g. Tsohatzidis 1993, etc.). The present paper attempts to suggest that there is no analytic incompatibility in applying the CP alongside with the Maxims. This requires approaching the process of implicature interpretation from a temporal perspective. Namely, within the Current Discourse Space model (cf. Langacker 2001), the application of the CP in one temporal frame and the Maxims in another is a (merely) complementary operation.

2. Discussion
The apparent problems with the construal of the Cooperative Principle and its analytic validity can be attributed to a methodological duality underlying the Gricean theory of implicature as a whole. In his accounts of phenomena related to what has come to be termed the ‘meaning-nn’, Grice has toyed between two different and often conflicting approaches: cognitive and societal (cf. Marmaridou 2000). He has based the theory of implicature on the conception of truly holistic understanding and symmetrical knowledge demonstrated by conversation participants in idealized context situations, and simultaneously, on the traits of non-cooperation and the operation of asymmetrical knowledge observed in a number of actual situations of language use. It is often acknowledged (cf. Tsohatzidis 1993; Marmaridou 2000) that, in so doing, he has paved the way for the development of the two opposing subdisciplines of pragmatics: ‘cognitive pragmatics’ (as in, for example, Blakemore 1987, 1992), stressing the importance of the overarching principle of ‘cooperation’, and ‘societal pragmatics’ (as in, for instance, Mey 1993), the latter drawing on the instances of non-cooperation or violation of cooperative norms. But still, setting this indisputable legacy aside, one could reasonably expect from post-Gricean pragmatics some severe criticism against his liberally creating the lacuna for existence of such a cognitive-societal interface. The essence of the criticism of Grice’s theory of implicature (cf. Tsohatzidis 1993) lies in the apparently illogical encouragement for drawing on the principle of cognitively grounded cooperation, in order to actually challenge its status as a general principle of communication. This in turn raises questions about the explanatory power and value of the inherent components of the theory: the Cooperative Principle and the following set of the Conversational Maxims. It would seem that the Principle and the Maxims show radically different degrees of their universality of operation, which of course makes them analytically incompatibile. This claim is well documenated in some fieldwork findings. For example, Keenan (1976) concludes that in many languages (such as e.g. Malagasy) cultural norms make speakers withhold novel information as it is considered too ‘precious’ to be revealed in standard communicative situation. This of course renders the Gricean Maxim of Quantity virtually worthless from the analytic standpoint. Similar observations are also made in Wierzbicka (1987). Considering the Cooperative Principle a truly universal concept, she simultaneously points to the apparent lack of such universality in the operation of Conversational Maxims. The cultural dependence of the Maxims can be seen, Wierzbicka claims, from the relevance-based inferences from tautologies which seem almost always determined by cultural norms. Summing up, the field research has contributed a lot to undermining the consistency of the Gricean theory and its indiscriminate use of both cognitive and societal premises. The criticism of Grice’s theory of implicature, albeit addressing roughly the same set of phenomena, has twofold manifestation in the literature. First, it is indicated by the different handling of the concepts of the CP and the Maxims as well as different organization of the ‘analytic writing space’ by linguists of different methodological orientation. In other words, depending on adoption of either a ‘cognitive’ or a ‘societal’ perspective, analysts tend to highlight the phenomena that can be accounted for within the adopted methodology, and simultaneously downplay or leave aside the ones that evade such analysis. Let us look at this tendency via the prism of the relevance-related example provided by Marmaridou (2000:229):

(1) (office situation)
A: Has Helen come yet?
B: The computer’s on.

The analysis of B’s response and his apparent violation of the Gricean Maxim of Relevance can be at least threefold, with each of the interpretations rising from a different contextual background. First and foremost, it may seem that B wants A to know that Helen has come (or that B believes that Helen has come) and, in order to instill this knowledge in A, he implies that Helen normally turns the computer off before leaving the workplace and then switches it back on upon returning. This interpretation illustrates a standard case offlouting relevance. Second, B may want A to know, primarily, that the computer’s on and that, for instance, it should be switched off. This applies if, for example, B did not hear the question and hence he is merely initiating a topic in thus-arising conversation with A. In Gricean terms, B’s cue would then be classed as ‘unostentatious’ violation of relevance. Third, we can imagine that B wants to settle the computer issue first (e.g. by making A switch it off urgently), before moving to another topic (i.e. Hentien’s coming). In this last case one might talk of violation of relevance because of the arising ‘maxim clash’ where the observance of ‘quality’ or ‘quantity’ of B’s contribution is given priority over its relevance. For the sake of the following discussion let us refer to these three interpretations as, respectively, (a), (b) and (c).

A closer look at how post-Gricean pragmatists focus their attention on interpretation types like (a), (b) and (c) and how much of this attention is involved in each particular case goes a long way towards not only the specification of their analytic predispositions but towards understanding the essence of the criticism of Grice’s ideas as a whole. It can be seen, for example, that analysts subscribing more explicitly to the ‘societal’ premises (cf. works by Mey 1993, Thomas 1995, Grundy 1995, Leech 1983, etc.) devote much writing space to the analysis of the (a)-type interpretations, while focusing relatively little on the (c)-type cases (no matter which particular Maxim falls under discussion). On the other hand, in works by cognitive scientists like Blakemore (1992), Giora (1997) or Marmaridou (2000) it is much rather the (c) type that receives profound attention, very often at the expense of the (a) and (b) types. Apparently, the reason for this discrepancy in analytic interest is entrenched in the Gricean legacy. The strictly channelled interest in the analysis of (a)-type cases is nothing but an acknowledgement of the operation of Conversational Maxims as the dominant characteristic of human communication. At the same time, it counts as implicit criticism of the ‘cognitive’ part of the Gricean heritage. Conversely, the extended writing space devoted to the analysis of (c)-types, coupled with little focus on the (a) and (b) interpretations, testifies to the analyst’s being more in favor of the all-round cooperative approach which positions the Maxims as clearly subordinate to the operation of the CP. The latter tendency can be elucidated by looking at the topic elements in types (a) and (c). While in the former case the flouting of relevance involves one and only one topic/purpose (i.e. the specification of Helen’s current whereabouts), the latter violation involves pursuit of not merely this one particular common purpose, but equally an initiation of another common purpose (e.g. the settling of the computer problem). Beyond doubt, accounts of cases such as the latter address the concept of continual cooperation salient in the CP, while tacitly admitting inferiority of the solely maxim-based inferences. But what should be stressed above all is that both the ‘societal’ and the ‘cognitive’ standpoint involve some implicit criticism of the incomparability of the CP and the Maxims; it is only the kind of analytic background and personal predispositions that dictates which of the two (i.e. the CP or the Maxims) should be considered to have more explanatory power than the other.

Apart from this moderate criticism of the CP-Maxims status of interaction, an attitude being implicit in the management of the writing space and in the focus of research interest, there exist more radical standpoints which consider Grice’s theory of implicature not so much inconsistent as virtually paradoxical. Again, it is the relation of the CP and the Maxims that is addressed in this critique; Tsohatzidis (1993) investigates it by referring to the following utterance:

(2) I wonder why I am talking to you,

used by the speaker as a complaint to an inattentive addressee. It is evident and at the same time paradoxical that the addressee, in order to properly comprehend the implicature, must be ‘cooperative’ enough to actually understand his uncooperativeness. Thus, Tsohatzidis claims that in interpreting Disciplures such as in (2) one would have to retain Grice’s method of implicature calculation (i.e. via measuring the degree of adherence to the Maxims) but give up on the concept of cooperativeness, or alternatively, retain the rationality of the CP in itself but admit that it plays no significant role in the calculation of implicatures. Either way, Tsohatzidis claims, the theory proposed by Grice remains inconsistent.

The above examples of criticism of Grice’s theory of implicature draw on the operation of the CP and the Maxims perceived as parallel and constant interaction. The temporal simultaneity of application of the CP and the Maxims in the process of inference is, as has been shown, the underlying reason for the accusations of the apparent incompatibility of these two concepts. In what follows, we shall see that in a theory which allows for the treatment of ‘cooperation’ and ‘calculation’ in terms of temporally complementary processes such critique would be void. Thus, below we turn to Langacker’s (2001) model of Current Discourse Space, in order to show its capacity for a fuller and more flexible analysis of implicatures.

In Langacker’s view (cf. Langacker 2001), Current Discourse Space (CDS) includes the whole body of contextual knowledge which is readily accessible by discourse participants at any stage of verbal interaction. Importantly, it includes the speaker’s and the hearer’s apprehension of the ongoing discourse itself: a series of previous discourse usage events, as well as subsequent events that might be predicted. All facets of these events, whether previous or anticipated, can be drawn upon or alluded to in the current utterance.

This last observation goes to suggest that any signalling aspect of a single usage event or a sequence of events in a discourse is capable of being abstracted as a conventional linguistic unit. Thus, Langacker argues, many units make detailed specifications in regard to multiple events within a sequence. Such units embody established discourse patterns and dependencies. When associated with particular lexical elements, they amount to discourse expectations symbolized by those elements. One can find regularities in discourse sequences of any size, viewed at any level of organization. It is then equally a matter of discourse expectation that, say, the speaker’s complaint will provoke the hearer’s change in behavior (cf. example (2)) and that a prefix will be followed by a stem. In all that, Langacker’s theory invites a unified approach for lexical items, grammatical constructions, and discourse patterns of any size.

Furthermore, Langacker claims that linguistic
structures, once they have been abstracted from usage events, serve in turn as instructions to modify and update the current discourse space in particular ways. Each instruction involves the focusing of attention within a viewing frame. A discourse comprises a succession of frames each representing the scene being viewed and acted on by the speaker and the hearer at a given time. The frame which is currently being acted on is referred to as zero frame. It is preceded by a minus frame and followed by a plus frame (cf. Langacker 2001:149; Fig. 1).

The ultimate finding within the CDS theory to be feasibly addressed from a discourse-analytic perspective is that reference to a sequence of frames is incorporated as part of linguistic units. A particular linguistic element can be retrospective, in the sense of making a specification concerning the prior discourse, and/or prospective, by virtue of evoking the subsequent discourse. Illustrating a retrospective element, making a specification in its minus frame, is a lexical item such as ‘therefore’. Conversely, illustrating a prospective element, making a specification in its plus frame, would be, for instance, any noun phrase functioning as a topic marker. Naturally, the latter would also be retrospective, in the sense that a topic, apart from providing a reference point for purposes of interpreting a subsequent proposition, needs to be an entity already accessible in the prior discourse.

![Fig. 1](image1)

Most fundamentally, the CDS model involves the continual accumulation, updating and modification of the speaker’s knowledge which is derived from the unfolding discourse. The relation between the speaker and a given series of discourse frames is one whereby the speaker, himself positioned in the current, zero frame, draws upon the contents of the retrospective frames, to finally determine the contents of the prospective ones. This process is virtually identical to the activity involving, first, the calculation of implicatures from thus-far accessible knowledge and, later, the application of the arising inferences as a premise for further discourse expectations. Significantly, since the ‘calculation’ operates within a different temporal frame from the ‘expectations’, the basic explanatory values of the Conversational Maxims and the Cooperative Principle remain unaffected by each other. Let us represent the inference of meaning in example (2) in terms of a series of frames constituting the unfolding Discourse Space (Fig. 2):

![Fig. 2](image2)

3. Conclusions
Interpretation of implicatures according to the CDS model entails no methodological conflict between the concept of continual cooperation salient in the CP and the calculability of inference indicated by the operation of the Maxims. While the former is the domain of updating the ‘zero frame’ to the ‘plus frame’, the latter involves the preparatory move from the ‘minus frame’ to the ‘zero frame’. In other words, the interpreter uses calculation to arrive at a stage in which the implicature signposts the direction of further communication, governed by the binding principle of cooperation. What underlies this observation is the approach to implicature in terms of a temporally dynamic phenomenon. This approach is marked by the application of Grice’s Cooperative Principle and Conversational Maxims as complementary, not conflicting, analytic tools.

References

**Bio-note**
Professor Piotr Cap, born 1970, specializes in linguistic pragmatics, discourse analysis, political linguistics, media and business communication. A Fulbright Fellow at the University of California, Berkeley and Boston University, he has been invited to research and teach at many American and European universities, including Birmingham University, the University of Munich and Antwerp University. At his home institution, he organizes 2 international conference series: *New Developments in Linguistic Pragmatics* and *Political Linguistics*. He has authored 10 books (including 4 monographs) and over 60 research papers, most of which were published by international publishers (Palgrave Macmillan, Elsevier Science, Max Niemeyer, Peter Lang Verlag, Cambridge Scholars Publishing and more). Apart from editing *Lodz Papers in Pragmatics*, he is chief editor of the *International Review of Pragmatics* (Brill: Leiden/Boston) and member of editorial advisory boards of other pragmatics and discourse related journals, including *Pragmatics: The Quarterly of the International Pragmatics Association*. He is elected member of the Consultation Board of the International Pragmatics Association, president of the Polish Pragmatics Association and member of Societas Linguistica Europaea. During the past 15 years, he has given over 70 papers (including plenaries) at international conferences and congresses.
Metaphor in Translation
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Abstract
Metaphor is omnipresent in ordinary language. There are metaphors which are shared universally, but also culture-specific metaphorical conceptualisations which point to the existence of differences in the mode of thought and perception of reality. Metaphors are realised by metaphorical expressions which also exhibit substantial crosslinguistic variation. This paper approaches the problem of metaphor translation primarily from the perspective of the cognitive metaphor theory grounded in the seminal work of Lakoff and Johnson. It is argued that the insights from cognitive linguistics which illuminate the role of the metaphor in language in general are important for the translator who embarks on mediation between the source and the target language cultures.

Keywords
metaphor, communication, culture, translation, image, sense, strategy, competence

Introduction
Metaphors reflect the way we think, perceive and categorise the world around us. Metaphors are not confined to literary texts and visual works of art; they are part of everyday communication. In English many phrasal verbs, collocations, idioms and proverbs are metaphorical in their nature. Some metaphorical patterns are considered to be universal, that is, shared across a variety of unrelated languages (Grady, 1999), but a large number of metaphors reflect the worldview, thought processes, experience and values of a particular cultural community. These culture-specific metaphors are potential sources of problems for translators who are involved in the creative process of translating communicative messages from a source language (SL) into a target language (TL). Metaphor has been recognised as one of the crucial issues in translation studies (Newmark, 1995, Schäffner, 2004, Al-Hasnawi, 2007). This article examines the translation of metaphors within the framework of the cognitive theory of metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Using examples from English and Slovak we will discuss the different types of metaphors and the procedures that can be employed to handle them in translation.

What is a metaphor?
We can trace the origin of the word metaphor to the Greek expression metapherein which means to transfer. According to the Longman Dictionary of the English Language, metaphor is “a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.” (1993, p.1002) Another English dictionary defines metaphor as “a way of describing something by comparing it with something else which has some of the same qualities.” (Cambridge Learner’s Dictionary, 2004, p.414) Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners (2007) states that a metaphor is “a word or phrase that means one thing and is used for referring to another thing in order to emphasize their similar qualities” (2007, p.944). All the above mentioned definitions emphasise some similarity between two objects. What they also have in common is a figurative meaning because we use a metaphor to talk about a thing not in its literal, but in an abstract sense. In other words, we describe a thing as though it were something else. As Lakoff and Johnson - the widely cited scholars in the cognitive theory of metaphor - put it: “The essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another.” (2003, p.5) A metaphor, in contrast to a simile which typically contains the preposition like (for example, to sell like hot cakes which in Slovak is ide to na dračku), is an implicit comparison. It is a statement in which some aspects from one area of experience (for example location, movement, colour, size, substance, temperature, perception, food, body) are transferred to other, dissimilar areas of our thought (for example communication, feelings, relationships, activities, social status, health, time, etc.). In cognitive linguistics, these two areas are called the source and the target domain. The correspondence between the domains is rendered by the term conceptual metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (2003) distinguish between the abstract concept of metaphor, that is, a reflection of a particular conceptual system and its manifestation in ordinary language by metaphorical (linguistic) expressions. For example, metaphorical expressions with the time, to invest time, to spend time, to buy time are instances of the conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY, TIME IS A COMMODITY, respectively. According to Lakoff and Johnson, in English TIME is typically conceptualised in terms of financial resources or as a product that can be bought and sold. Other ordinary expressions motivated by a conceptual metaphor are, for example, to battle cancer or to combat the disease. They are linguistic realisations of the conceptual metaphor THE DISEASE IS AN ENEMY in which to battle and to combat are elements of the source domain (battle) while the target domain is illness. In contrast, human health is the source domain for the expressions healthy/sick/limping/crippled economy motivated by THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE STATE OF HEALTH metaphor. The adjectives healthy, sick, limping, crippled, connected with a person’s health (the source domain), are used to talk about the state of the economy (the target domain). These are just a few examples which support the idea that much of our everyday way of talking and writing is metaphorical, though we are not always aware of this fact. To put it another way, the linguistic realisations of conceptual metaphors belong to the subconscious level of our language behaviour. We use a wide variety of metaphorical expressions just to follow the conventions of the language we speak without being actively involved in the process of structuring one concept in terms of another. Taylor (2003, p.499) calls these simple and highly productive expressions conventionalized metaphors and contrasts them with
the less frequent idiomatic metaphors. The basic tenets of the cognitive metaphor theory can provide useful insights for translation studies. The theory illuminates how conceptual metaphors motivate ordinary language and also sheds some light on metaphor, idiom and collocation related problems in translation.

Metaphor in translation: potential problems and solutions

P. Newmark (1995) believes that metaphor is "the most important particular problem" in translation. (Newmark, 1995, p.104) He describes metaphors in terms of the image, object and sense. The image is the picture brought to people’s mind by the metaphor. The object is what is described by the metaphor and the sense is the point of similarity between the object and the image or the concrete meaning of the metaphor. (1995, p.105) For example, in the metaphorical expression infectious enthusiasm the object is a strong feeling of interest, the image is infectious (nákazlivý) and the sense is some similarity between an infectious disease passed to other people and an intense interest that spreads quickly from one person to another. The translation procedures which Newmark lists to deal with metaphors are related to the importance and purpose of the metaphor in the text, the type of the metaphor (dead, cliché, stock, adapted, recent, original) and the type of the text in which it occurs (authoritative, expressive, informative, vocative). Though Newmark provides quite an exhaustive repertoire of translation procedures applicable to the translation of metaphors in a variety of texts, his work has been criticized mainly for his prescriptive formulations and patronising attitude towards the translator. (Toury, 1995, Munday, 2001) From the perspective of descriptive translation studies, G. Toury refuses Newmark’s concern with the appropriate translation methods. He argues that the primary focus of the descriptive study of metaphor is the description and explanation of phenomena, not setting guidelines or prescriptions for what a translator should do. This non-evaluative approach is also adopted by Ch. Schäffner (2004) in her treatment of metaphor. Instead of searching for some general rules of metaphor translation, she focuses on the study of actual translation situations. This is done without establishing any a priori criteria or making value judgements about the appropriateness of the procedures chosen by translators. Schäffner views metaphor translation as an act of communication oriented primarily towards the target cultural context and prospective readers.

The concepts of culture and communication are central to the work of another translation theorist - D. Katan who stresses that translation is a form of intercultural communication in which a translator plays the role of a mediator between the source and the target culture. Katan’s views on metaphor translation, in his monograph Translating Cultures (1999), are based on frame theory. Katan takes Tannen’s notion of the frame as an interpretative device (Tannen - Wallet, 1999) and applies it to the translating process. He claims that the concept of the cultural frame is important in reader-oriented translation where the translator must be aware not only of the source culture and the target reader’s frames of interpretation but also must be able to mediate between the two. In his examples, taken from English and Italian, Katan illustrates mediation in metaphor translation through conscious manipulation of the text. For example, he shows mediation through addition in an extract from an Italian newspaper in which the translator has added explicit information - “Doctor Death” to Doctor Kevorkian whose name has been associated with euthanasia in America. Obviously, the aim was to make the cultural frame used to interpret the metaphor in the source culture accessible to the target reader who lacking the background cultural knowledge may not immediately recognise the link between the object (Italian economy) and the image (Dr. Kevorkian). Another reason for manipulating a text is that, as shown by Katan, is to activate new interpretative frames. This example regards the translation of the word bridge in the text published in the Economist magazine. While the English text, the report of the death of a banker, did not contain any metaphor, in Italian translation the translator used the name of the bridge Black Friars metaphorically. Here the translator added the metaphor which has special significance in the target culture. Through this addition a different effect was achieved by the text. As Katan explains, another frame of interpretation (criminality and Catholic state) was opened for Italian readers.

There are no ready made solutions to the translation of metaphors. However, within the communicative approach to translation, no matter whether the prescriptive (Newmark) or descriptive tradition (Toury, Schäffner) is followed, cultural factors and the effect of the cultural frame on the target reader must be considered. Since culture is a rich source of metaphor, the translator must inevitably take the role of the mediator between the source and target language culture. In fact, the mediating function of the translator has been stressed by many recent works on translating and translator training (besides Katan, also Kelly, 2005; Rakšínyová, 2005; Gromová - Míglóvá, 2005; Hrehovič, 2006 just to name a few). All the authors agree that intercultural knowledge and skills are essential components of translation competence. Many conceptual metaphors represent culture-specific differences in perception of reality, values and patterns of thinking reflected in common metaphorical expressions. Therefore, we consider the awareness of metaphor in both the source and the target language an important aspect of a translator’s cultural competence.

Research

In our research we focused on the ability of university students - translation trainees to identify, comprehend and translate metaphors from English into Slovak. The aim of the research was first to examine students’ ‘metaphoric competence’ (Deignan - Gabryl - Solska, 1997), and secondly to describe the ways they handled metaphors in translation. Twenty-five students of English in the third and the fourth years of their studies were given a magazine article containing some metaphorical expressions which they were asked to translate into Slovak. The text, entitled “Farewell, Dolce Vita?”, discusses the current economic situation in Italy. The article contrasts the past life of indulgence and pleasure, embodied in the transferred phrase dolce vita, with the economic problems Italy is facing nowadays. The translation task involved both conventionalized and idiomatic metaphors.

Results

The analysis of the students’ translations has shown that they encountered two situations: 1. the metaphor fits the same and it is realised by the same metaphorical expressions in English and in Slovak. 2. the metaphor exists in both languages, but it is realised by different lexical items. The following examples illustrate the strategies the students used to translate the metaphors...

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1 Lakoff and Johnson (2003, p.51) use the terms ‘fixed-form expressions’ or ‘phrasal lexical items’ to refer to the same type of expressions structured by a metaphor.
from English into Slovak.

Two metaphors seem to dominate the text: A STATE (EMOTIONAL/PHYSICAL) IS A LOCATION and THE STATE OF THE ECONOMY IS THE STATE OF HEALTH:

Italy is in deep trouble or is it? With the fall of the Prodi government, Italian politics has reverted to its usual postwar mess. In economic terms, the land of la dolce vita seems to have turned into the “sick man of Europe”, falling behind in GDP growth, while the French economy is holding steady and the German export machine is powering ahead.

The conceptual metaphor THE ECONOMIC STATE OF THE COUNTRY IS THE STATE OF HEALTH is common in English and in Slovak. It has an identical equivalent in the target language, therefore, it was not difficult to translate. Z ekonomického hdtiska sa zdá, že krajina sládkého života sa zmenila na “chorého muža Európy”...

Almost all students preferred reproducing the same image in the TL. By using the collocation chorý muž (sick man) the expressive meaning has been preserved in the TL text.

The metaphors which are realised differently in the SL and the TL may however pose a challenge for the translator who has to find an equivalent in a given register. For example, the expression in deep trouble is an instance of the container metaphor A STATE IS A LOCATION. Many other English prepositional phrases such as in debt, in need, in love, in a state of depression are motivated in the same way. These physical and emotional states are conceptualised as bounded territories which one cannot leave easily. Some students translated the metaphor in deep trouble by reducing it to its literal sense: Taliansko má vážne problémy. Alebo nie? However, most students chose a standard TL image as the optimal equivalent: Taliansko je v povsely tli každý, či nie? Taliansko je až po krk v problémoch. Alebo nie? Taliansko je až po krk v problémoch, no nie? This is the case when the metaphorical concept evokes similar associations in both languages (a relation between the locative and abstract meaning of the preposition in), but lexical items are different.

Another metaphor in the text which is shared by the SL and the TL, but has different linguistic realisations is BAD IS DOWN: But once again, Italy looks more likely to muddle through than to go down the drain. ‘Go down the drain’ is an orientational metaphor which arises from universal physical experience. The spatial metaphor orientation down is associated with something bad when referring to our feelings, illness or socio-economic status. In contrast the position up designates positive things such as happiness, good health, control and power. ‘Go down the drain’ is an informal idiomatic metaphor, which has several potential equivalents in Slovak, for example, ist dolu vodou, ist z kopca, ist od desiatich k piatim. The majority of students used the first expression as it bears the closest resemblance to the SL image (to flow down): Ale sťaž rýz, vyzerá to tak, že s Talianskom to nepôjde dolu vodou a dostane sa z toho. In some translations a less accurate equivalent – sinking to the bottom appeared: Ale opár, vyzerá to skôr tak, že Taliansko sa z toho dostane, než aby kleslo na dno. The use of the image of moving down in a vertical direction has a stronger impact than the idiom in the source text. If fulfilled (reaching the bottom) it evokes a more gloomy outlook for the country. 

The following example of an orientational metaphor shows how tricky metaphor translation can be: Of course, some politicians may occasionally reminisce fondly about a largely imaginary sweet life under a soft lira. The figurative and literal meanings of under (at a lower level, than something, with potential contact) and priamo pod are related in English and in Slovak. The conceptual patterns HAVING CONTROL IS UP/BEING SUBJECT TO CONTROL IS DOWN, which convey the idea of influence and subjection, are identical in both the languages. They are manifested by the same linguistic expressions such as to be under lock and key (atria pod zámkom), to be under the influence of alcohol (pod vplyvom alkoholu), to be under threat of death (pod hrozbov smrti). However there are also conventional metaphorical uses of under in English that are either expressed by a different preposition in Slovak, for example, under construction (v výstavbe), under agreement (v rámci dohody) or there is no locative sense involved at all, for example, to be under impression (mat dojem), to be under a curse (byt preklálat). In the text, the currency (lira) is construed as being up, having an influence or control over the life of Italians in economic terms. In Slovak the orientational metaphor THE CURRENCY IS UP (the control sense) is not common. As a result the image some students transferred from the SL does not sound natural in Slovak: šivot pod starou dobrou lirou. The replacement of the up-down spatialisation metaphor by a prepositional phrase in which the currency is conceptualised as being in one place with us (together):

Concentration of influence and subjection, are identical in both the languages. They are manifested by the same linguistic patterns having control is up/being subject to control is down, which convey the idea of influence and subjection, are identical in both the languages. They are manifested by the same linguistic expressions such as to be under lock and key (atria pod zámkom), to be under the influence of alcohol (pod vplyvom alkoholu), to be under threat of death (pod hrozbov smrti). However there are also conventional metaphorical uses of under in English that are either expressed by a different preposition in Slovak, for example, under construction (v výstavbe), under agreement (v rámci dohody) or there is no locative sense involved at all, for example, to be under impression (mat dojem), to be under a curse (byt preklálat). In the text, the currency (lira) is construed as being up, having an influence or control over the life of Italians in economic terms. In Slovak the orientational metaphor THE CURRENCY IS UP (the control sense) is not common. As a result the image some students transferred from the SL does not sound natural in Slovak: šivot pod starou dobrou lirou. The replacement of the up-down spatialisation metaphor by a prepositional phrase in which the currency is conceptualised as being in one place with us (together): šadký šivot s jenmou lirou seems to be a more convenient and acceptable equivalent.

As shown in the preceding analysis the students successfully used three translation procedures: reproducing the same image in the TL, replacing the SL image with an established TL image and reducing to sense. The ability to identify and decode a metaphor in the text is the first step in translation. The choice of the strategies is determined by a combination of several factors which must be taken into account: the type of the metaphor, the purpose of the text and the expectations of the reader. The awareness of the metaphorical nature of language, understanding the conceptual relationships involved and a rich repertoire of linguistic realisations in the source and the target language are crucial in finding understandable and natural equivalents in the TL. The cognitive theory of metaphor may become a helpful theoretical framework for raising the translator’s metaphorical competence because the domain-mapping theory has “… considerable explanatory power, especially when it comes to explicating and motivating the usage range of many elements in a language. It is especially fruitful in studies of polysemy and idiomaticity, and readily lends itself to applications in second-language pedagogy.”

(Taylor, 2003, p.493)

Conclusion

Metaphors permeate our everyday language. Besides those universal metaphors that occur crosslinguistically, there are numerous cultural variations in metaphorical patterns, particularly in their linguistic realisations which serve as means for voicing our ideas and experience. The translator who wants to fulfill his or her mediating role must be familiar with mapping relations and their linguistic manifestations in the SL and TL. While the awareness of different mapping conditions in the TL will improve the ability of the translator to interpret and predict the usage of collocations and fixed phrases which reflect the cultural reality of the target language speakers, the knowledge of metaphorical concepts and language conventions in the mother tongue will help him/her to choose a pragmatically appropriate translation procedure for the particular text and reader. Therefore, translation trainees will benefit greatly from acquiring the metaphorical competence as part of their professional training.
References


“Words Must Be Our Force”: Exploring Modality Markers in Political Speeches

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Abstract
In political discourse, participants rely on the force of language to (re-)construct and negotiate their identities, social roles and views, and to (re-)define their interpersonal and institutional relations. Therefore, politicians try to impose on the audience an interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of their discourse which reflects their communicative intentions with regard to the situational, socio-cultural and pragmatic context in which the interaction takes place.

This paper explores the resources available for building a coherent subjective representation of a discourse world by investigating some markers of modality in speeches delivered by three Directors-General of UNESCO at the opening of international conferences and meetings.

Keywords
deonitic modality, subjectivity, discourse coherence, political discourse, persuasion, interpersonal meanings

1 Introduction
Politicians commonly use language as a powerful tool for constructing discourse worlds in which they impose ideologies and (re-)define the social roles and identities of interactors. The persuasive force of political talk depends on the ability of the speaker to create an existentially coherent image of him/herself, i.e. the representation of his/her behaviour and attitude to people, values, facts and ideas as consistent and continuous (Duranti 2006), and to guide the audience towards an intended interpretation of his/her discourse which serves best the speaker’s communicative intentions with regard to the situational, socio-cultural and pragmatic context in which the interaction takes place.

The context-dependent interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of discourse (i.e. discourse coherence, as understood by Bublitz 1997, Seidlhofer & Widdowson 1997, Thompson 1994, Povolná 2007, Dontcheva-Navrtilova 2007) is the result of an interplay of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings encoded in text (Halliday & Hasan 1989). Thus discourse coherence may be seen as a multifaceted discourse property encompassing ‘propositional coherence’ on the ideational plane (Van Dijk 1977, Stubbs 1983), ‘interactional coherence’ (Stubbs 1983) and/or ‘evaluative coherence’ (Thompson & Zhou 2000) on the interpersonal plane, and cohesion on the textual plane (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1989, Hoey 1991). Since in political discourse the expression of personal judgement, attitude and assessment of the topic under discussion and the establishment of a relationship with the listeners are key components of the persuasive strategies adopted by the speaker, this study focuses on language means contributing to the perception of evaluative and interactional coherence in political speeches.

Within the study of interpersonal meanings in political discourse, modality expressed by various lexical and grammatical forms (e.g. modal auxiliaries and adverbs, lexical verbs, nouns, evaluative adjectives, degree words, mood etc.) has received considerable attention (e.g. Hodge & Kress 1979, Chilton, 2004, Cap 2007, Simon-Vandenbergen 1997); however the specificity of the different language means conveying modal meanings has not been explored in detail. Since the English language has developed a distinct and complex system of modal verbs for the expression of modal meanings, the present investigation scrutinises the semantic and pragmatic functions of the modal auxiliaries must, should and have to in the discourse of political speeches delivered by Directors-General of UNESCO and tries to show how these modal verbs contribute to the construction of evaluative coherence in discourse. In addition, it explores the ideological and context-motivated reasons for the differences in the use the modals by the three speakers (for the role of context and background knowledge in discourse interpretation, see Miššíková 2005).

2 Dimensions of modality
Despite the variation in the classifications of modal meaning and in the set of criteria proposed for its definition, it is now generally agreed that modality is the semantic domain pertaining to “the addition of a supplement or overlay of meaning to the most neutral semantic value of the proposition of an utterance” (Bybee and Fleischman 1995: 2) which expresses the speaker’s “opinion or attitude towards the proposition that the sentence expresses or the situation that the proposition describes” (Lyons 1977: 452) and covers the domain of essentially subjective and non-factual meanings (Palmer 1986: 14-18). It should be stressed that modality (a semantic category) is regarded here as distinct from mood (a grammatical category); thus mood can be seen as a grammaticalised sub-category of the broader concept of modality, which can be realised in language by different grammatical, lexical and phonological means.

The present investigation adopts Palmer’s categorisation of modal meanings in terms of the speaker’s commitment to propositional content (Palmer 1986, 2003) which differentiates epistemic, deontic and dynamic types of modality. Epistemic modality expresses the speaker’s attitude to the status of the proposition in terms of judgement of truth-value. Deontic and dynamic modality express the potentiality of the events; deontic meanings (associated with the social functions of permission and obligation) have directive force related to the expression of wants and desires and the imposition of one’s value system and will on others, while dynamic meanings (associated with ability and volition) yield control over events and circumstances to the subject of the sentence.

From a pragmatics point of view, the distinction between deontic and epistemic modality is of particular relevance, as the same modal verbs can be used in English to express both types of meaning and, though there are some clear formal distinctions between the two uses of the modal auxiliaries (e.g. related to
Deontic and epistemic modality are speaker-related and therefore essentially subjective (and thus are contrasted with the objective character of dynamic modality); they clearly encode the position of the speaker with respect to the propositional content of the clause, either in terms of epistemic commitment to possibility or probability, or in terms of deontic commitment to obligation or permission. However, while some authors deny or question the existence of objective epistemic meanings (e.g. Halliday 1970, Verstraete 2001), most researchers agree that deontic modality allows for some cases of objective use which pertain to the stating of the existence of obligations independently of the will of the speaker (e.g. the case of rules and regulations). In addition (drawing on Langacker 1990) and (Verstraete 2001), it is appropriate to consider an additional dimension of the subjective-objective variable which reflects the presence or absence of explicit speaker-presence. Explicit speaker-presence is associated with the personal intrusion of the speaker into the text (indicated typically by the use of first-person pronouns) and a high degree of commitment to the attitude expressed. Its role in political discourse may be to disambiguate the nature of authority claimed by the speaker, i.e. it is dependent on whether it is based primarily on objective knowledge or on the power of the speaker (Hodge and Kress 1993[1997]): 123). However, the use of sentences with third-person subject, can also be strategically exploited to present the authority as depersonalised, impersonal, and therefore difficult to challenge (ibid.: 124).

3 Background, material and method
The material under investigation includes thirty speeches delivered by three politicians from different cultural backgrounds who were the last to hold the office of Director-General of UNESCO, namely Amadou-Mahtar M’Bow (Senegal, term of office: 1974-1987), Federico Mayor Zaragoza (Spain, term of office: 1987-1999), and Koichiro Matsuura (Japan, Director-General of UNESCO since 1999). In order to explain the differences between their rhetorical styles, it is necessary to introduce briefly their background, policies and visions and the institutional and global context of their respective terms of office. Amadou Mahtar M’Bow, a former minister of education and culture in the first independent Senegalese government, was the first Black African to head a United Nations system organisation; he strongly supported the ideologically-loaded disarmament process and the causes of developing countries, which he saw as opposed to the interests of developed industrial nations. His political commitments and generous administrative and budgetary practices triggered strong criticism which led to several nations leaving the organisation (e.g. USA, UK, Singapore). M’Bow’s successor, Federico Mayor Zaragoza, a professor of biochemistry, a writer, and also a former minister of education and deputy in the European Parliament, took over the leadership of UNESCO with the aim of reunifying the organisation, which he managed to achieve on the ideological plane by enhancing the idea of peaceful coexistence, human rights and international cooperation; this was in harmony with changes in the international political climate after the fall of Iron Curtain. The current Director-General, Koichiro Matsuura, who was elected to the post after a successful career with the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs, completed the transformation of the organisation by carrying out a large-scale administrative and financial reform in conformity with the global appeal to cut expenditure in international bureaucracies.

All the speeches included in the corpus were made during the second term of office of the three Directors-General, i.e. it is anticipated the speakers have become experienced functionaries of the organisation with established political and managerial views and a well-formed speaking style; furthermore, they are not under the pressure of a re-election campaign. Since this study undertakes to examine differences in the pragmatic functions of the modals under investigation as used by the three speakers, the corpus is subdivided into three sub-corpora, each including ten speeches given by one of the Directors-General (M’Bow – approx. 16,800 words, Mayor – approx. 19,000 words and Matsuura approx. 14,500 words), i.e. the total size of the corpus is approx. 50,000 words. Although none of the three speakers is a native speaker of English, the speeches included in the corpus are considered to have native-speaker fluency (they are marked as ‘English version original’ in the texts distributed by UNESCO). It should also be noted that although some preparatory work on the speeches might have been done by teams of advisers, the Directors-General are considered the authors, in terms of both content and rhetorical style. The selection of speeches dealing with similar topics, e.g. education, cultural heritage, science, and with a similar place of delivery (both events taking place in the grounds of and outside UNESCO headquarters) is intended to allow a comparison of the use of modals by the three speakers.

Drawing on the view that quantification ‘should be treated as a starting point of investigation’ (Hunston 2007: 46), this investigation combines quantitative and qualitative approaches. Quantitative analysis is used to highlight general tendencies in the occurrence of the modal auxiliaries under investigation and motivate the selection of representative sections of speeches for qualitative analysis. However, since the interpretation of modal verbs may differ according to a number of variables, a careful qualitative analysis taking into consideration contextual factors is necessary to reveal pragmatic functions and strategic uses.

4 Deontic modality and political discourse
Deontic modality is connected with the necessity or desirability of acts performed by morally responsible agents (Lyons 1977: 823); it reflects the efforts of the speaker to impose a state of affairs on individuals by restricting possible states of affairs to a single choice (Chung & Timberlake 1985) or ‘with the modality as deixis, the imposition of a convergence of the expressed world and the reference world’ (Frawley 1992: 420). Within political discourse, the morality and legality of this state of affairs is inevitably related to a culture-dependent ideological point of view which correlates with institutional beliefs and norms of conduct and a biased representation of a constructed discourse world in terms of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’. However, in agreement with Hodge and Kress (1993), it can be argued that an ideology is not “a single consistent but biased representation of reality, it
normally comes complete with its own negation, in a deeply contradictory set of versions of reality whose contradictions are intrinsic to their function" (ibid. 157). Such a set, called an 'ideological complex' includes two components: the first is the representation of solidarity (solidarity function) and the other is the representation of conflict and imposition of power (power function) (ibid.).

A useful framework for the analysis of ideological complexes is provided by Chilton's legitimization theory (2004), further developed by Cap's concept of proximization (2007). Within this approach, the ideologically-biased discourse world of the speaker is seen as constructed along three dimensions of deixis – space, time and modality – which position the speaker as the deictic centre, associated with "not only the origin of here and now, but also of epistemic true and deontic right" (Chilton 2004: 59); the intrusion of the "wrong" – physical or in the form of an ideological clash – in the deictic centre shared by the speaker and addressee is considered an immediate threat which legitimizes intervention (moral, legal and physical, if necessary) to restore the integrity of the 'right' values and social norms (Cap 2007). It can therefore be argued that deontic modality is associated with exhorting behaviour and views conform to the culture-specific moral norms and value system and condemn as morally and/or legally wrong those views and acts which oppose these norms and this value system. This is supported by the conceptualisation of social and political relations in terms of space metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) – insiders close to the speaker are presented as sharing the ideological values of the group he/she represents, while outsiders are suspected of doing the opposite and are distanced from speaker.

5 Analysis and discussion

The speeches of leaders of international governmental organisations at the opening of international conferences and meetings is a relatively neglected genre of political discourse. A specific feature of this rhetorical genre, which presupposes an evaluative treatment of people, actions and events by emphasizing praise or blame (Donahue & Prosser 1997: 4), is that the politician acts as speaker for the organisation he/she represents, i.e. he/she adopts the footing of 'animator' in Goffman's terminology (Goffman 1981); thus the speaker-identity constructed in the discourse is an institutional identity and the ideology the speaker tries to impose is an institutional ideology. The speakers' awareness of the power of language to promote ideology and to intervene to resolve conflicts and to change states of affairs is evidenced by the following quote, which is taken from Mayor's speech at the opening of the International Conference on Screen Violence and the Rights of the Child (Lund, Sweden, 26 September 1995):

A stone wall outside the UN Building in New York carries a quotation from the prophet Isaiah: “They shall beat their swords into ploughshares and their spears into pruning hooks. Nation shall not lift up sword against nation. Neither shall they learn war any more”. Our goal must be to eliminate the “s” from “sword”, to substitute the word for the sword. Words must be our force, as they are the principal force of the United Nations.

Institutional intergovernmental organisations, such as the United Nations and UNESCO, have to synchronise the competitive interests of the parties involved and the politicians speaking on their behalf have to persuade all members to support the ideology and policy of the organisation in undertaking common action which may not necessarily be in everyone's interest, i.e. they have to motivate and impose views which are in agreement with the institutional ideology and to criticise and blame views which contradict or threaten it. Thus the persuasive force of the discourse of the leaders of intergovernmental organisations can be seen as a result of the interplay of claiming solidarity and imposition of power, and the modal auxiliaries must, should and have to are one of the devices politicians have at their disposal for constructing their discourse world.

The modal auxiliaries must, should and have to are used in the speeches of the three Directors-General of UNESCO to express exclusively deontic modality enforcing the institutional position of the speaker defined in terms of moral values and norms of behaviour and actions which should be undertaken to achieve the intended goals (the 19 cases of ‘I should like to’, which are used in the opening part of the speeches to indicate formality and politeness when addressing state representatives and executives present at the event, are not taken in consideration). What is presented as ‘right’ is to conform to the moral norms and values supported by UNESCO; what is against them is ‘wrong’.

An analysis of the frequency of occurrence of the three modal auxiliaries in the speeches of the Directors-General (see Table 1) shows that strong deontic modality expressed by must and have to predominates (76.6%), indicating a high commitment to the institutional ideology and the implication of a sufficient power and consensus to support it; the frequency of use of have to, indicating obligation and compulsion imposed by external forces is, however, considerably lower than the frequency of must, which establishes the speaker and the institutional ideology he represents as the deontic source. The speeches of Mayor are characterised by the highest overall rate of deontic modals (56.9%); this, together with his tendency to use frequently the plural first-person we as subject (see Table 2), reflects his continuous effort to build up an image of togetherness and to promote his "culture of peace" policy, which is intended to reunite UNESCO and the world after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The low rate of modal auxiliaries in the speeches of Matsuura (15.8%) can be explained by his role of manager rather than ideologist, which reduces the necessity of confronting ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, as well as by his personal preference for the expression of modal meanings by more explicit lexical means.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal verb</th>
<th>M'Bow</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
<th>Matsuura</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Must</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>139</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have to</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>209</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1 - Distribution of the modals must, should and have to in the material

As regards the subjective-objective dimension, all occurrences of the modal auxiliaries must, should and
have to can be interpreted as expressing subjective modal meanings, since they bring into existence a particular position of commitment of the speaker with respect to the propositional content of the utterance (e.g. qualifying the action as desirable or undesirable), which Verstraete (2001: 1517) calls ‗modal performativity‘. Explicit subjectivity is used in 31.6 per cent of the cases; except for two instances of I in Mayor‘s speeches, speaker presence is indicated by the speaker-inclusive plural first person-pronoun we, which most frequently co-occurs with the strong modality auxiliary must to indicate speaker authority. The use of the inclusive we signals the institutional identity of the speaker and, since there are seldom occurrences of we exclusive of the addressee, typically claims common ground and shared common values with the audience, thus creating a sense of togetherness. However, the reference of we creates space for ambiguity, as it may vary according to context. While in some cases the speakers use the first-person plural pronoun to refer to UNESCO, the reference of we may be also restricted to indicate conference participants or groups of member-states, or on the contrary, extended to include UNESCO and other organisations, the United Nations and all sharing its value system, or even people in general.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal verb</th>
<th>M’Bow</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
<th>Matsuura</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Explicit</td>
<td>Implicit</td>
<td>Explicit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Must</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have to</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>3.5</td>
<td>96.5</td>
<td>41.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 - Distribution of explicit and implicit speaker presence

The analysis has revealed considerable variation in explicit speaker presence in the three sub-corpora (Table 2). While both Mayor and Matsuura frequently take a personal stance, in the sub-corpus of M’Bow’s speeches there are only two occurrences of we referring to people in general, one of which is part of a quote. This can be interpreted, on the one hand, as a conscious ambiguity strategy blurring the source of authority to reduce the possibility of challenging this authority, and on the other hand, as a signal of a lower degree of commitment on the part of the speaker to the ideology of the organisation – M’Bow seems to represent primarily the views of the developing countries, and needs to background the deontic source when he feels he may not receive full support for the actions and attitudes expressed (either when he has to impose the policy of the organisation to the detriment of the interests of the developing nations, or vice versa).

Matsuura’s discourse shows the highest proportion of explicit speaker presence, which nearly equals the rate of modals marked by implicit subjectivity. This reflects the high level of managerial authority of the speaker within the context of a relatively stable situation in the organisation which has eliminated the ideological tension defining the era of M’Bow and which was still present during Mayor’s term of office. A high commitment to the ideology of the organisation is also present in the speeches of Mayor, who uses the highest number of modals marked by explicit speaker presence; explicit subjectivity is typically associated with duties and obligations which are to be fulfilled by the organisation, while implicit subjectivity is used primarily in cases when obligations are imposed on third parties. The originality of Mayor’s rhetorical style, however, resides in the fact that he is the only one to construct an expert identity as a scientist (signalled by the use of the personal pronoun I with the strong modal must) in addition to the institutional identity shared by all the three Directors-General.

An additional variation in the function of the deontic modal auxiliaries must, should and have to in the speeches of the three Directors-General concerns their use to impose the institutional ideology defined in terms of moral values and norms of behaviour, labelled here ‗attitudinal‘ function, as opposed to their use to enforce a course of action which should be undertaken to achieve the intended goals, termed ‘directive’ function. As Table 3 below shows, the attitudinal function is slightly more prominent than the directive one (the overall ratio is 55% to 45%), which reflects the advisory character of UNESCO (the organisation has no executive force to enforce its decisions). While there is practically no difference in the ratio of evaluative and directive deontic modality in the speeches of Mayor and M’Bow, Matsuura uses a higher percentage of modals with directive function; this may be explained, on the one hand, by the higher level of solidarity between the member states during his term of office, and on the other, by the fact that he devotes more attention to administrative issues in his speeches and in this respect his institutional authority as a Director-General seems to be indisputable.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Modal verb</th>
<th>M’Bow</th>
<th>Mayor</th>
<th>Matsuura</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Must</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Should</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have to</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>%</td>
<td>43.9</td>
<td>56.1</td>
<td>43.7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 - Distribution of modals imposing an attitude and modals imposing a course of action

The potential of deontic modals to contribute to the perception of coherence in the discourse of the Directors-General stems from their role in the construction of a consistent ideological viewpoint which imposes institutional beliefs and norms of conduct within a discourse world defined in terms of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’. The conflict between ‘right’ (peace, collective responsibility for the fate of mankind, human solidarity) and ‘wrong’ (war, threat to everyone, selfish interests) in the extract from M’Bow’s speech below is presented from the perspective of an obligation
imposed on the addressee to take a course of action in favor of the institutional beliefs and norms of conduct. The variation in the choice of deontic modals (all of which background speaker-presence by the choice of third-person subjects) implies a different degree of political leverage of the speaker and an avoidance of speaker-commitment when negative connotations are involved. The use of the medium-strength modal should with the force of advice stresses the conflict between the negatively-assessed current state of affairs and the desirable state of affairs and reflects the lack of power of the institution to enforce its views. However, when advocating a course of action which is in conformity with the institutional ideology and which presupposes the active participation of UNESCO, M’Bow uses the strong modal must to imply high commitment and high level of solidarity and support for the suggested course of action. Finally, in a direct appeal to the audience, the choice of have to implies that objective facts impose the conclusion that there is a huge gap between reality and what the institutional ideology would define as a desirable state of affairs, thus imposing the necessity of intervention. Henceforth war should cease to be regarded as a means of settling particular disputes between nations; it should be confronted as a common scourge which threatens to turn upon everyone indiscriminately, even those who think they can win it for a while, and against which we are all to unite in the name of humanity. A peace movement unprecedented in history must now develop everywhere, a movement which insists on collective responsibility for the fate of mankind, a responsibility which must transcend the frontiers of selfish interest and narrow calculations and scale the heights of human solidarity. Nevertheless, ladies and gentlemen, it has to be acknowledged that the results achieved by the efforts that have so far been made in various quarters throughout the world are less than satisfactory, if one looks at the present situation.

M’Bow, Second special session of the United Nations General Assembly devoted to disarmament (New York, 10 June 1982)

A war metaphor enhanced by triple parallelism is used by Mayor in the following extract to stress the contrast between the negatively-assessed reality (drugs, drunk, cancer, kills like war, addiction, shame) and the desirable state of affairs (personal and social security, health); the aim is to persuade the addressee of the necessity of undertaking action (severe judicial sanctions, courageous, firm, innovative measures, radical measures, international measures) to stop wrongdoing and to protect victims. The presupposed high degree of consensus and solidarity on the issue of drug addiction is reflected in the directive function of most modal meanings, which give the whole speech a coherent frame. The authority of Mayor’s expert knowledge as a biochemist is used to support his institutional authority as Director-General of UNESCO to impose obligations on the addressee, expressed by the strong modal must. The high degree of personal involvement on the part of the speaker is indicated by the use of first-person pronouns (I must warn, if we really want to end, we must prosecute, we must care, if we wish to address), which in the case of we have ambiguous meaning, as most instances may be interpreted as the members of the International Narcotics Control Board and/or all institutions and individuals sharing the view that negative-effect drugs should be eradicated. However, when referring to measures at international and national level, i.e. presupposing competences which are outside the scope of UNESCO, the speaker chooses implicit subjectivity, since he lacks the power to impose such measures.

Drugs kill: they kill like war. Cars driven by drunks kill: they kill as in war. Lung cancer kills: it kills like war. As a brain biochemist, I must warn particularly against the damage produced by drug addiction. Irreversibility is the supreme criterion for action. It is a matter of the ethics of time. Consequently, we must be adopted at international and national level alike if we really want to end this shame of many people, too often young, being trapped by an addiction harmful both for them and for their social entourage.

[...]

There is a need to publicize and issue stern warnings concerning the effects of drugs on health, behaviour, and personal and social security. Swift and severe judicial sanctions are also necessary. We must prosecute the drug traffickers just as we must care for the health of the addicted. Both supply and demand must be reduced. This means adopting radical measures for preventing the laundering of money of unknown provenance. The adoption of international measures to this effect is absolutely indispensable if we wish to address the real problems and not merely the symptoms. [...]

Mayor, 58th session of the UN International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) (Vienna, 9 May 1995)

Matsuur’s discourse is not marked by such a strong contrast between ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ as conceptualised in terms of war in the discourse of Mayor and M’Bow; it typically conceptualises social and political relations in terms of a container metaphor, i.e. society is conceptualised as a bound space associated with the ‘right’ values and norms of behaviour and the aim of political intervention is to move those who are at the periphery and not yet fully integrated into society closer to its normative centre. In the extract below, discourse coherence is fostered by a kind of macro-obligation, which is stated in the first sentence and which by its generalising character refers to past, present and future - the necessity of guaranteeing access to education for all. In the rest of the extract, we find explicit statements expressing specific obligations related to this macro-obligation which are imposed on different agents. The strong commitment of the speaker and his power to influence the state of affairs by allocating financial aid from UNESCO funds is indicated by the use of explicit strong modal meanings (we must) combined with the establishment of a high degree of solidarity with the audience, signalled by together and us all. When addressing the issue of external aid, the modality is changed to the weaker advisory should, while need to used instead of have to after will with future time reference, though indicating a lesser degree of imposition by referring to the force of circumstances and attributing the control over the action to the agent in subject position (donors), may be interpreted as pragmatically strengthened to express obligation (Huddleston & Pullum 2002: 166).

In a globalized and interconnected world, education must be FOR ALL. [...]

In this forum, we must also address the question of resources for EFA. This is a recurrent item on our agenda because we still have a long way to go before resource needs are fully met. This is not to deny that real progress has been made in boosting external aid to EFA. The allocation of resources is an expression of priorities, and education, in particular basic education, has been moving up the development agenda as indeed it should. However, even if new aid commitments are met, the expected increase will still leave half of the existing gap of 11 billion US dollars unfulfilled. Consequently, donors will need to double their efforts. At the same time, developing countries themselves must increase and sustain their investment in education. [...]

20
In conclusion, it is evident that we meet at a time of great change, great challenge and great possibility. We must work together to shape this environment in ways that enable us all to devote our best efforts to the task at hand opening up new and real opportunities for quality basic education to those who are still without them. As the EFA High-Level Group, we have a particular responsibility to make that happen.

Matsura, 6th meeting of the High-Level Group on EFA (Cairo, Egypt, 14 November 2006)

6 Conclusion

The findings of the present investigation support the view that in political discourse deontic modality has a key role in the construction of an ideologically-biased discourse world in terms of ‘right’ and ‘wrong’, and that the meaning of modal auxiliaries is subjected to pragmatic interpretation. The analysis has shown that the modal verbs must, should and have to in the discourse of the three Directors-General of UNESCO express exclusively deontic subjectivity; the deontic source is the institutional ideology which promotes the repression of solidarity and the imposition of obligations to comply with the socially established values and norms of behaviour, while condemning views and actions contradicting and threatening these values and norms. Differences in the use the modals by the three speakers can be explained by the specificity of the international and institutional context and their policy during their terms of office, as well as by the individual choices of the speakers.

The present research has also evidenced that the use of modal auxiliaries to construct a consistent ideological viewpoint indicating a continuous high level of commitment on the part of the Directors-General towards the topic under discussion and to impose behaviour and views which conform to the culture-specific moral norms and value system of the organisation, helps the speaker enhance his existential coherence and contributes to the construction of evaluative and interactional coherence at the interpersonal plane of discourse. The perception of discourse coherence is furthered by lexical and pronominal choices co-occurring with the modal auxiliaries.

In conclusion, it should be noted that since the scope of the present investigation is limited to the semantic and pragmatic functions of the modal auxiliaries must, should and have to, further research exploring in detail the functions of other lexical and grammatical forms expressing modality in international governmental organisations is necessary to explain their pragmatic force and their role in the construction of discourse coherence.

Note

This article is part of the grant project 405/08/0866 Coherence and Cohesion in English Discourse, which is supported by the Czech Science Foundation.

References


Pragmatics (through) Corpora (in) Cultures: An Empirical Comparison of Academic Writing

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Abstract
This contribution explores the interface between pragmatics, academic and national cultures and corpora for linguistic analyses. It discusses linguistic features of clause linking in academic writing, features that seem under-researched in academic writing, especially of non-native writers in English. Since research articles are particularly important for all scholars in a globalising academic community as well as in their home universities, the question of how research articles can be compared and evaluated objectively is of crucial importance.

Key words
academic writing, English for academic purposes, corpora, corpus linguistics, clause linking, conjunctions

1. Introduction

1.1 Preliminaries
The approach taken in the study concerns a two-layered investigation of clause linkers from the different vantage points of cognitive and corpus analysis (see Schmied, 2006). The first, top-down approach analyses clause linkers functionally, the second, bottom-up approach offers a quantitative analysis. We will discuss issues of comparing academic writing from different scholarly traditions on an empirical, corpus-linguistic basis. Further, we will illustrate possibilities of empirical analysis in two pilot studies that use two text collections of Academic English: the academic sections of the International Corpus of English (esp. the East African component) and of a small specialised corpus of research articles compiled from the Nordic Journal of African Studies. We look at clause linkers qualitatively and quantitatively in our two corpora to analyse frequencies on a formal (conjuncts, adverbs, etc.) and functional (temporal, clausal, evaluative, etc.) basis. This enables us to establish patterns and preferences of cohesive devices.

Finally, we discuss empirical findings critically, raising the issue of stable patterns across proficiency level, academic discipline and national background.

1.2 Databases and methodology
Two corpora were used:

a) the International Corpus of English – East Africa in its original version of texts from between 1990-96). This is a stratified corpus of English as a Second Language, containing 500 text-types of 2000 words each.

b) the Corpus of the Nordic Journal of African Studies: a corpus with academic articles in English as an Academic lingua franca, mainly for African scholars

Some samples of a) are demonstrated in the table below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Corpus</th>
<th>Text ID</th>
<th>Word Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>W2A001T – W2A010T</td>
<td>20.172</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>W2A011T – W2A020T</td>
<td>20.151</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>W2A021T – W2A027T</td>
<td>20.114</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology/Agriculture/Environmental dev.</td>
<td>W2A031T – W2A040T</td>
<td>20.148</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>80.585</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>W2B001T – W2B010T</td>
<td>20.133</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>W2B011T – W2B020T</td>
<td>20.223</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural Science</td>
<td>W2B021T – W2B24T</td>
<td>6.542</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Technology/Agriculture/Small Industry</td>
<td>W2B031T – W2B040T</td>
<td>20.065</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>General</td>
<td>W2BGEN1T – W2BGEN8T</td>
<td>13.789</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>80.752</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Humanities</td>
<td>W2C001T – W2C0010T</td>
<td>20.018</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social Science</td>
<td>W2C011T – W2C020T</td>
<td>20.139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reportage/Features</td>
<td>W2C011T – W2C020T</td>
<td>20.139</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total</td>
<td></td>
<td>40.157</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 1: ICE-East Africa; list of written texts from Tanzania (word count)
The Nordic Journal of African Studies homepage, (fig. 1 below) obvious from the names that the editor and ‘gate keepers’ are not native speakers although some have moved to Finland and Sweden etc. but the journal is not British based which is important for our lingua franca perspective.

Fig. 1: Homepage of the Nordic Journal of African Studies

All these resources are available at http://www.tu-chemnitz.de/phili/english/ling and we use it for a very specific analysis with a concept that is at first glance relatively difficult to understand. The approach is a down-to-earth approach because it uses a very simple ontology on the concept of clause linking. With clause linking we mean the ways in which two events are expressed and distributed onto two fully-fledged grammatical clauses. This can be semantically characterized and quantitatively and empirically implemented and integrated into a framework of hypotheses that we made up and that we are going to discuss.

2. Concepts and methods

Basically there are two ways to look at the phenomenon of clause linking this is the top-down view on clause linking, and as mentioned before a clause represents the verbal event so anything that is an event that is an occurrence in space and time has to do with temporal extension or maybe temporal points that have no dimension and no extension but of course when there are two events, they must stand then in some kind of temporal relationship (cf. Aijmer, 2005). It seems very intuitive and easy to say that two temporal sequences can occur in either overlapping or non-overlapping ways. The non-overlapping occurrence can be grammaticized in two asymmetrical ways, cf. the example in which before and while are linking these clauses: the first two are non-overlapping

(1) After running down the hall, Sandy waved to Sue (non-overlapping), and in reversal of that situation
(2) Before running down the hall, Sandy waved to Sue (non-overlapping) whereas we have the third possible case in which these two events do not happen in sequence but they happen simultaneously, as can be seen in the while in
(3) While running down the hall, Sandy waved to Sue

In this approach, a temporal sequence is marked by temporal prepositions as subordinators and corresponding finite embedded clauses introduced by after, before, and while.

A more refined view of the phenomenon emerges from VanValin/LaPolla’s functional syntax (Van Valin/LaPolla, 1997) who introduced a sophisticated hierarchy.

2.1 Clause Linking: Clause level relationships and marking

The simple ad hoc creation discussed in 2. is not sufficient for the analysis suggested so we turn to an ontology that has some drawbacks but it is derived from an approach in functional syntax by Van Valin/LaPolla, 1997. Van Valin and La Polla developed an ontology of linker classes that is based on semantic criteria (ibid: 437). They believe that inter-clausal semantic relations expressed to clause linking represent major distinction along a semantic continuum. This study makes use of that continuum later on. This continuum is based on the degree of semantic cohesion that means from basically strong to weak and this whole system has 13 classes in it which will be sketched briefly and appended with real examples later. The first class, the strongest class is the causative class which means that the occurrence of one state of affairs is directly brought about by the occurrence of another state of affairs.

The linker classes suggested by Van Valin/La Polla 1997 are:

a) causative: a state of affairs 2 is directly brought about by state of affairs 1 (usually an event or action)
(4) The window cracked because John smashed it
b) aspcetual: a separate verb describes a facet of a temporal envelope of a state of affairs, specifically the onset, termination or continuation
(5) John started painting
c) psych-action: concerns the mental disposition regarding possible action within a state of affairs
(6) Mary forgot to do the dishes
d) purposive: one action is done with the intent of realizing another state of affairs
(7) We went to buy some food
e) jussive: an expression of command, request, demand
(8) The general ordered the troops to attack
f) direct perception: e.g. of an action, event, or situation
(9) Mary saw the apple fall
g) propositional attitude: a participant’s judgment or opinion regarding a state of affairs
(10) a. Mary considers Bill to be a genius
b. Bill believes that Mary is right
h) cognition: the expression of knowledge or of mental activity
(11) We thought that the weather would be good enough
i) indirect discourse: reported speech
(12) Frank said that you were wrong
j) conditional: expressions of consequences given that a certain condition holds
(13) If it rains, we won’t be able to meet
k) simultaneous state of affairs: one state of affairs is temporally co-occurring with another
(14) You danced while Max cried
l) sequential states of affairs: eg. overlapping: state of affairs partially overlaps with another
(15) Before we had finished the policeman entered the room

m) temporally unordered states of affairs: the temporal relationship is unexpressed
(16) Mary did X and John did Y

And the example is: The window cracked because John smashed it and a good clause linker is, of course, the conjunction because and this is also one of the query terms that we use later on.

The second class is aspectual. You can read it here, the separate verb describes facets of a temporal envelope of a state of affairs, specifically onset, termination or continuation, for instance. John started painting. Class c is called psych-action because it refers to a mental disposition regarding possible action within the state of affairs Mary forgot to do the dishes.

2.2 Continuum of the event relationship

The categories a)–m) have obviously a subrelation which can be formulated as a tentative semantic law. In a hierarchy ranking we can therefore attempt to find out, how closely the linked propositions are.

The semantic law behind this can be exemplified as follows:
- a) b) c) are phases of a macroevent
- d) through k) concern distinct states of affairs, subordinate propositions directly depend on the matrix proposition
- l), m): are only temporally related

This continuum can be displayed as follows:

causative, aspectual, simultaneous / sequential / unordered

purposive, jussive, prop. attitudes, cognition

Fig.2: Continuum of clause linking

In detail, we can state about the single categories that:

d) purposive, a state of affairs is actually done with the intent of realising another state of affairs. We went to buy some food. After that we have the rare class of the jussive. The jussive is quirky 3rd person imperative, that is not fully grammaticalized in English but at least Valin/La Polla thought it fit to include this class here and the example is: The general ordered the troops to attack, we are not entirely happy with that but just for the sake of completion it is in here. Direct perception seems very straightforward as in Mary saw the apple fall, as well as for propositional attitudes: Mary considers Bill to be a genius, and cognition, knowledge or mental activity in verbs of thinking, for instance We thought that the weather would be good enough and so on. Reported speech is in the continuum as well as conditional. Conditional here is also with very clear straightforward linking.

Finally, we come to three classes at the end. All of them are temporal classes. And these temporal classes start to resemble the very simple ontology that we started with because the first one, class k, is a simultaneous state of affairs where one state of affairs is temporally co-occurring with another and the example You danced while Max cried. Then we have the sequential state of affairs in which several states of affairs overlap and we have, specifically at the end, class m) which is called the temporally unordered class and this class simply means: events X happened and then event Y. And it is unspecified how these events are related. They are somehow temporally related and that’s why we call it temporarily unordered but it is not the case that they precipitate one another or that they have any connection.

The best conjunction or the best linguistic marker for that is the coordinating conjunction. So this is the system, and the system, of course, has some hierarchy behind it that is not expressed in the classes that it is obvious when we look at the classes and there we recognize that classes a – c are all facets of the macro-event because if something is caused by something else then, of course, a certain effect must have had a cause. In these ways, all clauses are linked. It is usually one event and the same happens in the aspectual case: John started painting, for instance. This is one event, only that we focus on the initial phase. Type 3 or class c in this case was the psych action and the psych action, of course, is not a real action without the event. So thinking about something and then doing it is considered to be one macro-event. In this way, we have these classes here on the left hand side is the continuum, then we have some middle grounds that collects some of these classes here. Some are really more waste basket classes but it gets more interesting in the end when we have all the temporal classes here.

The continuum of linking is a continuum because it represents different, let’s say, it’s a gradient of cohesion in text and it goes from the tight and narrow cohesion to very loose and somehow unordered and arbitrary way of marking cohesion. So this leads us to some core hypotheses.

2.3 Hypotheses

Due to the semantic arguments offered in 2.2, we want to establish that the two poles of the continuum are therefore formed by the classes a) and m). In view of the text material investigated, this leads us to the following tabulated hypotheses:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>causal</th>
<th>vs.</th>
<th>temporal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tight, coerced</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>loose, arbitrary, accidental</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coherence, cohesion</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>cohesion, coherence</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analytic, logical</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>descriptive, enumerative, historical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard sciences</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>soft sciences</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expert</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>lapperson</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European</td>
<td>vs.</td>
<td>African?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab.2: Hypotheses about clause linking distribution in European vs. African texts

Some of the hypotheses are more ad hoc creation and some are backed by data and we will go through them briefly because the real evidence comes at the end. So what we compare here is we compare the both ends of the continuum, the causal end on the left hand side and the temporal end on the right hand side and as mentioned before, the causal end represents tight linking, coerced events, that are precipitated whereas the temporal linking in class m is loose, is arbitrary, is somehow accidental, events have nothing in common and they do not have inherent links, or they are not specified and the second point here is that causal links, or we believe that they first of all establish coherence because they give a logic to occurrences and then a marker of cohesion whereas temporal classes are rather local so they are primarily cohesion markers and they are less coherence markers. But that is just a conjecture. So we’ll come back to that and discuss it a bit and try to derive the conclusion from other results. But also it seems plausible that the causal links are
analytic and logical whereas the temporal links are rather descriptive and enumerative and historical. So this means if we apply with the different text types which type of text rather use analytical and logical way of putting their arguments and which text types are rather historical. Well, maybe the analytical part is reserved for the hard sciences and the descriptive and enumerative part is reserved for the soft sciences, for instance, biology, was largely dominated by taxonomical thinking for just describing things even before Darwin, there were no causes given for things in biology. So biology as a soft science maybe has more linkers in the temporal field than hard sciences would have more causal very tight-controlled event renderings.

We continue here because we then also believe that an expert is either more logical where the layperson may describe the situation not rather as cause and effect because layperson may not even comprehend the full extent of it but would rather retell something that is historical and has a temporal sequence.

European vs. African?

This hypothesis has a question mark, European versus African because we simply do not want to conjure out of thin air that Africans are more temporal, more descriptive thinkers than Western European academicians are more logical but, of course, some of these things are ad hoc creations and some are based on fact. And this bases on a survey of African research articles which we also investigated.

In spoken this is different so all perception is that in spoken language causal links are less important than temporal links because they operate on a more local level and are therefore better for cohesive ways of fluent spoken speech. And we will go through at least 4 of the last features and try to back that with data.

3. Data discussion

3.1 Empirical results

All texts in all corpora were manually annotated by student assistants who went through all these texts which where tagged beforehand and they were tagged for conjunction and they classified any interclausal relationship on the basis of the ontology by Van Valin and La Polla. And these are two original examples you can read it yourself: In addition many people could not get back to work because an acute shortage of public transport prevails in Lagos, Nigeria’s biggest city with a population of six million. Clear cause-and-effect relationships work in class m: Major banks and shops remained closed and the federal government secretariat was partially empty. So these things seem linked by something third that is unmentioned here but at least the temporal order is completely ok, we don’t know if they happened at the same time or after another.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Linker</th>
<th>Pronoun</th>
<th>total</th>
<th>ratio</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(m)</td>
<td>and</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>3,847</td>
<td>0.0477181</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she</td>
<td>334</td>
<td>0.00390231</td>
<td>0.20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>4,181</td>
<td>0.3521464</td>
<td>2.01</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(a)</td>
<td>because</td>
<td>he</td>
<td>1,000</td>
<td>0.0101375</td>
<td>0.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>she</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>0.00123766</td>
<td>0.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>subtotal</td>
<td>1,109</td>
<td>0.3135441</td>
<td>1.56</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab.4: Interclausal marking in the ICE-East Africa

Looking at the two ends of the continuum in table 4 we notice of course that these are not two ends of the continuum because temporality at least in a perceptual view relies on the perception of causativity. This is what creates our arrow of time the temporality of any clausal situation emerges through the causal relation of the clauses. This is what guides temporal perception, the recognition that there are causes and effect and that temporarily the causes always precede the effect and never the other way round. We see that also several psycholinguistic tests - the famous test was done by Lascarides - that temporally linked sentences show that is the last point here - show facilitated recall when there are also causally linked because we have mental images that rely on word knowledge of causal relationships. So this is basically the way of tying together cause and effect even though we investigated them at opposite ends of the continuum.

Tab.3: Examples from academic discourse (SPACE Corpus)

The table above shows, that also European texts make use of causative and descriptive/temporal linker classes but the argument is empirical (and not anecdotal) in nature. One point is written versus spoken. Again anything that is written allows back-tracking. So the temporal order is not quite clear you can always go back in the text and try to figure out which event comes first and which comes next.
Fig. 3: Interclausal marking in the ICE-East Africa: Retrieval results in Comparison: query: and he

How is this done? We want to compare Kenya and Tanzania knowing that in Kenya English is more prominent, more deeply rooted in society than in Tanzania. We have ICE East Africa on the web and we have a search engine, so for a quick and dirty comparison we can search for and, followed by he or she or because followed by he or she. And we can compare Kenya and Tanzania but also spoken and written. Then we compare Kenya to Tanzania to hard and soft sciences in SPACE briefly and then we tag all these texts from ICE East Africa manually using this Van Valin/La Polla categorization from a to m. You said this is a continuum from clausal to temporal and again we have Kenya versus Tanzania and spoken versus written and finally briefly we want to compare conjuncts and adjuncts from Kenya and Tanzania but also from Cameroon and the UK in this Nordic Journal Corpus. In conclusion, we first look for what was a very simple query for occurrences of because and out of a total of 1,387,000 words we find, of course, a much higher indication of and of than of because that would be 38,000 occurrences of and and 2,700 for because. This as such is rather unimpressive with the total share of and in the entirety of the corpus is 2.77 % which is actually quite high instead of because this is 0.2 and it tells us that and, of course, is a highly frequent lexical item because it’s pretty low. So we have to think about what we can do about it.

Fig. 4: Interclausal marking in the ICE-East Africa: Retrieval results in Comparison: Query: because he

Obviously, we are looking here at similar profiles but the high Kenya spoken counts cannot account for spoken as class m-linking because it is lowest for Tanzania spoken.

3.2 Data evaluation

Especially in the light of the fact that not every and is an interclausal and, and can happen in any enumeration of things so as such is not very valid but we recognize that and together with one of the two personal pronouns he and she which are frequent in the ICE Corpus gives us a measure of generating figures for interclausal lexical activity so because, whenever because goes together with he or she we start a new clause and the same is the case with and and he and she, a new clause starts so we obtain figures from there. And we see here that there is actually quite a big difference of interclausal because which has a net sum of 133 occurrences of and of 390 but because not all ands are interclausal ands we find that the indication of interclausal because is much higher than that of interclausal and and we see this figure here: 4.85 for interclausal because and the share of interclausal and is only 1 %. So that is the considerable difference.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Total Kenya</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Total Tanzania</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>class (a)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>91</td>
<td>0.0118</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>0.0068</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>he/she</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>0.0360</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>0.0182</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab.5: Interclausal marking in the ICE-East Africa: Cumulated results for Kenya vs. Tanzania
To summarize, we did a query in the search engine of the International Corpus of English - East Africa where we also checked for domains. We have 4 different domains, two from Kenya, two from Tanzania, two written and two spoken.

In table 6 we can see that there is one outlier here which is Kenya spoken so this is something we did not expect at first glance, especially because this is the data for and if and if we come to because he, this profile becomes very similar to the previous one.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Linker</th>
<th>KE01h</th>
<th>KE02h</th>
<th>TZ01h</th>
<th>TZ02h</th>
<th>CMall16</th>
<th>UK01h</th>
<th>Mean %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>but</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>66</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>19.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>although</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>while</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>if</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>14.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>whether</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>because</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>in order to</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>since</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum conjuncts</td>
<td>126</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>158</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>67.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 6: Clause Linkers: Conjuncts in the NordicJournal Corpus

The table shows that Kenya written is higher than Tanzania written, but Kenya spoken is always the outlier here, is definitely higher than Tanzania spoken and if I go back you see here that this is not much of a difference. So that means for us that we have to look further. And this is what we did here we split the data up between Kenya and Tanzania which also have different total word numbers.

These results mean that we have to compare the relative shares. And the relative shares show us that class a, the causative class, because has the share of 0.01% and in Tanzania this is even lower (0.007%). This is roughly half of it whereas for and we have a share of and which is pretty high for Kenya 0.036 and quite low again for Tanzania 0.02 basically.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Clause Link</th>
<th>KE01h</th>
<th>KE02h</th>
<th>TZ01h</th>
<th>TZ02h</th>
<th>CMall16</th>
<th>UK01h</th>
<th>Mean %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>firstly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>secondly</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the one hand</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>on the other hand</td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>finally</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lastly</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>also</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>27.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>furthermore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>however</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>11.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>moreover</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td>4.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>similarly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nevertheless</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>though</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4.7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yet</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anyway</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>otherwise</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>accordingly</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>consequently</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2.4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>12.9</td>
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<td>thus</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum adjuncts</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>66.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sum conjuncts+adjuncts</td>
<td>314</td>
<td>148</td>
<td>198</td>
<td>112</td>
<td>84</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>134.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tab. 7: Adjuncts in the NordicJournal Corpus
Graphing this, we obtain the diagrams in the figure below:

**Fig.5: Linker ratios for Kenya and Tanzania**

The diagrams show us that both with indication for both causative and temporal linkers on the Kenyan side have a higher indication. So this fact as such needs interpretation and we could make up the tentative hypothesis that Kenyans are simply the better, the more prolific linkers in spoken and written discourse as well. The next idea was then to check what would be the difference between the soft versus the hard sciences.

**Fig.6: Linker ratios for academic and popular-academic texts, SPACE corpus**

And what we find here – you see the figures on top here – that we have actually an extremely strong indication for causal linking in text written by laypersons in the popular texts which also kind of demolishes our hypothesis that laypeople, journalists, basically science journalists, would be less logical, less analytic and more prescriptive and it clearly shows here that this is not the case. They are even more, so causative more than the scientists.

The data here come from the SPACE Corpus which collects texts from the natural sciences that is biosciences and the physical sciences and I will not go through all these figures but just jump to the clause per conjunction ratio and we see here that we have the significant differences between anything that’s causative in the first part so we have ratios of 6%, 12%, 3%, 11% whereas the temporal linking has very low percentages here, so 0.2, 1%, 0.4 and so on, very low indeed, and when we graph this we find the profile given in figure 7 in which the causative linkers in blue are much higher than the temporal linkers and this somehow rejects our hypothesis that only the hard sciences are more causative and the soft sciences like biology are more the temporal part. This is clearly not the case. It is rather the case that in all sciences we have a strong indication for causal relationships. And that actually is to be expected. So when we make the point that sciences are causal we can still ask what the representation of science in different text types will look like. And because our corpus has any research article in the variant of an expert and in a variant written by a layperson we can actually also compare academic and popular or expert and layperson linking.

**Fig.6: Linker ratios for the physical sciences and biosciences, SPACE corpus**

The graphs show quite a similar profile and surprisingly for both text types the temporal linking is stronger which is also not really what we expected, causal linking much lower but again you have to see that these are African texts again, these are not scientific texts, there are not even academic texts from Africa. And this takes us back to our hypotheses, at least for this part.

### 4. Conclusion

A review of the initial hypotheses offers a mixed picture:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>causal vs. temporal</th>
<th>evaluation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>tight, coerced vs. loose, arbitrary, accidental</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>coherence, cohesion vs. cohesion, coherence</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>analytic, logical vs. descriptive, enumerative, historical</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hard sciences vs. soft sciences</td>
<td>rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>expert vs. layperson</td>
<td>rejected</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>European vs. African?</td>
<td>confirmed</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| Tab.8: Hypotheses re-evaluated under data | |

Tight, coerced versus arbitrary, this is clear from a plausibility point of view, this is clear, also coherence and cohesion, analytic and logical again but we have to reject that hard sciences versus soft sciences have this clear temporal versus causative distribution. This was clearly not the case. The bio-texts from the biosciences were much more causal, the same is true for expert versus layperson where we could also see that there was more causative linking for the layperson, the non-scientific journalist but we found indication that Europeans are more causal than Africans and that it is a feature rather of written English than of spoken.

Concludingly, we can say that there may be a sequence of preferences in using cohesion devices usually that we are discussing in that forum, indifferent Englishes, so cohesion may be formally marked first when someone acquires a more complex form of English. And then it may be more integrated in the lexicon and be
more semantic and implicit, so that are hypotheses: to combine all these results. First the Kenyans have learnt to include more of these helping devices but then all of a sudden when they get more prolific in writing they may drop that again and use more inherent devices. There is a certain basis for that, of course, because we also think or I think that that happened in the learning of our students whether they will ever get to the, you know, semantically implicit marking before the end of the M.A. level, you know, not B.A. level, M.A. level or PhD level, but we believe this is a phenomenon that has repercussions in teaching at advanced level M.A. (cf. Aston 1997) and we would like to link more research and feedback back into teaching.

Resources
Critical Discourse Analysis of Barack Obama’s Inaugural Address

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Abstract
This paper examines the persuasive strategies of President Obama’s public speaking as well as the covert ideology of the same, enshrined in his inaugural address. Our analysis is grounded in Norman Fairclough’s assumptions in critical discourse analysis, claiming that “ideologies reside in texts” that “it is not possible to ‘read off’ ideologies from texts” and that “texts are open to diverse interpretations” (Fairclough: 1995). The selected corpus’ ideological and persuasive components are assessed, thus revealing Obama’s persuasive strategies.

Keywords
discourse, critical discourse analysis, persuasion, ideology

1 Introduction
Politics is a struggle for power in order to put certain political, economic and social ideas into practice. In this process, language plays a crucial role, for every political action is prepared, accompanied, influenced and played by language. This paper analyzes discourse of political speaking, namely the inaugural address of President Barack Obama. Given the enormous domestic and global significance of the said speech in the times of international economic turmoil, it is crucial to decipher ideological traits typical for Barack Obama, enshrined in his inaugural address. Inaugural address predestines policies of the newly inaugurated president and its overall significance is enhanced in the case of Obama’s policy of change. The aim of this paper is to examine persuasive strategies of President Barack Obama and its ideological component.

2 Theoretical underpinnings
Discourse, as such, is a broad term with many a definition, which “integrates a whole palette of meanings” (Titscher et.al. 1998: 42), ranging from linguistics, through sociology, philosophy and other disciplines. For the purposes of this paper we apply the definition of discourse, based on van Dijk’s (1977: 3), and his general concept of discourse as text in context, seen as “data that is liable for empiric analysis” (Titscher et.al. 1998: 44), with focus being put on discourse as action and process. From this it follows that “discourse” is a wider term than “text”; “I shall use the term discourse to refer to the whole process of social interaction of which a text is just a part” (Fairclough 1989: 24).

Critical Discourse Analysis’ objective is to perceive language use as social practice. The users of language do not function in isolation, but in a set of cultural, social and psychological frameworks. CDA accepts this social context and studies the connections between textual structures and takes this social context into account and explores the links between textual structures and their function in interaction within this society. Such an analysis is a complex, multi-level one, given the obvious lack of direct, one to one correspondence between text structures and social functions, especially when it comes to creating and maintaining differences in power relations. The relatedness of the complex mechanism of discursive practice and their social function is frequently and willingly left opaque, especially when the need occurs to create and maintain differences in power relations.

It should be noted that the relationship is bi-directional. Not only the language use is affected by its groundedness within certain frame of cultural or social practice, but also the use of language influences and shapes the social and cultural context it finds itself in. It can be concluded that discursive practices are constitutive of social structures, the same way as the social structures determine discursive practices. CDA recognises both directions, and in particular it “[explores] the tension between these two sides of language use, the socially shaped and socially constitutive” (Fairclough 1989: 134). Language is a constituent of the society on various levels. A division proposed by Fairclough (ibid.: 134-136) is that of social identity, social relations and systems of knowledge and belief. All of these levels are effected, only with a variation as far as the strength is concerned. The issue of interpretation of these levels in the context of discourse models and social cognition will be addressed in the latter part of this work.

The one element of CDA by which it is differentiated from other forms of discourse analysis lies in its attribute of ‘critical’. “‘Critical’ implies showing connections and causes which are hidden; it also implies intervention, for example providing resources for those who may be disadvantaged through change” (Fairclough 1992: 9). It is important to expose the hidden things, since they are not evident for the individuals involved, and, because of this, they cannot be fought against.

Our conceptual basis is adopted from Norman Fairclough’s ideas on discourse and power and discourse and hegemony. We attempt to link social practice and linguistic practice, as well as micro and macro analysis of discourse (Fairclough: 97). At the same time, analytical part of this paper analyzes the possible interrelatedness of textual properties and power relations, which is also underpinned in Fairclough’s conceptual work. Furthermore, this paper attempts to deconstruct covert ideology which is ‘hidden’ in the text, stemming from the theoretical conceptualization of Batstone, who claims that “critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal how texts are constructed so that particular (and potentially indoctrinating) perspectives can be expressed delicately and covertly; because they are covert, they are elusive of direct challenge, facilitating what Kress calls the ‘retreat into mystification and impersonality’(1989: 57)” (Batstone 1995: 198-199). The main analytical tool of our paper reflects the “three-dimensional method of discourse analysis”, introduced by Norman Fairclough, namely the “language text, spoken or written, discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), and the sociocultural practice” (CDA: 97). This notions of Fairclough transform into an analytical method, including the “linguistic description of the language
text, interpretation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the text, and explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes’ (Fairclough: 97).

3 Outline of the inaugural speech
The inaugural address of president Barack Obama can be internally divided into the following six parts:
1. Thanking his predecessor (paragraphs 1-2)
2. Acknowledging the economic crisis (paragraphs 3-7)
3. Obama is direct, using the following phrases: “the challenges ... are real. They are serious and they are many.” At the same time, he has shown his resolve and leadership as shown in the following excerpt: “But know this, America — they will be met.”
4. Pointing out crisis of the past (paragraphs 8-17)
5. He is consistent with the overall message of hope. He quotes the Bible (10), goes back to the Declaration of Independence (10), and points out the crises of the past (paragraphs 12-15). His concluding remarks remind the audience that the timeless American values persist (paragraph 16).
6. Addressing cynics (paragraphs 18-20)
7. In a brief digression he attempts to persuade those who are sceptical of his plans. Obama employs the key phrase “Their memories are short.”
8. Addressing the World (paragraphs 21-26)
10. The solution lies with the people (paragraphs 27-35)
The president draws a parallel between American civilians and American soldiers, both embodying the American spirit of service. This parallel is topped by a Revolutionary War story metaphor.

Examples of contrast:
- “Their memories are short.” (25)
- “Their memories are short.” (18)
- “Our Founding Fathers [...] expanded by the blood of generations.” (21)
- “Recall that earlier generations...” (22)
- “the fallen heroes who lie in Arlington” (27)
- “But those values upon which our success depends - hard work and honesty, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism - these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths.” (29)
- “In the year of America's birth...” (33)

4 Analysis

4.1 Ideological analysis
Our analysis and interpretation of the ideological aspect of Obama’s inaugural address attempts to link the inaugural discourse with the social processes and to decipher covert ideology of this text. At the same time, a diachronic method will be applied for contrasting Obama’s discourse with the one of his predecessors.

(1) “My fellow citizens: I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you have bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors.”

Starting with the opening lines of the speech, a shift from the style of Bush, with the multitudes of “my fellow Americans” is evident. Obama’s form of address can be perceived as more inclusive, including all nationalities and ethnicities, applying a more citizen-centered attitude. Also, this style of Obama can be explained on the lines of that citizenry is the cornerstone of the American republic, and that the whole system is based on a grass root diplomacy, rather than an exclusive and elitist system of Bush. Strong Citizenry.

(2) "That we are in the midst of crisis is now well understood. Our nation is at war against a far-reaching network of violence and hatred. Our economy is badly weakened, a consequence of greed and irresponsibility on the part of some but also our collective failure to make hard choices and prepare the nation for a new age."

Obama not only condemns "greed and irresponsibility" of the individuals when commenting on the effects of the global financial crisis, but also criticises the “collective failure” of the system, the former being prosecutable, the latter not. So the problem will require
a major, institutional reform. The president acknowledges the ongoing war on terror; however, he makes no reference to the terrorist organization al-Qaeda. A preponderance of the possessive pronoun "our" indicates unity of the people in the time of national peril.

(3) "Today I say to you that the challenges we face are real, they are serious and they are many. They will not be met easily or in a short span of time. But know this America: They will be met."

(4) "For us, they fought and died in places Concord and Gettysburg; Normandy and Khe Sahn."

The president gives an excerpt of the American grand narrative, which is a standard procedure of this kind of discourse. However, by enumerating examples of America's sacrifices, Obama rehabilitates the war in Vietnam and puts in on the equal footing with the Revolutionary War for Independence and the Civil War, which can be perceived as an attempt to legitimize the war in Vietnam. Heroic past that can be built upon.

(5) "What the cynics fail to understand is that the ground has shifted beneath them, that the stale political arguments that have consumed us for so long, no longer apply. The question we ask today is not whether our government is too big or too small, but whether it works; whether it helps families whose jobs have been left behind, care they can afford, a retirement that is dignified. Where the answer is yes, we intend to move forward. Where the answer is no, programs will end."

Obama expresses the pragmatism omnipresent throughout his campaign. He deflects the accepted dichotomies and rather focuses on their consequences. As far as the inherent ideology is concerned, Obama expresses an obvious lack of any ideological standpoint regarding the role of government in the time of global financial troubles. Obama implies that the means to reaching his goals should be subject to change, and that he will not adapt any dogma or doctrine for reaching his objectives. Pragmatism.

(6) "Nor is the question before us whether the market is a force for good or ill. Its power to generate wealth and expand freedom is unmatched."

At this, whether it helps families and the economy. He strengthens his resolution of not reliance on any underlying ideology, unless this ideology is aiming at reaching the targets of his future administration.

(7) "The success of our economy has always depended not just on the size of our gross domestic product, but on the reach of our prosperity; on the ability to extend opportunity to every willing heart -- not out of charity, but because it is the surest route to our common good."

Obama concentrates on the economy further and explains his philosophical standpoint to the ways of distribution of national wealth, axing the free market mantra of various republican administrations. At this point, Obama negatively outlines his economic theory with the lack of referring to the free market.

(8) "Recall that earlier generations faced down fascism and communism not just with missiles and tanks, but with the sturdy alliances and enduring convictions. They understood that our power alone cannot protect us, nor does it entitle us to do as we please. Instead, they knew that our power grows through its prudent use. Our security emanates from the justness of our cause; the tempering qualities of humility and restraint. We are the keepers of this legacy, guided by these principles once more, we can meet those new threats that demand even greater effort, even greater cooperation and understanding between nations."

The grand narrative of the American past is mentioned again with the emphasis put on the special quality of the American republic, which has been exercising its power only for good and just purposes. The "justness of our cause" should be reinvented, after the period of American military involvement of rather dubious character and this principle of justice should be transformed into a multilateral perception of international cooperation, marked by the phrase "greater cooperation and understanding among nations". Justice can be perceived as another of key principles or ideological cornerstones enshrined in Obama's speech. Justice.

(9) "For we know that our patchwork heritage is a strength, not a weakness. We are a nation of Christians and Muslims, Jews and Hindus, and nonbelievers. We are shaped by every language and culture, drawn from every end of this Earth. And because we have tasted the bitter swill of civil war and segregation and emerged from that dark chapter stronger and more united, we cannot help but believe that the old hatreds shall someday pass; that the lines of tribe shall soon dissolve; that as the world grows smaller, our common humanity shall reveal itself; and that America must play its role in ushering in a new era of peace. To the Muslim world, we seek a new way forward, based on mutual interest and mutual respect. To those leaders around the globe who seek to low conflict or blame their society's ills on the West, know that your people will judge you on what you can build, not what you destroy."

Obama acknowledges the presence of nonbelievers in America, which comes as a surprise after a long period of Christian right leading the waves, despite his invoking God in his speech, which can be attributed to the genre. At the same time Obama speaks in favourable terms about and to the Muslim world, thus recognizing and embracing the social and religious diversity, which had been suppressed under previous administrations. Thus an ideological shift in the genre. At the same time Obama departs further from the Bushite dichotomies of good and evil, or in his case of good or ill. He strengthens his resolution of not reliance on any underlying ideology, unless this ideology is aiming at reaching the targets of his future administration.

(10) "To the people of poor nations, we pledge to work alongside you to make your farms flourish and let clean waters flow; to nourish starved bodies and feed hungry minds. And to those nations like ours that enjoy relative plenty, we say we can no longer afford indifference to the suffering outside our borders, nor can we consume the world's resources without regard to effect. For the world has changed, and we must change with it."

This part of the text marks another shift in the ideological standpoint of the Obama administration. The poor nations should be helped and the wealthy nations should be more careful in their expenditures, and the "indifference to the suffering" should become an issue of the past. An outward and inward solidarity.

(11) "But those values upon which our success depends – hard work and honesty, courage and fair play, tolerance and curiosity, loyalty and patriotism – these things are old. These things are true. They have been the quiet force of progress throughout our history. What is demanded then is a return to these truths. What is required of us now is a new era of responsibility -- a recognition, on the part of every American, that we have duties to ourselves, our nation and the world, duties that we do not grudgingly accept but rather seize gladly, firm in the knowledge that there is nothing so satisfying to the spirit, so defining of our character than giving our all to a difficult task. This is the price and the promise of citizenship."

History is interpreted as an endless source of
inspiration, as an endless source of American timeless virtues - sacrifice, selflessness and liberty. The American society is interpreted as if it had temporarily departed from these accepted virtues and needs to embrace them again. Obama's final remarks on citizenship and citizens, defined by mutual obligation of duty, further strengthen the significance of this notion for American democracy and make an active citizenry aware of their duties the centre stage of his address. Duty.

4.2 Analysis of frequently used words and connotations
In order to arrive at a more quantitative based result of this analysis, a keyword analysis of both frequently used words and connotations in Obama's speech was undertaken, yielding the following results.

The speech consists of 2403 words. The pronoun "we" being the absolute champion of this count, with its absolute occurrences being reaching 62, which can be attributed to an inclusiveness of Obama.

Keyword Density Report For President Obama's Inaugural Address

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Words</th>
<th>Keyword</th>
<th>Repeats</th>
<th>Density</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>nation</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0.50%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>new</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>0.46%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>America</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>0.37%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>today</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>people</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>less</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>world</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>let</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0.29%</td>
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<tr>
<td>time</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>work</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>0.25%</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

The results of the keyword analysis can be interpreted as Obama's attempt to concentrate on the domestic issues, "nation", "our nation" being the most prominent words and collocations, and also begin a "new" chapter in the relations with "the world". At the same time, the key attribute of Obama's address is the adjective "new", which characterizes the strategy and ideas of the newly sworn president and his administration.

4.3 Analysis of Biblical references
It is customary in American political discourse to employ biblical language, which is an inherent part of American public speaking. However, given the non-traditional and liberal stand of Barack Obama, it is essential to analyze biblical references of Obama and give possible explanations of the particular choices made by him.

"We remain a young nation," Obama said, "but, in the words of Scripture, the time has come to set aside childish things." Obama was quoting the New Testament, 1 Corinthians 13:11, dealing with St. Paul's letter to the church in Corinth. The implications of this particular choice of Scripture, especially in a speech aimed also at the Muslim, Jewish, Hindu and non-believing Americans are enormous, for it is the "love chapter", usually read at weddings. It speaks about true love in the following manner: "Love is patient, love is kind. It does not envy, it does not boast, it is not proud. It is not rude, it is not self-seeking, it is not easily angered, it keeps no record of wrongs. Love does not delight in evil but rejoices with the truth. It always protects, always trusts, always hopes, always perseveres. Love never fails." (1 Corinthians, 13:4)

"When I was a child, I talked like a child, I thought like a child. When I became a man, I put childish ways behind me. Now we see but a poor reflection as in a mirror; then we shall see face to face. Now I know in part; then I shall know fully, even as I am fully known. And now these three remain: faith, hope and love. But the greatest of these is love." (1 Corinthians, 13:11)

St. Paul's letter to the church in Corinth is dated to the times when the church was going through the period of internal struggles and divisions, and when the church was threatened by immoral influences surrounding the community. Corinth was a young town, the church a young church filled by your people. St. Paul delivered a letter of criticism and implored the Corinthians to stop the arguing and embrace what he called the most important virtue - love.

The choice of this particular biblical reference can be perceived as Obama's attempt to spread the notion and ideology of love, and through "loving thy neighbour" the American people can embrace a notion of racial inclusiveness and ideological diversity, necessary in the time of economic and international crises.

5 Conclusion
This paper analysis the ideological component enshrined in the inaugural address of President Barack Obama. It is embedded in Fairclough’s notions of ideology residing in text and that “ideology invests language in various ways at various levels” and that ideology is both “property of structures and of events”. We have attempted to use another concept of Fairclough, namely that ‘meanings are produced through interpretations’ and attempted to decipher the possible interpretations of various references of Obama. In this process we have managed to identify the framework of Obama’s ideological standpoint present in the address. At the same time, we have attempted to put Obama's address into a diachronic perspective of the outgoing administration of President George W. Bush. The following are our conclusions:

1. The results of the first part of our analysis have shown that the key ideological components of Obama’s speech can be summarized into the following concepts: pragmatism, liberalism, inclusiveness, acceptance of religious and ethnic diversity and unity.

2. The results of the keyword analysis have shown that the most prominent words employed by Obama are nation, new and America, and a overall dominance of the personal pronoun we, which is an evidence of Obama’s inclusive perception of the American society and a need for unity, understood as necessary in the time of national peril.

3. The results of the biblical references have shown that Obama’s choice of Scripture references – quoting the Corinthians “love section” was to strengthen the notion of unity and brotherly love among the various members of the American diverse society.

4. The overall, underlying theme of the speech is the need to be inspired and empowered by the strength from our heroic past, which should be used as a resort for rebuilding the nation in the time of the global
financial crisis and the threat of global terrorism.

5. The discursive event and discursive structure interrelatedness ideas proposed by Fairclough have been proven by the results of our analysis. The inaugural address – the discursive event shaped the text – the discursive structure, plus, the discourse became subject of interpretation by the audience, which shaped the following discourse practice of Obama.

References


Conjunctive Adverbials in English Academic Prose – Their Features and Use by Men and Women Authors

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Abstract
The present paper seeks to examine the main properties of conjunctive adverbials and their occurrence in English academic prose. It looks into the semantic roles of conjunctive adverbials, forms in which they are used, positions within a sentence, and their frequency of occurrence in different registers (with an emphasis on academic prose). In addition, based on a sociolinguistic approach the paper attempts to investigate possible differences in men’s and women’s use of conjunctive adverbials.

Keywords
conjunctive adverbials, English academic prose, semantic roles, realization forms, positions within a sentence, frequency of occurrence, sociolinguistic approach, men authors, women authors

1 Introduction
Compared to other registers, (English) academic prose with its highly specialist nature is rather remote from the general-use means of communication of all native speakers, because most of them do not deal with this register on a regular basis. Yet, it can also be regarded as ‘global’ (Biber et al. 1999: 16) in that it is aimed at “an international audience with relatively little influence from the national dialect of the author” (ibid.). In this respect, it is a branch of English linguistics that should, in my view, be debated, for it offers a plethora of issues to be explored.

The present paper only looks into one of many attributes of academic English and that is the use of conjunctive adverbials which contribute to the overall transparent stratification of the text and thus to its coherence. It also investigates differences in men’s and women’s use of these connectors.

Before looking into the findings based on my own research in more detail, let me point out the main properties of academic prose style and elucidate what is meant by the term ‘conjunctive adverbials’ in this paper.

2 Academic prose style
In terms of the chief function of academic prose style, which is referential, it is crucial that the connections not only between successive sentences but also between passages of text are signalled explicitly, logically and unambiguously. In other words, any academic text should be cohesive, which means that it ought to hang together. In order to fulfil this function successfully academic prose uses appropriate terminology, formal language, complete sentences, relative clauses, the passive voice and other devices among which conjunctive adverbials are definitely worth addressing. These contribute immensely to a better understanding of a text as a whole since all its parts are logically connected to each other. Thus, they function as an effective means of cohesion, and as Halliday and Hasan (1976) claim, they are on the borderline of grammatical and lexical cohesion: “mainly grammatical, but with a lexical component in it” (ibid.: 6). The authors further point out that connective elements are ‘cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings; they are not primarily devices for reaching out into the preceding (or following) text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse” (ibid.: 226).

3 Different terminology regarding conjunctive adverbials
As to the terminology concerning the linkers in question, there is a great variety according to which source is used and in no case is it consistent. This section therefore attempts to sum up the most common terms used by grammarians investigating the English language.

One of the leading sources dealing with the issue of cohesion is the book Cohesion in English by Halliday and Hasan (1976). To refer to the connectors under discussion they use both rather general and also very specific terms: ‘conjunctions’, ‘conjunctive elements’, ‘conjunctive expressions’, ‘conjunctive items’, ‘conjunctives’, ‘conjunctive adverbs’, ‘discourse adjuncts’, and, for example, ‘conjunctive adverbs’, which is a label for words such as therefore, or thereby (ibid.: 226-270).

Greenbaum (1969), Quirk et al. (1985), and Greenbaum and Quirk (1990) are all unanimous about the label ‘conjuncts’. They regard conjuncts to be one of the grammatical functions of adverbials, and the only difference is that Greenbaum (1969: 230) distinguishes three functions – adjuncts, conjuncts, and disjuncts, whereas Quirk et al. (1985: 501) and Greenbaum and Quirk (1990: 162) list four, i.e. adjuncts, conjuncts, disjuncts, and subjuncts.

Another book of central importance in the field of English linguistics is Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English by Biber et al. (1999), where the authors apply the term ‘linking adverbials’ (ibid.: 761).

Likewise, Leech and Svartvik (2002) also use a two-word term with the noun ‘adverbial’, but they pre-modify it with ‘sentence’, thus providing the label ‘sentence adverbials’ (ibid.: 187).

The label ‘conjunctive adverbial’ is used by Huddleston and Pullum (2002) in their book The Cambridge Grammar of the English Language (ibid.: 775).

As can be seen, the terms listed above are numerous and display a certain variety. Yet, they have something in common: very often, they comprise adjectives such as ‘conjunctive’, ‘connective’, ‘connecting’, or ‘linking’, and nouns like ‘adjuncts’, ‘adverbs’, or ‘adverbials’. It is thus more than obvious what their main function in a piece of discourse is and which form they usually take: they play an essential cohesive role not only in academic prose style, but also in other registers, and the majority of them are realized by single adverbs, although in academic prose ‘prepositional phrases are
also relatively common” (Biber et al. 1999: 884). It is very difficult, in my opinion, to decide which of the terms is more or less appropriate; however, for the sake of terminology exactness it is necessary that one suitable and applicable term be chosen and used throughout the whole paper. Since I fully agree with the fact that the devices under investigation serve a connective role and represent one of the grammatical functions of adverbials and thus are classified as adverbials (cf. Quirk et al. 1985), the unified term used in this present paper is ‘conjunctive adverbials’. Coincidentally, it is a term occurring in The Grammar Book by Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1999).

4 Main properties of conjunctive adverbials
To introduce conjunctive adverbials in more detail, the following attributes should be studied:

a) semantic roles
b) realization forms
c) positions within a sentence
d) frequency of occurrence in different registers

4.1 Semantic roles
With reference to the semantic roles, each of the conjunctive adverbials can be put into a semantic sub-category; these are usually labelled in the following way (cf. Quirk et al. 1985; Biber et al. 1999):

- contrast/concession: i.e. items that either mark contrast or put between information in different discourse units, or that signal concessive relations (in/by contrast, on the contrary, on the one hand – on the other hand; however, nevertheless, nonetheless, though, yet, and many others)
- result/inference: these conjunctive adverbials draw our attention to results and conclusions (for example, as a result, thus, hence, therefore, consequently, it follows that)
- ordering/listing, further subdivided into enumeration, addition, and summation (such as firstly, secondly, to begin with; in addition/to add, further, moreover; to sum up, in conclusion, in short, eventually, to put it briefly)
- apposition (in concrete terms elaboration and exemplification): these conjunctive adverbials are used to show that a particular unit is to be regarded either as restating/reformulating information mentioned earlier => elaboration (which is to say, in other words, to put it another way) or simply giving examples for better illustration of what is being discussed => exemplification (for example, for instance, namely, as an illustration, and the like)
- transition: this semantic relation signals new information, usually another topic, which may be connected only loosely, or even unconnected, e.g. incidentally, by the way, etc.

4.2 Realization forms of conjunctive adverbials and their position within a sentence
Conjunctive adverbials are realised not only by simple (e.g. next, yet) or compound adverbs (compound adverbs ending in –ly such as firstly, additionally, or other compound adverbs like furthermore, moreover), but also by prepositional phrases (for instance on the contrary, in effect), nonfinite clauses (to sum up, to conclude, etc.) and even finite clauses (that is to say, what is more); this illustrates that they take different forms. According to Biber et al. (1999), the majority of conjunctive adverbials in academic prose are formed by means of simple adverbs; nevertheless, prepositional phrases are also relatively common in academic language and occur to a much greater extent in this register than, for example, in conversation (ibid.: 862). The distribution of conjunctive adverbials in terms of their syntactic functions, i.e. the position(s) they take up in the sentence, is also worth mentioning. There are three main positions: initial, medial and final, the first of which is the most common position for conjunctive adverbials not only within the register of academic prose, but also in conversation. Medial position has the second highest proportion of occurrences in academic prose and final position is rare, whereas in conversation it is the other way round, which means that final position is the second while medial position seldom occurs. A more detailed analysis of syntactic functions of conjunctive adverbials based on my pilot research will be provided in Section 5.

4.3 Frequency of occurrence
The frequency of occurrence of individual semantic categories is definitely worth investigating. Results based on my pilot research will be discussed in Section 5, whereas this sub-section represents general tendencies in different registers as presented by Biber et al.

Biber et al. (1999) deal with four main registers and these are conversation, fiction, newspaper language, and academic prose (ibid.: 4). In all of them it is possible to come across various conjunctive adverbials, which are usually more or less frequent depending on which of the registers we deal with. According to Biber et al. and their corpus findings, conjunctive adverbials “are considerably more common in conversation and academic prose than in fiction and news” (ibid.: 880). Whereas the high frequency of these in academic prose can be expected, as it is necessary to indicate the relations between ideas overtly, the frequent use of conjunctive adverbials in conversation is rather surprising (ibid.: 880, 883). This is caused by the relatively frequent occurrence of so and then, which are used to mark result/inference. The lowest frequency of conjunctive adverbials can be observed in news.

In terms of individual semantic categories, academic prose and conversation also have a similar number of conjunctive adverbials in the category of result/inference (Biber et al. 1999: 880). Academic prose further uses ordering/listing and also appositional conjunctive adverbials more often than the other registers. By contrast, it shares a similar number of contrastive/concessive linkers with conversation and fiction; these are less common in news. As for transitional conjunctive adverbials, they are rather infrequent in all registers (ibid.: 880).

5 Men’s and women’s use of conjunctive adverbials – preliminary research
The present research is based on the analysis of twelve academic articles of similar length written by six male and six female native speakers of English. The articles are taken from the journal Applied Linguistics, and as such they represent one particular branch of the humanities (linguistics).

5.1 Most common conjunctive adverbials in academic prose
Table 1 below displays the following features: the total number of conjunctive adverbials in articles written by men and women authors, and subsequently the number of several conjunctive adverbials in particular. These were not chosen at random, but according to their frequency of occurrence in academic prose, where however, thus, therefore, and for example occur with notable frequency (Biber et al. 1999: 886). The abbreviations e.g. and the linkers for instance, that is and its abbreviation i.e. are included as well, because they also represent appositional conjunctive adverbials, which are quite frequent in academic prose (see Section 4.3 above for more detail).
Active adverbials used. Women rate kens), which is the second highest.

Table 2: Three main positions of conjunctive adverbials in articles written by men and women authors

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<tr>
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<th>Men authors</th>
<th>Women authors</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
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<tr>
<td>however</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>22.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thus</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>8.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>therefore</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>6.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for example</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>10.6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>for instance</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0.6%</td>
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<tr>
<td>that is</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.9%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i.e.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
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</tbody>
</table>

As already mentioned, three main positions of conjunctive adverbials within a sentence are usually distinguished: initial, medial and final. The initial position is the most common one and can thus be regarded as the unmarked position for conjunctive adverbials (Biber et al. 1999: 891). Medial position is further subdivided into three sub-positions as follows (ibid.: 892):

a) linkers immediately following the subject: Killingsworth and Gilbertson (1992: 153), in fact, argue that this is a major function of examples. (Sample V 2007: 282, male)

b) linkers immediately following an operator: and whose messages were therefore deleted. (Sample V 2007: 541, female)

c) linkers between a verb and complement clause (or another type of complementation):

Table 2: Three main positions of conjunctive adverbials in articles written by men and women authors

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men authors</th>
<th>Women authors</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>I</td>
<td>220</td>
<td>68.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>27.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>321</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As can be seen, the first considerable difference between men's and women's academic language is the total number of conjunctive adverbials used. Women authors tend to use more of these than men authors (482 examples to 321). Another noticeable difference lies in the use of some appositional conjunctive adverbials, for instance and i.e. in particular; the frequency of occurrence of these connectives is higher in articles written by female authors (12 instances to 2 in the case of for instance, and 3 to 1 as regards the abbreviation i.e.). In terms of the other conjunctive adverbials in question (i.e. however, thus, therefore, for example, e.g. and that is) no dramatic differences exist. With reference to the conjunct however, it occurs with notable frequency in articles written by men as well as women authors, and thus confirms Biber et al.'s findings (1999) that “to mark contrast, however is uniformly preferred” (ibid.: 889). In general, however vastly outnumbers all other conjunctive adverbials, not only those marking contrast/concession.

When looking into individual representative articles, it is obvious that apart from the most common linkers such as however or for example the majority of other conjunctive adverbials reflect an individual's preferences. We can thus observe that, for instance, in Sample V (male) and Sample II (female) the conjunctive adverbial therefore was not used at all, even though it belongs to one of the commonest conjunctive adverbials in academic prose. By contrast, the author in Sample V (male) favours therefore and uses it in nine cases. The author in Sample I (female) often applies of course (12 tokens), which is the second highest frequency of occurrence (the first one being however with 13 instances). In Sample I (male) we can come across three different additive conjunctive adverbials and although the author prefers in addition (five instances), he also uses moreover (four times) and furthermore (once). Many other examples could be mentioned; the list, however, would become enormous and difficult to follow. In short, it can be claimed that the choice of conjunctive adverbials is idiosyncratic, i.e. it is up to the writer/speaker to decide which ones he or she uses.

5.2 Positions of conjunctive adverbials in academic prose
6 Conclusion

In the present paper, a synopsis of the main properties of conjunctive adverbials (e.g. semantic categories, syntactic features, realization forms) and their frequency of occurrence along with their sentence positions in English academic prose has been provided. The analysis was based on a small corpus comprising twelve research articles from the area of linguistics and it also mapped differences in men’s and women’s use of the connectors in question. As regards the use of conjunctive adverbials by men versus women, I believe that the differences between the two genders (concerning both the occurrence of individual semantic categories and different positions within a sentence) are not accidental; however, it is very difficult to draw valid conclusions from the analysis based on such a limited corpus. Hence, further research into men’s and women’s use of conjunctive adverbials has to be carried out. For the time being and based on the results presented above, it can be assumed that there will be certain differences in the occurrence of conjunctive adverbials in the language used by men versus women, and they will mainly lie in the more frequent use of linkers by female authors. This may be influenced by the emotive character and uncertainty regarded to be typical of women’s language (Fjelkestam-Nilsson 1983: 120) and also by the fact that women “interact more cooperatively and focus on relative closeness” (Holmes 1995: 7). In addition, in terms of the occurrence of particular conjunctive adverbials as such it can be observed that the choice is idiosyncratic and corresponds with the author’s preferences, needs and goals. The same can be applied to the writer’s decision to use different positions when distributing conjunctive adverbials in his or her article. However, generally speaking, the initial position is still uniformly preferred.


Naming Strategies in Newspaper Discourse: Means of Communicating Identity of the Participants to the Reader

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Abstract
The present paper explores some of the naming strategies identified in British press with focus on the participants' identity since "the way that people are named in news discourse can have significant impact on the way in which they are viewed" (Richardson 2007: 49). Naming and referential strategies employed in newspaper discourse can therefore not only help establish and promote a particular type of status, but also reflect social values and categories and convey other secondary meanings and messages. The choices made by journalists thus often determine or at least largely contribute to how participants are to be perceived and also help achieve the intended effect on the reader.

Keywords
naming strategies, British press, newspaper discourse, newspaper reports, broadsheets, tabloids, identity, reference, intended effect

1 Introduction
When we consider any kind of media, it is evident that the same event may be reported on in a number of different ways. Newspapers, competing with each other, are targeted at different types of audience, which is reflected in the type and amount of information presented to the reader as well as the language used. The choices made by reporters/journalists therefore involve a whole range of means which, when considered together, may create different pictures of the event described and even assign a more or less different degree of importance to them. In order to understand why certain events are reported on in a particular way we need to be aware of the social context in which the event occurred. The cultural aspects, e.g. the reader's previous experience with a similar kind of events reported on in the press, the public opinion and mood as regards a particular issue, or atmosphere in the society in the light of recent events will largely influence the effect of the article on the reader. The intended effect is further enhanced by the language and various strategies used by the journalist, among which naming strategies play a crucial role. Undoubtedly, every person may be described in a number of ways and each of these will draw the listener's/reader's attention to a particular feature or characteristics of the person which is considered most relevant in the given context. As Richardson (2007) claims "we all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately but not with the same meaning" (ibid.: 49).

The social and cultural context also offers an explanation as to why certain events are selected by newspapers as being worth reporting on and others are not. We need to be aware of the circumstances that surround 'news'. According to Hartley (1982) "meaning is a product of interaction" and as he explains "it has to be 'read' " (ibid.: 36). The reader can either accept what he is being presented with or refuse it (views, attitudes, values, etc.) but both "the encoding and the decoding of the message are socially determined in some way" (ibid.: 36).

The analysis presented in this paper involves five articles reporting on the same events – incidents in which teenagers were stabbed to death in Britain, a kind of crime that seemed to be on increase in the country in 2008. Since such incidents occurred more frequently than in the previous years, it became an appealing issue that should be of interest to the whole society.

2 Description of the corpus
The articles analysed were taken from British national dailies – two broadsheets (The Daily Telegraph and The Guardian) and two tabloids (The Sun and The Daily Mirror), the styles of which are compared in this paper in order to demonstrate how the same event is approached in different papers with focus on the identity of the participants as this largely contributes to the overall effect of each article. The analysis deals not only with various means of expression but also the possible views and attitudes communicated to the reader via language. All the five articles published on August 18, 2008 report on two similar incidents that occurred in different places in Britain (London and Manchester) in one night. Attention devoted to the Manchester incident seems to be considerably smaller and different in terms of extent in comparison with the other incident in London, which receives more coverage for reasons explained below (for details, see Section 3.2.2). As for the broadsheets, The Daily Telegraph does not mention the Manchester incident at all, unlike The Guardian, where both incidents are reported on in a joint article. The tabloids under analysis deal with both incidents, The Sun in two separate articles and The Daily Mirror in a joint article. Table 1 below illustrates the length of the articles and the amount of attention paid to each incident in words.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Manchester incident</th>
<th>London incident</th>
<th>Total number of words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Telegraph (1 article)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>192</td>
<td>192</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Guardian (1 article)</td>
<td>124</td>
<td>163</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Sun (2 articles)</td>
<td>199</td>
<td>383</td>
<td>582</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The Daily Mirror (1 article)</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>183</td>
<td>232</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Length of articles in words
3 Analysis

3.1 Headlines
Expressions and phrases that may characterise any person and the choice of the choice depends on a number of factors. My own research into newspaper discourse suggests that the most frequent are personal names in the first place, the age of the person, nationality and profession, which may all be described as factual in their nature (cf. Jančalíková fc). However, depending on the desired status of the person (positive, neutral or negative) that is to be conveyed to the reader, i.e. victim vs. criminal, good vs. evil, innocent vs. guilty, laymen vs. expert, etc., reference can also be made to gender, appearance, membership in a certain community, religion, etc., of all of them being capable of creating a positive or negative status communicated to the reader.

Considering the nature of news, people and events are in the centre of interest. Therefore, the participants’ identity and the choice of who will be mentioned in the article must play a crucial role in newspaper discourse. Looking at the headlines of the articles analysed, we can see that identity is a key characteristic as the headline should answer two basic questions of the reader, i.e. who and what is being reported on.

1. Teenager stabbed to death linked to gang in turf wars – London incident in the Daily Telegraph (article 1, i.e. A1)
2. Two teenagers stabbed to death in one night – London and Manchester incidents in the Guardian (article 2, i.e. A2)
3. Maniac in taxi murdered teen – London incident in the Sun (article 3, i.e. A3)
4. Slain lad ‘banned’ from the tragic do – Manchester incident in the Sun (article 4, i.e. A4)
5. Teen’s racist knife killer – London and Manchester incidents in the Daily Mirror (article 5, i.e. A5)

As can be seen from the headlines above, the age of the victims is chosen as the most important characteristics to be mentioned as early as possible, i.e. in the headline. However, if we look at each headline as a whole, we might get the impression that the same events are presented to the reader in a partly different light. More attention in all papers analysed is devoted to the incident in London, which in my opinion is due to the possibility of the attack being racially motivated (for details, see Section 3.2.2), although not all the newspapers under analysis mention this assumption.

Expectedly, the main reference strategy used is identification by name. Generally speaking, full names are used to identify a person when he/she is mentioned for the first time, first names often evoke familiarity or enhance sympathy whereas surnames may be neutral but may also suggest a negative attitude when used without titles. In The Guardian (A2) the first reference to the boy killed is by his full name (i.e. Connor James Black), which is a typical first mention of a person and a basic means of identification (cf. Reah 2002), followed by an ‘informative’ phrase a 16-year-old joinery student (Example 1). In the following text he is referred to as Black, the surname being neutral in this context (Example 2).

(1) Connor James Black, a 16-year-old joinery student, died from a single stab wound to his back after attending a ‘rowdy’ party in Manchester.

(2) Last night a 16-year-old boy was arrested on suspicion of murdering Black.

However, in a quote of one of the detectives (direct speech) the boy’s first name is used. It makes the statement more personal and, to my view, also enhances the status of the boy as a victim and a person with whom the reader should sympathize (Example 3).

(3) Connor was a member of a loving family. He was known to the police, but not for anything serious.

On the other hand, the information mentioned by the detective in the latter sentence, i.e. that the boy ‘was known to the police’ although ‘not for anything serious’ and also, as stated above (see Example 1) that he was killed when returning from a ‘rowdy’ party may assign somewhat negative qualities to the boy. In my view, the use of the first name (and the whole quote) at the end of the paragraph on the Manchester case helps reduce the negative effect evoked by the mention of a rowdy party and the boy’s previous bad behaviour for which he was known to the police.

The tabloids under analysis differ in the first place in the coverage of the incident. In The Daily Mirror (A5) the Manchester incident is mentioned very briefly, the
victim is simply referred to as Conor Black, 16; he, and a teenager in Manchester. Since the amount of information about the event is relatively small here and the incident is therefore depicted as one of many of this kind, the boy’s identity is expressed in terms of facts, i.e. name and age (Example 4). Although the name should be the most reliable means of identification, the boy’s first name is spelt differently in the articles, either with single or double -n. (4) Meanwhile, Conor Black, 16, was knifed to death on a Manchester street early Saturday. However, The Sun treats the two events as two appalling incidents and as the only of the newspapers analysed describes the Manchester incident in a separate article (A4). The boy is here referred to as a teenager; rap music fan Conor Black, 16, the joinery student. As it is typical of tabloids, a lot of personal details are included (and also reference to the boy’s mother) as this helps increase informality and emotiveness of the article (Examples 5 and 6). (5) A teenager stabbed to death after a rowdy party had defied his mother’s wishes to go to the bash, it emerged yesterday. (6) Rap music fan Conor Black, 16, was dropped off to spend the night safely at his cousin’s home on his mum’s orders. Similarly to The Guardian, some information in the Sun (A4) creates a bit negative picture of the boy’s life, e.g. that he was at a rowdy party most of the time although his parents did not allow him to go there or that on his website he is pictured in ‘gangster poses’. So it is not referring expressions but rather additional information which might suggest to the reader that his death was a result of his ‘bad behaviour and wild lifestyle’. Nevertheless, he is still a victim - a young boy who did not deserve to die like this, which is emphasised by mentioning his friend’s account of the last minutes of Conor’s life and his friends’ feelings (Example 7). (7) Pal Nick Doyle, 17, said: “He just had a small puncture wound on the back of his shoulder. He could hear us loud and clear but couldn’t speak. Then we lost him. I’m devastated.” The killer alleged is not in the centre of attention, probably because it has not been proved that the person arrested did the killing or because his identity is not known to the press. Therefore, he is referred to only as a 16-year-old boy. 3.2.2 London incident As mentioned above, in comparison with the Manchester incident the London incident is described in more detail and seems to receive more attention in the press. We can only speculate about the reasons, e.g. the incident happened in the capital city and so there is a better access to information for journalists. We might also assume that this case receives more attention because it is possible that it was racially motivated, which as a sensitive issue is certain to generate interest. It is worth mentioning that the individual newspapers adopt a different approach to this piece of information which was not confirmed at the time. The broadsheets, as we can expect, choose not to include the information at all, whereas the tabloids both present it as a possible cause of the row, which finally led to the killing. Considering the identity of the main participants, main attention is obviously devoted to the victim. As mentioned above, a person’s full name is the most frequent, natural and we might also say the most reliable means of identification. The primary motive for reading a newspaper is to get information and quite naturally the reader expects the information to be true, correct and factual. However, this is not always the case. In modern world where various media compete with each other trying to bring information first of all or not to miss some important event that others report on, it is not unusual to see different information in articles on the same event, mainly in terms of numbers given, time references, and even names (cf. Reah 2002). Similarly to the Manchester case, in the articles dealing with the London case the names differ (here it is the surname) as the first mention of the boy’s identity. The Guardian (A2) and The Sun (A3) refer to the boy as Nilanthan Moorthy whereas The Daily Telegraph (A1) and The Daily Mirror (A5) as Nilanthan Murddi. We might expect that the broadsheets are or should be more reliable but as we can see they give a different name here. On the other hand, we might also ask whether the spelling of is such a big importance here. Despite the difference in spelling, still the incident in all the papers will probably be identified as the same one (not as two different incidents) and the identity of the victim will not be questioned. The other means of expressing identity and reference in the four articles seem to differ to a larger extent than in the Manchester incident. As for broadsheets, in The Daily Telegraph (A1) we find reference to the boy’s age (i.e. a 17-year-old boy) and also reference by title and surname (i.e. Mr Murddi), which is a form of reference used in this article only and nowhere else (Examples 8 and 9). (8) A 17-year-old boy stabbed to death in south London - the 23rd teenager to be murdered in the city this year - has been named as Nilanthan Murddi. (9) Mr Murddi, who was from the Croydon area, was stabbed once in the neck. In my view, in this context such a reference (using the title Mr) is to enhance the status of the boy as a victim and also the neutrality of the style, although, probably for the sake of objectivity, this newspaper chooses to mention another piece of information which further clarifies the boy’s identity and to some readers might be seen as a negative side of the boy’s identity, i.e. that he was thought to be a member of the Tamil Boys, a Sri Lankan gang (A1, Example 10). (10) Mr Murddi was thought to be a member of the Tamil Boys, a Sri Lankan gang involved in a turf war with a rival group. The Guardian (A2) uses as the first mention of the boy a dense noun phrase which gives as much factual information as possible since it includes the boy’s name, age and profession (Example 11). (11) Nilanthan Moorthy, a 17-year-old waiter, was killed during a street fight in Croydon, south London, in the early hours of Saturday. Another reference includes additional information, which is used to give a certain form of background of the victim, e.g. Moorthy, who worked in his family’s restaurant in Purley. No mention of the racist motive or the boy’s membership in a gang is made here. The tabloids, as it is typical of them, put emphasis on family details and background, which makes the person described ‘more real’ and choose to use phrases which help create a certain tension. In The Sun (A3) the informal word teen is used in the headline and the age of the victim is further made a central piece of information in the lead, i.e. a youth of 17, and only then is the full name mentioned (Examples 12-14). (12) Maniac in taxi murdered teen (the headline) (13) A youth of 17 died after being knifed in the neck by a cab passenger who called him a “**** Indian”, friends claimed last night. (the lead) (14) Nilanthan Moorthy was in a group outside a party when a cab pulled up. (the first sentence of the body of the article) In order to give some family background The Sun (A3) chooses to specify the boy’s origin by describing him as the British-born Sri Lankan, which among other things may also indicate that he was not an immigrant or even
illegal immigrant but was born a British citizen and lived in Britain all his life, since in sensitive context the issue of origin plays a significant role (Example 15).

(15) The British-born Sri Lankan collapsed at 1 am in Croydon, South London, and died in hospital at 4.30 am on Sunday.

Further reference to the boy by his first name is to evoke familiarity and enhance the picture of a young boy being a victim of an appalling crime. In order to support the positive view of the boy additional information is added in the form of quotes of what his family and friends said about him (Example 16).

(16) He was a helpful boy. He was very family oriented.

The issue of origin, as mentioned in the paragraph above, is important here because this article mentions racism as being a possible cause of the conflict, when led to a murder. The attacker insulted the boy by racist invectives hinting at his skin colour and origin (i.e. a f****** Indian, see Example 13 above), which in my view also explains the reason for using the word white in reference to the attacker (Example 17), who might also be referred to as 'a man in his thirties', which would not have any racist connotations unlike the phrase used in the article (i.e. a white man in his 30s).

(17) A white man in his 30s already arguing with the driver started trading insults with Nilanthan's friends.

Other references to the attacker reinforce the negative status, e.g. maniac in taxi (headline) or give details of the incident, e.g. he arrived in a taxi and is therefore referred to as a cab passenger. The suspect arrested the following day was not identified yet as the killer, so the reference is neutral, i.e. a 31-year-old man.

A similar approach is adopted by The Daily Mirror (AS). The victim is identified by reference to his age in the headline, the subsequent headline and the lead, age being the most important characteristics here, i.e. teen; boy, 17, and a teenager. Only then, similarly to The Sun, is the boy's full name mentioned again together with his age, i.e. Nilanthan Murddi, 17 (Examples 18 – 21). It should also be mentioned that this strategy is employed to increase tension and attract the reader's attention, which is fully in correspondence with the top-down structure of newspaper articles (Ungerer 2002: 91).

(18) Teen's racist knife killer (headline 1)

(19) Taxi thug stabs boy, 17 (headline 2)

(20) A teenager knifed to death at the weekend may have been the victim of a race-hate murder, pals said yesterday. (the lead)

(21) Nilanthan Murddi, 17, was stabbed in the neck when a white man leaped from a cab and hurled abuse, then returned later to stab him.

In the following text giving the account of the event and family and friend's reactions he is directly referred to as the victim and Nilanthan, which further enhances his positive status.

As for the identity of the attacker, he is described as a teen's racist killer (headline), a taxi thug and a white man in the description of the incident. The suspect arrested is described as a man, 31. The possible racist motive, although it was not confirmed at that time, is suggested in the headline, by the noun phrase a white man and by stating that the attacker called the victim and his friends You f****** Paki, which supports the picture of the attacker being a racist and an aggressive person (described previously as a thug). In contrast, in the other articles such references are not made at all for the reasons mentioned above.

4 Conclusion

From the analysis and its findings presented in this paper we may conclude that the issue of identity is of crucial importance in newspaper discourse. The way a person is presented to the reader may influence the reader's view of the person both positively and negatively depending on the intended effect, which is achieved via the language used including reference strategies. The same event can then be presented to the reader in a more or less different light and with different effect.

In this corpus, although relatively small, we have seen that full names can be used to identify a person whereas first names often strengthen the person's positive status or positive view generated thus on the side of the reader. It was also demonstrated that not only names but also a person's age may be an important means of identifying a person. We have also determined that reference to the person's origin or skin colour may be motivated by the need to identify 'the good' and 'evil' or just to cast more light on the events described for the sake of objectivity and factuality.

Naming, as we have seen in the articles analysed here, gives the participants a particular status, which is communicated to the reader and often appeals to certain views and feelings because newspapers do not only provide information but also shape our views of the world and society we live in. Nevertheless, we also need to state that identity is not expressed and conveyed to the reader by particular referring expressions only, but also by additional information and also style and type of register which help create a full picture of the person/people involved and consequently the whole event. If we understand the motives leading to the choice of particular language, type of reference and various other strategies employed by journalists we will become better and, what is very important, critical readers who not only receive news or facts but are also able to decode hidden messages.

References
Sources
‘Teenager stabbed to death linked to gang in turf wars.’ The Daily Telegraph, p. 10.
Syntactic Strategies in Written Discourse

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Abstract
The paper deals with the influence of linguistic knowledge on translation quality. It analyses the importance of syntactic strategies (proposed by Andrew Chesterman, 1997) and their use in the process of translation. Syntactic strategies primarily manipulate form focusing on structural elements and are interrelated with semantic and pragmatic translation strategies. Among these syntactic strategies are e.g. literal translation, phrase structure change or ellipsis. Moreover, the paper presents the results of empirical research which illustrates the link between the text, its syntactic qualities and their impact on translation process. Our work is based on the assumption that the theoretical knowledge about text and text forming devices is indirectly reflected in every translation product.

Keywords
text, syntactic strategies, Chesterman

1 Introduction. Text and text forming devices
In recent years the study of linguistics has undergone a considerable shift of interest away from very rigorous and descriptive position towards more interrelated scope of study. e.g. the traditional range of syntax as one of the main linguistic disciplines lies on the structural rules for combining smaller units into bigger ones. Dealing with syntax again, quite recently this traditional approach to syntax was enriched by more complex theory discussing contextual role of syntax. As Tarnyiková (2002, p. 13) claims “it has been generally accepted that whatever style is investigated, the analysis cannot proceed very far without the recognition of units larger than a sentence.” In addition whatever analysis we mean it would be incomplete without textual linguistics, because this is what enables listener or reader to distinguish a text from a random set of sentences. Textual linguistics takes text as a rough linguistic structure for deep text analysis. As regards terminology, text is viewed as a semantic and pragmatic unit. For R. Quirk (1985, p.1423) a text is a language unit which seems coherent in its use. A more detailed definition was proposed by Fairclough (1995, p.6) who views text on the grounds of social processes in which two fundamental processes – cognition and representation of the world co-occur. For David Nunan (1993, p. 124) text is “the written record of a communicative event which conveys a complete message.” On the contrary Cook (1998, p.158) claims that text is only a stretch of language interpreted formally, without context. It is evident that these definitions differ, some of them view text as a communicative event, others as a structural sequence forming a whole. Therefore a single unifying definition does not exist. A text cannot be fully explored without a good knowledge of grammatical systems and processing grammatical relations, although the grammatical structure or unit in a text can be very different from the unit in isolation. Widdowson (2004) argues for making an explicit distinction for text and discourse, since the text becomes the pragmatic product of contextual processes. Whatever definition we take, it views text as the main domain for interrelated syntactic, semantic and pragmatic study. Moreover, the concept of text and its analysis has contributed enormously toward the theory and practice of translation. Since linguistics is the study of language and has produced such powerful and productive theories about how language works, and since translation is a language activity, it would seem only common sense to think that the first had something to say about the second. This view was accepted by John Catford who opened his book A Linguistic Theory of Translation with the words: “Clearly, then, any theory of translation must draw upon a theory of language – a general linguistic theory.” This definition takes text (source text) as a main departure for translation process. Our work is based on the assumption that the theoretical knowledge about text and text forming devices is indirectly reflected in every translation product and therefore has an implicit impact on its quality.

2 Syntax in translation vs. translation in syntax
Being one of the main linguistics- oriented courses, syntax deals with units of various complexity and their distribution in written discourse. Here I want to explore possible applications of teaching syntax to those students who specialize in translation and interpretation courses. Among the main potential benefits belong the expertise to fully assess syntactic strategies and means in a source text and the ability to use main syntactic concepts as ellipsis, parcelation, etc. in a target text. These two abilities are closely interrelated, since the task of a translator is to understand the text first and then, to transfer its form and content into the target language. Syntactic analysis (which concentrates on the way how texts are organized – sentence structure, cohesion, etc.) gives a solid base for the related analysis of communicative and discoursal meaning. It is only in the sentence context that the word becomes semantically concretized. In this view, syntax is taken as a starting point for further semantic, stylistic and pragmatic study of any text. Doing syntax with university students of ESL specializing in translation and interpreting means constantly having to reinforce the communicative approach to text and its qualities. Furthermore, the theoretical knowledge of syntax is activated in a largest unit of grammatical description where the students clearly see text forming devices in context and can fully appreciate their contextual advantages. Although Syntax works on the level of structure and form, not on the level of meaning, all these three levels should work in a harmony if the text is analyzed. Traditionally, the topics studied in syntax courses are sentence patterns, phrase and sentence shifts. All of them are studied on authentic text materials with the blend of comparative approach (Slovak- English, English - Slovak) to text and its linguistic qualities. In my view, text material gives an excellent base for assessing language in use and helps students to activate their linguistic knowledge on real -
life text material. Coming back to pedagogical process and interface between syntax and some other linguistic disciplines, syntactic analysis would be only fragmentary without blending semantic and pragmatic aspects. These strategies are further explored by Chesterman and presented as a boring discipline studying the smallest elements in isolation. Syntax as a linguistic discipline together with Morphology should be the core of linguistic and translation studies at Universities because it gives our students a detailed knowledge how grammatical elements are organized within the language and how these elements correlate in language work. e.g. in the process of translation.

3 Syntactic strategies by Chesterman, research design

Since linguistic analysis is the first step any translator would do in the process of translation, here I would like to explore the concept of linguistic strategies in translation process. Such a view has led to a number of taxonomies which help to transfer a source text to a target text. Among many sources, examples can be found in Vinay and Darbelnet (1958), Catford (1965), Nida (1964), Malone (1988). Some of the taxonomies are very simple e.g. Nida’s, others are more complex and demanding. All of them take text language departure for strategic transfer. The most detailed taxonomy proposed by Chesterman (1997, p.92 - 115) who deals with linguistic strategies is classified by Chesterman as presented in his book Memes of Translation (1997, p.94) Syntactic strategies – literal translation, loan, calque, transposition, unit shift, phrase structure change, clause structure change, sentence structure change, cohesion change, level shift, scheme change

Semantic strategies – synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, converses, abstraction change, distribution change, emphasis change, paraphrase, trope change, other semantic changes

Pragmatic strategies – cultural filtering, explicitness change, information change, interpersonal change, ulocutionary change, coherence change, partial translation, visibility change, transeding, other semantic changes

This taxonomy is by no means rigid, but rather tentative and gives the theoretical base for my empirical research. Since the act of translation is primarily defined as language activity, my main focus is on syntactic strategies in the process of translation, more specifically I want to test students’ ability to recognize these strategies in a source text and then to show that this ability or disability affects the choice of linguistic means from language register when translating. In other words, I want to show how the theoretical knowledge of language system helps students to produce a high-quality translation.

4 Syntactic translation strategies and the notion of translation quality

Given its importance within the translation process, not only knowledge of language, but also knowledge about language has got a direct impact on translation product. This assumption has become the main rationale in my research activity.

The research design includes two research instruments– short questionnaire and text analysis. The first one is designed to obtain information about the subjects (translation training, professional experience, etc.) and their concept of translation. The second, (text analysis) reflects students’ text translation and range from quite general questions (text type) to specific ones e.g. the information from the subjects about the problems encountered, the strategies used to solve them and syntactic strategies they use when translating. So far there were only two considerable studies in this area. The first carried out in 1995 by D. Kiraly (1995, p. 72) was based on case studies where two different sets of research subjects (a group who had completed a translator training program of studies and had some experience as professional translators / professionals and a group who whose members were at the beginning of their program of studies / novices) were chosen. The task involved two simultaneous activities. The subjects were to translate the introductory text segment from a tourist brochure and to verbalize their thought while translating. A surprising result of the study was that there was no apparent difference between professional and novice translators in quality of product. Kiraly (1995, p. 107) as the most detailed, since his attempt was to classify the strategies on conceptual base. The classification he proposes comprises three primary groups of strategies – syntactical (grammatical), semantic and pragmatic. Chesterman’s classification is not firmly fixed, but it allows us to test that these groups overlap to some extent and that strategies of different types co-occur. In addition, Chesterman claims that these strategies “can be broken down into sub-groups in a variety of ways and many of the strategies have obvious subtypes.” (Chesterman, 1997, p. 93) All of them form a necessary minimum which helps the translator to shift the text from one language to another one with its syntactic, semantic and pragmatic qualities. Here is the classification by Chesterman as presented in his book Memes of Translation (1997, p.94) Syntactic strategies – literal translation, loan, calque, transposition, unit shift, phrase structure change, clause structure change, sentence structure change, cohesion change, level shift, scheme change

Semantic strategies – synonymy, antonymy, hyponymy, converses, abstraction change, distribution change, emphasis change, paraphrase, trope change, other semantic changes

Pragmatic strategies – cultural filtering, explicitness change, information change, interpersonal change, ulocutionary change, coherence change, partial translation, visibility change, transeding, other semantic changes.
studying translation in the fourth year of their professional training. (78 students together) The experimental tasks are the same for all the students and consist of:
1. the completion of the questionnaire to obtain information about the subject
2. the translation of one text from English to students'mother tongue / Slovak language
3. text analysis based on the syntactic strategies as proposed by Chesterman (1997)

As for the text for analysis, I take the text HEADS ROLL AT LAND FUND (The Slovak Spectator, Vol.14, No.2, str.1) as the source text for translation and text analysis. The subjects were told they had 100 minutes to finish translation and text analysis but were actually allowed to continue working until the task was completed. Considering the hypothesis in the research activity, the hypothesis can be formulated in the following way: students’ theoretical knowledge of linguistic system (syntactic structures) has got direct impact on the quality of their translation. Below are the research results of two research samples for task No. 3 in text analysis. Students were asked to recognize the following syntactic strategies in the text and to illustrate the use of strategy on a sentence example. Here are the research results and illustrative examples from text students used.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1</th>
<th>2nd year answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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a) transposition | 23 | 19 |
b) calque | 14 | 12 |
c) sentence structure change | 24 | 20 |
d) cohesion change | 16 | 13 |
e) clause structure change | 18 | 15 |
f) connector change | 17 | 14 |
g) others | 7 | 6 |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2</th>
<th>4th year answers</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
a) transposition | 27 | 22 |
b) calque | 17 | 14 |
c) sentence structure change | 25 | 21 |
d) cohesion change | 20 | 17 |
e) clause structure change | 17 | 14 |
f) connector change | 11 | 9 |
g) others | 4 | 3 |

**TRANSPOSITION**

3 – 45...were first reported in Slovak media... a prvom oznámení v slovenských médiách...
43 – 45...since the Fico administration took power in August 2006...od nástupu Róberta Fica na ministerské kreslo v auguste 2006...
10 – 11...land deals are now under investigation by the police...pozemkové zmluvy prešetruje policia...
50...which was confiscated from private owners...ktorých štát získal vyvlastňovaním

**CALQUE**

Line 3 – ruling coalition - vládna koalícia
51 – communist regime – komunistický režim

**COHESION CHANGE**

29 – 30 – the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) strana HZDS
34 – the Land Fund Scandal – Škandál

**SENTENCE STRUCTURE CHANGE**

Line 7 -12 – At its January 16 session, the cabinet removed all members of the Land Fund’s boards, including the man whose land deals are now under investigation by the police, former Land Fund Deputy Head Branislav Bríza. Na zasadnutí, ktoré sa konalo 16. januára, kabinet odvolal všetkých 19 členov Správnej rady Pozemkového fondu. Odvolali aj muža, ktorý je zodpovedný za prerozdelej pozemkov a v súčasnosti je jeho konaní v procese vyšetrovania. Ide o zástupcu bývalého riaditeľa Pozemkového Fondu – Branislava Brízu.
Line 24 – 30 According to unconfirmed reports, the board members appointed by Fico’s Smer Party and the Slovak National Party (SNS) had resigned the day before, putting pressure on the junior coalition partner, the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS), to follow suit. Podľa nepotvrdených zdrojov podali členovia rady, ktorí boli menovaní Ficovým Smerom a SNS svoje demisie už deň pred. Vyvinuli tak veľký tlak na svojho

**CLAUSE STRUCTURE CHANGE**

3 – ...were first reported...čo sa v slovenských médiách po prvýkrát objavili
7 –-...are under investigation by the police...práve vyšetruje policia...
47 – ...which was confiscated from private owners...z ktorých vášinu skonfiskovali súkromní vlastníci...

**CONNECTOR CHANGE**

Line 28 –...putting pressure on the junior coalition partner... a tým sa snažili prinútiť svojho mladšieho koaličného partnera...
43 –...sparking the worst government crisis since the Fico administration took power...a to vyvolalo doteraz najväčšiu krízu...

Although syntactic strategies primarily manipulate form, they indirectly correlate with pragmatic and semantic translation strategies, e.g. clause structure change can have indirect impact on information change. By this I mean either the addition of new (non-inferrable) information which is deemed to be relevant to the TT readership but which is not present in the ST, or the omission of ST information deemed to be irrelevant (cohesion change-ellipsis)

Coming back to clause structure change, one of the students’ task was to find examples for relative clauses
in the source text. I tried to test students’ ability to recognize this type of dependent clause in a source text and then to show that this ability or disability affects the choice of linguistic means from language register when translating and can influence information filtering. In the enclosed text are the following relative clauses: the man whose land deals are now under investigation by the police... (line 9-11) the board members appointed by Fico’s Smer Party and the Slovak National Party (SNS)... (line 25-26) and forest land, much of which was confiscated from private owners after the former communist regime took power in 1948. (line 49 - 52) The following tables and graphs state the proportion of correct-incorrect answers written by two comparative research samples. It is quite evident that 2-year school graders do not recognize all relative clauses in the analysed text in comparison with the fourth-year graders who are more successful.

### Table 3

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Answers:</th>
<th>2nd year</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) correct answers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) incorrect answers</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Comparing the translations themselves (look at the following students’ examples), we arrived at the following conclusion. Students who were no table to find at least one relative clause in text used mainly word-to-word translation, which seems to be unnatural in context.

... including the man whose land deals are now under investigation by the police, former Land Fund deputy Branislav Brizu... (line 9-11) is part of the bývalým Státnym zástupcom Branislavom Brízom, ktorého obchody s pozemkami momentálne vyšetruje... 

...vrátane osoby, ktorej prevody sú teraz vyšetrované policiou, pričom ide o zakladateľa fondu – Branislava Brízu...

...vrátane muža – predsedu Branislava Brízu, ktorého čímy okolo prevodu pôdy vyšetruje policia...

...vrátame bývalého zástupcu šéfa Pozemkového fondu Branchisa Brízu, ktorého obchody s pozemkami práve vyšetruje policia...

...vrátame muža, ktorého obchody s pozemkami sú vyšetrované policiou, bývalého námestníka šéfa Pozemkového Fondu, Branislava Brízu...

On the other hand, the following examples illustrate the text translation as proposed by those students who recognize all relative clauses in HEADS ROLL AT LAND FUND text.

...vrátame Branislava Brízu, ide o bývalého zástupcu šéfa pozemkového úradu. V súčasnosti jeho obchody s pozemkami prešetruje policia... - Odvolali aj Branislav Brízu, bývalého zástupcu šéfa Pozemkového Fondu. V súčasnosti je jeho konanie v procese vyšetrovania.

They, more or less, show sentence structure change, included are mainly changes between main clause and sub-clause status. The message itself becomes more natural, dynamic and related to its semantic and pragmatic qualities. Therefore, the following results confirm our preliminary assumptions - the theoretical knowledge about language is indirectly reflected in every translation product and refers to dominant position of source text in translation activities. Kiraly (2000, p. 150) takes source text as “a fallible artifact, a tentative product of communicative intentionality that will initiate students’ research, translation and text production work.” In my view, the source text itself (its structure and form) initiate a high quality translation of it.

Being aware of the text structure and form are important conditions for a translator to create a relevant text in the process of translation, since the quality of a source text indirectly reflects the quality of translation.

### 5 Conclusion

In the present paper, I made my attempt to enlighten the impact of linguistic knowledge-competence on the process and product of translation. It is of crucial importance for the translator before translating the text to realize and fully recognize its syntactic qualities in context. Full understanding of the text depends also on some other factors as contextual relations, information processing, ...etc., but I view syntactic analysis as the first and starting point for text comprehension. The presented research results belong to more complex and demanding research on linguistic competence in translation studies. Linguistic competence as the underlying knowledge of language system helps students to be aware of theoretical aspects of language in practical usage, in other words makes their performance – translating reliable and procedural.

### References

Acquiring Pragmatic Competence in a Foreign Language – Mastering Dispreferred Speech Acts

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Abstract
Pragmatic competence as a teaching goal has doubtless assumed an important role in most modern foreign language curricula. The ability to “do things with words” (Austin, 1962) in an L2 successfully, i.e., in a way that is culturally acceptable by the target language community and that does not cause any “cross-cultural pragmatic failure” (Thomas, 1983), has become one of the primary goals of modern language teaching. Similar to other levels of language instruction such as grammar, lexis, phonology etc., the pragmatic domain holds aspects that are easier to acquire while others may prove more difficult to master for the language learner. This article deals with the dispreferred speech act of disagreeing as an example of the more challenging features of pragmatic competence in the foreign language classroom. It presents empirical findings and derives conclusions for sensible and well-informed language instruction.

Keywords
Pragmatic competence, speech acts

Pragmatic Competence in the L2
For several decades now, linguists and language teachers alike have been aware of the importance of pragmatic competence, or pragmatic proficiency, in L2 development and instruction. As early as in the 1970s, Paulston (1977) concluded that mastery of the social usage of a language is equally important as mastery of the linguistic forms in order to be a proficient and successful L2 speaker, and researchers have until today not ceased to stress the importance of pragmatic skills in achieving mastery of an L2.

Probably one of the most crucial aspects of L2 pragmatic competence is the fact that it does not necessarily develop parallel to lexicogrammatical proficiency (e.g., Kasper, 2001; Alcón-Soler, 2002). In fact, “L2 learners often develop grammatical competence in the absence of concomitant pragmatic competence” (Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998, p. 233), giving rise to communicative failure on high-intermediate and even advanced proficiency levels. As Davies (2004) lucidly put it, pragmatic failure is not only to “commit [...] a grammatical but a social error” (p. 208), which is often more severe and less likely to be forgiven than a solely language-related error (e.g., Thomas, 1983; Bardovi-Harlig & Dörnyei, 1998; Zamborlin, 2007; Hwang, 2008).

What these observations imply, then, is the necessity of focused pragmatic instruction as well as the inclusion of pragmatic proficiency in language testing alongside lexicogrammatical proficiency, the latter of which is still largely ignored even in places where pragmatic competence has been incorporated in the teaching curriculum (Jienda, 2007, p. 391). Thus, imparting knowledge about and raising awareness of pragmatic aspects and strategies (e.g., García, 2004; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005; Rose, 1994; Ghobadi & Fahim, 2009), working effectively with authentic, sufficiently large and comprehensible input (e.g., Takahashi, 2001; Alcón-Soler, 2005; Takimoto, 2009), providing opportunities for output and practice (e.g., VanPatten, 2003; Fukuya & Martínez-Flor, 2008), and giving adequate feedback (e.g., Ohta, 2005; Takimoto, 2006) need to be central features of successful L2 teaching and testing. The present paper hopes to make a modest contribution to the knowledge in this field by providing research results and teaching implications on the speech act of disagreement in EFL/ESL.

Dispreferred Speech Acts
The notion of speech acts is a widely accepted approach to the pragmatic analysis of language. It is rooted in the view that most human utterances can be regarded as actions fulfilling certain functions to reach certain goals (e.g., Searle, 1969; Thomas, 1995). Levinson (1983) was one of the first scholars to suggest a distinction between preferred and dispreferred speech acts. This distinction is based on considerations of markedness, or expectedness (e.g., Battistella, 1996), and it views dispreferred speech acts as acts which are not conform to the hearer’s (H’s) expectations in a given situation. This is, however, not to be understood in terms of any sort of ‘personal preferences’ on the part of an individual hearer, but rather in terms of the degree of conformity with the target culture’s general norms, or ‘default settings’, in a given situation (Levinson, 1983, p. 307; Yule, 1996, p. 79).

While Levinson explicitly rejects any psychological implications of the term ‘dispreferred’ in the sense of a “speaker’s or hearer’s individual preferences” (Levinson, 1983, p. 307), I would like to argue that, specifically in the foreign language context, a speech act that does not conform with the target culture’s general expectations in a given situation is more likely to induce feelings of social pressure and unease than expected, preferred speech acts. This view is corroborated by Levinson’s rule for speech production, “Try to avoid the dispreferred action” (ibid., p. 333) and discussions of individual speech acts by various scholars. In her analysis of turn-taking with agreement and disagreement, for instance, Anita Pomerantz notices that disagreement is generally perceived by native speakers of English as the undesired or dispreferred reaction of the speech act pair (Pomerantz, 1984). Elsewhere, dispreferred speech acts have been described as causing feelings of discomfort (e.g., García, 1989, pp. 314f).

Regardless of whether the attribute ‘dispreferred’ is perceived in a more systemic sense as ‘marked’ or in a more emotional sense as ‘undesired’, it is certainly safe to note that dispreferred speech acts are more complex and challenging than their preferred counterparts: With dispreferred speech acts, careful and sensitive
negotiation is necessary, resulting in more linguistic “material” (Levinson, 1983, p. 333) and thus a higher degree of structural complexity (ibid, p. 307). As Yule (1996) observes, “when participants have to produce (...) responses that are dispreferred, they indicate that they are doing something very marked.” (p. 80). For language learners, this means that they not only need to produce a sufficient amount of linguistic output (quantity), but also that this output needs to adhere to target-language and target-culture norms (quality) in order to be felicitous.

The following examples, which contrast the preferred speech act of agreement with the dispreferred speech act of disagreement, illustrate the difference in complexity and thus degree of challenge for the language learner.

**Agreement:**
Speaker A: Isn’t he cute?
Speaker B: Oh, he’s adorable.
(Pomerantz, 1984, p. 65)

**Disagreement:**
Speaker A: ... a sense of humor, I think it’s something you’re born with.
Speaker B: Yeah. Or it’s... I have the... uh yes, I think a lot of people are, but then I think it can be developed too.
(Pomerantz, 1984, pp. 73f)

Often, the two obstacles of quantity and quality are so high for language learners that they choose to opt out of performing certain speech acts in part or altogether. More specifically, non-native speakers have been reported to resort to the infelicitous communication strategies of message reduction, message replacement, or message abandonment (e.g., Pearson, 1986; Willems, 1987; Dörnyei & Scott, 1997; Nakatani, 2006; Brown, 2008). This observation shows that research on the acquisition of proficiency in dispreferred speech acts is urgently needed – not only by the academic community, but also by ESL/EFL instructors, interlanguage coaches, and language service providers in general.

**A Case in Point: Expressing Disagreement in EFL/ESL**

One of the dispreferred speech acts that have not yet received much scholarly attention is the speech act of disagreement. Based on the above-made remarks, it is quite obvious to see why disagreement would, at least in most everyday encounters, normally qualify as the dispreferred option. Used to save H’s face and/or to express solidarity with H, agreement seems much more dispreferred option. Used to save H’s face and/or to express solidarity with H, agreement seems much more.

This often gives rise to situations in which the respective speakers are perceived as harsh, too direct, or even rude (e.g., Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Nakajima, 1997; Bell, 1998). Be it because they are aware of this effect or simply insecure, language learners have, moreover, been observed to frequently fall back on the already-mentioned mechanisms of opting out of any disagreement expression, i.e., they used message reduction or abandonment due to insufficient linguistic & strategic communication resources (e.g., Beebe & Takahashi, 1989; Bardovi-Harlig, 1999).

**Adding to the Knowledge Base: Comparing NS and NNS via DTCs**

**Research Aims and Methodology**

Based on these features reported in the literature, the disagreement utterances of 27 NS and 27 NNS were analyzed. The NS sample consisted of 9 male and 18 female participants, all of whom were American college students. The NNS sample contained 18 female and 9 male participants as well, who were ESL learners from ten different countries. They were college students in the US, taking part in preparatory ESL courses with the goal of passing the TOEFL to be admitted to regular college courses. Their English language proficiency ranged at intermediate according to the ACTFL proficiency guidelines.

The study was motivated by two major research questions, viz.

(a) How do NS and NNS vary in their use of the features of disagreement expression reported in the literature?

(b) Which, if any, additional characteristics of native and non-native expressions of disagreement can be detected?

In order to elicit disagreement speech act data, the participants were given questionnaires containing ten Discourse Completions Tasks (DCTs). DCTs are written descriptions of social scenarios closing with a Conversational Turn to which the participants are asked to supply the response they would give in this situation. In addition, for each situation the option “I wouldn’t say anything” was provided, and the participants were given the option to comment on the situation or on the
answer. As English was not the participants’ native language, the wording of the questionnaire was kept rather simple in order to minimize data distortion caused by incomprehensible input. All ten scenarios reflected everyday situations of the friendly encounter type; i.e., none of them explicitly aimed at dispute. The following table provides an overview of the ten situations, including the Conversational Turns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scenario No.</th>
<th>Situation</th>
<th>Conversational Turn to which participants were asked to reply</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>A friend, Josh, is about to buy an ugly sweater. Another friend, Janet, is encouraging him.</td>
<td>“You have to buy that sweater! It looks so good on you!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>During a class discussion, a classmate claims that the US has 52 states.</td>
<td>no explicit turn, but description of the situation provided</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>A teacher suggests a method for a research project, which the student has already tried with no success.</td>
<td>“What do you think of my idea? I think you should try it!”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>The roommate wrongly claims that it is the participant’s turn to clean the apartment.</td>
<td>“You know that you have to clean this coming weekend, right?”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>On vacation with a friend, Sharon, the participant wants to go to the beach, but Sharon suggests going to the museum.</td>
<td>“I think we should go to the museum today.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>A friend, Brian, has cooked dinner, which does not taste very good. After the meal, he mentions cooking this dish for his girlfriend’s parents to impress them.</td>
<td>“I think I should cook this meal for my girlfriend’s parents on the weekend. They will be impressed and like me more.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>The landlord wrongly informs the participant that this month’s rent hasn’t been paid yet.</td>
<td>“You haven’t paid your rent for this month yet.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>A friend, Bob, is driving, and the participant knows that they have to turn right at the next intersection, but Bob wants to turn left.</td>
<td>“I am turning left here. I think that’s the shortest way.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>The participant has enjoyed a movie very much, but their friend utters a very different opinion.</td>
<td>“That movie was so boring, and I think the actors did not act well at all.”</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>The participant is about to receive a fail grade due to a missing assignment, which had, however, been turned in on time.</td>
<td>“I’m sorry, but you’ll get an ‘F’ because you didn’t hand in your homework.”</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Overview of DCT scenarios.

Results

**Message-level features: Message Abandonment and Mitigation**

The participants’ responses were analyzed in a first step with regard to use of mitigation and message abandonment. In other words, it was noted for each response whether disagreement was expressed at all and whether at least one mitigational device was used. The following chart (Figure 1) displays the respective results for both NS and NNS in comparison. It has to be noted that four of the NNS responses had to be discarded for the analysis since they did not display verbatim responses as requested but merely metalinguistic descriptions of the respective reaction.

Figure 1: Message abandonment and lack of mitigation (cf. Kreutel, 2007²).

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² This paper is a continuation of the work I started in Kreutel (2007). For a more detailed discussion of the results, see the original publication.
Much in line with previous findings, the results show that the NNS did indeed employ fewer of the features associated with native-like disagreement expression. They chose to opt out of the speech act almost twice as often as the NS sample, and their unmitigated reactions outnumbered those of the native speakers by about two thirds.

What is even more interesting than sheer numbers and percentages, however, are the types of situations in which the participants chose to opt out of disagreeing. Interestingly, we find message abandonment for the NS participants in situations 1, 2 and 6. These are situations in which nothing is at stake for the speaker but in which disagreement might hurt H’s feelings needlessly. This impression is corroborated by comments the participants provided when they opted out: “not worth making a scene” or “It depends on how I well I know Josh.”

For the NNS, on the other hand, we find message abandonment across all ten situations, including those where not expressing one’s difference of opinion may result in considerable disadvantages such as having to pay the rent twice (situation 7) or receiving a low grade (situation 10). Interestingly, some NS also commented on these situations, illustrating the need for conveying their intentions clearly: “I will speak up when it comes to something like money” or “I have no problem speaking my mind when it comes to something this important.” It thus seems that a central variable in performing disagreement is size of stake: comparable to the variable size of imposition widely accepted and repeatedly validated for the speech act of requesting (e.g., Brown & Levinson, 1987, Fukushima, 1996; Taguchi, 2007). In addition, this finding underscores the importance of equipping language learners with the necessary pragmalinguistic tools and confidence required to successfully ‘stick up’ for themselves and defend their standpoints, especially where they risk being taken advantage of.

### Surface-level features

In the second step of the analysis, the remaining response features under investigation were counted in each valid response as each answer could contain more than one surface-level feature and/or more than one instance of one and the same feature. For the NNS, a total of 306 features were counted while the NS had used 400 features. Figure 2 shows the distribution of the nativelike and non-nativelike features of disagreement realization for the two subsamples.

![Figure 2: Distribution of nativelike and non-nativelike features of disagreement expression (cf. Kreutel, 2007).](image)

As the graph shows, the data confirms general impressions reported in the literature, i.e., features associated with non-nativelike disagreement expression were used more frequently by the NNS sample and vice versa. In two cases, however, the present study deviates from previous findings, namely with regard to token agreement and expressions of regret. In both categories, the language learners surpassed the native speakers, but the fact that expressions of regret were not used by the NS at all requires a separate treatment of the two features.

For token agreement, we find that the NNS used this feature roughly 1.5 times as much as the NS, a difference which did, however, not show any acceptable statistical significance and could thus have occurred randomly. Yet, it is interesting to see that NS seem to master this feature of disagreement expression relatively well even though it is not possible to conclude from the data at hand whether it is a feature the participants transferred from their L1 or whether the learners oversused an L2 feature they had already acquired. In any case, token agreement did not seem to pose a challenge to the non-native speakers examined here.

Expressions of regret are insofar interesting as no native speaker made use of them whatsoever. A closer analysis of the NNS responses showed that their expressions of regret exclusively consisted of I’m sorry – an apologetic expression often misused by EFL/ESL learners (Hwang, 2008). I have already suggested in Kreutel (2007) that the fact that this feature was not used by the native speakers might indicate “that this expression of reverence may be inappropriate when it comes to disagreement, indicating that a differing opinion is not necessarily a failure the speaker needs to apologize for” (p. 10) and that learners need to be made aware that this feature “may lead to the disagreement not being taken seriously by the listener” (ibid.).

Overall, hedges, explanations and requests for clarification were the features most frequently...
employed—both by NS and NNS, thus confirming previous research findings. In addition to these numerical findings, I would like to point to one interesting aspect of the hedging realizations used by the native speakers, namely the indication of pauses. As explained in a previous section, the DCTs require the writer to write their responses down rather than actually utter them orally. One major criticism of DCTs is therefore that they are not able to record suprasegmental features. However, a closer examination of the hedging devices employed showed that many of the native speakers made use of three periods (…), indicating pauses in their speech. It thus seems that the native speakers felt compelled to express pauses even though the medium did not allow for it and they had to resort to a non-oral means to do so. Although this is only a marginal observation which was not primarily aimed at in the present study and which needs to be backed up by more systematic research using oral data, it corroborates previous studies maintaining that pauses and hesitation are crucial features of disagreement in English.

Additional findings

The second research question aimed at the detection of additional features of disagreement expression, i.e., features not reported in the literature. Two aspects appeared to be very salient in the data, namely use of suggestions and a ‘sandwich pattern’ of mitigation.

Both NS and NNS used suggestions to either replace or accompany their disagreement, as for instance: NS: “How about go to the restaurant? I know there is a good restaurant.” (Situation 6); NS: “Oh really? I thought I did. Let me call the bank to see if the check has cleared.” (Situation 7).

Non-native users used this feature 49 times while native speakers used it in 69 cases, making it the second most frequently used device in the NS data. It is, therefore, surprising that this strategy of redress has been largely ignored by the literature on disagreement, especially since it seems a logical means of softening the dispreferred reaction by demonstrating willingness to cooperate and to avoid or solve the arising conflict. A possible explanation might be that suggestions are considered speech acts in their own right and neglected as constituents of other speech acts—although, admittedly, the question then arises why other speech acts such as giving explanations and making positive remarks (complimenting etc.) have been covered in the literature on disagreement.

The second additional finding concerned the sequencing of mitigation. It was observed that many NNS responses appeared harsh and impolite even though they did contain mitigation. A closer analysis of the data revealed that this rude effect resulted from the fact that the mitigational devices were only used after the disagreement had already been uttered—whereas NS usually started their utterances with one or several mitigational devices (e.g., Situation 9: “Really? Why? I, actually, thought it was good.”), pointing to a major qualitative difference between NS and NNS responses that goes unnoticed when counting occurrences only. What is more, most of the NS used mitigation not only at the beginning of their utterances, but also at the end, resulting in a sandwich pattern in which the dispreferred speech act is enfolded by preferred reactions (e.g., Situation 2: “Oh, I thought I read it was only 50. Maybe I’m wrong. I’ll have to check again.”; Situation 9: “Oh, I kinda liked it. Don’t know what that says about me though!”). The frequent occurrence in the baseline data seems to justify its classification as nativelike, and it is suggested that is should be added to the list of common features of disagreement expression in English.

Teaching Implications

The findings presented here support the demand for pragmatic instruction voiced unanimously by the research community. Focused teaching of disagreement strategies is essential to empower learners to express and defend their opinions appropriately when necessary. By equipping their students with successful strategies and tools as well as knowledge and awareness, teachers will strengthen the learners’ overall social competence and thus enable social integration (Kasper, 1997; Alcón-Soler, 2002; Davies, 2004; Kolke & Pearson, 2005).

I would like to look at three aspects that play a role in planning instruction of disagreement strategies, viz. (a) knowledge/awareness, (b) input, and (c) selection of features to teach with regard to the speech act of disagreement. This list is certainly not exhaustive and more aspects may be added, but it is doubtless safe to say that all of these three areas are vital aspects of curriculum development and lesson planning.

In terms of (a) knowledge/awareness, it is indispensable to impart information about target culture conventions and where possible in comparison to the students’ culture(s) as well as about typical NNS mistakes (e.g., Kasper, 1997; Bardovi-Harlig & Griffin, 2005). Studies have repeatedly shown that “adult learners rely on universal or L1 based pragmatic knowledge” (Kasper, 2001, p. 511), in other words, they by default transfer their L1 conventions and judgments to L2 encounters. This automatism can only be disrupted and overridden where learners are conscious of target-culture conventions and differences between what they are used to and what the L2 community views as appropriate. This claim is supported by studies about learners’ perceptions of speech acts, which have shown that learners do not automatically recognize the illocutionary force behind a given utterance but do, in fact, need to be explicitly taught and made aware (e.g., Garcia, 2004; Holtgraves, 2007). What is more, explicit teaching activities have been found to be more successful than mere exposure to positive evidence (Martínez-Flor & Alcón-Soler, 2007, p. 49; Takahashi, 2001). With regard to disagreement, relevant results of the study presented here may be the role of mitigation in disagreeing, the size of stake, the use of explanations and suggestions, the ‘sandwich pattern of mitigation’ as well as the inappropriateness of apologies (“I’m sorry”). By not only presenting these features per se but also providing reasons for their usage in terms of social functions and effects on the hearer, instructors will have a variety of opportunities to impart information about target culture conventions and expectations, thereby raising general pragmatic awareness in their learners.

The role of (b) input has received extensive attention on various levels, and researchers largely agree that input not only has to be comprehensible, rich, and sufficiently challenging (e.g., Krashen, 1980; White, 1987; VanPatten & Leeser, 2006) but also needs to be used effectively to enhance learner proficiency (Takahashi, 2001; Alcón-Soler, 2005; Takimoto, 2009). Here I would like to focus on the aspect of authenticity of input for the teaching of disagreement strategies. Lamentably, various studies in the field have reported that commercial teaching resources either largely neglect pragmatic skills (e.g., Faucette, 2001) or display huge gaps between authentic language use and the language material presented (Pearson, 1986; Burdine, 2001; Hwang, 2008). Among other things, textbooks tend to present spoken utterances as some form of flawless scripted passages consisting of complete sentences, lacking features of negotiation and insecurity (Wajuzy, 1997; Bouton, 1996; Gilmore, 2004; Hwang, 2008) as well as information about the situational and social contexts of the interactions (Schmidt, 1994; Boxer &
natural disagreement found in the data are relevant for other speech acts as well, which means that at the end of the day, students would have received a rather comprehensive training of their oral skills rather than learned about one single speech act only.

Mitigational devices and strategies are a case in point. Hedging, pausing, requests for clarification etc. can be easily demonstrated and practiced and will come in useful for a range of other dispreferred speech acts as well since they generally 'soften the impact of negative statements' (Tannen, 1993, p. 28). Moreover, the sandwich pattern of mitigation observed here as a formulaic feature is a phenomenon that should be easily accessible in authentic texts, and once made aware of it, learners can detect similar instances themselves and try to emulate them in their own speech production, thus profiting from data-driven learning (Johns, 1991). Token Agreement as a specific form of turn-initial disagreement mitigation has been frequently reported in the literature and confirmed in the data presented here (both for NS and NNS), which justifies and encourages its inclusion in the list of relevant features to teach, especially since its formulaic character makes it an 'easily teachable' item. In addition, explanations and suggestions were used frequently in the baseline data. Since they are also speech acts in their own right, covering these in the frame of disagreement instruction automatically entails an effective reinforcement of these pragmatic skills as well.

Out of the features just explained, hedges, requests for clarification and token agreement were not only high-frequency items in the baseline data, but they were mostly realized by a set of relatively fixed expressions, which I would like to call surface realizations. Table 2 lists the surface realizations of hedges, clarification requests, and token agreement found most frequently in the NS data.

### Table 2: Surface realizations of NS disagreement expression.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Strategy</th>
<th>Surface Realization (no. of instances)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Hedges</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(total: 161 instances)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I think&quot; / &quot;I thought&quot;</td>
<td>(57)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;actually&quot;</td>
<td>(28)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;maybe&quot;</td>
<td>(23)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I'm (pretty) sure/positive/certain that&quot;</td>
<td>(18)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;well&quot;</td>
<td>(16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Requests for Clarification</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(total: 66 instances)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Really?&quot;</td>
<td>(29)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;Are you sure?&quot;</td>
<td>(10)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Token agreement</strong></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(total: 19 instances)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I have actually tried something similar, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;That sounds/seem good/like a nice idea, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;It's/would be alright/okay/prett good, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I could try it, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I thought the same thing, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot;I like your idea, but...&quot;</td>
<td>(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As the table shows, the relevant surface realizations are neither structurally complicated nor lexically challenging, thus being suitable for lower proficiency levels as well as for advanced learners. Given sufficient attention, they should be relatively easy to teach and to learn, and considering that they covered the largest portion of devices used by the NS participants, their inclusion in the teaching syllabus seems not only justified, but also highly promising.

### Conclusion

The mastery of dispreferred speech acts is a considerable but unavoidable challenge for any language learner who aims to be truly proficient in the foreign language. As the example of disagreement discussed here shows, learners need to be equipped with felicitous skills and strategies to carry out dispreferred speech acts successfully - not only to forestall 'social errors', but also to be able to defend themselves where necessary and to avoid being taken advantage of.

In the empirical study of disagreement speech act data from 27 native and 27 non-native speakers presented here, the following features of nativelike disagreement realization transpired as beneficial aspects to be included in ESL/EFL teaching:

- awareness-raising:
  - size of stake
  - the role of mitigation
- features to be included:
  - the sandwich pattern of mitigation
  - token agreement
  - hedging
  - pausing
  - requests for clarification
  - suggestions
- explanations

It is hoped that these results and suggestions qualify as a small step on the way to meeting the research community's demand that teaching resources cover
authentic language material and thus be informed by empirical research, but it goes without saying that much more research on dispreferred speech acts is needed to provide language instructors, curriculum developers, and textbook creators with concrete aspects and items to consider and incorporate in their work.

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Paper presented at the Japan Association Language Teachers' International Conference on Language Teaching and Learning, Hamamatsu, Japan.


Prevalent Approaches in Modern Brand Names and Preliminary Classification of Brands

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Abstract
The vast number of brands, brand names and trademarks surrounding our everyday existence poses practical questions not only in our daily decision-making, but also in language and mental processing/understanding of brands. Brands have integrated into our language as linguistic tokens for products and services. The aim of my paper is to have a brief look at brand names from a linguistic viewpoint and, based on my observations, present an elementary classification of brand names.

Keywords
Brand names, branding, semiotics, semantics, classification of brand names

Introduction
The present paper evolves from my personal involvement in teaching Business English and other linguistic subjects dealing with semantics and word formation. It was also inspired by a short dictionary of brand names, which I managed to put together in 2006 and 2007. The main focus of the dictionary was to capture and present the pronunciation of major brand names. However, it also triggered the idea to classify brand names from a semantic viewpoint.

Brands and brand names have become one of the key components of modern society and business. According to Aaker (1991), “a brand is a distinguishing name and/or symbol (such as a logo, trademark, or package design) intended to identify the goods or services of either one seller or a group of sellers, and to differentiate these goods from those of competitors”. Gossen and Gresham (2001) define branding as the process of identifying or creating, and then exploiting, sustainable competitive advantage. It is obvious that brands have a major impact on sales, business promotion, raising corporate awareness, corporate policies and last not least, the customers who make their everyday shopping choices based on what they see and what particular brands they prefer. The average number of brands in a supermarket went up from 20,000 in 1990 to over 32,000 in 2002. In hypermarkets, the situation is even more appalling and inevitable effect on how people interpret and what particular brands they prefer.

According to Carter (1990), the basic functions of brands are: (1) exclusive identification of the commercial origin or provenance of products or services serving as a ‘badge of origin’, (2) distinctive signs or indicators used by individuals, business organizations or other legal entity to identify that the products and services originate from a unique source and to distinguish its products or services from others, (3) impression that a brand associated with a product or service possesses certain qualities or characteristics that make it special or unique, (4) description of written or spoken linguistic elements of any product, (5) reduction of consumer search costs by making products and producers easier to identify in the marketplace. We can see that brand names have specific pragmatics purposes that help people identify a product, single out its distinctive features and properties, make the product stand out against competitive products, make people believe (in a justified or unjustified way) that certain products possess inherent qualities, describe the product and reduce the efforts customers must exert in order to locate and identify the product. As we will see later, these functions are also the basic underlying principles behind brands and brand names.

From a historical perspective, brands started to be widely used in the 19th century due to industrialization and the coming of packed goods. These products were produced in centralized factories, which required the products to be labeled with the respective logo or insignia, effectively meeting the second function of brands as stipulated by Carter. Modern branding started in the post-war era. It was mainly connected with the belief that customers could take ownership of a brand (numerous sports companies promoted this very concept), unique selling propositions (products became customized, as was the case of luxury cars like Maybach), emotional attachment to brands and products (e.g. the recent Twitter group demanding the comeback of ‘Blind’, a popular teddy bear introduced by IKEA years ago, see http://twitter.com/wealloveblind). However, after roughly 100 years of brand development and use, branding analysts like Jonathan Salem Baskin feel that there is a general sentiment of decline in branding. In other words, brands are becoming ‘empty vessels’. “Sure, branding may be more common, apparent, colorful, loud, and wider than ever before, but it accomplishes less, almost in inverse proportion to the invention behind it ... We can see that we use the word ‘brand’ to mean nothing more than a ‘name’ or an identifier” (Baskin, 2008). This problem is apparently not only connected to sales and branding from a business perspective; it is also becoming a linguistic and semantic issue. The basic question here is to what degree a brand can ‘inform’ in modern advertising, or, what the ultimate purpose of brand names is in terms of their psychology and linguistic use.

Psychology and inventiveness
To better understand the linguistic properties of brands, let us have a short look at the psychological effects of branding. According to Chiaravalle and Schenk (2007), brands are “promises that consumers believe in”. Brands are also understood as belief systems. It follows that there is a very strong...
psychological link between what a product is, what it does and with kind of promises we inherently connect to it. However, it is also apparent that such a strong psychological link is very seldom expressed linguistically when naming the product or brand. This is particularly possible due to the great number of existing brands and brand names. A theoretical question can be asked in this respect: can we ever invent something new in branding? As proposed by Chiaravalle and Schenck, new businesses and products increasingly go by invented names instead of by known words. More than three million U.S. trademarks are already registered, so any marketer who wants to protect a new name practically needs to create a never-before seen word in order to succeed. By way of example, 99 percent of all words in English are already reserved as Internet addresses and are therefore unavailable to new marketers. (Chiaravalle, Schenck, 2007). Consequently, a large number of new submissions must be filed with never-before-seen names. This means a very important thing to the advertiser: it is evidently possible to invent something new; the advertisers need not fully rely on old language material and attribute new meanings to it. The other approach an advertiser can take is to use ‘old’ language material, i.e. the use of existing items in the lexicon. In order to succeed as good brands, it takes a lot of effort to promote such brands just due to their general hypernymical properties. Furthermore, such an attribution of brand name meaning to general objects usually results in ambiguity (e.g. Apple), unclear reference (e.g. escalator), metaphoricity (e.g. Puma) and generalization of brand names (e.g. kerosene, coke).

A semantic and semiotic perspective

In order to better understand the logic of branding and brand names, let us have a brief look at some basic semantic and semiotic concepts that can help us explain the concept of using a name as a symbol. Semiotics, the study of use of symbols and signs, can be defined as “a domain of investigation that explores the nature and function of signs as well as the systems and processes underlying signification, expression, representation, and communication” (Perron, 1994). Similar definitions were presented by the founding fathers of semantics: Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (1857-1913), American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce (1839-1914), and I.A. Richards and Charles Ogden. According to Beebe’s (2004) classification, in the functional approach, the semioticians define the sign not ontologically, but rather practically. “A sign is something which stands to somebody for something in some respect or capacity.” (Pierce). The structural approach sets forth that no element of experience is meaningful in itself. Meaning arises only in the structural relations or, more precisely, in the structural oppositions among elements. The all-embracing universal approach states that semiotics conceives of human language as the archetype for all objects and cultural sign systems, it pervades everything ranging from language, painting, architecture, urban space, advertising and fashion to consumerism and consumption (Beebe, 2004). Given the above approaches to signs, we can agree that brand names and trademarks exhibit at least some of the features ascribed to signs in semiotics, namely: (1) a brand name stands for what it is and what it does, (2) it defines itself in contrast to other elements and (3) it is expressed through human language as its primary carrier.

From a semantic viewpoint, the problem can be looked at in terms of the double sided sign model or the semantic triangle. De Saussure proposes that the linguistic sign is a double-entity formed by the relation between a signifier (sound, visual experience etc.) and signified (mental idea, concept). The signifier and signified are arbitrary, with no inherent natural connection (De Saussure, 2006). On the other hand, Pierce and Richards propose the existence of three elements of meaning: term (signified), object (referent) and word (signifier). Denotation describes the intentional and intrinsic relation between the signifier and signified. The value of each meaning (or brand name) is, however, defined on the horizontal intersign and extrinsic level, which includes the physical object into the meaning equation. Meaning then becomes a result of amalgamating the denotative, referential and cognitive relations between terms, objects and words and their individual overlays and overlappings. Such units of meaning have a natural problem explaining themselves, or standing ‘on their own’ outside context. De Saussure commented the situation very aptly: “In a given language, all the words which express neighboring ideas help define one another’s meaning. Each of a set of synonyms like to dread, to fear, to be afraid has its particular value only because they stand in contrast with one another. If dread did not exist, its content would be shared out among its competitors.”. So the value of any given word is determined by what other words there are in that particular area of the vocabulary” (De Saussure, 2006). This problem is ever so true in branding. We can conclude that both semantics and semiotics strive to maintain and analyze meaning behind the linguistic label for brand names from the perspective of theoretical meaning and semiotics from the perspective of signs. A very daring series of questions that can be asked at this point: Do trademarks/brands stand for anything? Do they define themselves in terms of linguistic contrast as indicated above? Do they possess and convey denotative/connoteative/referential/pragmatic/logical etc. meaning? Is their primary purpose to MEAN anything? When United Colors of Benetton presents graphic images of war, fire, disease, race, what is the purpose of such presentation? Is it to develop the meaning of the trademark/brand (i.e. to make a clear semantic link between their company and e.g. graphic violence) or to develop the sign value of their brand (i.e., for example, contrast with other manufacturers)?

Analysis

The analyzed sample contained 192 brand names. The brand names were taken from a wide variety of heterogeneous sources, namely business directories (www.yahoo.com), brand name lists, newspapers etc. This array of brand names was further subdivided by topic into a number of general categories (cars, perfumes and cosmetics, electronics, computers and IT, apparel, musical instruments, tools and hardware, food, watches and jewelry, industry, financial, miscellaneous) and analyzed inductively, leading to the identification of
the following prevalent semantic categories. The identification of categories was purely inductive and it largely depended on the available data (leaving an open end for further research). The following list of brand names and categories is by no means exhaustive. Also, some brands could be classified within more categories.

1. Overt and covert promise

Some brands put the brand promise into the brand name. This way, they do not intend to employ the customer’s inference skills but they rather rely on a direct transfer of message, i.e. a direct representation of what the brand stands for into the brand name. This method is the most straightforward way to convey the message behind the brand.

**HELLP, s.r.o. a private Slovak healthcare provider**

**Health Energy Potion - sports drink**

**Whisker Biscuit - bow arrow rest**

It is remarkable that many advertisers tend to proceed in this very direction even though the brand itself oftentimes lacks wit, ambiguity, interplay of meaning, metaphoricity etc. A certain variation of this approach can be seen in old Czechoslovak communist advertising and product naming, in which the advertisers apparently did not bother to invent fancy names for products. The products were branded (and advertised) directly: **Mléko, Včelí med, Vajcia, Klenoty Praha.** Sometimes, the manufacturers also included technical properties of the product directly into its name, e.g. **Toaletní papír nekrepovaný, or Obvazová vata skládaná.**

From a linguistic viewpoint a parallel can be drawn between this approach and denotation. Denotative meaning is the relation between the linguistic sign and its referent irrespective to context and situation. It is the basic nucleus of meaning, the basic dictionary meaning, it can be also termed as explicit, direct meaning without associations, referring directly to extralingual reality. Denotation happens between a lexeme and a set of extralingual objects, persons, things, places external to the language system. Lyons defines the denotation of a lexeme as “the relation/ship that holds between that lexeme and persons, things, places, properties, processes and activities external to the language system” (Lyons 1977. 207). This means that from a pragmatic viewpoint, the advertiser using the overt promise approach wants to make sure he is understood by the customers no matter what the circumstances bring. Such a blatant linguistic presentation of the promise results.

In the covert promise approach, the brands imply the promise that customers can count on through names that are completely consistent with the benefits they deliver.

**Slovenský um: the Slovak rebranding of rum, promising wisdom to the consumer.**

**Full Throttle: energy drink**

**Victoria’s Secret: stylish lingerie**

**Carefree: feminine hygiene products**

**Hotmail: email available all around the world**

This approach can already be described as partially metaphoric/motivated since it employs properties other than just pure denotative referencing. According to Jackson (Jackson, 2000), connotations constitute additional properties of lexemes, e.g. poetic, slang, baby language, biblical, casual, colloquial, formal, humorous, legal, literary, rhetorical. This means that the brand name / product name and the promise involved in it already invokes connotations in the customers’ minds.

2. Perseverance and tradition

Another semantic property that can be traced in many brand names or product names is consistency, perseverance and tradition. This approach intends to invoke the durability of a product/brand, its perseverance on the market despite all odds and its long tradition. It exemplifies the commitment of the brand to comply with the promise it delivers.

**Google** – the “oooooo” factor in Google is often interpreted as its long tradition or vast amounts of information it stores.

**Continua** – Slovak trading company, long presence on the market

This concept, although not explicitly expressed through the brand name, is the key component of many commercial and advertising strategies of companies like **Starbucks** (coffee everywhere, established brand), Disney (making people happy, creating a happy family life, involvement in every aspect of family entertainment), **Mercedes** (luxury cars for more than a century, innovation and tradition etc.) etc. It can also be partly perceived in area of online/software business, where the tradition is not very long due to the very age of the technology. Yet, companies like Microsoft, Yahoo, Google, Ebay, Amazon etc. have established themselves as traditional and perseverant players on the online market.

3. Owners

Tendency to use owners’ names has been around ever since the beginning of advertising. This method was put in place in order to specifically identify the maker, producer, or provider of a given product or service and it mainly applies to small sole proprietors who build the brand based on their name. Innumerable examples can be used to illustrate this principle:

**KJG** (Kollár & Jurik & Gombárčik), **Adidas** (Adi Dassler), **Akai**, **Bang & Olufsen**, **Black & Decker**, **Boeing**, **Chevrolet**, **Chrysler**, **Dell**, **Dow**, **Glock**, **Kawasaki**, **Slovenský um**.
Mercedes, Porsche, Rolls Royce, Skoda, McDonald's (Dick McDonald and Mac McDonald), Yoplait (Yola and Coplait)
The principle is, however, far from being easy from the semantic viewpoint mainly due to the ambiguity of proper names and the fact that they function as formal general denominators and labels rather than specific markers. Oftentimes, without studying the respective etymology of a brand name, one doesn’t even have to come to the realization that it involves a personal name. Further, as proposed by Searle (Searle, 1958), there are two conflicting views on the semantics of proper names: the first asserts that proper names have essentially a reference but not a sense – proper names denote but do not connote; the second asserts that they have essentially a sense and only contingently a reference – they refer only on the condition that one and only object satisfies their sense. In case of trademarks and brand names, the above situation is aggravated by the existence of particular products, companies or other cultural reality objects that are referred to using the proper name/brand name besides the person who represents it.

4. Abbreviations, initialisms, acronyms
Abbreviations are a very effective tool in the hands of an advertiser because they condense semantic meaning and shorten the otherwise long word forms into their initial letters or frontal parts; they make easy to remember and use names. Some examples include:
- AMD – Advanced Micro Devices
- AOL – America Online
- AT&T – American Telephone and Telegraph Corporation
- BMW – Bayerische Motoren Werke
- ESPN – Entertainment and Sports Programming Network
- GEICO – Government Employees Insurance Company
- IKEA – Ingvar Kamprad Elmtaryd Agunnaryd
- JVC – Japan Victor Company
- KFC – Kentucky Fried Chicken
- SEAT – Sociedad Española de Automóviles de Turismo
- Tesco – T. E. Stockwell and Albert Cohen

If circumstances and linguistic environment allows, abbreviations can be lexicalized, turning into acronyms. Lexicalization of abbreviations pursues one single goal – to make the abbreviation more readable and membrable. It is striking that modern advertising has also undergone completely opposite tendencies – creation of pseudoacronyms. In essence this trend has been a prevalent tendency in many companies hoping to change their marred image or association that no longer applies to their current state of affairs. Famous cases of pseudoacronyms are the American Telephone and Telegraph becoming AT&T (they are longer involved in the telegraph business), Kentucky Fried Chicken becoming KFC to marginalize the role of frying in the preparation of their food and British Petroleum becoming BP to emphasize that it is no more just an oil company.

5. Geography and place names
Yet another popular principle in brand naming is the use of geographical names. They usually do not form the full brand name, but are present in it in an abbreviated form.
- Skalický trdelník
- Adobe – a creek behind the founder’s house
- Kentucky Fried Chicken
- BMW – Bayerische Motoren Werke

6. Coinages
Coinages can be characterized as creative metaphoric expressions usually not made from the existing linguistic material, but out of nothing (ex nihili). This principle, fuelled by the Internet, has taken a very deep root in advertizing and branding. Coinages are generally very easy to remember, flexible enough to be changed if the brand owner chooses to extend its activities and relatively easy to trademark because they are unique. Some examples include:
- Microsoft – expression coined by Bill Gates
- Kodak – K (first letter of George Eastman’s mother’s family name)
- Google – misspelling of ‘googol’ which originally expressed the company’s mission to organize data
- Verizon (veritas + horizon)
- Vodafone (voice, data, phone)
- Xerox – textbook example of coined brand names
- Yahoo (Jonathan Swift Gulliver’s Travels)
- Psion – Potter Scientific Instruments Or Nothing

7. Generalized trademarks
Due to market dominance, some trademarks or brand names became colloquial or generic to the point that they lose their original reference to the product. Such brand names became standard terms and settled in the lexicon not as names, but as independent lexemes or generic descriptors. Examples include xerox, escalator (originally an Otis product), vaseline, kerosene, scotch tape, coke, bandaids, velcro, kleenex, aspirin, rum.

Conclusion
Having presented the above examples and categories, one can conclude that the primary purpose of brand names is not necessarily to convey basic denotative information about the product/company they represent, but rather to maintain some other linguistic function(s). Lexically speaking, brand names can be termed as vessels carrying the remnants of lexical meaning, yet filled with all kinds of other information, reference, history, tradition, uniqueness, geography etc. that is foregrounded for specific communicative and advertising purposes. Similarly to personal names or abbreviations, brand names stand as formal denominators for extralingual outer reality entities; the denotative relation is, however, indirect.
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Expressing Imprecision in Research Article Introductions: Formal and Semantic Analysis

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Abstract
Hedging - as a part of metadiscourse - plays a crucial role in scientific prose style and research articles (RA) in particular. It has been proven that hedges fulfil a wide range of both propositional and interpersonal functions, since they allow the writers to present their opinions and comment on the content of the proposition while taking into consideration their readership. The differences in the occurrence of hedges between soft and hard sciences have been satisfyingly explored. However, comparison within the field of humanities has received considerably less attention. This paper presents the results of a study comparing the introductory parts of six linguistics and literary criticism RAs. The quantitative and qualitative analyses draw on Hyland’s classification (1996) in an attempt to identify different functions of hedges and to describe their grammatical realizations with regard to genre-specific features of the examined texts.

Keywords
hedges, linguistics, literary criticism, pragmatics, research article, written academic discourse

Introduction
The concept of hedging was first introduced in 1972 by Lakoff, who sees hedging expressions as “words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness” (Lakoff, 1973: 471). Since then, hedges have received a great deal of attention and different aspects of hedging in written academic discourse have been studied. The results of previous research proved that the role of hedging in academic writing is vital for several reasons and various approaches resulted in a number of different theories about the nature of hedges. The most recent approaches deem hedges to be a part of metadiscourse (Hyland, 2005; Ifantidou, 2004) and emphasise their interpersonal and interactive character. According to Leech and Svartvik’s classification (2002) hedges fall into the category of ‘also interactive’ metadiscourse markers (ibid.: 13-14). This attitude overlaps with that of Hyland since he suggests that the character of metadiscourse is both ‘informatie’ and ‘interactional’ (Hyland 2005). Hyland (1996a) also argues that “hedges express tentativeness and possibility in communication” and that “hedging enables writers to express a perspective” on claims that have not been acclaimed yet by the discourse community (Hyland, 1996b, 1998). Salager-Mayer (1994) proposes that hedges function as a bridge between the proposition and the author’s factual interpretation. This tripartite relationship between the writer/speaker, proposition and the intended recipient is central in understanding the notion of hedging and will be discussed in detail in the following sections.

Semantic point of view
The importance of hedges is given by the fact that they fulfil several different functions. The three main functions should be mentioned here. First, writers use hedges to comment on the content of the proposition in their attempt to be as accurate as possible while lowering the risk of rejection of their arguments at the same time. Second, hedges help writers to express different degrees of confidence towards the proposition, which, in fact, is a face-saving act. The relationship between the writer and his intended readership is connected with the third major function of hedges. Writers seek acceptance by the discourse community as defined by Swales (1990). Thus establishing and maintaining contact with the readership is of crucial importance and using hedges allows the writer to avoid risky claims by downtoning categorical assertions (Myers, 1989). All the previously mentioned functions of hedges make it obvious that the principal motivation for employing hedges in written academic discourse is pragmatic. The realization of functions of hedges according to Hyland (1996) is summed up in Table 1 below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content-oriented</th>
<th>Reader-oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a) accuracy-oriented</td>
<td>attribute</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b) writer-oriented</td>
<td>reliability</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Categorization of scientific hedges (Hyland 1996: 437-449)

The following examples taken from the research materials illustrate both major types of hedging functions: content-oriented hedges in (1) and reader-oriented hedges in (2):

(1) This paper explores the collocational behaviour and semantic prosody of near synonyms from a cross-linguistic perspective.

(2) I suggest that through Esperanza the outlines appear of a feminist heroine who does not simply rebel against tradition, but who also creates new possibilities for herself and her community.

In (1) the impersonal subject together with impersonal reference to theory hedge the writer’s commitment towards the proposition. This example also illustrates the complexity of formal realizations of hedging. Example (2), on the other hand, shows personal attribution in combination with epistemic lexical verb functioning as reader-oriented hedge.

Forms of scientific hedges
A high degree of formal diversity of hedging expressions is an inevitable result of increasing interest of corpus linguistics in the research of hedges. There are various approaches to the formal classification of hedges and also vivid discussions on identifying hedges properly (e.g. Crompton, 1997). The formal classification of hedging expressions presented in this paper is based largely on the works of Hyland and Biber at al. which will be introduced in detail.
Formal means of hedging in written academic discourse can be roughly divided into two large groups: lexical means and non-lexical means.

Hyland (1995) in his classification provides a detailed breakdown of hedging expressions into the following grammatical categories: lexical verbs, adverbials, adjectives, modal verbs and nouns with lexical verbs being the most frequent as opposed to nouns which have only marginal importance in academic prose style hedging.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Formal realization of hedges</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>lexical verbs</td>
<td>suggest, seem, indicate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adverbials</td>
<td>probably, sort of</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>adjectives</td>
<td>possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>modal verbs</td>
<td>might, may</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nouns</td>
<td>assumption, claim</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Structures functioning as hedges

Table 2: Principal devices functioning as hedges

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Content-oriented</th>
<th>Writer-oriented</th>
<th>Reader-oriented</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Accuracy-oriented</td>
<td>Epistemic lexical verbs: judgmental, evidential, impersonal expressions: passive voice, abstract rhetors, ‘empty’ subjects</td>
<td>Epistemic lexical verbs: judgmental, deductive, personal attribution, personal reference to methods, model</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reliability type</td>
<td>Thematic epistemic device</td>
<td>Offer alternatives: conditionals, indefinite articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epistemic modal verbs</td>
<td>Attribution to literature</td>
<td>Involve reader: direct questions, reference to testability, assumption of shared goals</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epistemic modal adjectives</td>
<td>impersonal reference to: method</td>
<td>Hypothetical, e.g. would</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>epistemic modal nouns</td>
<td>experimental conditions</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>content disjunct adverbs</td>
<td>limited knowledge</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Functions of hedges related to various categories used to express hedging after Hyland (1996)

Biber et al. (1999: 856), on the other hand, are concerned with the grammatical level and describe hedges as both adverbial and non-adverbial expressions used to mark imprecision and specify six major categories of syntactic realizations of adverbial hedges (see Table 4). According to Biber et al. (1999), adverbial hedging expressions fall into the category of stance adverbials. Adverbial hedges belong to the category of epistemic stance adverbials which - together with attitude stance adverbials – comment on the content of the proposition. Within the category of epistemic stance adverbials there is a further division into six categories: doubt and certainty, actuality and reality, source of knowledge, limitation, viewpoint of perspective and imprecision (ibid.: 557).

Syntactic realizations of stance adverbials

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syntactic realizations of stance adverbials</th>
<th>single word adverb</th>
<th>adverb phrase</th>
<th>prepositional phrase</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>noun phrase</td>
<td>finite clause</td>
<td>non-finite clause</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Syntactic realizations of stance adverbials (Biber et al. 1999: 861)

The two above-presented classifications partly overlap in terms of formal realization of hedging. However, while Biber et al. deal mainly with adverbial stance markers (Conrad and Biber 1989; Biber et al. 1999), Hyland (1995) provides a detailed account of formal realizations of hedging expressions on the textual level. Moreover, there is a certain discrepancy in the terms of the definition of hedges. While Biber et al. consider hedges as expressions conveying a certain degree of imprecision, Hyland includes also adverbials which are classified as adverbials of doubt/certainty in Biber et al.’s classification. Therefore it can be stated that Hyland’s concept of hedges is broader. The analysis presented in this article adheres solely to the classification of Hyland as presented in Table 3 above.

Hedges in RA

It has been already mentioned that hedges play a crucial role in written academic discourse and the principal reasons for this have been mentioned. However, it is important to look into this problem in greater detail. Firstly, the reasons for researching RA in this study should be explained. The genre of RA is one of the most important parts of scientific writing. It appears across all academic disciplines and it serves mainly for presenting the results of scientific research and it enables scientists to present their opinions. By doing this, RAs connect the writer to his discourse community, thus fulfilling an important pragmatic function closely connected to the issue of hedges in academic writing as previously mentioned. Genre-specific features as presented by Swales (1990), Crystal and Davy (1969) and Widdowson (1979) provide us with a background for observing a wide range of different functions of hedges.

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Pragmatic motivation for the use of hedges connected to the concept of a face saving/threatening act and positive/negative politeness strategy has been already outlined. However, there are other reasons for using hedges in RA. One of them is the need to report the research results with the greatest possible accuracy. Therefore it is often necessary to reduce the strength of claims for various reasons. The analysis of semantic types (see Table 6) has shown that sometimes one hedging expression can fulfill more functions and it may also be rather difficult to identify its function clearly, since the motivation to use of a particular hedging expression may not always be clear.

Hedges represent not only the writer’s relationship towards the recipient of the text, but also towards the factual proposition. As far as the writer’s relationship towards the proposition is concerned, we can distinguish several functions. Being a part of metadiscourse, hedges comment on the content of the proposition in an attempt to be as accurate as possible (3) and also to protect the writer against possible criticism. If the writer presents the results of the research more as an opinion or a possible interpretation rather than a fact, the risk of rejection of the arguments is lowered or completely averted (4). The author expresses different degrees of confidence towards the proposition and allows himself to be open for discussion by withholding complete commitment towards the proposition (5).

(3) It will be interesting for the tutor, and possibly also for the student, to analyse why a particular syntactic choice is made […]

(4) Most of this research assumes that opinion is something already out there to be measured, like the average temperature in Antarctica or the number of owls in Oregon.

(5) That the book is called The Box of Delights indicates that a work of fiction can be a treasure house of imagination, which when opened, inspires.

One of the writer’s aims is to establish and maintain contact with his/her readership (6). This function of hedges – and its interpersonal character – demonstrates the writer’s interest in the discourse community of which he/she is a part. Using hedges facilitates achieving the desired aim – to establish oneself within the discourse community by lessening the risk of face-threatening (7). The above-mentioned functions from the reader-writer point of view were summarized on the basis of the use of hedges in the available literature (see Table 5).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Reason</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Comment on the content of the proposition</td>
<td>Attempts to be as accurate as possible</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lowering the risk of rejection of the arguments</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Express different degree of confidence towards the proposition</td>
<td>Face-saving</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Establish and maintain contact with the reader/listener</td>
<td>Interest in the discourse community the writer/speaker is a part of</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5: The summary of main functions of hedges (reader-writer point of view).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Function</th>
<th>Accuracy oriented</th>
<th>Writer oriented</th>
<th>Reader oriented</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Linguistics</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literary criticism</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>34</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Analysis of semantic types of hedges.

The semantic analysis shows that linguistics RA introductions tend to contain more content oriented hedging expressions than literary criticism RA introductions. This might indicate that linguists make an attempt at greater invisibility of the texts which points to higher level of impersonality and objectivity.
since content-oriented hedges are typically expressed by impersonal means. Also, withdrawing commitment to the proposition makes it harder to falsify the claims thus increasing the author's credibility which is much sought after in the discourse community.

Lit"

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Persuasive Features in Academic Writing

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Abstract
This contribution is situated at the interface between "English for Academic Purposes" (EAP) and pragmatics. It presents the findings of a study of persuasive features in the Chemnitz corpus of Specialised and Popular Academic English (SPACE), which contains specialised research articles from diverse natural sciences and their popular versions. Research articles are not only a channel for communicating knowledge in the sciences but also an important means for establishing membership in the respective discourse community and placing the research in the scientific 'market'. It is expected that research articles are as precise and objective as possible to convey that findings are based on evidence drawn from empirical facts. In academic writing manuals, researchers are therefore advised to avoid any kind of value or personal judgements, such as persuasive features. This paper explores whether this is actually the case or whether scientific writers do in fact use persuasive features, such as in fact, certainly and indeed to strengthen their argumentation and 'persuade' their scientific audience.

Keywords
academic English, popular academic English, modal adverbs, research articles

1 Introduction
Research articles are an important means for communicating findings in the sciences and establishing membership of the scientific discourse community. Traditionally, they are seen as merely a channel through which evidence drawn from empirical methods is reported. (Hyland, 2008). In a survey of English academic style manuals, Bennett found out that indeed, clarity and rationality are emphasised as important features of research articles (Bennett, 2009). Researchers are thus advised to 'let the data speak for itself' and to report on the research as precisely and objectively as possible.

In his study of academic writing, however, Harwood reports that researchers describe "the act of writing and publishing academic discourse in terms of marketing, advertising, and economics" (Harwood, 2005, p. 1210). Similarly, Grabe and Kaplan mention that: The scientific article positions the authors in relation to the dominant paradigm, elicits support (or the semblance of support) from recognized figures in the context of that paradigm, and tries to establish the claim that the writer is exploring an important idea [...] and that the writer’s results contribute significantly to the dominant paradigm. (Grabe & Kaplan, 1997, p. 153). According to this community approach, research articles do only report on the findings and methods used but are written in a way that persuades the readership of the importance of the research carried out. They act as a marketing tool of research findings and developments and are aimed at establishing the 'product' on the scientific 'market'. Moreover, research articles have recently been described as a rhetorical instance the aim of which is "to create effects which convince the audience to such a degree that the article becomes an integrated part of a particular field's literature" (Fleißtum, Gedde-Dahl, & Torodd, 2006, p. 30).

Since research articles have become increasingly important for the communication of findings in the sciences (cf. Hyland 2009), there is a growing interest in the genre and it has attracted increasing amounts of research, particularly from an EAP perspective. Especially stance (cf. Hyland 2009, Biber 2006) and evaluation (cf. Hunston & Thompson 2001) as well as writer-reader relations have been intensively investigated. Nevertheless, research on evaluative language in specialised research articles is still underrepresented, because much of the studies on evaluative features in academic writing have "tended to concentrate on mass audience texts, such as journalism, politics, and media discourses" (Hyland, 2005, p. 175). This paper aims at contributing to the research on academic English and presents the results of a study of persuasive features in specialised and popular academic writing. It deals with the use of modal adverbs that mark certainty, i.e. strong commitment to what is stated. The use of modal devices is a particularly important research area in EAP, since, by using modal devices, writers can comment on the truth value of the proposition, involve their audience and persuade their readership of the importance of the respective research.

2 Persuasive Features in Academic Writing
This paper focuses on the analysis of epistemic and evidential modal adverbs. Modal adverbs are crucial means for evaluating not only the research as a whole, but also the employed method(s) as well as the findings and their interpretations. They can "acquire textual functions" and "link together steps in an argument" (Aijmer, 2005, p. 85) and therefore, contribute to the persuasive nature of research articles. Modal adverbs convey the epistemic and evidential spectrum of modality. Epistemic adverbs comment on the truth value of the proposition and express the degree of certainty towards the state of affairs. They further 'signal the speaker's level of involvement and attitude towards the hearer' (Fortanet, Palmer, & Ruiz, 2006, p. 52). When using epistemic adverbs, writers can thus not only comment on the factual status of the proposition, but can also establish a relationship with the reader in their argumentation.

Similar to epistemic adverbs, evidential adverbs express the degree of certainty but additionally refer to the source of information. Nuyts defines evidentiality as an "indication of the reason to assume or accept the existence of the state of affairs expressed in the clause" (Nuyts, 2005, p. 11). Evidential adverbs are therefore crucial in persuasion since through them, speakers can directly relate their argumentation to the research. They can show conviction based on the findings and not on personal belief. Modal adverbs are generally optional in that "their semantic effect is to characterise how the propositional
content of the clause relates to the world or the context” (Huddleston & Pullum, 2002, p. 576). They can thus easily be omitted by the speaker suggesting that when they are used, writers explicitly want to convey strong commitment to what they are saying. This is also underlined by Huddleston and Pullum when they state that the addition of a strong modal adverb “emphasizes that commitment or makes it more explicit” (2002, p. 770).

Figure 1: The semantic spectrum of modal adverbs

Figure 1 displays the semantic continuum of epistemic and evidential adverbs. In terms of strength, Huddleston and Pullum differentiate between weak (possibility), strong (certainty) and medium (probability) commitment to the truth of the proposition (2002, p. 768). This paper concentrates on epistemic and evidential adverbs that convey modal certainty, i.e. strong commitment to what is stated. The epistemic adverbs included in this study are indeed, of course and in fact. The evidential adverbs analysed are clearly and obviously.

3 The Data
The analysis is based on a corpus of specialised English that contains research articles in the natural sciences. The Chemnitz corpus of Specialised and Popular Academic English (SPACE) contains research articles written in the disciplines Biosciences and Physics as well as their popular versions. Hence, the corpus contains data of “expert-to-expert communication in some restricted academic fields and expert-to-general-academic” communication (Schmied, 2007, p. 1). Whereas the specialised component contains research articles that communicate findings to the scientific discourse community, the popular component contains texts that are “produced for audiences without a professional need for information about science” (Hyland, 2009, p. 152).

Table 1: The SPACE corpus: number or words

Table 1 displays the number of words in the individual components. As can be seen the popular component is smaller than the specialised one. This is due to the fact that the popular articles are generally shorter than their scientific counterparts.

4. Statistical Analysis
Normalised frequencies of individual modal adverbs analysed here are displayed in figure 2. Table 2 shows absolute frequencies of epistemic and evidential adverbs in the specialised components.

In order to see to what extent the two sub-corpora deviate from each other, the log-likelihood value has been calculated. As table 2 shows, the modal adverbs analysed here occur statistically significantly more often in the specialised Physics than in the specialised Biosciences sub-corpus. This may be explained by the fact that a high proportion of the specialised Physics component is composed of research articles from the sub-discipline Astrophysics. In this sub-discipline, scientists largely deal with phenomena that cannot entirely be researched and proven by means of experimental studies but are based on simulation models and mathematical calculation. Therefore, researchers in this area obviously have to rely on means of persuasion, at least with regard to the use of modal adverbs, in order to strengthen their claim. In the Biosciences, on the other hand, results are mainly drawn from experimentation and observation and the need for using persuasive features seems to be less.

Table 2: Modal adverbs in the specialised components: absolute frequencies

I have chosen to calculate Log-likelihood (or G²) to measure statistical significance since modal adverbs are relatively rare in scientific writing. The test does not assume normal distribution amongst the corpora, i.e. amongst the populations compared. Dunning mentions that “the use of likelihood ratios leads to very much improved statistical results” and that “statistical textual analysis can be done effectively with very much smaller volumes of text than is necessary for conventional tests based on assumed normal distributions” (Dunning, 1993, p. 65).

I The log-likelihood value of 55.53 indicates a probability of p < 0.0001 that the deviation is due to chance.
The assumption that the further are less significant levels in the Queixadinha physics. Initially, one might have expected lower events to occur, but this is not the case. These preliminary experimental results may be misleading: that for example AGASA might have overestimated the energies of the observed UHECRs. (0027phys)

Furthermore, the adverb can have additional discourse functions. Apart from expressing modal certainty it can express empathy with the hearer or reader. In this function it is used to "create a sense of solidarity with the reader" (ibid. 2007, p. 205), in that it signals shared knowledge. The writer presents information not as totally new to the reader but presupposes that the readership knows or should know, as in example (4).

(4) The results were surprisingly good, given that the particles cannot move past each other. This simple model is of course an unrealistic setting for relaxation: one should really consider an ensemble of complicated systems with many degrees of freedom. (0016bio)

Moreover, of course can have a concessive function in that it conjoins two sentences and expresses "superficial agreement with what has preceded while at the same time hinting at a more fundamental disagreement" (Quirk et al., Greenbaum, Leech, & Svartvik, 1985, p. 1469). It can then be paraphrased by of course x ... but y. In this context, the focus, i.e. the strength and conviction conveyed, is clearly on the proposition following but, as exemplified in (5).

(5) A sequence is "algorithmically random" if it satisfies one of the above equivalent conditions. Of course, randomness implies strong non-computability, but the converse is false. (0012phys)

In summary, the adverb of course is not only used to express strong conviction, but has additional discourse functions that establish writer-reader relations and advance the argumentation. The adverb in fact occurs almost four times as often in the specialised Physics than in the Biociences component. It expresses actuality, "but also connects the sentence to a preceding sentence" (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, p. 63). In example (6), the previous statement is confirmed by adding evidence from the present study. In the corpus, in fact preliminary co-occurs with explicit evidence in the text. Its strength in terms of persuasion can therefore be described as the highest amongst the adverbs analysed here.

(6) During this brief isolation period, the ability to generate an immune response may not have been significantly compromised. In fact, the encapsulation responses of isolated and grouped termites do not differ significantly. When we challenged termites with a...
nylon thread (0.1 mm diameter, 2 mm length) inserted beneath the ventral abdominal cuticle of isolated (n = 30) and grouped (in three groups of 10 individuals) nymphs and measured the degree of encapsulation after 4 days, we found no significant differences between treatments in the experimental number. (0001bio)

The evidential adverbs clearly and obviously express strong commitment to the proposition and additionally refer to a source of evidence. When the source is stated explicitly in the text, the truth value is the highest. Clearly can be classified as a modial adverb when placed at initial or initial medial position. Moreover, when placed at initial position, clearly functions unambiguously as a disjunct expressing a high degree of conviction. Its meaning then comes close to that of obviously. This is the case in 50 per cent of the occurrences here. In example (7), clearly is used to strengthen a conclusion based on evidence provided in the text. It is further used to help the reader follow the argumentation.

(7) The comparison between ordinal losses in stages immediately after mass extinctions and those lost in the other nonextinction-stages is suggestive but should be interpreted cautiously (Fig. 2). Clearly, the mass extinctions take a significant toll at the ordinal level, even though the Big Five extinctions account for 5% of the total species extinction of the Phanerozoic. (0067bio)

Clearly can generally be classified as subjunct when placed immediately before the main verb (8) or after the copula (9). Its meaning then comes close to that of the subjunct definitely (Sinclair 1990, p. 249) with the scope not on the whole clause but only on parts of it. Thus, as a subjunct, its modal meaning is less strong than as a disjunct.

(8) This observation clearly confirms the proposed inhibitory effect of a high negative charge density on polyaminatedependent silica formation. (0069bio)

(9) Our ‘empirical’ approach would amount to trying to find out what sort of initial configuration clearly could explain the statistics observed today – and again, while an initial ‘equilibrium’ configuration is a possibility, there are clearly many ‘nonequilibrium’ configurations at t = 0 that explain the observations just as well. (0004phys01)

Additionally, clearly can act as a manner adverb. Although its modal meaning is then diminished, it obtains a reinforcing function, as in (10).

(10) The relationship between player’s payoff and the parameter in the quantum game is clearly seen in Fig.5, with good agreement between theory and experiment. (0005phys)

The use of the adverb obviously conveys that the speaker has strong reason or evidence to believe what he is stating (Simon-Vandenbergen & Aijmer, 2007, p. 150). In example (11), it additionally expresses some kind of ‘general knowledge’, implying that the basis on which the statement is made is available not only to the speaker, but also to the respective discourse community.

(11) The residence time scale for energetic protons in the Solar neighborhood is around, (Gaisser 1990; Ferrando 1994), res = 2×107 yrs (E/109 eV)−1/3 and so is about 2×104 yrs at 1018 eV. Obviously, near the GC this time scale could be different. Since the magnetic field strength is higher, and the path to the outer parts of the Galactic halo is also longer, it is likely that the time is longer, and so we adopt 105 years. (0034phys)

Obviously conveys strong certainty if there is “explicit evidence stated in the clause (e.g. by because)” (ibid. 220). It then conveys that the statement made is ‘obvious to everyone’. Obviously can also have an additional manner notion. As exemplified in (12), it then expresses that the conclusions drawn can be easily seen by everyone.

(12) Drosophila lifespan is increased by mutations in a G protein-coupled receptor in methuselah (7), a sodium dicarboxylate cotransporter in Indy (8), an insulin receptor substrate in chico (9), or an insulin-like receptor in InR (10). Studies with Drosophila by transgenic methods recently have been reviewed (11). It is obviously of great interest to discover drugs that can extend lifespan by simple feeding. (0049bio)

Clearly, obviously and obviously can be used to express strong certainty and to persuade the reader whereas the latter seems to convey a higher degree of subjectivity than the further. Even if there is no direct evidence in the text itself, obviously strengthens the argumentation by expressing that what is obvious to the writer must also be obvious to the reader. Obviously must be obvious in general. Clearly, on the other hand, occurs more often with explicit evidence or proof in the context of the utterance. Thus, clearly conveys a higher degree of modal certainty than obviously.

5 Conclusion

In this paper, epistemic and evidential adverbs have been analysed in specialised and popular academic research articles from the natural sciences. With the use of modal adverbs writers can evaluate their research, findings and conclusions. It has been shown that the scientific research articles analysed here do indeed contain persuasive features. Although writing style manuals advise scientists to report on their research as precisely and objectively as possible, writers present it in a way that persuades their readership and fellow researchers. Concerning the statistical analysis, modal adverbs occur more frequently in the specialised Physics than in the Biosciences component. It was concluded that this might be due to the high proportion of research articles from Astrophysics in the Physics sub-corpus. Researchers of Astrophysics obviously cannot rely on findings based experimental studies to the extend scientists in the Biosciences can. Concerning the comparison of specialised and popular versions, it was shown that frequencies of modal adverbs rise in the popular Biosciences but fall in the popular Physics component. This suggests that the use of persuasive features cannot be generalised for the popularisation of research articles. Moreover, there seem to be differences not only between the disciplines but also between the individual sub-disciplines.

References


The Illocutionary Force: Over-coding and Under-coding in advertising slogans

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Abstract
In addition to persuading the recipient to buy the advertised product, an advertisement must fulfill a series of other related goals. These are: attracting and keeping the attention of the recipient before perceiving the actual text, and promoting them into buying the product by creating a positive attitude towards the product, along with lasting memory input. Advertising slogans make use of several stylistic and rhetorical devices combined in the illocutionary force of text towards the recipient in a complex way. The article looks at advert slogans where sensoric (phonetic and lexical) features are used to attract the recipient and non-sensoric (semantic and extra-linguistic) are employed to build stronger ties between the recipient and the product.

Keywords
discourse of advertising, advertising communication, sender, recipient, advertising slogan, under-coding, over-coding, brand name

Introduction
Advertising is a communicative process that occurs between an ad sender and its recipients. Communication as such always has a goal. However, goals of prototypical interpersonal communication and that of advertising communication differ. According to Fairclough, the discourse used in advertising communication falls into the category of strategic discourse, which is "oriented to instrumental goals, to get results". This contrasts with "communicative discourse, which is oriented to reaching understanding between participants." (Fairclough 1989, 198). The ultimate aim of every advertiser is to sell the idea for which the ad is created, be it a product, service, good name, event participation, charity appeal, belief, opinion or philosophy. However, this aim is just the tip of the iceberg of the general advertising mission, with a complex structure of subordinate goals lying beneath the surface. These are determined by the characteristic features of the ad sender, the recipients and the situation in which the communication takes place.

Advertising communication
For the purposes of linguistic (pragmatic) analysis, the sender of the advertising message is the person or group people intending to communicate the message. Sender’s intentions and goals are the driving mechanism behind structuring the advertising message. To sell the idea, the message has to reach the recipient in the first place. That is a gargantuan task considering the amount of ad messages sent out to the prospective recipients. The competition for consumers’ attention is huge and their willingness to receive the messages is limited. The intention of the sender to have their message noticed has become essential. The more competitive the hunt for recipients’ attention is, the more significant the effort of senders for the ads to be noticed becomes.

Once the recipient’s attention has been caught, the message should fulfill a sequence of interrelated goals known under the acronym of AIDA. If the sender catches recipients’ attention (A) yet the message does not seem interesting enough for further processing, the communication is doomed before it has brought any results. In case the message catches attention and elicits the interest (I) of the recipient, it is vital for final success of the communication that it creates either desire (D) to get the product or memory trace deep enough to be recollected in an appropriate situation (such as when choosing between similar products in the supermarket). If all these targets are met, the ad communication fulfilled its ultimate goal – the recipient acts (A) according to the message in the desired way. (Laviosa, 2005)

The message has to fulfill the whole chain of the senders’ goals of and fit in the limited space/time slot it is allowed to occupy by the situation and the reader. To do so, it must inevitably make use of indirect appeals and hidden, implicit meaning. Explicitness is costly and may be easily rejected since it does not allow the recipient to exercise their free will and actively manage the decision-making. By decoding the implicit message the recipients usually build positive attitude towards the message because their free will is (seemingly) maintained and their needs of self-realization and creativity have been satisfied as well. Coding of intended meaning in the slogan seems to appear in two possible (vaguely differentiated and loosely interconnected) levels: the sensoric and the reasoning one. Apart from the obvious sense of seeing, the recipient’s hearing often becomes involved in the communicative process. Advertisers use sound-related verbal devices to pursue their ultimate goal. These include rhythm, rhyme, chime, alliteration and assonance. From the point of view of the recipient, decoding the message operating on the sensoric level is rather simple because such message fits into the model of over-coding (McQuarrie and Mick, 1996). Phonetonic devices add internal regularity and redundancy. The message featuring repetition of sounds feels to be pleasant and aesthetically more elaborate. This helps build a positive attitude towards the ad. Over-coding can also be registered on the lexical level where rhetoric devices elaborating on repetition or reversal of words and phrases are used. Such a message is also easily recalled since repetition is vital for

1 Even though selling the idea is meant here in its figurative sense, advertising is prototypically connected with persuading the recipients to spend money on the advertised item.
2 The distinction whether it’s a producer of the advertised goods or the creative team hired to promote the goods is mostly irrelevant for this study.
3 However, as Fairclough points out, “…[the] opacity of discourse indicates …[that] people can be legitimizing particular power relations without being conscious of doing so” (Fairclough 1989, 41), i.e. recipients of the advertising message become persuaded and buy the product, thus confirming their position of the ‘powerless’ consumer as opposed to the ‘powerful’ advertiser.
memorizing. This is accompanied by rather low demands placed on recipient’s decoding abilities, because no change of meaning is involved. Slogans which draw on the change of meaning operate on the reasoning level. The recipient is faced with under-coding. The message seems senseless without further semantic elaboration. It is generally understood that the recipients are well aware of the nature of advertising communication and they know the message has its hidden commercial meaning, even if it is not obvious from the first reading. They are prompted to look for alternative context or correction of the verbal input and thus spend more time and resources on perceiving the message.

Despite ‘wasting’ their time and attention, they do so for reasons already mentioned: with slogans built on decoding of puns, metaphors, ironical or paradoxical expressions, the recipients’ needs of creativity are explored. Recipients feel rewarded and develop positive attitude towards the ad by solving the verbal challenge, by feeling good about their own decoding abilities, by finding the decoded message clever, witty and humorous.

The sensoric, over-coded level and the reasoning, under-coded one, create boundaries of a wide spectrum of means the ad messages make use of. It is rather unique to find a clear-cut case of a slogan delivering its message through e.g. rhyme only, or the one that would depend purely on a transferred meaning without implementing any sensoric features of recipients’ perception. Socio-cultural elements often accompany the verbal message and add another platform on which the senders create the slogan and recipients decode it. This may bring in the multiple meaning revelation, positive feeling of belonging or easy identification with the idea. All of these fill in additional spots in the spectrum of verbal ad message processing, which helps fulfill the range of objectives the communication is supposed to meet.

The competition for recipient’s attention is fierce. That is why advertisers use as many opportunities as possible to connect the product itself and the message which it accompanies. Making brand names parts of the slogan seems to be such a device. Traditionally, brand name is visually the most prominent part of the printed advertising message. It can appear several times as a part of verbal and non-verbal part of the ad. Brand name is usually printed in bigger font or brighter color; it operates as a primary attention-catching device.

However, most advertisers exploit the brand name more thoroughly and incorporate it frequently into the ad message in a complex way. Both over-coded and under-coded messages often feature the brand name of the product as an indivisible part of the message and deliver it to the recipient as part and parcel of the complex picture. They use it in connection with verbal means such as rhetorical figures, various stylistic devices, metaphorically presented ideas, intertextual and socio-cultural references. In this way the product becomes not only outcome of the communicative activity but also an indivisible part of it. When the product ‘speaks’, it takes on a role of active participant of the communication; it becomes an interlocutor, the sender of the message itself.  

Case studies
All the following cases of printed ads feature the connection of under-coding, over-coding and brand-name employment in an advertising slogan. The analysis looks at multiple linguistic and socio-cultural means employed side by side in a slogan. Each means is intended to fulfill its partial goal; combined, they should reach the ultimate target of selling the advertised product. The slogans studied here were collected from respected printed English-language periodicals (Newsweek, Vanity Fair). As advertising in these is rather expensive, ad campaigns appearing here are expected to be crafted by professionals, with clearly defined objectives and goals. It is reasonable to assume that the means employed in the slogans are all used with a purpose; accidentality and amateur handling are unlikely. The recipients of the studied ads are considered to be ‘global citizens’, since chosen slogans come from international versions of the mentioned periodicals.

1 You & Us. UBS

This multi-faceted slogan is constructed to reach its objective by several interconnected features. It incorporates two sound-related linguistic devices with several other non-sensoric aspects. First, the reader is confronted with highly rhythmical catchphrase consisting of three monosyllabic words. It’s short, and the rhythm makes it sound rather explosive. The use of personal pronouns makes it very direct and clearly focused on the recipient, who feels addressed right at the beginning.

Fast-paced rhythm and direct address cause the first goal to be attained: reaching the following ones is aided by employing additional features. The name of the company is skillfully placed in the ad to create rhyme for the initial headline. Once pronounced, [ju: ən As · ju: bı: es] incorporates the name it is to promote into the short, explosive attention-catchrhyming line. The line originally consisting of three monosyllabic words extends to six which feels like reading another verse of a poem. The first of the original three syllables and the first of the three newly added is identical ([ju:]), thus making the continuation of the slogan smooth and natural. Personal pronouns speak directly to the recipient. She/he at the same time gets the impression that UBS is really part of the You & Us team due to the
alliteration and rhyme, which makes it so well incorporated. The footprint that this slogan leaves with the recipient is made even deeper by non-conforming to the expectations. When reading the phrase beginning with You & ... the recipients generally expect the personal pronoun I to follow. This is a rather common word combination making the recipient pause, consider the reasons and eventually reach a conclusion: it is a smart substitution identifying the whole USB institution as a team and placing its name into a rhythmical and rhyming lexical neighborhood. This advertising slogan skillfully uses three linguistic devices to attract the reader, making him/her dedicate more time to processing it by breaking the conventional combination of words and possibly feel positive about the ad by creating pleasant sensoric impression. This is still an incomplete list of the means employed, since visual features and informative small print in the main body of the ad are not considered here.

2 It’s more than ABS or DSC. It’s also DNA. BMW.

Making a slogan short and explosive is one of the main premises of the copywriters. Using abbreviations is rather logical since they appear as a stretch of single syllables stressing rhythm and good pace. The BMW slogan relies on catching the initial attention by making use of a chain of four 3-letter abbreviations. The fact that BMW as a brand name is an abbreviation itself is wittingly exploited in this way; the offered product seems to be integral part of the idea that sells it. Besides the abbreviations, all the other words in the slogan are short as well so the rhythm and pace are preserved in the whole line. Further processing is initiated when the recipient realizes one of the abbreviations does not belong to the semantic field of car safety. While Anti-Blocking System and Digital Security Control make part of a safe car, BMW specifically, Deoxyribonucleic Acid does not appear in the chain consistent with the expectations. Hence the recipient is prompted to look for corrections in the decoding process, which means he/she spends more time assessing and considering the ad. The reader reaches for his/her previously acquired knowledge and decodes the DNA as a compound responsible for our gene pool. DNA is in lay terms understood as shaping us into who we are, creating our own selves. At the same time, the recipient knows it appears in only living organisms. Using this knowledge, the metaphorical transfer of meaning becomes possible. BMW is identified as a living organism (which is a highly positive feature) with safety incorporated in its genes. Another possible feature of the DNA metaphor may rest in connecting the genes with our ancestors and their wisdom accumulated through ages. In this way the quality of tradition (strongly emphasized by the producer) is mapped onto the product. The initial attention of an accidental reader is caught by sensoric (sound) impression of the slogan. Further, non-sensoric processing is initiated: the reader is enabled to feel positive about himself/herself because of identifying the ‘odd one out’; identifying what the ‘odd one out’ is and mapping highly positive attributes on the product in the process of metaphorical transfer.

3 You may now kiss... Maldives

Even though sensoric (specifically sound-related) features of slogans are used predominantly to catch the recipient’s attention, the Maldives slogan makes use of rhyme in the second instance. The ad primarily depends on non-sensoric means which here specifically are socio-cultural knowledge and values. The phrase You may now kiss... is easily recognized by targeted recipients as a part of a formula pronounced at the end of a wedding ceremony. Most recipients would expect the conventional continuation of the phrase is ... the bride. Because of this conventionality and the use of ellipsis suggesting the continuation of the idea (together with heavy dependence on visual clues), the
recipients understand the ad is offering something that conventionally follows: a honeymoon in an exotic destination. At the same time, the open end of the slogan suggests whatever happens after the formula is pronounced won’t be witnessed; privacy is part of the product.

Maldives as the intended destination for the honeymoon is presented rather unobtrusively at the bottom of the ad, seemingly unrelated to the slogan itself. That would obviously be counter-productive since the destination is the product itself. It is only after the slogan is pronounced the recipient realizes it rhymes with the word Maldives. By making it part of the rhyme Maldives become a fixed part of the selling idea.


The W Hotels ad sells the product mainly by visual means. The image of modern architectural design based on edges, angles and regular shapes is accompanied by a rather inconspicuous slogan placed on the bottom of the ad. Even though it is clear the function of the slogan is not to catch the reader’s attention, it uses several linguistic devices to strengthen the impression of the image and to highlight some intended features of the product.

W Hotels obviously try to support their unique selling proposition of modern design which nevertheless feels cozy and homely. The two seemingly opposing ideas are supported by the use of antonyms warm – cool in the first part of the slogan. Connected by ‘of’ preposition they seem bound together; one being integral part of the other.

Still, warm - cool are opposing meanings and as such would possibly not create sufficiently positive image. The second part of the slogan starts with a word that establishes more harmonious relationship for this word pair: the Fusion. Semantic device of antonymic relationship is then presented as positive by aesthetically appealing use of phonetic device of alliteration: the words Fusion, Fantasy and Fun follow immediately. This slogan presents a mixture of semantic and phonetic means that are combined in a mind-provoking and playful way. It tries to strengthen the recipient’s impression from the visual image by adding contrast and bond in both sensoric and non-sensoric way. Last but not least, the first letter of the slogan is also the name of the hotel chain which connects the product with the idea it is sold by.

5 Truly RADLEY Deeply

The Radley fashion accessories slogan uses two different devices: rhyming as rather superficial and easily noticeable one and intertextual reference retrievable from the general knowledge of the recipients, which reaches deeper and requires longer processing. The rhyme, adding internal regularity, attracts the recipients’ attention while the intertext makes them process the slogan for a longer period, and thus remember it better.

The recipient of this slogan is faced with an obvious pun. Radley as a brand name does not conventionally belong to the well-known expression of Truly Madly Deeply, which can be retrieved from general knowledge. The recipient is able to ‘correct’ the obvious and skillfully crafted ‘mistake’ because Radley rhymes with madly, the word that is found in the phrase under normal circumstances. The novel creation seems to be smart and humorous so the recipient feels good about investing more time into processing the ad. That comes with realizing that Truly Madly Deeply is a cultural phenomenon. The intention of the sender was to associate the product with more than just the visual representation which makes part of the ad. The product obtains the whole range of characteristics otherwise associated with the cultural referent once the recipient maps the features of one onto another. Truly, Madly, Deeply is a well-known film directed by Anthony Minghella (1990) often described as a deeply funny and intelligent romantic love story. At the same time, the same name belongs to the 1997 Savage Garden hit song which is an ultimately romantic musical piece. The strength of intertextual reference lies in unlimited mapping possibilities of each individual recipient. One reader may remember the face of his/her favorite actor from the film; another may recall the situation in which
he/she heard the song. In any case the associations between the product and the film or song create much deeper and long-lasting impression than just plain witty slogan.

6 Is it possible for taste buds to have goosebumps, asked the GODIVA

The high-quality luxurious chocolate producer made use of many overlapping features drawing the attention of the target audience and building an irresistible desire to obtain the product. The dominant visual representation is obviously fulfilling both objectives; the small print slogan incorporating the product name seems to be the extra cherry on top to add that extra reason to like the advertisement and buy the chocolate. The product name itself has two layers of interpretation. First, it draws on characteristics of the legendary beautiful and brave character, Lady Godiva. At the same time it is an extremely skillful linguistic creation - a perfect blend of God and Diva combining their meanings by allowing the overlap of their forms. Both expressions are understood to be highly positive, emotional, unique and worth adoring. Moreover, Godiva Chocolate with all the positive features obtained from its name becomes personified in the slogan by being attributed the question that is asked. Godiva is a real person because she asked a question. The question that is posed by such an exceptional being must be exceptional too. That is achieved by smart use of figurative language combined with additional personification. To have goosebumps is figuratively understood as experiencing strong emotions; here, being excited from eating the chocolate. The literal meaning refers to the bumps on a person's skin that appear involuntarily when experiencing the strong emotions. Taste buds are primary sensory organ involved in appreciating the taste of the chocolate; however, they are not able to develop goosebumps in literal sense. Attributing them with this ability gives the taste buds human-like character. That metaphorically transfers more human abilities to them - feeling excitement and appreciating unique taste among others. Semantic features of this slogan are used in a powerful combination of meaning transfers. However, the slogan also makes use of a less sophisticated device which is the form of specific words. Two compound nouns are placed within one clause (taste buds have goosebumps) which creates pleasant rhytmical sound flow. The positive and luxurious character of visual layer of this ad is successfully supported by linguistic means of appealing semantic transfers and pleasant sound form.

Conclusion
The chain of goals of ad communication is given by the present-day nature of advertising. The attention of the recipient must be attracted and then kept long enough for him/her to build a positive attitude towards the product and remember it. This may eventually lead to acquiring the product, which is the ultimate goal of all the promotional activity. In order to fulfill the successive goals, copywriters use various linguistic means with different characteristics when trying to reach the targets. Phonetic and lexical means such as rhyme, alliteration and rhythm catch the attention of the reader rather easily but lack the power to keep the recipient occupied for longer time. The intensity of non-sensoric processing is an ad sender's weapon in building stronger ties between the recipient and the product. Metaphorical meaning transfer, decoding the puns or building up associations with cultural or intertextual references all belong in this category. All analyzed slogans use devices from both sets. At the same time all incorporate brand name which helps draw clear connection between the offered product and the idea used to promote it.

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Hinojosa's Self-Translation of Dear Rafe into North-American Culture: Language Use as a Mirror of the Social Construction of the Chicano Identity

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to study the process of self-translation of Mi querido Rafe (M.Q.R.) into English My Dear Rafe (D.R.). Both texts are complex sites of cultural interaction which have absorbed and rearticulated the multiple crossings which take place in the border/ frontera.

Keywords

self-translation, languages in contact, English, Spanish, Chicano identity.

Introduction

This novel emerges as an invaluable cultural matrix, the metaphor for the juncture, giving way to new social and personal identities in the process. Hinojosa does not consider what he did can be called a neither translation nor self-translation; instead he calls it “a recreation” (Dasenbrock 1988:6). When the semantics of the word is taken into account, “to create anew”, what is expressed is that a text that was already created is reconsidered; this new life is governed by the English language characteristics under which the original source text is viewed. In virtue of this new setting, transformation of the original text is feasible in the process of recreation. Snell Hornby (1995a:40) states that if a source text is culturally bound then, recreation is often used to describe the source text’s transfer into another language. She refers to the difficulty of translating a literary source text and of achieving equivalence, such as is expected in the traditional notion of translation.

Since Hinojosa is the author of the source text, the obstacles usually connected with source text interpretation are not problematic for him. However, he discusses other difficulties with the language transfer process of his source-texts (Dasenbrock 1988:6).

He is not just interested in a mere linguistic transfer, he shows an understanding of what he means to convey in the source-text, maintaining at the same time the norms of the new language and taking the new readership expectations into account.

At first glance, in the contrast between M.Q.R. and D.R., one feature is obvious; the author takes many liberties with respect to his original creation as Hinojosa opts for a cultural transfer. Melucci’s (1997:58-70) concept of the multiple self may facilitate the understanding of Hinojosa’s positioning here. Melucci states that the rapid changes in our society are responsible for how an individual’s identity is in the constant process of becoming. This is how what he calls the multiple self is formed. Melucci also distinguishes between the ‘changing boundaries’ and the ‘permanent borders’ of an individual’s identity. The combination of both parts ensures that there is a certain degree of stability in the concept of identity. For Hinojosa, as writer and translator, these concepts mean that he is able to move within the domains of biculturality and bilingualism. He chooses those features the target audience is most able to identify with since he himself is able to identify within those different parameters, which are within permanent borders, those offered by his positioning as a declared Chicano.

Some translation scholars (Venuti 1998) call this adaptation to reader expectations domestication. This domestication may also have occurred during the publisher’s editing process. Hinojosa’s choice to translate his work into the dominant language is a conscientious one and it is burdened with the language identification issue and the power relations between Spanish and English in American society. Dingwaney and Maier (1995: 20) point out precisely the essence of the language struggle for the bilingual individual. Hinojosa’s writing of M.Q.R. in both languages indicates that he senses that maintaining the language of his childhood in literature is a manner of resistance to the dominant language and culture that is highly desirable. This resistance to dominant language was still openly present as an ideological belief at the time of M.Q.R. production. However, the transfer into English is almost unavoidable, as the afterlife of M.Q.R. would be reduced to a minimum impact. Domestication is, therefore, definitely present in the need Hinojosa experiences to translate the source text.

Although initially his work was in Spanish, he later decided to self-translate himself and write it in English. Hinojosa openly acknowledges the reasons why...
(Dassenbrock 1988:5): it is important to write in English at a time when it is the language understood by the Chicano youth; furthermore, he deems that Chicano identification is no longer intrinsically related to language, it is rather a set of beliefs and social network of structures sustained within a historical past the ethnic group has managed to retain.

Several key words that appear in M.Q.R. are identity markers of this Chicano identity: *raza, bolillo, Chicano and fruit tramp*. Some of these terms appear more in the original creation than others. The most extensively used in the source text are *raza* and *bolillo*. The first term *RAZa* is now under dispute among modern biologists and anthropologists. Some feel that the term has no biological validity; others use it to specify only a partially isolated reproductive population whose members share a considerable degree of genetic similarity. Hinojosa's use of *raza* refers to all those people who acknowledge their link to a Mexican origin and traditions, and, most notably, the willingness to preserve them in the construction of their Mexican-American identity; it is a spiritual-cultural term to underline a common people. They form a hybrid race, which 'rather than resulting in an inferior being provides hybrid progeny, a mutable, more malleable species with a rich gene pool' (Anzaldúa, 'The new mestiza' p. 77). The consciousness which emerges from this crossing exists not on the essentialist territories enumerated by the border that kind of interstitial space where polarities dissolve and where univocal identities are challenged, the borderlands. The second term, *bolillo*, designates especially the Anglos. According to lexicographers, a *bolillo* is a bun. Therefore, a simile is established among the color of buns and the Anglos' skin color. Hinojosa domesticates both *raza* and *bolillo* in his 'English' version: la *bolilla* que está a la izquierda (12) becomes the girl on the left; ...como ves, parte de la *raza* va recobrando terrenos y parcelas (p.25) becomes and some of the younger guys are buying some of the lands (p.31). Hinojosa's strategy involves the use of referential meaning, which leads to an uncommitted form of naming the Mexicans living in Texas. Obviously, the English language lacks words to express the ideological and cultural connotations of these identity-bound markers. The author often resorts to the possessive pronoun to keep the Spanish terms in the translation explaining them in a footnote but he didn't, clearly dismissing cultural group divisions which are definitely accentuated in the source text. The outcome is that these divisions are toned down in favour of depicting a less segregated Chicano community for the target reader.

Other relevant terms in the source text are *Chicano* and *fruit tramp*. Several terms have been used in the US to name a group of people in a state of flux since the beginning of the cultural contact: Mexicans, *Mexicanos*, Mexican-Americans, and later Hispanics and Latinos. These terms reflect different ideologies: the term *Chicano* was especially common during the late sixties and is a related color to the Anglos' skin color. Hinojosa pays special attention to the *raza, bolillo, Chicano* and *fruit tramp*. This incid...
reiterated twice in M.Q.R, ‘Noddy can run me off cuando le de la regalada gana’ (p.40) and is not translated in D.R. A possible translation into English is whenever he wants.

The power and control derived from acquired personal information is also present in another extract within Noddy Perkins’ domain. He flaunts his knowledge concerning Jehú’s girlfriend, information which is omitted entirely in the translation: ‘la bolillada sabe más de nosotros de lo que somos estamos. Se parecen a los viejitos...’ (p.40) and is not included as members of the family unit. This toning down the significance of the family forms part of the M.Q.R. reader since it is an experience that is common to the members of the minority group.

M.Q.R. bilingualism also provides levels of identification for the source text reader. Hinojosa’s walking out of one language and culture into another stands as a powerful dismantling of borders/fronteras, which allows the entrance of the Hispanic world view into the U.S. Malakoff and Hakuta (1991:146) consider that code-switching means a larger bilingual vocabulary, playing on subtle differences between the two languages in several dimensions: connotative, denotative or sociolinguistic meaning. This bilingualism in M.Q.R. portrays the dynamism of events, provides information about Jehu’s life in the epistolary section, and depicts language diversity in a community where Anglos and Chicanos live together. In D.R. not all O.R. readers would be able to relate the use of the two languages; which is the reason why the translation into English is necessary.

At the beginning of the narrative, in the first initial letters, there is little use of English in the source text. In letter nine the use of the two languages is more visible and when the main character is almost completely immersed in work does the English become predominant. Towards the end, code-switching is therefore reduced and the use of the Spanish language becomes prevalent again in the last few letters. In these letters code-switching is minimal: fillers, expressions, sentence connectors and idioms, Spanish being used at the beginning of ideas or the ending of sentences. As the plot thickens and the complexities with which the main character is faced increase, so does the intensity of the code-switching, which parallels the situation. The ‘I’ is no longer univocal and ‘pure’ but a juxtaposition of identities.

Hinojosa also uses both languages to portray the language diversity that emerges from a bilingual/bicultural environment in a different manner. In the second section of the novel, twenty-two interviews are conducted by Mr Galindo either almost entirely in English or in Spanish; the characters who code-switch more are Viola Barragán, with sentences during the interview, and Olivia, Jehú’s girlfriend, using English at work and Spanish when she speaks in more relaxed intimate conversation with the interviewer. In D.R only English is used, consequently, each of the cultural backgrounds is alluded to by other means, viz. maintaining the names in Spanish. The reader, consequently, has a point of reference as to the origin of the character’s language preference. However, the self-translation entails a loss of the source meaning. The manner and the setting in which bilingual expression may be used to community in a bilingual community is not represented and we also miss information about the main character. Hinojosa represents how Jehú uses each of the languages and in what situations he feels most comfortable with each of them in M.Q.R.

Other losses of meaning due to translation into a single code correspond to language domain usage. Peñalosa (1980:67) confirms that English emerges when there is a topic related to work or a topic related to the majority group whereas Chicanos use Spanish, as Jehú does, linked to personal affairs and family matters. Obviously, some topics are more easily discussed in one language because the topic has been experienced in that particular language in the relevant domains. When referring to the bank, Jehu’s place of work, the code-switching into English is almost immediate in M.Q.R. (pp.41, 42). The aim of this code switching is to recall the domain of work associated to majority society in which Jehu uses that language.

There is also a code-switch to the majority language with a single word. The primary reason is that the term, in question, is more frequently used in the majority language. This slight nuance of meaning is lost through translation. Curiously enough, the self-translation sometimes imposes gender on nouns, subverting the English language usage, ‘pero creo que le gustan los deals’ (p.26)> he likes to smell something out (p.32).

Another strategy to compensate for the loss of source text elements, that contribute to defining the setting as a bilingual and bicultural one, is to maintain Spanish accents in the names of places and in the Spanish names of characters. Examples abound: El sueño de América (p.112), Rincon del Diablo (p.35), Victor Peláez. This strategy contributes to the foreignization since the reader situates him/herself in a Chicoano dominant environment. Similarly, Hinojosa integrates some Spanish words to bring the Chicano flavour into the self-translation: adiós (p.23), cabrones (p.37), simpático (p.63), señor (p.80). There are also phonetically modified instances of English to express the existence of a “contact zone”, a strategy also used by other writers such as Esmeralda Santiago: ‘Olmén Raymon’ (p.20), ‘he was a very sick man!’ (p.50). These words compensate somewhat for the loss of meaning in D.R.

As the new text has new functions, such as reaching out to a broader readership, the contrast with the source text is also apparent in the concept to family in the Chicoano and American culture. From M.Q.R. the word family includes aunts, uncles, cousins, grandparents and it is a complex network of reliable people who help or support other members of the minority group. Hinojosa underscores cultural differences regarding this issue in D.R.: family members are not mentioned (Very special, quierdo primo p.15> this is something very special p.22), their bonds are weakened and some are not included as members of the family unit. This toning down the significance of the family forms part of the

16 The election is now two weeks off and Ira thinks he’s losing ground. He’s not, but he thinks he is. Ira no me preguntó por Noddy ni por el número de su teléfono. Ira está en un mal momento, but it promised to get worse. For your information: Noddy has flown up to William Barret International to meet Hop. (…). Hoy por la mañana a eso de las once, it starts again: I’m at the Ranch with a pile of papers for Noddy to sign to prove to N. and calls Ira. Esto por poco se desmaya; I mean I could hear the breathing! (Extract from letter 14).

17 “...Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron... Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron... Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron... Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron... Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron... Me dio mucho gusto en verlos (a Israel y Aarón) pero como vinieron...
identification process for the D.R. reader. These transformations reflect part of the social transformation the Chicano family is undergoing as a result of the community’s integration into the American framework. The translation process can be thus regarded as a manner through which Hinojosa contributes to the construction of Chicano identity by providing new parameters for it.

The domestication in D.R. is also present in the diverging images that are presented of women. The historical context of the Chicana has shown the triple oppression of race, class and gender. The women portrayed in M.Q.R. and D.R are both Chicano, Anglo and a combination of these. The source text is plagued by intense sexist language, specially used in relation to a woman’s physical appearance that is replaced in D.R. with more moderate language use: *Becky era la única que llevaba el sombrero. Still se veía chula la cabrona* (p.29)> Becky was the only one wearing a hat. She can flat-out wear one too. Made her even better-looking, and that’s saying something (p.33)

Hinojosa attempts to counterweigh the loss of meaning of *cabrona* with two additional sentences. The self-translation also tends to amend the trivialization of women portrayed in the original creation deploying different strategies: the shortening of a woman’s name is changed into providing the female character’s last name: ‘*se llama Rebecca*’ (p.10)> *her name’s Rebecca Caldwell* (p.14)> the term Chicana (p.70); which minimize the female characters, is transferred by a concrete professional occupation: ‘*una chica del banco*’ (p.16)> *...one of the bank secretaries* (p.22)’. The domestication goes even further than this; the role of mother and wife is portrayed as more important in M.Q.R. than in D.R. Hinojosa changes the social conditions of Elsinoore Chapman, and old acquaintance Jehú and Rafa have, who becomes not only ‘childless’ but also ‘husbandless’; trying to represent a more contemporary *chicana* than in M.Q.R. Hinojosa has taken into account those aspects of the portrayal of women that were less likely to function effectively in the target setting and has exploited several translation strategies to transfer them, producing a functional translated-text for the broader readership, with a less traditional and chauvinist ideology about women than in M.Q.R.

Conclusions

Two conclusions can be drawn regarding several aspects of Hinojosa’s translation. Firstly, the self-translator assumes the responsibility of establishing a new equilibrium with a distinct cultural transfer of content based on gains and transformations, so that the translated text is able to function in the new setting despite the lost elements, such as bilingual expressions, various key Chicano words, and the issue of politics and the portrayal of women. Despite his use of domesticating strategies, the essence of the story that is maintained is *foreignizing* content for mainstream American, a satirical criticism of how the Chicano has been perceived in U.S. society.

Secondly, *Mi querido Rafa (M.Q.R.)* and *My Dear Rafe (D.R.)* make clear the power of language/s to articulate identities and ideologies. The writer did not indulge in his first lineal version of time. Unlike other Chicano writings, *My Dear Rafe* is much more than a literal translation, and represents Hinojosa’s attempt at retracing his steps, his hybrid culture, his heritage and his self. Both the Spanish and the English version are part of the same heterogeneous identity, one of multiple cultural and linguistic crossings.

References


The Function of Reported Language in the Discourse of Newspaper Reports

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Abstract
Direct and indirect forms of presentation have become an integral part of newspaper reports. This paper presents preliminary findings obtained in an early phase of research into the function of reported language in the discourse of British broadsheet newspapers. The aim of the research is threefold: first, to ascertain the ratio of reported and non-reported language; second, to identify the main types of reported language and their frequency of occurrence; third, to determine the function of reported language in this type of discourse. The main types of reported language examined include direct and indirect forms, mixed forms and fragmented forms. More general pragmatic functions of reported language in newspaper reports are set against the analysis of functional coherence relations within the framework of Rhetorical Structure Theory. The paper offers tentative suggestions concerning the communicative intentions reported language helps to achieve most often. The data suggest that individual types of reported language participate in the construction of a small number of relations; moreover, there seem to be a connection between a particular form of reported language and its nuclear/satellite status in a given relation. Though the conclusions must be taken as tentative rather than definite due to a limited amount of data gathered so far, they might be used as a good working hypothesis about the ways reported language is put to use in the quality British press.

Keywords
newspaper reports, reported language, coherence, Rhetorical Structure Theory

1 Introduction
For the purpose of the analysis, a small corpus of thirty articles has been analysed so far; the news reports were excerpted from the on-line versions of the main British broadsheet newspapers, such as The Times, The Guardian, The Daily Telegraph and The Independent. The reports cover various topics ranging from world and home politics to economy and business or socio-cultural issues. In general terms, newspaper reports have referential and epistemic function and in their focus on the description of the real world they claim factuality, accountability and credibility (Waugh 1995: 132-133, 151). In this paper, however, attention will be paid to more specifically defined functional coherence relations and the way reported language is integrated into the text. In the corpus examined, reported language covers a significant portion of 36.6%. As emphasised by Waugh (1995), all language phenomena should be studied within the frame of a given genre or text-type; the paper tries to ascertain whether there are any systematic ways reported forms of presentation (further only RFP) are employed or even preferred to non-reported language. Given the fact that, when preparing news reports, newspaper reporters mostly rely on external sources of information (van Dijk 1988: 125-129, 179; Waugh 1995: 133), most of what is subsequently included in the text can be in fact considered reported language. Then, the issue could be also viewed as a matter of choice between attributing a message to a particular source or leaving it unattributed. The pressures or conventions to attribute may vary from genre to genre, but if the potential to bring another voice into the discourse is exploited, it should be explained (Thompson 1996: 504, 506-7).

2 Reported language in newspaper reports
For convenience sake, the discussion starts with the canonical forms of reported language, namely direct and indirect forms. Direct forms are generally defined as those that provide the exact wording of the original (Huddleston et al. 2002:1023; Quirk et al. 1985:1021). Apart from conventional editorial changes made to the original text, they are verbatim presentations and thus show a greater degree of iconicity and autonomy of the original speaker (Waugh 1995: 137-8, 155; for faithfulness criteria see Semino et al. 1997 or Short et al. 2002). On the other hand, indirect forms are not bound by the verbatim presentation criterion and the reporter uses his words to give only the content of the original utterance (Huddleston et al. 2002:1023; Quirk et al. 1985:1021). Since indirect forms are mere paraphrases with a lower degree of iconicity, the original speaker has not autonomy (Waugh 1995: 137-8, 155). Naturally, the differences in the degree of faithfulness correlate with orthographic, grammatical and semantic-pragmatic differences. Since direct and indirect forms are well-entrenched concepts in the linguistic tradition, no more will be said about them here. Nevertheless, it seems expedient to comment briefly on the much-discussed notion of verbatim presentation not only in connection with direct forms but also with reported language in general. Very often, objections are raised against the claim purporting verbatim presentation a key feature of direct forms. The objections concern removing signs of on-the-spot production of spoken language, dialect or register variation (Waugh 1995: 156; Clark and Gerrig 1990: 785). However, in newspaper reports such corrections seem to be a norm rather than a deliberate impingement on the verbatim presentation criterion. What seems to be more interesting for language reporting are the principles of selectivity and markedness introduced by Clark and Gerrig (1990). According to the former, reporters are selective in what they present as direct presentation of the whole original speech event, including (a stretch of) the exact wording, propositional content or illocutionary act (Clark and Gerrig 1990: 769, 774-779). The latter principle relates to the reporters’ intention to make their readers recognize a piece of language as an instance of direct quote (ibid.:774). In other words, what is formally marked and presented as direct reported language is meant to be accepted as such. Also, a stretch of reported text may be only a fraction of what was uttered in the original speech event. Though Clark and Gerrig relate these principles to direct forms of presentation only, it is assumed that selectivity and markedness principles can be extended to apply to some extent to
other forms of reported language as well. Reporters select a piece of information, present it in a certain manner and mark their report accordingly. The label verbatim presentation will be employed here with the proviso that a direct quote can undergo the changes described above. The next most frequently found type of RFP was so-called mixed form, and as the term suggests, it has close affinity with both direct and indirect forms of presentation. In most cases, it has a form of embedded indirect speech, i.e. an initial reporting clause followed by a reported content clause (Huddleston et al. 2002:1024) a part of which is, however, enclosed in quotation marks, giving a verbatim presentation of the original. In these cases, an instance of RFP starts as an indirect form but then shifts into a direct form. Mixed forms are elsewhere referred to as combined forms (Waugh 1995), embedded quotation phenomena (Semino et al. 1997) or incorporated quotations (Clark and Gerrig 1990).

An important aspect of indirect forms is the possibility to condense, reduce and summarize the original piece of text (Waugh 1995: 160-161). The degree of condensation may lead to reductions both in the framing clause and reported message, resulting in gradual loss of information regarding the original content and speech act. Semino et al. (1997:24-25, 30) and Short et al. (1998: 43-45) refer to these conditions as a “decrease in the indirect presentation of a speech act” and give them a separate treatment. In these, a verb of saying or its nominalization appears with the topic stated in the form of a noun phrase (The President warned about the problem of unemployment; the President’s proposal of a new policy) or the topic is omitted altogether. In the present analysis, such structures are included only in combination with embedded quotes, under the heading of fragmented forms of presentation. In the absence of the verbum dicendi or a nominalization, the only context in which a stretch of language enclosed in quotation marks could qualify as fragmented form of presentation is its simultaneous occurrence in a separate instance of direct, indirect or mixed form of presentation, giving a clear indication of it being a case of reported language.

The selectivity principle can be operative in the reduction of a companying indirect reported forms but can also manifest itself in the choices made as to what portions and aspects of the original speech event are presented as direct quotes in mixed and fragmented forms. The following examples illustrate mixed and fragmented forms of presentation.

1. The head of the main Palestinian security service, General Jamal Kayed, said he had put his forces “on maximum alert”. [mixed form, The Times, March 12 2007]

2. He condemned the police for a “bandit attack on citizens of Russia, who did nothing illegal but were just walking on the streets of their capital”. [fragmented form, The Daily Telegraph, April 15, 2007]

RFPs will be treated mainly in terms of the four broad categories delimited; reported writing appears in minority and no distinction was made as far as the spoken-written dichotomy is concerned. Free direct forms deviate from the prototypical ones in terms of the absence of quotation marks and/or framing clause (Leech and Short 1981: 258) and, as follows from the discussion in Semino et al. (1997), the instances of free direct forms in newspaper reports do not constitute a large proportion – they do not exceed 1% of the total number of words in the examined corpus. Due to low frequency of free direct forms in general and a limited extent of the corpus created for the purposes of the present analysis, free direct forms were not given a separate treatment and were included in the category of direct reported form. Free indirect forms seem to show greater heterogeneity as far as the treatment of different linguists is concerned: they differ from the prototypical ones in terms of the paratactic or the catalectic reporting clause (Halliday 2004: 465) or in the total absence (Slembrouck 1986: 59-63; Leech and Short 1981: 325), partial retention of the original deictic centre (Waugh 1995: 150; Semino et al. 1997: 24) or any combination of these. It will have been noticed that forms without the reporting clause but with verb of saying or its nominalization correspond to Semino et.al.’s (1997) and Short et al.’s (1998) narrator’s representation of a speech act mentioned above. With the purpose of the research in mind, neither the position of the framing clause nor the absence of deictic shifts is considered as important as to substantiate separate treatment. For these reasons, cases with paratactic reporting clause and/or partially retained deictic centre were dealt with together with the prototypical indirect forms. As explained above, indirect structures that could be characterised as narrator’s representation of a speech event were included in the present analysis if they contained an embedded quote. The forms without a portion of verbatim presentation were excluded on account of great degree of compression and reduction of the original. Admittedly, the decision is to a degree arbitrary and necessarily influences the overall results of the research. For a discussion of ambiguity and cline-like character of reported language see Semino et al. (1997), Short et al. (1998); for a sequential view separating clearly the clines of direct and indirect forms in the discourse of newspaper reports see Waugh (1995).

One more comment needs to be made on cases where a reporting clause contains a cognitive verb, such as think, believe, know, suspect, hope etc. These were excluded from the analysis since there is no guarantee of any prior statement(s) being uttered (Palmer 1986:136). It can be assumed that since the reporter has no access to one’s thoughts or believes, some prior utterance must be necessarily involved and the verbs of thinking and believing are used only to indicate a degree of (un)certainty on the part of the person quoted. However, writers can base their assumptions on other evidence or indications than actual prior statement(s). The analysis does not try to offer a complete overview or typology of how language and thought of others are presented; rather it tries to look at the functional coherence relations the selected RFPs enter with the rest of the text.

3 Rhetorical Structure Theory

This section offers a short introduction into Rhetorical Structure Theory. RST is one of the possible means of studying coherence in texts and has been given priority here since it offers a detailed descriptive framework for analysing relations between pieces of text and thus makes the notion of coherence more tangible and subject to description. RST is a descriptive method for uncovering coherence in texts; it establishes functional relations between portions of text and organizes them into a tree hierarchical structure (Mann and Thompson 1988: 243-4). Following from this brief description, the structure yielded by RST reveals two important aspects about how texts are organized and how portions of text relate to one another. These are captured in the concepts of functional relations and an asymmetric satellite-nucleus status of the elements building each relation. Some relations can be also multinuclear and their relation symmetric. The nature of relations and their connection with coherence will be dealt with first. In RST, the concept of relation is bound to an
information surplus that is added in the course of interpretation and which can be derived from related units as a whole but does not follow from any of the units in isolation (Sanders, Spooren and Nordman 1992: 5; Man and Thompson 1986: 58). Thus, information surplus is observed solely in the relation of individual segments but it is a result of interpretative work – “functional and semantic judgements” on the part of the reader (Mann and Thompson 1988: 250).

The relations are conceived of in terms of the writer’s communicative purpose and the effect a portion of text is intended to have upon the reader (Gruber and Muntingil 2005: 87; Mann and Thompson 1987). The analysis yielded by RST can reveal whether reported forms of presentation are typically employed by news writers to achieve a particular communicative goal. With the notion of communicative goal in mind, it seems plausible to argue that a possible prevalence or absence of certain relations in a given genre and/or text-type can be a reflection of the communicative purpose and/or presentation strategies, so-called rhetorical repertoire (Gruber and Muntingil 2005: 87; Mann and Thompson 1988: 250). In this paper the interest is narrowed down not only to a particular genre but also to one particular phenomenon, i.e. the use of reported forms of presentation. In Waugh’s (1995) words, the aim of the analysis is to determine which relations reported language helps to construct in a text type that strives for an accurate and reliable description of the external world. In the vast literature on RST, it is possible to find a number of different taxonomies of RST relations; the present analysis relies on the classification proposed by Carlson and Marcu (2001).

Naturally, only those relations will be commented upon in whose realization RFPs frequently participate and thus bear direct relevance to a completion of a particular communicative intention.

The second central concept in RST stems from the idea of hierarchical structure of texts. The hierarchy is captured in the notions of nucleus and satellite; the asymmetry between the nuclear and satellite part is based on the assumption that some portions of text (nuclei) are more central to the writer’s communicative purpose than others. Their centrality is also reflected in that they seem to be less suitable for the processes of substitution and/or presentation strategies, so-called rhetorical repertoire (Gruber and Muntingil 2005: 87; Mann and Thompson 1988: 266; 1987:3-5). Therefore, the question addressed here must not only concern the type of relation that reported forms of presentation enter but also their nuclear or satellite status in the hierarchy, i.e. their relative central or ancillary role in the completion of writer’s intentions. For an overview of RST and the problems associated with this type of approach to the construction and interpretation of texts the reader is kindly referred to e.g. Taboada and Mann (2006), Martin (1992); Wolf and Gibson (2005) discuss the problems of low flexibility of tree structures; Gruber and Muntingil (2005) offer a comparison of RST with Register and Genre Theory.

4 Results of the analysis

The following sections present the results of the analysis and offer conclusions as to the overall ratio of reported and non-reported language, frequency of occurrence and the most common relations reported language participates in. Also, a comment will be made concerning the status of reported language in the tree structure, i.e. its nuclear or satellite function in a specific type of relation. Though the RST relations relevant to the employment of RFPs will be dealt with in chapter 4.2, it seems convenient to introduce now one of the relations that is specifically connected to reported language and to which constant reference will be made, namely the rhetorical relation of Attribution (Carlson and Marcu 2001). The relation of Attribution is mononuclear: the satellite represents the source of attribution and corresponds to a reporting clause in direct, indirect and mixed forms; the nucleus, on the other hand, corresponds to the reporter or a reporting clause. The combination of nucleus and satellite is generally referred to as relation scheme, in this case an Attribution scheme (Mann and Thompson 1988: 248-9).

4.1 Proportion and frequency

As has been explained above, the product of RST analysis is of hierarchical nature. Since RST does not work with otherwise well-established concepts such as clause or sentence, the ratio of reported and non-reported language was measured by means of arc length14. The whole corpus has the arc length of 1831, out of which 671 are realized by reported language, amounting to 36,6%. The fact that reported language comprises more than one third of the news reports studied suggests that it is a notable phenomenon and deserves due attention. As for the proportion of the individual forms of reported language, the ratio is as follows: the most extended are direct forms with the arc length of 383 (57,1% out of the reported language arc length total), followed by indirect forms with the arc length of 191 (28,5%), mixed forms extending up to 92 arcs (13,7%) and fragments with only five arcs in length (0,7%). The high arc length of direct forms can be explained by the fact that very often Attribution nuclei are realized by two or more sentences, which in RST correspond to more complex hierarchical structures with higher arc length. The lower arc length of indirect and mixed forms may reflect their summarizing and condensing function, which helps to present information in a more economical and space-saving manner. Greater freedom of the reporter to manipulate the content and form presented gives a possibility to select or combine particular ideas (Waugh 1995:158-9, 162-3). Mixed and especially fragmented forms enable the reporter to highlight the quoteworthy and at the same time incorporate it easily and neatly into the rest of the discourse (Semino 1997: 31; Waugh 1995: 147).

The low arc length of fragmented forms seems to be in agreement with this fact. Since results of the analysis usually appear only in the form of a phrase which itself is not further analysable within RST, it’s arc length thus being zero. Arc length is only in partial correspondence with the frequency of occurrence of the individual forms: the most frequent have shown to be indirect forms (99), followed by direct forms (92), mixed forms (41) and fragmented forms (23). In case of direct, indirect and mixed forms, each Attribution scheme corresponds to one occurrence15; in case of fragmented forms, a single instance was demarcated by initial and final quotation marks. The data related to the ratio of reported and non-reported language, the frequency and arc length of the individual forms are summarized in Table 1 below. On the whole, out of the four RFPs examined, it seems that broadsheet writers adhere to the more conservative types. Even though the forms of presentation discussed may possibly evoke different

14 The concept of arc length appears e.g. in Gruber and Muntingil (2005). It refers to a number of arcs, i.e. lines connecting units in a relation scheme. It was preferred to count in words or sentences since it captures the complexity and length of a hierarchical tree structure and is thus closer to the overall approach adopted. Naturally the ratio of reported vs. non-reported language would be different if a different unit of measure had been used.

15 In case a direct reported message extended over more than one sentence, it was still counted as one single instance of reported speech/writing on account of it constituting one Attribution nucleus. Therefore, each direct Attribution nucleus was delimited by the initial and final quotation marks.
numbers of prototypical features, graphical and grammatical signalling seems sufficient to separate them from the reporter’s language (on ambiguities see Semino et al. 1997; Short et al. 1998). The employment of RFPs is dealt with in the following section.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Total Arc Length: 1831/100%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Reported Language Arc Length: 671/36,6%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arc Length</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Direct</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indirect</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mixed</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fragmented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The function of RFPs was approached from two perspectives. First, the function of the whole RFP with respect to the rest of the text was examined and will be referred to here as Function 1. Function 1 (F1) refers to the relation of a RFP with the immediately connected portion of text; it is a function in the most local sense. Second, the analysis addresses the question of the relations identified within RFPs – mostly in complex Attribution nuclei, less frequently in complex Attribution satellites or any type of schemes realized by fragmented forms. Such relations are covered under the heading of Internal Structure (IS). The function of RFPs within IS is much higher (443) than the number of F1 occurrences of RFPs. The number of relations identified within IS is 255.

### Table 1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation set</th>
<th>F1 %</th>
<th>IS %</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>47,1</td>
<td>34,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>7,1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cause</td>
<td>0,8</td>
<td>0,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comparison</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>10,6</td>
<td>5,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Explanation</td>
<td>1,2</td>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enablement</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>2,3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Joint</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manner-Means</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0,8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Topic-Comment</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>8,6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Attribution</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temporal</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2,7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Title</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>252</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Table 2

The function of RFPs was approached from two perspectives. First, the function of the whole RFP with respect to the rest of the text was examined and will be referred to here as Function 1. Function 1 (F1) refers to the relation of a RFP with the immediately connected portion of text; it is a function in the most local sense. Second, the analysis addresses the question of the relations identified within RFPs – mostly in complex Attribution nuclei, less frequently in complex Attribution satellites or any type of schemes realized by fragmented forms. Such relations are covered under the heading of Internal Structure (IS). The function of RFPs within IS is much higher (443) than the number of F1 occurrences of RFPs. The number of relations identified within IS is 255.

As mentioned above, the choice of relations that will be more closely inspected depends on the degree of involvement of RFPs. Though it is not only the presence but also the absence of a particular relation type that is worthy of explanation, especially with respect to a given genre/text-type or, in RST framework a writer’s communicative intention, only those relations whose frequency justifies at least tentative conclusions as to their systematic employment in the discourse of newspaper reports will be commented upon. For the comments concerning relation frequency and occasional differences between F1 and IS, reference will be made to Table 2. Table 3 gives more detailed information about the satellite or nuclear status of RFPs in the F1 relations under discussion.

Now the discussion will proceed with a more detailed treatment of the most frequent and/or relevant relations, i.e. Summary, Evaluation, Contrast and Elaboration. Drawing on the results presented in Table 2, Elaboration clearly outnumbers the other relations, covering 47,1% in F1 and 34,3% in IS. Elaboration is defined as a relation where the satellite provides additional, more detailed or specific information about the situation presented in the nucleus (Carlson and Marcu 2001). Elaboration also notably exceeds other relations irrespective of the reported vs. non-reported language distinction, the overall percentage being 37,4% (see Table 5 below). Such high occurrence may be explained in terms of the principles governing the presentation of information in newspaper reports, namely the principle of “cyclic ordering and top-down presentation of facts” (van Dijk 1985). According to these, information is not presented to the reader linearly but discontinuously, in installments on a more general to a more specific scale (ibid.:78, 83, 89). The operation of these principles contributes to a specific discourse pattern (Ostman 1997) characterised by frequent shifts in, recurrence of and gradual elaboration on topics and referents; hence the high frequency of Elaboration relation. Reported language seems to be utilised in a way that fits this general pattern of

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*Due to the absence of reporting clause, fragmented forms do not meet the conditions for forming Attribution schemes as defined in Carlson and Marcu (2001). Theoretically, they can function as (a part of) satellite or nucleus in any other relation or even constitute a whole scheme. Hence the distinction between fragmented forms on the one hand and direct, indirect and mixed forms constituting Attribution schemes on the other.*
presentation or even contributes to its creation.
Out of the total 120 RFPs in F1 Elaboration, 77 appear
as satellites and the remaining 43 as nuclei. In other
words, RFPs are usually employed to continue the topic
or sub-topic introduced in the nucleus by adding further
information, detail or specification and are only
ancillary or supplementary to the message or the
writer’s communicative goal. Only in 43 cases are RFPs
further developed and elaborated upon and thus can be
considered to play a more central or essential role in
the text in that the rest of the message is dependant on
them in the process of interpretation. Irrespective of
the status of RFPs in an Elaboration relation, it is a relation
in which RFPs are most frequently utilised. The writer
relies on RFPs to develop a topic and carry a story
further.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation set</th>
<th>Satellite</th>
<th>Nucleus</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>43</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>114</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The function of nucleus and satellite has also been
examined with respect to a given type of reported
language. As indicated in Table 4, the occurrence of
Indirect Attribution schemes in nucleus (22) and
satellite (21) seems to be evenly distributed. The
occurrence in nucleus function can bear relation to the
summarizing potential of indirect forms; one or more
(sub)topics are introduced by means of indirect RFPs on
a general level and are further specified and elaborated
upon via either reporter’s language or another instance
of RFP. Still, the summarizing potential is a mere
possibility; by means of indirect forms reporters can
select and report any information given in the original
speech event on any level of particularity. Consequently,
there is nothing to prevent an instance of indirect form
to appear in Elaboration satellite function and provide
more details or specification. Thus, due to a lower
degree of commitment to faithfulness, indirect forms
seem to be quite flexible as to what information they
provide and the purposes they serve. In contrast, 36
direct Attribution schemes are employed in satellite
function and only nine in nucleus function. The ratio
seems to suggest that direct forms are predominantly
used to supply the type of information that may not be
(intentionally) given in indirect ones, i.e. the information
abundant in detail. Though the frequencies of mixed
(13 satellites, eight nuclei) and fragmented forms (seven
satellites, four nuclei) are too low to allow any
generalisations, on account of partial verbatim
presentation their prevailing occurrence in satellite
function can be explained along the same lines. Apart
from newsworthiness, the employment of RFPs in
general in Elaboration relation can be related to
evidentiality and personalisation of news reports
(Waugh 1995: 144). Moreover, since direct forms of
presentation evidence lowest degree of reporter’s
autonomy or influence over the reported forms, direct
quotes serve the function of detachment and more
direct experience of the original speech event (Clark
and Gerrig 1996: 792-3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation set</th>
<th>Direct</th>
<th>Indirect</th>
<th>Mixed</th>
<th>Fragmented</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The second relation in which RFPs find their
employment most frequently is the relation of Contrast.
According to Carlson and Marcu (2001), in Contrastive
relations the information frequently presented in the
nucleus/satellite contrasts or expresses a violated
expectation with respect to what is presented elsewhere
in the text. As follows from Table 2, Contrastive
relations cover 10,6% (27) in F1 and 5,6% (25) in IS. If a
need arises to give information contrary to what is
expected or present conflicting views of a situation
where the veracity of the reference to the external world
could be questioned, the responsibility for this
incompatibility is shifted to a different source than the
reporter himself. Often, separate instances of RFPs are
combined in such a way as to express Contrastive
relation, sometimes contrasting opinions of different
sources, sometimes two different views of one source
are contrasted along some dimension.

Concerning the nuclear or satellite status of RFPs, the
former (22) predominates over the latter (5). A higher
number of nuclei can be explained by the fact that
Contrastive relations, as opposed to Elaboration and
Summary, often appear as multinuclear. The role of
RFPs in Contrastive relations can be thus interpreted in
two ways: if an instance of RFP appears in a
 multinuclear relation with another instance of RFP or a
stretch of non-reported text, both nuclei are presented
and interpreted as equally essential to the writer’s
intention and are given equal prominence; if, on the
other hand, in a mononuclear relation the contrasting
information expressed by a RFP is assigned the function
of satellite or nucleus, its importance reduces or
increases, respectively. Consequently, one viewpoint of
the situation is presented to readers as more important
or perhaps more likely to be true than the other.

As for the form of reported language participating in
the formation of relations in F1, out of 27 instances of
RFPs 21 involve indirect Attribution schemes, 16 in nuclear function. On the other hand,
forms containing a stretch of verbatim presentation participate in the Contrast relations minimally: one
instance of direct form and five instances of mixed
forms, in all cases in the function of nucleus. A possible
motivation for the prevalence of indirect forms may be
the need to formulate the views expressed by different
speakers on different occasions in such a way that the
contrast stands out clearly; for this purpose indirect
forms may be more appropriate. Though the number of
reported examples may not be high enough to warrant
reliable conclusions, the results seem to suggest a
tendency to prefer pure indirect forms to direct, mixed
or fragmented forms. However, further data are needed
to support and explain these tendencies.

The next relation on the frequency scale is Evaluation.
In an Evaluation relation the information presented in
the satellite provides a subjective comment, evaluation
or interpretation of the information presented in the
nucleus (Carlson and Marcu 2001). As shown in Table 2,
Evaluation comprises 9,4% of F1 and 7,2% of IS
relations. However, due to a higher total number of
relations in IS, the IS (32) outnumbers F1 (24) in terms of number of occurrence. As will be explained later, the alignment of Evaluation with RFPs seems to be very close. If reporters wish to include a subjective opinion or comment on an event depicted, an instance of RFP must be employed. An evaluative opinion or evaluative interpretation may incorporate subjective interpretations without presenting them as their own opinions or of a given newspaper. Naturally, their sole inclusion (or exclusion) in a news report may be indicative of a political stand as well.

Given the fact that it is the satellite that offers evaluation of the nucleus, it is not surprising that in F1 21 instances out of the overall 24 function as satellites (Table 3), which indicates that reported forms of presentation are employed to provide subjective comments rather than being commented upon. However, in three cases it is the reported language itself that is evaluated; nevertheless, it must be added that here all nuclei and satellites are instances of RFPs. In other words, one Attribution scheme is used to evaluate the other.

The 21 evaluation satellites are realized by direct forms in 16 cases, two are instances of mixed forms and three of indirect forms. Since the information offered by Evaluation satellites is of highly subjective and interpretative nature, the preference of (partial) direct forms to indirect ones is apparently connected with the degree of personalization and authenticity. Direct forms involve minimal reporter’s interference in the original speech act, content and exact wording (Seminò et al. 1997: 23) and may be thus perceived as more reliable and accurate. They enrich the reporting discourse with direct, unmediated experience of the ‘real-world’ speech event. At the same time, the identification of an external source may be especially important for quality press since it enables the reporter to remain detached and refrain from passing unattributed judgments.

The last relation that remains to be commented upon is Summary. In a Summary relation the information in the nucleus or satellite summarizes or restates what is said elsewhere (Carlson and Marcu 2001). Out of all relations in whose realization RFPs participate (Table 2), Summary covers 8,6% in F1 but only 1,8% in IS. The difference in the percentage and frequency of occurrence is apparent in the above paragraphs containing more than one sentence. The overall predominance of direct forms of presentation in IS relations seem to be more a matter of their greater potential to appear in more extensive and complex RST structures than an evidence of a systematic preference for direct forms on grounds of the pragmatic function of the nucleus/satellite.

Since frequency of occurrence in F1 and/or IS (Table 2) is the main criterion for considering reported language pertinent to the realization of a particular relation, a few words should be added about Joint relation (F1 8,2%, IS 18,8%) as well. According to Carlson and Maaz (2001), Joint relation (multinuclear) is established between portions of text that are similar in content and syntactic structure. Though syntactic and semantic parallelism between units is indicative of the integration of RFPs into the discourse of news reports, nothing more particular can be said about the mutual relation between the nuclei in Joint schemes. Nevertheless, it is not without interest that out of 21 Joint schemes in F1, ten appear in Elaboration, six in Contrast and one in a Summary relation one step upwards in the tree structure. This seems to support the findings presented in the above paragraphs, the only add a feature of parallelism between the nuclei that in conjunction realize satellites or nuclei in the relations on the level above. The higher percentage of Joint relations in IS is not surprising.

In the preceding paragraphs, the starting point for the discussion was a single instance of RFP, then the relation it realized and its respective status in the hierarchy were commented upon. The discussion closes with the ratio of reported and non-reported language participating in the construction of Elaboration, Contrast, and Summary.

4.3 Reported vs. non-reported language in Elaboration, Contrast, Evaluation and Summary

In this section attention will be paid to the proportion of reported and non-reported language in the realization of Elaboration, Contrast, Evaluation and Summary relations. The results are summarized in Table 5. Since the frequency of Attribution schemes in Elaboration relations is sufficiently high (Table 2), there seems to be no doubt about the relevance of RFPs for this relation. However, due to their lower frequencies the significance of RFPs for the realization of Contrast, Evaluation and Summary can be questioned. Moreover, the frequencies are not considerably different from e.g. Background relation (Table 2; 7,1% in F1, 7% in IS), which has been so far excluded from the discussion. Consequently, the dividing line may seem to have been drawn rather
arbitrarily. The following discussion will hopefully justify the connection postulated between RFPs and the relations of Contrast, Evaluation and Summary.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Relation set</th>
<th>Total Number of Occurrence</th>
<th>Function I</th>
<th>Internal Structure</th>
<th>Reported forms of presentation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Summary</td>
<td>45/2.6%</td>
<td>15 (7)</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>23/51.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contrast</td>
<td>88/5%</td>
<td>20(7)</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>45/51.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evaluation</td>
<td>80/4.6%</td>
<td>21(3)</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>53/66.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elaboration</td>
<td>658/37.4%</td>
<td>100(20)</td>
<td>152</td>
<td>252/38.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Background</td>
<td>169/9.6%</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>49/29%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5

The second column in Table 5 summarizes the total occurrence and percentage count of Summary, Contrast, Evaluation and Elaboration irrespective of reported and non-reported language distinction. At first sight the relations of Summary, Contrast and Evaluation do not constitute a significant proportion in the total number of relations in general since their frequencies do not exceed 5%. However, from the perspective of the function of reported language, there seems to be a close link between RFPs and the three relations under scrutiny. In 51.1% of all Summary and Contrast relations some form of reported language was employed, either as a satellite or nucleus; the involvement of RFPs in the construction of Evaluation is even greater - 66.2%. Thus, even though we cannot claim that Summary, Contrast and Evaluation are exclusively bound to RFPs, the data seem to suggest a systematic employment of RFPs in these relations. Moreover, in none of the relations identified was the ratio of the involvement of reported and non-reported language so balanced or even in favour of reported language. The numbers enclosed in brackets in F1 indicate that the whole Summary (7), Contrast (7) and Evaluation (3) schemes are realised by RFPs. In these cases one instance of RFP restates, contrasts with or evaluates a different instance of RFP. Background relation was included in Table 5 in order to offer a comparison with Summary, Contrast and Evaluation. As shown in Table 2, F1 (7,1%) and IS (7%) frequencies of RFPs are very similar to those of Summary, Contrast and Evaluation. Nevertheless, on closer inspection it is clear that the link between Background relation and RFPs is much looser since RFPs are involved only in 29% of all Background relations. The connection between Elaboration and RFPs seems to be likewise more tenuous; even though RFPs participate in the construction of 252 Elaboration schemes, a number largely exceeding the occurrence of RFPs in the other relations, it is preferred to non-reported satellite/nucleus only in 38.3%. The number of whole-RFP Elaboration schemes amounts to 20; in these one form of reported language elaborates upon the preceding one.

5 Conclusion

In news construction, newspaper reporters seem to rely on reported language to a great extent. Measured in arc length, reported language constitutes a significant proportion of 36.6% of the news reports examined. RFPs participate mostly in the construction of Elaboration, Contrast, Evaluation and Summary relations. If the communicative intention is to summarize/restate, evaluate or offer contrasting views of a situation, news writers are likely to recourse to reported language. On the other hand, despite high frequency, the link between Elaboration and reported language does not seem to be so strong. Even though direct and indirect forms of reported language cannot be claimed to be used complementarily, they seem to evoke differing tendencies as regards satellite/nucleus status in a particular relation. The potential of indirect forms to offer either condensed and/or deliberately selective information may be exploited to a varying degree in their nuclear function in Elaboration, Restatement and Summary (as a more specific relation in the major Summary category). On the other hand, direct forms seem to be preferred in satellite function in Elaboration and Restatement: in the former function they supply more details or specification and in the latter they give supporting evidence on account of their relatively high degree of faithfulness to the original. By the same token, direct forms seem to be germane to Evaluative satellites, whereas indirect forms are preferred in Contrastive relations. Due to different degrees of reduction or accuracy of presentation, different forms of reported language seem to be not only relation-specific but also tend to predominate in either satellite or nucleus function. Reported language is employed in newspaper reports for the reasons of newsworthiness, evidentiality, objectivity, authenticity and personalisation of the report (Waugh 1995). It allows the reporter to partially detach himself from the content of the report (Clark and Gerrig 1990). These functions seem to reflect in the results yielded by RST analysis where each relation is defined in terms of the communicative intention pursued. However, due to a limited amount of data a larger corpus and closer inspection are needed to support the assumptions made concerning the tendency of given RFPs to appear in the relations and functions just outlined.

The discrepancy between the numbers specifying the occurrence of RFPs in Elaboration, Evaluation, Contrast and Summary given in Table 2 and Table 5 is caused by different perspectives adopted. In Table 2 the starting point for the description is an Attribution scheme or a complete instance of fragmented form; consequently, even though two different instances of RFPs formed a single relation, each of them was counted separately. In Table 5, however, focus is placed on a relation, i.e. the whole relation scheme. For a comparison of the reported/non-reported language ratio in the relations concerned, in order not to double-count, the occurrence of a RFP was counted only once even in cases of whole RFP schemes with at least two separate instances of RFP.
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Increasing Cultural Awareness through the Development of Cultural Subcompetence

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Abstract
The aim of our article is an evaluation of various ways how to develop cultural subcompetence through an informed analysis of existing knowledge from the field of pragmatics (including the notions like cultural authenticity, cultural context, coherence of a text and of the process of interpretation of cultural connotations) that serve as a point of departure for the improvement of cultural subcompetence, pointing out relevant pedagogical implications and principles for its development.

Keywords
cultural subcompetence, cultural awareness, context, discourse analysis, mental schemes and constructs

Introduction
Speakers and writers are viewed as using language not only in its interpersonal functions (taking part in some social interaction), but also in its textual function (creating a well-formed and coherent text), and also in its ideational function (representing experiences and emotions in some meaningful way). Highly influential and effective tool of verifying the extent to which all the above functions are fulfilled is the so-called discourse analysis. As a scientific discipline, it covers a wide range of activities. It can be concerned with purely linguistic issues, when it focuses on the process by which language is used in some context to express communicative intention. On the other hand, we may also notice the pragmatic perspective of discourse analysis, when it studies aspects of what is unsaid (yet communicated) within a text that is being analysed. Last, but not least, there is psychological dimension that is represented by our background knowledge, beliefs and expectations about something. This psychological dimension can be best seen at work in such cases, when we use spatial deictic expressions. For instance, somebody may say: I don’t like that smell! (although the smell is in my nose right now). Generally speaking, we may say that in pragmatics of discourse, we explore what the speaker or the writer has in mind.

Coherence of our interpretations and the role of background knowledge
Usually it holds true that what is said (or written) will make sense only in terms of our experiences of things. In this connection, it is quite common to speak about coherent interpretation of a text, or about a text that is coherent. It is inevitable for an individual to be able to interpret things, notions, events, etc. in compliance with our locally interpreted pattern, and to construct familiar scenarios in order to make sense of what might seem to be odd at first sight. For example, in spite of an identical structure, everybody would be able to assign the right kind of meaning to the following structures:

a) Plant sale (somebody is selling plants)
b) Garage sale (it does not mean that somebody is selling garages)

Our ability to interpret texts appropriately and in harmony with the target language community expectations is closely connected with the existence (or absence) of the so-called schemes. These are activated throughout the whole process of communication with people or written texts. Very often, however, the interpretations of the unwritten and the unsaid within the target language communication can require some pre-existing knowledge structures (schemes) that are substantially different from, or completely unknown to, our already existing schemes that are frequently used in our everyday communication and interaction. That is why, such cases should be deliberately practised within the process of foreign language teaching. In the light of the cultural subcompetence, very important notion is cultural schemata. These can be described as pre-existing knowledge structures based on experience in a given culture. However, they can be so firmly embedded in our consciousness, so that we find it extremely difficult to think in another alternative way. Quite often, we are prone to mark something as a common sense but in reality, it is only locally common (so-called communal sense). The following example illustrates it best (Widdowson 2007:32):

A man was taking a walk with his son one day and as they were crossing the road, a car came round a corner unexpectedly and hit the boy, injuring him badly. An ambulance was called for and the boy was taken to the nearest hospital and into the operating theatre. On seeing the boy, the surgeon suddenly let out a cry of horror: ‘My God this is my son!’ Many readers might be surprised by reading this for the first time. How can it be that the surgeon suddenly recognized his son at the hospital, when he was with the boy outside in the street? Beyond doubt, this example can be perceived as an instance of preconceive schematic assumptions. The mystery may disappear suddenly, once we admit that the surgeon is a woman. As Widdowson comments on this: “The idea that the surgeon is a woman does not (for many people at least) come immediately to mind is because the mind is naturally inclined to interpret things by relating them to what is schematically established as normal and customary. A reader with different schematic expectations, someone living in a society where it is common for surgeons to be women (and nurses, say, men), would not find this text mysterious in the least.” (Ibid 32-33)

Conversation and cultural appropriateness
The impact of culture is also visible in the field of interaction, where its fundamental principles that are at work all the time vary from one culture to another. Instances of such phenomenon are familiar to every person who has fruitful experience with interaction in more than one culture. It is a well-known fact that such aspects of interpersonal communication like turn-taking, interruption, overlaps, offers and many others are examples of such linguistic categories that are cultural variables as well. In Russian culture, for
instance, the following appear to be more frequent features of interaction than they are in British culture (Cook 1989: 124):

- the absence of a translation equivalent of ‘goodbye’ at the end of a telephone call
- long uninterrupted turns during casual conversation
- the phatic use of the sound conventionally written as ‘uh-huh’ or ‘mhuh’ in English, with a voice quality which in English can indicate boredom
- interruption of a speaker to say that what he or she is saying is already known to the hearer
- asking directly, and without elaborate apology, for small favours: for example, a cigarette, a coin for the telephone
- comment by older people upon the behaviour and dress of younger people
- standing up for elderly people on public transport
- offering food to visitors

As a result, it is inevitable to pay attention to such differences during English language classes. The language teacher should prevent students from potential communicative misunderstandings, stemming from culturally based differences through an informed practice. This is very often referred to as ‘a raising of intercultural awareness’. However, as in the case of any other task that is being accomplished in a language classroom, also cultural awareness should be increased by means of authentic teaching input and situations. Cultural authenticity and new practices need to be built upon the body of existing knowledge.

In order to develop cultural subcompetence effectively, it is crucial to develop it through authentic texts, i.e. culturally authentic texts. As a result, it is possible to speak about various alternative ways of learning that may serve as a basis for authentic cultural awareness raising. For the purposes of our analysis, we shall adopt the definition of cultural authenticity proposed by Widdowson (1979: 166):

“It is probably better to consider authenticity not as a quality residing in instances of language but as a quality which is bestowed upon them, created by the response of the receiver. Authenticity in this view is a function of the interaction between the reader/hearer and the text which incorporates the intentions of the writer/speaker. Authenticity has to do with appropriate response.”

As it is obvious from the definition, cultural authenticity is an interactive dialogue between the reader/hearer and the spoken/written text. What is more, we are of the view that cultural subcompetence can be also understood as the ability to behave in harmony with social conventions and expectations of a given speech community. From the methodological point of view, there are several optional ways of learning that might be of a great help when developing cultural subcompetence and communicative skills in general. These can be perceived as substantially different from those adopted by traditional teaching, as they heavily rely on the basic principles of communicative methodology. Communicative teaching should stimulate new ways of learning (Kramsch 2001:200-201):

1. Non-linear – real-life material provide such knowledge that is not divided into some sequences. Rather it is better to speak about spiral learning, where learners build upon the body of existing knowledge.
2. Context-bound – students should put the knowledge into use, i.e. various situational contexts for various purposes.
3. Recursive – real-life materials should invite the learner to reinterpret, reorganize and reconstruct the knowledge.
4. Constructivist – traditionally, were expected to ‘unlock’ the hidden meaning by means of dictionaries and other reference books. They were not instructed to discover and construct the meaning on their own. In order to explore and understand things, construction of reality by a society in dialogue with itself is needed.
5. Learner-directed – students usually heavily rely on the teacher and the textbook to tell them what they need to learn. However, real-life materials require students to explore various levels of understanding that leads to a far more effective learning.
6. Multi-media – opportunities for autonomous, exploratory learning, for analyzing, synthesizing, interpreting social phenomena are not only attractive to use, they also encourage teachers to devise even more sophisticated procedures for the exploration and presentation of culturally motivated knowledge.

As we can see, the development of cultural subcompetence should go beyond the mere unidirectional (teacher → student) transmission of information about the people of a target language community and their customs. What is of a great importance here is the so-called social construct that is a product of self, i.e. related to one’s perceptions. However, culturally based communication that leads the learner towards intercultural awareness and cultural tolerance should be based upon systematic development of communicative competence. Another point is respect to the initial exposure to a great number of situational contexts that are rich in social encounters.

In other words, one of the most essential tasks of any language teacher is to introduce an authentic use of target language in a language classroom. That is why the teacher has to know his/her learners’ background, etc.) in order to motivate them accordingly in compliance with fundamental pedagogical principles (Hånsa et al. 2006). Then students should be motivated to share their ideas, opinions and arguments similarly as in everyday life communication, i.e. to use the language for real communicative purposes. Inspiring can be Littlewood (1981) who proposed his own division of communicative activities. The idea behind is that the language being used in a language classroom can be focused either on the social aspect (to promote relationships among people), or we may emphasize the functional aspect, i.e. language being put to communicative purposes pointing out the functions that it can fulfil. This corresponds to the theory of speech acts that analyses the connection between form and speech act (Searle 1975). The point is, however, that students are not exposed to formal explanation of this phenomenon, rather they practise it within some discussion, role-playing or simulations (relevant to their interests and professional orientation), where the above mentioned language aspects are incorporated. To sum it up, when students are using the language, the teacher should ensure that students are using it just because they feel an inner urge to say something and not just because they have to practice it.

In this connection it is quite stimulating to take into consideration Searle’s (2007) understanding of this phenomenon that he explains in terms of the so-called intentional causality. In fact, our understanding and interpretation of the outside world (the extra-lingual reality) is always dependent upon the subjective perception of it, i.e. we always look upon the outside reality from a certain perspective. Our statements related to the surrounding reality or the facts that we encounter are always embedded within some frame that offers us conceptual sources by means of which we describe the world around us. The point is that according to perspectivism it is not possible to perceive the outside reality directly in an objective way, but rather we approach it from our own, highly individual perspective and with our own presuppositions, expectations and prejudices. As a result, it can be claimed that “...facts have their roots in conceptual schemes”. (Searle 2007: 34)
On the basis of the previous explanations we should believe that there is no reality. There is only a reality with respect to the ‘notional scheme’. This statement leads us towards the formulation of at least two conclusions. Firstly, the objective reality is dependent upon our relationship to our environment. Secondly, our cognition that there is (no) reality would mean that we adopt the social constructivist point of view, i.e. we construct our own understanding of the surrounding reality.

As for the first conclusion, if we find ourselves in a living room, one may ask us how many pieces of the furniture we can see there. On one hand, we answer by means of counting every single piece of the furniture (chairs, tables, shelves, cupboards, etc.). On the other hand, we may just count chairs, tables and the rest of the furniture can be regarded as a sectional one. This approach towards answering the question would mean that the second number would be substantially lower although the extra-lingual reality remains the same.

In case of the conclusion related to social constructivism we may push our analysis a bit further, making use of knowledge of other relevant scientific disciplines. We may extend our elaborations on the cognitive aspect of communicating in a foreign language classroom. Sperber and Wilson (1986) followed Grice’s theoretical proposals and they also took into consideration the notion of ‘relevance’ that can be defined as a feature of utterances and other inputs in relation to existing cognitive processes. (In Repka 2003) When processing a given input, we need to exert certain mental effort and the greater the effort is, the lower degree of relevance may be assigned to the utterance produced by the speaker. On the basis of these findings Sperber and Wilson postulated two principles:

a/ Cognitive principle of relevance
b/ Communicative principle of relevance

Cognitive principle of relevance says that whenever a speaker produces his utterance, he also automatically expresses the fact that his utterance is meaningful and relevant corresponding to his abilities and, at the same time, this utterance is worth decoding and interpreting as it is relevant in a given communicative, culturally based situation to the best of the producer’s knowledge.

Second principle, on the other hand, says that the achieved communicative impact should be sufficient for justifying the exerted effort. The listener is expected to quit the process of interpreting a given utterance, both on the level of literal (explicit) and non-literal (implicit) meaning, once the interpreted utterance is perceived to be relevant. In this way the decoder chooses the path of least effort.

Taking into account the above mentioned findings, we can realize the power of context that can multiply our perception of an utterance as being relevant as long as the context itself is perceived to be familiar. The overlaps in cognitive and contextual sources are referred to as ‘shared knowledge’.

Very important are also cognitive aspects while making sense of what is surrounding us. It is essential to devote more attention to the study of cognitive processes. These are extremely important not only in the field of foreign language teaching methodology when formulating rules and hypotheses about the unknown linguistic phenomena but also in psycholinguistics when dealing with learning and mental processes such as deduction, induction, making hypotheses, making generalizations, analysis, synthesis, etc. All these processes need to be performed by the learner himself/herself. What is more, activity is more motivating and stimulating, which is true especially in case of young children whose attention span is quite short, once the learner can interact with others, and he/she reveals the functioning of rules on his/her own. This point of view also complies with the cognitive view of language learning theories. According to this theory of constructivism, learning can be effective once the new information becomes operational (Repka – Halušková 2005). This means that the student is able to use and modify it according to a given learning situation on a large number of occasions.

What also needs to be pointed out is that we also activate our cognitive/mental processes that can sometimes fuse into a peculiar mental constructs that only roughly resemble the genuine déjà vu when making sense of the world around us. However, Searle (2007: 92) explains it on a completely different cognitive basis and gives us the following example. For instance, try to imagine the situation that you think about something while watching some scenery from your window and suddenly you speculate and compare the houses you see to those that you have already seen. The point is that our every single thought reminds us of other thoughts from the past. Every single look that we give people and things has a message in itself related to those things and people that we do not see at that moment. When we watch people and things we see them in relations to our previous sensory stimuli. The phenomenon described is according to Searle the so-called overflowing and can be compared to a mental process, when incoming stimuli are assimilated by our already existing knowledge structures.

Beyond doubt, we are perfectly aware of the fact that the topic of cultural subcompetence and its development in the classroom context can be tackled from various perspectives. It is a multifaceted issue and it also has a strong philosophical background that we wanted to outline in this article. However, our primary concern is methodological aspect together with its pedagogical implications. That is why we would like to present our own model of intercultural communication that attempts to outline the components that come into play when making sense of stimuli that are culturally different from those salient for our culture. The model is as follows (Plöölnská 2009):
In order to stimulate students’ cultural awareness and to teach them the required social practices, it is inevitable to adopt and implement certain principles, which can be condensed into the following recommendations:

a) Culture should be presented and taught through a dialogue with the target language text.

b) As meaning is always relational, stimulate students to put the target language culture in relation to their own one.

c) Development of cultural subcompetence should not be reduced to the transmission of factual knowledge. Due to the fact that meaning emerges through social interaction, finding out about cultural convention should occur through interpersonal interaction as well.

d) Finally, a great deal of information on culture can be retrieved from other related scientific disciplines like anthropology, pragmatics, or sociology. That is why it is strongly recommended to be in favour of content and language integrated learning that can broaden students’ knowledge on culture and social conventions, necessary for successful interaction in any target language.

Conclusion
Cultural subcompetence is an inseparable part of the model of communicative competence. Nowadays, nobody doubts its importance and its influence that it has upon the process of communication. Language is reflected in culture and, vice versa, culture is encoded in language. What is more, our language proficiency is measured according to the extent to which we are able to behave according to generally accepted social conventions of a given speech community. At the same time, we are expected to decipher culturally motivated connotations that can substantially shape our recognition of speakers’/writers’ communicative intentions.

References
Recenzie/Reviews
Coherence and Cohesion in Spoken and Written Discourse

(EDIT. OLGA DONTCHEVA-NAVRATILOVA AND RENATA POVOLNÁ, CAMBRIDGE SCHOLARS PUBLISHING 2009)

Review by Michal Vančo
Constantine the Philosopher University in Nitra, Slovakia

Coherence and Cohesion in Spoken and Written Discourse is a collection of articles focusing on the pragmatic aspects of both written and spoken communicative acts. The authors come predominantly from universities of Central Europe (Austria - Vienna, Germany - Chemnitz, Czech Republic - Brno, Ostrava, Slovakia - Nitra, Poland - Lodz). The book is formally divided into two parts (spoken discourse versus written discourse) and six chapters that deal with peculiarities of English language and its functions in terms of discourse analysis and communicative acts, as well as immediacy within communication and dialogic fluency with the concept of EFL, the use of English as a lingua franca (Karin Aijmer, Julia Hütter), academic discourse and its propositional contents (Markéta Malá, Renata Povolná), political texts and their expressiveness (Piotr Cap, Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova), language of audio and print media (Jan Chovanec, Renata Tomášková), professional academic language and its syntactic structure on the level of text organization (Milena Krhutková, Josef Schmied) and pragmatic dimensions in literary texts (Gabriela Miššíková). The underlying idea of the presented academic publication is the complex of regularities constantly reoccurring within the framework of one of the basic language functions, namely its communicative dimension. Given that discourse is in the centre of basic investigation of all the mentioned authors, all aspects of the communicative chain (speaker, medium, recipient) are thoroughly analyzed and exemplified, in compliance with the objectives of the respective chapters, by means of showing ways significant for text/utterance interpretation and its consequent decoding. The capacity of any utterance to invoke a spatial, temporal and axiological (Piotr Cap) immediacy is the very essence of the “liveness” of any linguistic or artistic depiction of reality (situation, scene, etc.). Be it the emphatic “well” from K. Aimer’s text or adverbial connections investigated by Josef Schmied, just to illustrate the scope and broad diapason of options characterizing the approach methods chosen by all texts’ authors, it is still the primary concern of all of them to classify and categorize the singularities of discourse properties such as coherence and cohesion. Literary texts, as treated by Gabriela Miššíková, present an extra challenge in terms of conventions and stereotypes that are to be taken into consideration when transferring linguistic (even more so in the case of cultural) elements into the target frame, i.e. other language. In this respect, the contributions no longer tackle the problem of mimetic relationship between language and reality. On contrary, the applied detailed approach towards all chosen subjects of investigation demonstrate the “open-endedness” of linguistic work in the sense of both empirical and theoretical language analysis. In general terms, Coherence and Cohesion in Spoken and Written Discourse is a contribution to a broad range of books on pragmatic aspects of English language within the framework of (artistic) communication in today’s world that serves as a principal means of conveying ideas and messages not only among natives. The book seeks to offer a new stance towards communication and its reception both within the linguistic approach towards the study of language, as well as under the viewpoint of basic investigation and its potential for EFL purposes. It is in this way that relevant information captured by the observing and attentive eye of professionals and experts can be transferred to university classrooms and seminars and serve the very basic purpose of enriching the young and prospective minds of our society.
The book Stylistika anglického jazyka by Ludmila Urbanová brings new insights into the study of style, and in particular, of stylistic variation in the English language, by offering a very comprehensive and up-to-date review of approaches to the analysis of stylistic phenomena which the author draws upon to outline her understanding of style and applied stylistic analysis. While obviously related to Úvod do anglické stylistiky (2002), a more practically oriented publication co-authored with Andrew Oakland, the new book Stylistika anglického jazyka is conceived as a theoretical treatise on style interpretation which focuses on the relation between form, meaning and the potential functions of verbal and non-verbal means of expression and their contribution to the perception of the stylistic make-up of a text. Sharing theoretical and applied concerns, the new book promises to be of great interest to both linguists and students of the English language, as it takes into account various rhetorically motivated and context-dependent stylistic choices which affect discourse interpretation.

The book comprises eleven chapters which focus on different issues central to the study of stylistic variation. The first five chapters deal with the definition of key concepts and review different theories of style. An important contribution to the volume is the comparison between the Czech and British socio-cultural traditions of stylistics studies. While pointing out that both traditions share a functional approach, Urbanová highlights the subtle difference between them in relation to the understanding of the specificity of poetic language and the relationship between style and register. In her discussion of modern approaches to the study of style, the author refers to several aspects of stylistic analysis introduced by semiotics, cognitive stylistics and pragmastylistics, and highlights the difference between textualist and contextualist stylistics, which she relates to the conceptualization of text as a product characterised by distinctive features at different language levels, and of discourse as a process, which, due to its inherently dialogic character, is associated with dynamic interpretation and interactive construal of meaning. The role of intertextuality in discourse interpretation, which Urbanová regards as a feature of discourse acquiring significant prominence in modern language use, is related to that of interdiscursivity and heteroglossia; as Urbanová implies, these phenomena associated with genre development, style shifting and style merging may also be seen as distinctive features of some genres and registers.

In the discussion of key factors defining the character of stylistic means, namely variability, distinctiveness and differentiation, the author stresses the importance of a careful treatment of functional variation in language and of a scalar approach to stylistic phenomena reflecting the existence of central and peripheral phenomena in the language system. While considering the inventory of stylistically relevant features, Urbanová draws on the concepts of field, tenor and mode of discourse, introduced by Halliday (1978) to account for the relationship between the meaning potential of a text and the context of the situation in which the interaction takes place.

The following six chapters of the book comprise a careful discussion of stylistic variation, taking into consideration the contextual domains of the linguistic field and tenor and mode of discourse and related language functions. Two of the key chapters in the book are devoted to a detailed characterisation of spoken and written English at the phonetical/graphetical, grammatical and lexical levels. Urbanová explains the specificity of these two major kinds of discourse according to the medium used by the reader and immediateness of spoken language as opposed to the preservability and surveyability of written texts. The analysis of the impact of the relationships between interactants in a communicative event on the choice of language means is based on the scalar categories of formality, subjectivity and politeness, which are related to Grice's cooperative principle. A particularly valuable contribution of the volume is the attention paid to culture-specific ways of expression in the English language (in particular the social conventions for indicating formality and politeness), which are compared to the conventional means used by speakers of Czech to indicate interpersonal relations in verbal interaction.

While considering language functions as the discriminative criterion for stylistic differentiation, Urbanová compares various functional styles (the style of literature and the pragmatic styles of conversation, newspaper reporting, advertising and scientific prose), taking into account several functional variables, namely the degree of expressiveness and objectivity reflecting the involvement and stance of the speaker/writer, and the modification of illocutionary force, expressed by different strategies for accentuation and attenuation of meaning, such as boosters, empathizers, emphasizers and assurances, and negative politeness, uncertainty and vagueness.

The chapter dedicated to cohesion and coherence as stylistically relevant phenomena at the discourse level defines coherence as semantic connectedness and cohesion as syntactic connectedness of a text. The list of cohesive devices provided by the author includes grammatical phenomena, such as deictic expressions, ellipsis and conjunctions, and the lexical relations of repetition, synonymy, hyponymy etc. Coherence is regarded as contributing to the perception of coherence; however, as the author points out, deriving coherence in discourse is also dependent on inference, i.e. the ability of the listener/reader to provide the missing links and logical relations in the text on the basis of his/her background knowledge.

The implication that emerges from Urbanová’s study is that style is a complex, context-dependent phenomenon which plays a decisive role in understanding the meaning potential of discourse. By extending the scope of stylistic analysis beyond the boundaries of the verbal message, the author expands the aims of stylistic inquiry by undertaking to explain how meaning is created through complex semiotic interactions.

Intended for a Czech audience, Ludmila Urbanová’s book is written in the Czech language; however, citations and key terms are provided in English, which is an important advantage of the publication, taking into consideration the variation in the definition and use of terms in the field of stylistics.

In conclusion, it should be stressed that Urbanová’s book is a very useful addition to the field and will certainly prove to be a valuable and inspiring text for both linguists and students of the English language. While providing a comprehensive review of the main issues in modern stylistics, it definitely suggests various important issues for contemplation and directions for further research into the procedure and methods of stylistic analysis.
Research in English Language Teacher Education
(Hanušková, S. 2009. Faculty of Education, Masaryk University, Brno 2009)

Review by Zuzana Kozáčiková
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The monograph Research in English Language Teacher Education by a team of authors presents a relation of papers focusing on integrating research and teaching in English language teacher education. Predominantly, it deals with the research carried out at the Department of English Language and Literature, Faculty of Education, Masaryk University. The book is organized to three main chapters that focus on the research in the areas of linguistics, literature, cultural studies and methodology.

Each chapter is accompanied by a simple introduction which reflects the research efforts conducted in the department and therefore gives a clear overview of the research activities. The department of English language and literature at the Faculty of Education places its emphasis on the development of professional competencies and pedagogical content knowledge as well as the high-quality research activities in the above mentioned fields.

In chapter 1 Renáta Povolná introduces linguistic research at the Department of English Language and Literature. Moreover, she presents a survey of these activities in the fields of learner language, spoken language, coherence, cohesion, FSP and ESP. She believes that carrying out a linguistic research at an education-oriented department is vital, since an understanding of how language resources can be used to achieve different communicative goals is indispensable for future language teachers: on the one hand it improves their language and communicative competence and on the other hand helps them realize what and how they should teach to help their future students acquire the target language more effectively and successfully. Among the first outcomes of these research activities are firstly the establishment of a reviewed international linguistics journal Discourse and Interaction, which first appeared in 2008 and secondly, the organization of a regular international conference – Brno Conference on Linguistic Studies in English. The structure and the layout of the first chapter proceeds with the sample papers aimed at teachers' performance in ELT (Martin Adam, Petr Najvar), the evaluation of stance devices in academic discourse (Olga Dontcheva-Navratišlová), placement of intonation centre in utterances of Czech speakers of English (Irena Headlandová Kalischová), conjuncts and their use in English academic prose (Irena Hůlková), language of news reporting (Renata Jančaříková), interpretation of meaning in spoken discourse (Renata Povolná) and a synchronic-diachronic study of English equivalents-Czech names of Institutions (Radek Vogel).

The second part of the monograph, Chapter 2, analyses ongoing literal and cultural research at the Department. Research carried out in the field of literature and cultural studies has had a substantial influence on the development of the curricula centered on culture and literature teaching. In the introduction to this part of the monograph Přibylová emphasizes the aspiration for a consistent study programme aimed at the development of reading skills and linguistic, artistic and social sensitivity.

Among the main research interests of the literary section belong popular literature, modern drama, Native American literature and postcolonial literature. The articles presented here fall into two groups – those dealing with cultural studies as sample papers by George, Waisserová and those studying American native (Buchtová) and English literature (Podroužková) and postmodern literature (Kováčová).

The chapter three co-authored by Hanušová, Havlíčková and Váňová concludes the monograph with the methodological research. The research topics can be roughly divided into two areas – research concerning English Language Teaching (ELT) and research concerning English Language Teacher Education (ELTE). More specifically, Hanušová presents the results of an action research project she realized with a group of lower secondary teachers in the Czech Republic. The primary teacher education programme faces many challenges that the educators have to cope with and therefore becomes the main focus of two methodologists Ivana Hrozková and Nadežda Vojtková. In this paper they try to suggest the research project based on investigation of those changes to the primary programme and their impact on the real-life education. Practical implication can be seen in the papers by Alena Kašpárková (Using interactive boards in ELT) and V. Najvarová and P. Najvar (The CPV video study of English). Other topics include the factor of group size in FLT as analyzed by Aaron Collier and Rita Collins.

The relationship of research and teaching belongs to the most debated issues. Research and teaching cannot be viewed as two separate activities as far as the responsibilities of University teachers are concerned. Apart from pedagogical tasks, the members of the department of English language and literature carry out numerous research projects and activities in the field of linguistics, literature, cultural studies and methodology. They try to keep the balance between the proportion of these two types of activities, research and teaching.

The monograph can be seen as an inspiring and challenging study which gives a clear picture how the research at the Department of English and American Studies looks like. Moreover, it provides an example for students and teachers as to how research can be more intimately connected to teacher education and lifelong learning.
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