



Communicating English in Specialised Domains

A Festschrift for Maurizio Gotti

Edited by

**Stefania Maci, Michele Sala
and Cinzia Spinzi**

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The following academics and former or current colleagues of Maurizio Gotti wish their names to be listed in this Tabula Gratulatoria as an expression of their gratitude and in recognition of his exemplary contribution to the field of English Language studies in specialised settings: Elena Agazzi, Carmen Argondizzo, Miriam Bait, Luca Bani, Paolo Barcella, Francesca Bargiela, Ulisse Belotti, Mario Bensi, Giuliano Bernini, Antonio Bertacca, Marina Bianchi, Ruth Breeze, William Bromwich, Federica Burini, Giuditta Caliendo, Maria Vittoria Calvi, Raul Calzoni, Maria Grazia Cammarota, Sandra Campagna, Gabriella Carobbio, Elena Carpi, Erik Castello, Emanuela Casti, Flavia Cavaliere, Luisa Chierichetti, Stefania Consonni, Belinda Crawford, Pierluigi Cuzzolin, Larissa D'Angelo, Chiara Degano, Davide Del Bello, Cécile Desoutter, Giuliana Diani, Marina Dossena, Richard Dury, Paola Evangelisti, Alessandra Fazio, Eleonora Federici, John Flowerdew, Kjersti Fløttum, Inmaculada Fortanet Gómez, Giovanni Garofalo, Valeria Gennero, Alessandra Ghisalberti, Davide S. Giannoni, Paul Gillaerts, Michela Giordano, Stanislaw Gozd-Roszkowski, Maria Giuseppina Gottardo, Roberta Grassi, Francesca Guidotti, Christoph Hafner, Dorothee Heller, Raymond Hickey, Giovanni Iamartino, Cornelia Ilie, Susan Kermas, Francesco Lo Monaco, Angela Locatelli, Alessandra Lombardi, Rosa Lorés Sanz, María José Luzón, Maria Luisa Maggioni, Donatella Malavasi, Anna Mauranen, Davide Mazzi, Gabriella Mazzon, Denise Milizia, Pilar Mur Dueñas, Amanda C. Murphy, Teresa Musacchio, Flaminia Nicora, Maria Cristina Paganoni, Nicola Pantaleo, Tommaso Pellin, Carmen Pérez-Llantada, Ugo Persi, Gianluca Pontrandolfo, Tiziana Roncoroni, Stefano Rosso, Françoise Salager-Meyer, Rita Salvi, Carmen Sancho Guinda, Srikant Kumar Sarangi, Susan Šarčević, Giovanni Scirocco, Fabio Scotto, Polina Shvanyukova, Marco Sirtori, Martin Solly, Massimo Sturiale, John Swales, Christopher J. Taylor, Girolamo Tessuto, Massimiliano Vaghi, Ada Valentini. (We apologize to all those who could not be contacted in time to include their names in this Tabula Gratulatoria.)

INTRODUCTION

This collection of essays honors Professor Maurizio Gotti on the occasion of his retirement after many years of multifarious and enduring work in the academic world. Maurizio Gotti was the first student to graduate at the Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Bergamo, where he started his academic career. Here—after having been appointed Associate Professor of English Language at the University of Brescia and Full Professor of English Linguistics at the University G. D’Annunzio, Pescara—he served as Full Professor of History of the English Language and of English Language and Translation for more than two decades. He was Director of the Language Centre, Deputy Dean of the Faculty of Foreign Languages and Literatures, Head of the Master Degree Course in Foreign Languages for International Communication and, more recently, Head of the Department of Foreign Literatures, Languages and Cultures, which, under his direction, has been awarded Department of Excellence by ANVUR (Agenzia Nazionale di Valutazione del Sistema Universitario e della Ricerca, the national agency for the evaluation of the university and research systems). It is at the University of Bergamo that Maurizio Gotti founded the internationally known research centre on specialised languages (CERLIS) and started the *Linguistic Insights* book series with the prestigious publishing house Peter Lang.

In the course of his career he has also been assigned multiple and prestigious offices, at both national level—President of AIA (the Italian Association of English Studies) and of AICLU (the Italian Association of University Language Centres)—and international level—Member of the Board of ESSE (the European Society for the Study of English), President of CERCLES (the European Confederation of University Language Centres), and Member of the Editorial Board of several national and international journals (*ESP Across Cultures*, *Fachsprache*, *Hermes*, *International Journal for the Semiotics of Law*, *International Journal of Specialized Communication*, *Journal of Applied Psycholinguistics*, *Law and Language*, to name but a few).

Prof. Gotti’s high academic profile has been reflected in his experience as a visiting professor in many universities around the world—the University of Hong Kong (China), Valparaiso (Chile), München and Aachen (Germany), Innsbruck (Austria), Aarhus (Denmark), La Coruna and

Saragoza (Spain), and numerous others—where he carried out research and teaching activities.

Our experience as his collaborators has been invaluable. From conference organization to book editing, to administrative work, the years spent working together granted us the opportunity to learn greatly from his competence, commitment, determination and practical knowledge of the academic world (its practices, mechanisms, rituals, internal dynamics, etc.). During our regular meetings, we would discuss matters of all sorts, from the most interesting and challenging to the most tedious and problematic: Every apparent hurdle was never an obstacle as Maurizio always had a ready plan A, or B (or even C)! Indeed, his way of approaching issues has always been an operative and managerial one, and a very efficient and successful one at that respect. Furthermore, he has been and still is indefatigable in supporting and helping those who needed his support, with an academic generosity which has no equal. It has been an honor for us to have Maurizio Gotti as our mentor, and we are and will be eternally grateful for both what he has taught us down the years and his outstanding example.

Those working with him, but also scholars carrying out similar research around the world, have often been impressed by the quality, quantity and originality of his work, and by the commitment and enthusiasm with which he carried out his research. Maurizio Gotti's intellectual endeavours have encompassed many knowledge domains: He has made significant contributions to multiple areas of study including specialised discourses, lexicography, history of the English language and language teaching. His work has significantly contributed to extending and expanding existing research territories in both synchronic (i.e. the study of microlanguages and their pedagogy) and diachronic domains (i.e. the development of scientific discourse and of the rhetoric of experimental essays), but has also, and distinctively, contributed to establishing and defining new areas of investigation, bringing together and harmonizing methodologies (i.e. discourse analysis, genre analysis, critical discourse analysis, etc.) and applying them to a specific range of communicative events generally grouped under the label of specialised communication, which comprises academic, economic, legal, political, medical, and tourism discourses. What makes Maurizio Gotti's research stand out is the constant updating and upgrading of his approach to the investigation of the language, which has accounted for the changes in communicative practices—influenced by the use of English as a global language, new technologies, genre contamination and hybridization, popularization, etc.—by including new trends of language analysis (i.e. multimodal approaches, critical genre analysis, etc.).

Evidence of this is represented by all the national and international research projects Maurizio Gotti has been coordinating ever since 1999 on the diachronic and synchronic aspects of the English language, with particular regards to academic discourse, specialised discourse, knowledge dissemination, and arbitration. In addition to that, the editors and colleagues who have contributed to this volume clearly also testify to the richness and diversity that characterizes Maurizio Gotti's work.

Thus, this volume brings together contributions from these various fields of enquiry authored by an international group of scholars—including colleagues past and present—whose academic input interacts in various ways with ideas and topics introduced or extensively discussed in Maurizio Gotti's studies. The chapters have been grouped in four theme-based sections representing the main threads in Maurizio Gotti's research, from the macro area of specialised discourse to the more specific fields of research, namely academic and legal languages. The fourth section includes contributions dealing with the history of English language, and is followed by a miscellaneous section which concludes the collection.

Part 1: Specialised Discourse

The five chapters grouped in this first part deal with recent developments in the area of English for Specific Purposes, an approach to research and practice which has been at the heart of Maurizio Gotti's research, and which is in perpetual expansion. Among the diversity of aims and methods of the essays which follow, fragmentation towards more specific communicative settings dominated by specialised knowledge seems to be visible.

In the introductory chapter, titled “(Un)surprising Vistas in Health Care Communication”, **Giuseppina Cortese** stresses the relevance of communication in health care settings which goes beyond the traditional doctor-patient interaction. Cortese looks at hospital as a community of practice where no clear-cut distinction exists among the various types of communication, from professional, institutional and regulative talk to informal and bonding talk. The author discusses some narratives of meaning-making in local public hospitals in Turin, where communication at any level involves people from different social, professional and cultural backgrounds, not least immigrants from foreign countries who are privately hired as caregivers. One very relevant feature of this contribution is that Cortese raises many questions such as the presence of disempowered actors in the communication process because of language and culture barriers; the need for language and cultural mediating services when translating problematic genres (e.g. informed consent) and not only, as already

advocated by Gotti (2013); and the need for an intercultural-oriented training in the workplace. Going through all these issues may respond to the ultimate aim of streamlining or, better, “optimizing” models, as she claims, that may limit the phenomenon of overcrowding in public hospitals, hindered by many social, political and economic factors.

A more specific health communication setting is investigated in **Gillian Mansfield**'s chapter entitled “Diabetics'r'us: Seeking Information and Emotional Support in an Online Diabetic Community”, even though, this time, communication is internet-mediated. Mansfield analyses the online communication regarding diabetes, a problem shared by the social actors taking part in the online forum. Based on previous literature, Mansfield devotes her efforts to investigating the discursive practices (i.e. metadiscursive features and rhetorical strategies) used by interactants in the starter topic thread titles found on a diabetes-related British website. This work is further sustained by previous research (Turnbull 2015) which has demonstrated an ongoing propensity towards a patient-centred approach in medical communication. After a useful review of the literature on metadiscourse, on the main features of online interaction and, finally, on the popularisation of scientific discourse, the author moves on to the investigation of the practices used by the diabetics to express their feelings and describe their behaviours. In so doing, she shows how discussants affected by this chronic disease rely on these online interactions not only to acquire knowledge about their disease from their peers, but also to be emotionally supported by those who share the same suffering.

The chapter by **Mariagrazia Guido**, titled “Migrants' Trauma Narratives through ELF: From Fact Reports to Possible-World Representations”, zooms in on trauma-affected migrants' narratives mediated by English as Lingua Franca (ELF). For the purpose of identifying how communicative effectiveness in spoken ELF is achieved, the author develops an ethnographically-informed research by which she points out how, linguistically speaking, some features of Nigerian migrants' L1 are transferred into their use of ELF at a lexical, interpersonal and textual level of the language; content-wise, two main semantic structures feature the migrants' retelling of their journey towards a better life: ‘hope’ and ‘despair’. Focussing in particular on narratives of ‘hope’, Guido reports the case of a Nigerian young man speaking the local dialect Yoruba as L1 and Nigerian Pidgin English as his displaced variation. Findings demonstrate that narratives of this type are deontically modulated and the author provides a justification calling to mind the Nigerian cultural orientation to “deterministic metaphysics”, a kind of unconditioned acceptance of the predestined fate. The same cultural trait of supernatural causation explains the use of ergativity constructions in these

stories. As far as narratives of despair are concerned, apart from the deontic modality, other recurrent features are the use of idiomatic expressions and the presence of tense indefiniteness. If the former increases proportionally to the level of the migrant's discouragement, the latter is mainly attributed by the author to the still alive sense of past traumatic events. The strength of this chapter lies in the pedagogical implications that these findings have for ESP norms.

This section closes with a chapter entitled “Lexicographic Metalanguage as (a) Specialised Language” by **Stefania Nuccorini**, who carries out a lexicographic investigation of similarities and differences between metalanguages used in three monolingual learner's dictionaries. For the purpose of verifying whether lexicographic metalanguage can be considered a case of specialised language, an overview of the literature on metalanguage, terminology, specialised knowledge, specialised language, and language awareness is provided. Drawing upon Berry's definition of metalanguage as “language about language (where terminology is viewed as the *lexis*)” (2005, 3), the author concludes by stating that if, generally speaking, lexicographic metalanguage represents a case of specialised language, then the learners' dictionaries analysed should be seen as cases of “a specialised language”, where the use of the indefinite article, far from being an irrelevant item, stands there to mark the precise contours of the specific concept of language.

Part II: Legal Discourse

The second part of the volume is devoted to the analysis of legal discourse and the four chapters included contribute to the discussion of such notions as accessibility and inclusiveness in language, in terms of accessibility to data and communication but also in the sense of social inclusion. In the first chapter entitled “Interdiscursive Construction of Arbitration Practice: Implied Confidentiality and Accessibility of Data”, **Vijay Bhatia**, after paying an explicit homage to Gotti's insightful research in legal discourse, addresses the specific case of arbitration, meant as an alternative dispute resolution to litigation, mainly adopted in commercial contexts. With a view to pinpointing the importance of a multidimensional approach to the study of genre, Bhatia discusses some relevant issues concerning the accessibility of interdiscursive data, through the investigation of a considerable amount of materials from international commercial arbitration practices. Indeed, the main hindrance to this type of research seems to be the lack of access to data, due to the duty of confidentiality and privacy, an issue—Bhatia argues—that is not absolute.

The interest of this particular contribution lies not only in its practical suggestion on how to gather materials (e.g. the collection of discursive data from arbitration awards) but also its proposal to access information about procedural decisions through an ethnographic approach, namely through the narratives of experienced practitioners.

Accessibility is also the subject of the second chapter, “Court Judgments and plain Language: Some recent developments in Canada and the United Kingdom”, even though with specific reference to the appalling complexity and verbosity of legal language and, hence, the urgency to render it more comprehensible. This is the main thrust in **Cristopher Williams’** contribution which discusses the thorny question of legal (in)accessibility by investigating some recent cases of court judgments in Canada and in the UK. After offering an outline of the main features of judgments, Williams goes on to show the use of a more conversation-like style and several aspects of simplification in these types of texts i.e. short sentences, direct ways of addressing the defendant and many others. The author explains that the adoption of a more ‘plain language’ (in line with the criteria of the Plain Language Movement) in the judgments analysed, although still too lengthy, responds to the urgency of a clearer and a more effective legal communication, accessible to all, laypeople and also those with special needs (e.g. people with learning difficulties) who might be involved at various levels in legal cases.

One of the threats to comprehension of legal discourse is vagueness, that is the focal point of the following chapter entitled “Linguistic Vagueness in the concept of ‘Beyond Reasonable Doubt’”. The author, **Patrizia Anesa**, explores the iconic concept of ‘beyond reasonable doubt’ (BRD) associated with the Anglo-American legal system, namely the proof of guilt required in a criminal prosecution for a person to be convicted of crime. To this end, Anesa concentrates on the informative strategies in jury instructions and in closing arguments through her analysis of the internationally echoed criminal case of the West Memphis Three. The case dates back to 1993 and concerns the brutal murder of three eight-year-old kids. BRD, as Anesa maintains, has always been a very controversial notion and its obscurity is accentuated by a shift from its original purpose. Despite the many attempts to shed light on the doctrine, the case under investigation demonstrates that in the jury instructions and in the closing arguments the concept still implicates subjective interpretation due to its intrinsically indeterminate nature. The notion of BRD is presented through verbal realizations which are in line with the recommendations generally offered by legal experts and, thus, interpretive issues are related mainly to the inherent indeterminacy of the concept rather than to inaccurate linguistic constructions.

Giuliana Garzone in her chapter “Gender Neutrality in Legislative Drafting: Linguistic Perspectives” addresses the compelling question of gender inequality in language, recently verbalised in terms of “gender inclusiveness”, an issue of interest to both legal language and communication and gender-based studies. More particularly, the author is interested in exploring how gender is encoded in legislative drafting and in discussing the problems involved in a gender-neutral drafting style dwelling on primarily pronominal reference. To this end a corpus of statutes passed in the British Parliament from 1973 to 2016 is compiled and some guidelines are taken into account. The chapter starts out by defining gender and by identifying the language tools assigned to gender in English. Then, the focus turns towards a review of the ‘Masculine Rule’ (i.e. the use of male gender in legislative drafting) and its evolution across years and documents, noting that only in the 1980s some countries started to adopt a policy of gender-neutral drafting. Among the techniques recommended to realize gender-neutral writing, some of them (e.g. use of passive, repetition of noun, omission, reorganization of the sentence) imply a re-wording of the sentence to avoid the pronominal use; on the contrary, other strategies to avoid sexist language (e.g. the use of ‘he and she’ or the ‘singular they’) entail a change in the pronouns themselves. Interestingly, quantitative observations of the corpus indicate a decrease of the masculine pronouns over the years in favour of substitutive items such as *person* and *individual*. However, as Garzone points out, resorting to gender free strategies in a language system which is essentially gender-based may sometimes compromise clarity and readability of the final product. Only a change in mentality would bring about a transparent and gender-neutral language—the author closes.

Part Three: Academic Discourse

The section on academic discourse is introduced by **Ken Hyland** whose chapter, “Identity Narratives: Scholarly Storytelling in Academic Genres”, starts from the assumption that identity in narratives is a performance rather than an interpretative portrayal of the self. By investigating three storytelling genres in academic communication (e.g. acknowledgements, homepages and bios) this chapter explores how scholars construct what Hyland calls “proximity” and “position”. The main aim of this chapter is to show that these narratives tell us a lot about the various academic disciplines, that is to say, their membership practices and the preferred ways to construct the academics’ identity. In order to carry out his analysis the author relies on corpus techniques which are apt to uncover typical patterns of language use

in a specialised context. Findings demonstrate that, acknowledgements, typically associated to research articles, monographs or—as is the case under investigation— dissertations, are representations of both the academic as a skilled professional and a social person. The functional analysis (Halliday 1994) of bios, seen by the author as the most explicit public assertion of self-representation in scholarly life, has instead shown that scholars tend to rely on relational processes (through the verb *be*) to say who they are and material processes (the verb *do*) to state what they do. Interestingly, the rhetorical choices encountered in this narrative of the self reveal that scholars claim their individuality by using a distinctive and very recognisable set of language resources. In line with the case of bios, the investigation of the homepages, reveals that, despite the room made available by this digital format for creative self-representation, scholars do not show a great sense of individuality, preferring aligning to standard, thus easily recognizable, options rather than daring resorting to idiosyncratic forms of self-expression.

In the following chapter, “Dissertations, Essays, and Pamphlets 1660–1800: A Study on the Genres”, the author **Irma Taavitsainen** focuses on a scantily investigated genre i.e. dissertation that she scrutinizes from the perspective of historical pragmatics. The aim of this study is to look at diversification of dissertations from some neighbouring genres (e.g. essays and pamphlets) and from the main line of development in the eighteenth century. To answer her research questions, Taavitsainen adopts multiple methodological approaches. Indeed, if dictionaries provide data for establishing the timeline of developments, the use of electronic corpora allows the author to investigate in more detail the generic boundaries and the specificities of the dissertation genre. The results show that in the 18th century this was a genre in the process of formation and the overlap with other more traditional and well-established genres, especially the essay, was still discernible.

The next two chapters concentrate on the role of English as an international language. In the first one, “Analysing Academic ELF in Economics”, authored by **Marina Bondi** and **Francesca Vitali**, the role investigated is that of English as a research language in scholarly publishing. The motivation for this research comes from the scholars’ ever-increasing request for proof-reading services from English native speakers (e.g. language professionals, reviewers, editors) in order to pursue their publication goals. The authors rightly maintain that this phenomenon cannot be neglected, above all for the delicate function of gate-keeping of these literacy brokers. Indeed, they argue that the English language used in the final draft of works ready for publication might be affected by both the

‘selling imperative’ of the publishing industry and by reference to native-speaker standards. The main thrust of this chapter lies in the differences found between scientific works published in academic journals and their unpublished drafts. Relying on Hyland’s taxonomy of interactive and interactional markers, this study shows that ELF writers prefer not to take a clearly explicit stance towards the topic discussed averting any downplay of the reader’s viewpoint. Nevertheless, their stance becomes visible through other patterns in language—i.e. attitudinal expressions containing the adjective *important* as a keyword (e.g. *it is important to*+cognitive verb) which are cognitively and strategically employed to align the reader with the author’s position. In published works, namely revised articles, the presence of cohesive ties and the use of a more interactional language seem to make the difference with respect to unpublished texts. According to the authors, these language features allow scholars to be professionally appreciated and recognised as expert writers by the academic community.

With the next chapter, titled “Mirror, Mirror on the Wall: Which Strategies Can Suit Them All?” and written by **Franca Poppi**, we move from ELF to the role of English as a medium of instruction (EMI). Starting from previous research, which claims the implementation of pragmatic skills to spur the students to be more interactive, the main issue tackled in this study concerns the pragmatic strategies adopted by lecturers who use English as the main code for teaching. The data for the analysis are based on three intensive Master courses (i.e. International Law, Service Management and Marketing strategies) taught in English and complemented by semi-structured questions to lecturers. The author notes that, despite the ever-increasing role of EMI in higher education, its recognition is still controversial among scholars. At the level of pragmatics, instead, she reports on a more conscious use of the strategies employed to perform two main macro functions: introducing new terms and making the progression of the lecture smoother.

The chapter entitled “Getting Ready for the Next Steps: Multimodal and Hypermodal Knowledge Communication in Academic Context” authored by **Jan Engberg** and **Carmen Daniela Maier** closes the section on academic discourse and is a recognition of Gotti’s contribution to research on multimodal and hypermodal communication in academic settings. The crucial issue of this work concerns the challenges posed by the use of digital media in traditional genres. The authors start off with providing an overview of the approaches and methods applied in the literature to study the construction and proliferation of new genres and new publishing formats, notably video essays. Then, traditional research articles are compared and contrasted with academic visual essays and video essays to shed light on the

dramatic changes in the communication dynamics of the genres investigated. This chapter proposes new insights into the study of the identity of academic narrators which becomes more prominently visible when using video essays; hence, the authors mention the many advantages recognized: from a new way of controlling the audience, to a closer interpretation of the narrative, to the irrefutable credibility of the narrator, all of which (will) have important reverberations on the dissemination of specialised knowledge.

Part Four: History of the English Language

Digitization has increased the interest in research on the history of language by providing access to a large amount of data which is unprecedented and was hardly foreseeable up until a few decades ago. Against this background, dictionaries have also become undeniably rewarding electronic resources with the *Oxford English Dictionary* as certainly a milestone in this scenario. Hence, works on lexicography and historical aspects of the language have benefited from these means at various levels.

The chapter opening this section is “The Dutch here hav bin very hygh”: Charles Longland’s Diplomatic Correspondence of the 1650s” where **Nicholas Brownlees** explores the diplomatic correspondence between the English Secretary of State, John Thurloe, and an English agent living in Tuscany (Leghorn, Livorno in Italian), Charles Longland. The 25 letters investigated here date back to 1653-1654, when England determined to establish its commercial supremacy at sea and Longland’s role was crucial as an informer about the naval and political situation in Italy. Drawing upon Van Dijk’s notions of superstructure and semantic macrostructural levels, on the one hand, and previous studies on contemporary diplomatic correspondence, on the other, Brownlees examines the phraseology of Longland’s writing observing some interesting trends. At the level of orthography, which is one of the main focuses of the analysis, some recurrent features (e.g. the absence of the final <e>; the abolition of the double consonant in final position, etc.) are an index of great consistency. As Brownlees argues, probably Longland came across James Howell’s publication on spelling reform. Despite their opposite political leaning, Longland and Howell shared the same feeling about the inconsistencies of the English spelling and the need for a reform, supported for Longland by his knowledge of Italian and of the broadly phonetic Italian spelling system.

The study of metadiscourse and evaluation comes back as the focal point of the chapter “The Dawning of Academic Evaluation: Oldenburg’s

Transactions of the Royal Society” authored by **Gabriella Del Lungo Camiciotti**. Starting from the assumption that epistolary texts— drawn from the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society* (1666) for the purpose of the analysis—are not only informative but also evaluative, for their intrinsic dialogic nature, the author seeks to demonstrate that they are rife with interpersonal elements. To prove this point, the author carries out a quantitative and qualitative text-based discourse analysis and shows that the letters, far from being objective, are presented from the editor’s point of view, even though in an implicit and somewhat balanced way. Thus, for example, positive evaluative adjectives used for building a confident and favourable profile of the Royal Society are counter-balanced by other language devices (e.g. hedges, among others) to mitigate the editor’s role. Although the letters, seen as a means for disseminating scientific knowledge to a wider audience other than the Society, are characterized by a plain style devoid of the rhetorical ornaments, the author concludes that the evaluations expressed in the epistolary texts represent a key to the dominant system of values of the scientific community of the Royal Society, also pointing out that, strategies for expressing writer’s engagement and reader’s involvement have always been used since the inception of scientific writing.

In the following chapter, “Language and Power in Early 20th c. China: The Case of Shanghai Minutes of Meeting”, **Roberta Facchinetti** focuses on a particular genre, i.e. the Shanghai Council’s Minutes of Meetings (MoMs), to carry out both a linguistic and a socio-historical analysis. The author aims to investigate both the main features of the Council’s minutes and the evolution of the British management of municipal affairs in Shanghai. The rationale behind this study lies in the particular financial role played by the city of Shanghai on the international arena, especially after the 1911 revolution, which marked a new era in Chinese history. Interestingly, from the linguistic point of view MoMs may be seen as a form of hybrid text revealing features of news reporting and of legal discourse. In a period of co-existence of locals and foreigners (above all British), the author explains the peculiarity of these texts with the need on the part of the government to take decisions and report on them at the same time. From the historical perspective, the texts under scrutiny are manifestations of the evolving relations between China and the western countries.

As suggested by its title, “The Discursive Construction of Ethos in 19th Century Self-Help Medical Books by Women Doctors. An Exploration”, the next chapter discusses the strategies and discursive resources exploited by American female physicians in the 19th century in order to construct their identity and professional persona, and convey of themselves the idea of authoritative and reliable experts in the practice of medicine. As pointed out

by the author, **Paola Catenaccio**, who analyses five self-help manuals written over a time-span of 60 years (1834-1893), women—much more than male doctors—needed to find effective ways to write about themselves and their experience as physicians in order to consolidate their ethos and be accepted as medical practitioners in a male-dominated field as the one of medicine at the time, where even the most prestigious medical schools were hardly accessible to women. This study shows that the main ethos-defining traits—shared, though in various degrees, by all the five ‘authoresses’ of the manuals investigated here—are, on the one hand, the marking of distance from traditional medicine, which is often portrayed as being too abstract and based on principles rather than evidence—and, on the other, the emphasis on closeness and commitment towards patients, both in terms of language—a ‘simple’ way of codifying meanings, easily understandable also by lay users, is preferred to specialised, hence possibly gate-keeping, formulations—and in terms of common grounds and experience that women doctors are expected to share notably with female users, especially concerning topics such as the female body, childbirth, and pregnancy.

The fourth section of the volume closes with the chapter “The Combining Form *Multi-* in English Compounds”, by **Virginia Pulcini**, which investigates neo-classical combinations, that is, those word-formation phenomena, fairly productive in English (Bauer 1998), which consist in the association of a combining form (CF) or affix of Greek or Latin origin to a free-standing or bound base. The author focuses specifically on the case of the CF *multi*, first exploring the dictionary profile of such a term (used to point to numerical quantities, with the meaning of *a large amount of, a large number of*) both as an independent item and as a CF, and then exploring the semantic and morpho-syntactic profile of compounds opening with the CF *multi-*. Contrasting it with the (quasi-) synonymic neo-classical CF form *poly-*, the author shows how *multi-*, while possibly found also in combination with nominal and verbal bases, is mainly associated to adjectival bases, in that they allow for the articulation and specification of the semantics of the modifiers. The chapter suggests that the semantic and syntactic affordances of this CF may be among the reasons explaining its productivity and the expansion of compounds containing *multi-*, which from the second half of the 19th century have considerably increased both in lay communication and, markedly so, in specialised domains like science and technology.

Part Five: Miscellaneous

The main aim in **Luisana Fodde**’s contribution “The Challenges of Translating Italian Regionalisms and Dialects: From Novels to Tv Series”

is to explore how regionalisms and dialect phrases are transferred from Italian into English when dealing with highly culture-bound works such as Andrea Camilleri's and Sergio Atzeni's novels. Fodde starts out with the exemplification of the renderings of these local variations in the novels to turn to their subtitled version later in her chapter. Starting from the premise that the local variation is functional in these novels to the identity construction of the main characters, what she notices, in the translation of Atzeni's novel, is a number of misunderstandings at the idiomatic level, which sometimes jeopardize the comprehension of the target text. More complex is the work for Stephen Sartarelli, the American translator of Montalbano novels, in that sociolect, dialect, idiolect and slang intermingle with standard Italian in Camilleri's works. The use of slang terms, the literal rendition of idioms and newly coined words—the author argues—make the translator more visible in the target text. In the dubbed version, instead, due also to technical constraints, the so-called “Camillerese” is normalized and several dialectal expressions are omitted. The three different translations examined in this chapter show how translation is always an act of negotiation of meanings and, in some extreme cases, as those explored in this chapter, also of manipulation of the language for the sake of communication.

Translation is again the focus of the following chapter, “John Baptist Porta and His *Natural Magick*” by **Gabriella Di Martino**, whose main purpose is to compare, at various levels, some Italian excerpts from Gianbattista Della Porta's philosophical work *Della Magia Naturale* (1611) and the English translation *Natural Magick* (1658). The original work was written in Latin and then translated by the author himself into Italian. However, at the time of the Scientific Revolution neither Italian nor English were considered adequate to report on the scientific findings due to the lack of specialised terms in both languages. The author compares the English and the Italian versions of excerpts taken from the 9th book, which discusses the process and products to make women more beautiful. If processes are given more emphasis in the English translation, products are highlighted in the Italian text. Lexically and semantically speaking, the author finds that the simplified rendition in English clashes with the verbosity in the Italian text, which is due to cultural reasons. By the same token, the English first pronoun substitutes the plural pronoun in Italian where metaphors and similes have been deleted. As shown elsewhere in the literature on translation (Katan 2004), all the language devices used in the English language, such as those mentioned in this chapter—namely, conciseness, referential precision, simplification—are emblematic of other cultural dimensions than those which characterize the Italian culture.

The final chapter of this volume, “Conveying Alterity and Racism” authored by **John Douthwaithe** introduces the reader to the realm of modern literature through a social and psychological analysis of the main character in Doris Lessing’s novel *The Grass is Singing*. Telling the story of mental, spiritual, financial and marital disintegration of the life of the married couple Dick and Mary in the form of an extended flashback, the novel not only explores the theme of the effects of institutionalised racism in South Africa but also those of the physical and mental isolation which concerns in particular the heroine. It is right on the extract where Mary’s psychological state of mind is described that Douthwaithe concentrates his stylistic analysis, pointing out how the style employed by the author mirrors the character’s emotional and mental dragging condition, which is also the effect of the burden represented by social norms of conduct of that time. By analysing the language of the excerpt from different perspectives, i.e. from lexis to syntax (e.g. repetition of words, clause construction), from rhetorics (e.g. metaphors, parallelisms) to pragmatics (violation of Gricean’s norms), the author succeeds in showing how Lessing introduces the reader into the character’s static mind and makes the reader empathize with her and commiserate her psychological and domestic condition. Douthwaithe’s analysis, although based on one single extract of the novel, definitely provides stimulating insights into the research of alterity.

To conclude, let us say that this collection not only aimed to show our gratitude to Maurizio Gotti for his prolific contribution to the advancement of knowledge, but also to offer a dialogue with his oeuvre of works to all those whose academic life has in some way intersected with his theoretical expertise and practical competence. We are sure that the depth of knowledge he has created will continue to shape our research in the fields of enquiry represented in this volume.

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PART ONE

SPECIALISED DISCOURSE

CHAPTER ONE

(UN)SURPRISING VISTAS IN HEALTH CARE COMMUNICATION

GIUSEPPINA CORTESE

We paid our medical tuition to learn about the inner process of the body, the intricate mechanisms of its pathologies, and the vast trove of discoveries and technologies that have accumulated to stop them.

*We didn't imagine we needed to think about much else.**

—A. Gawande (2014)

1. Doing memory

Hospitals embody and display the commitment of health professionals to any human being in need of care. It almost has a shamanic halo, this notion of the life-preserving community whose healing power seems to be, and is expected to be, constantly growing. But research and innovation, in one word “progress”, is no synonym for “improvement”. In health care institutions, not unlike other domains in public service, progress is often the harbinger of hard-to-manage techno-social complexity: new procedural know-how and new discourses of knowledge, requiring changes in social organization.

Many like to believe that, compared to current complexity, social situations and communicative canons—the interpersonal “ways with words” and the sets of mental schemata regulating them—used to be “simple” in the not-so-distant past. Of course, architectures of knowledge and belief that sustain social structures and their private and public configurations are never simple. But many of my Italian contemporaries share memories of child play miming a humorous epitome of medical consultations in a three-step sequence: stick out your tongue, cough, say ninety-nine (“Dica trentatré” in Italian), the quintessential doctor-patient

* My emphasis

communication in the collective imaginary as perceived in our post-war infancy.

There was no vexing of the physician by “e-patients”.¹ There was, instead, genuine trust in the doctor, based on recognition of the knowledge gap with patients. Doctors had undisputed authority. They matter-of-factly told mothers and nurses what needed to be done. True, they acted a little supercilious at times, and their prescriptions often looked like cryptic scribblings (cf. Solly 2016a, 411-414). Not necessarily would physicians be patronizing and speak down to their patients, yet the qualifier “paternalistic” (Ferreira-Padilla *et al.* 2015) would fit the doctor-patient relationship then.

More than half a century later, and tons of ink since Cicourel’s seminal essay on “language and medicine” (Cicourel 1981), the health professions address notions such as that of the “empowered” patient (Ferreira-Padilla *et al.* 2015), and the perspective informing advanced systems of care delivery is expected, or at least supposed, to be patient-centred. But the picture is contradictory. While western society has become increasingly concerned with fitness, with well-being and more generally with access to health care as a fundamental right, state health care systems have been coping with drastic social, political, and more recently financial pressure impacting on professionals at the same time as the advocacy of articulate, symmetrical communication in “person-centred” medicine.

The health care universe of old inspired deference, perhaps a little fear even, in approaching physicians, who also mastered their specialized language so well, almost as if they were its privileged “owners”. Socio-cultural transformation now requires health care to make the (once) tacit biomedical knowledge more affordable and to socialize it into more empathic discursive events. Communicative “nontech skills” (Kieran *et al.* 2018) feed paradigms such as narrative medicine and the “medical humanities”. How feasible and how satisfactory are these approaches, in

¹ Discerning reliable scientific information requires research skills which naive internet users usually lack. On the one hand, the popularized discourse of science conveyed by the media is quite positive in terms of raising general awareness concerning health risks (Gotti 2013, 20). On the other hand, digital information is now a complex issue, requiring new stances and strategies with patients whose media-based “health-culture” leads them to challenge and mistrust physicians; hence, the current emphasis in professional meetings on topics such as eHealth, the social media and the need to integrate biomedical know-how with an “anthropological perspective” and “time to listen” in cooperative communication skills (see e.g., “La comunicazione paziente medico: parliamone ancora”, held by the Ordine dei Medici, Torino, 16th April 2019). On the patient in the “health market”, as protagonist and customer in the so-called “Digital Patient Journey”. <http://www.mercurio.it/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Digital-Patient-Journey.pdf>.

today's highly demanding world of health work, notably in hospitals? Hospitals are the main site of engagement for health care providers, increasingly caught between the need to gain/maintain credibility by asserting (also discursively) their epistemic and agentive identity, and the need to comply with the overarching, stressful issue of "time- and cost-effectiveness".

This short study will sample some narratives of meaning-making practices in public hospitals located in the city of Turin, Italy, showing how communication in health care is crucial (and critical) in many more areas than the doctor-patient consultation on which the research literature tends to focus. This is not to say that the "technical", medical relationship between health professionals and patients, discussed below in section 3, no longer is the apex in health care. Rather, it seems that health workers, as much as public opinion, need to be more aware that a hospital is a community of practice involving professional, institutional and regulative talk as much as informal and bonding talk, with fuzzy boundaries to be constantly adjusted.

2. Cultural expectations, intercultural gaps

In hospital wards, food trays must be dispensed by the staff. For reasons of hygiene, external caregivers are not allowed to touch the tray stack which is wheeled in, and a certain distance must be kept from it. But a well-mannered African youth assisting his mother, probably for fear of being late, one day entered the room in haste and inadvertently touched the stack. This caused vehement complaints from the woman in charge of handing out the trays. There was a look of humiliated apprehension in the eyes of the young man. The mother in her bed was next to sobbing. One person in the room, who could speak a mutually understood foreign language, luckily provided explanations and the tension eventually dissolved. Crowded spaces and time constraints obviously increase the stress on the staff. However, in this case the somatic dimension of such disproportionate screaming had far-reaching implications, since the woman's loud and irritated utterances could be perceived as manifestations of prejudice and discrimination.

Such small-scale yet disturbing incidents can be prevented by intercultural training in the workplace and by providing tangible tools for intercultural communication. If mealtime rules had been visualized on a poster or explained through an Information sheet, the young man would have been more cautious.

Health settings are social laboratories. Because they are never strictly local, cultural expectations may not concur: in the 1960s the same

disappointing miscommunication could have occurred with newcomers from the South of Italy, sometimes unfamiliar with standard Italian.

2.1 Texts in space

During crowded visiting hours, people may have a hard time finding their way, especially inside hospital buildings which after several renovations may closely resemble a maze. Visual input is provided, yet old signs sometimes survive next to new ones, or maps scrolling on screens may be located next to old posters, bearing conflicting instructions. A successful solution apparently consists of colour-coded floor and wall strips coherently directing people through meandering corridors to the various lifts, staircases, floors and departments. Purposive movement is facilitated through the emplacement of a meaningful semiotic apparatus, whereby alien milieus become familiar to the newcomers. Once the new spaces are appropriated and integrated into their habitus, different actions can be performed individually and socially, from going to a terrace for fresh air to meeting a friend at the coffee machine. Indexically effective language signs, warnings, notices etc. therefore promote user-friendly functions, such as facilitating families that must move fast inside hospitals to reach patients and provide bedside care without neglecting work and home routines: beyond the immediately perceivable function of orienting users, there will be the higher social benefit of increasing their purposive agency inside a complex structure.

Indeed, the vast dimensions of some institutions may cause additional anxiety to patients and families in emergency situations. The “geosemiotic” designed by “placing language in the material world” (Scollon and Wong Scollon 2003, x-ff), viz. the visual/verbal “grammar” of pathways inside, will make social life easier in the hospital microcosm. It may not extirpate the bad habit of stopping busy staff down hallways with requests for directions, but it will generally improve the flows of crowds.

Contrary to roadsigns and other materials placed outside (e.g. artefacts such as narratives on marble plaques at the entrance of historic hospitals), the semiotic system here is emanating straight from the institution’s management, and integrated by volunteers in charge of transactional strategies such as showing which buttons need pressing on a totem, or explaining machine-payment procedures. Other volunteers do the interactional work with patients and families. The mandate of volunteer readers, schoolteachers and young clowns providing fun and games is to pierce the taboo of severe illness and pain which society conceals and to reverberate echoes of “normal” atmospheres. Clownish attire is part of the

semiotic routine in many paediatric wards, where even physicians come to their patients' beds wearing magician's hats. The solo performances and group shows of volunteer clowns prove how rich the human and social capital structured in the fabric of health care can be today, how hospitals have grown into a social matrix generating articulate "doings" of identity within actional, real-time discursive practices, far beyond helping people find places. In so many ways, hospitals are no longer "total institutions", completely cut off from the world outside.²

2.2 Routines and regulations

Perceiving a sense of routine harmony is crucial to dispelling anxiety in a place where one may not want or accept to be.

Hospitalization will indeed benefit from the provision of "grey literature" in different languages (on the stylistic features of patient information leaflets, see Chapter 3 in Solly 2016b). Ward-specific routines and norms elucidated and made easily available in writing can be checked and usefully consulted by people, orienting to roles such as that of patient or caregiver within an emotional frame of anxiety and even panic fear. This difficult task can be further aggravating, indeed frustrating, by having to cope at the same time with an incoherent information frame. Anyone dealing with hospitalization procedures will be put off by bureaucratic demands differently formulated, for instance, by a head nurse and by the administration.

These are the circumstances which make tempers fly. Organization may be lacking, but more often inconsistency may depend on single individuals who do not adequately handle their own "basket of roles", to echo Erving Goffman's seminal notion of the dramaturgical, multiple performance of the self, or who cannot co-construct and harmonize their occupational role with the roles and tasks of others. The pervasive atmosphere of a fast-paced institution where people are overburdened with duties does the rest: the patient or the caregiver is bound to feel treated like a nuisance and likely to develop an adversarial stance.

In any workplace, teamwork may suffer from overbearing leaders or scarcely compatible personalities, yet the team spirit so paramount in complex systems is the responsibility both of individual staff members and of workplace managers. Where people at the top mostly issue regulations, a defensive demarcation of responsibilities instead of empathy will work its

² Quite the opposite, the issue of cost effectiveness is everywhere leading to an increase of outpatient homecare, through telemedicine and outreach teams administering services "on the road" and in the patient's home.

way down the hierarchy. Patients will start looking for the “gentle” one to turn to, ultimately reinforcing the stereotype that in Italy questions can only be solved if treated as strictly interpersonal dealings.

By contrast, although generalizations must be handled with caution, it can safely be said that young Italian doctors and nurses working in Anglophone contexts make no mystery of the cooperative team spirit and positive appreciation of personal input they enjoy on the job. This can also be seen in a British TV series, consisting of curated reports on emergency wards in the UK, where keep-calm-and-smile seems to be the rule in nurse talk. Most interesting and instructive for an Italian audience, British families, relatives and friends seem to keep to their dedicated spaces unless summoned, something quite different from the “invading troops” approach in numerous Italian health care milieus.³

True, in Italy the patient-centred policy has in fact been providing not only adequate waiting rooms but also silent spaces (“*Camere del silenzio*”) offering more privacy, where people can gather their inner resources and bring their emotions under control. Thus, the overall concern to humanize environments has replaced the traditional “sanitized” white walls with soft hues, often stencilled or decorated, fancy scrub caps are in fashion and renovation projects even involve “therapeutic gardens”. Thus, nurse training now includes drama workshops to emphasize “soft skills” and the relevance of emotion in communication (Pagliarino 2017), implementing the “communicative turn” in health care practices. Yet, the cheerful jokes over coffee which we watch on TV “hospital series”⁴ cannot be expected from overworked Italian NHS professionals, doing endless shifts in departments understaffed as a consequence of severe budget cuts. Under such circumstances, their dedication, particularly with vulnerable patients, is all the more impressive. Likewise with administrative staff who deal with municipal health services for immigrants.⁵

³ In the wake of aggressive behaviour and recent physical attacks on health workers, self-defense courses are now being offered.

⁴ Besides the British and American TV series based either on real events or fiction, cf. the Italian show “*Linea verticale*” by V. Mastrandrea, now available at www.raiplay.it, on verbal and nonverbal communication in Italian hospitals as perceived from a patient’s perspective. Irony, humour and comedy spring from hyperbole and stereotyping, yet the perlocutionary and metapragmatic effect is precisely that of showing the communicative complexity of the therapeutic milieu.

⁵ Not infrequently, exhausted immigrants wander in corridors until some gentle spirit makes the necessary contact calls and finally hands them the correct address, trying, in the best English or French she can manage, to explain how to reach the place.

All of this escapes those members of the public whose mindstate toward public services is non-adaptive in principle. Invariably, complaints arise: in the waiting room of a GP who, different from the speedy predecessor, is a careful listener and takes even half an hour per patient (each GP in the Italian NHS is allowed to have well over 1,000 patients, given the current dearth of GPs); in emergency wards because of waiting time but also of cultural expectations identifying public health care with being “waited on”. While overburdened staff may not always be sociable or helpful—and recent budget cuts have caused severe damage to the efficiency of emergency wards—poor performance in health care often unleashes attacks in the “reader complaint” columns of daily newspapers.⁶

2.3 Dominant discourses, powerless identities

Patients whose autonomy is limited by serious ailments require intensive assistance by homecarers or privately hired carers. Next to registered nurses and aids, Italian health institutions host plethoras of hired individuals who have gained a key role in the care regime of Italian families. The growing size of the ageing population, and the predominance of the nuclear family, are major factors forcing people to seek help outside the family for its sick and/or elderly members. The elderly and the disabled may access welfare services, but public aid is filtered through long formal procedures.⁷ Otherwise, the family has to secure aid privately, through agencies or informal networks. In hospitals, clinics and rehab centres the *badante* has thus originated a nexus of practices (Scollon 2001, esp. Chapter 5) and a widely diversified intercultural arena.

A veritable business has evolved, a market originating from and proliferating around discourses of care. The latter become entangled with the discourse of preferred or dispreferred national identities, i.e. with a great deal of typification, stereotyping and prejudiced assumptions affecting mostly first-generation immigrants. Language barriers are but one of the handicaps instantiating, in private homes and even more in institutional workplaces, “us/them” relations laden with diffidence or suspicion and not-

⁶ This “culture of complaint” is of course very different from the cognitive dissonance of those who dissent from naturalised practices such as vaccination and seek to voice their perspective through media campaigns.

⁷ It would be worthwhile to explore the nodes and the amount of miscommunication in the complex work relations between the medical and the social sector in health care, notably with regard to chronic disease. Complaints address budget deficits and the dramatic consequences for families without public subsidy unable to afford privately hired aid.

so-solidary membership strategies across national or ethnic groups. Social ladders are discursively constructed, each step configuring positions and roles in terms of native linguacultures. The imbrication of culture and affect with the allocation of responsibilities, which may well escape the outside observer, is worked out through a “politics of language” activating difference and dominance at the “micro”, interpersonal level. This dynamic may then affect performance. Conveying instructions for example, both among peers, e.g. doctors and nurses rotating on shift, and vertically from high to low positions in the hierarchy of caring, generates a discursive chain where malfunction may trigger sadly unfair and hostile behaviour, as the following anecdote shows.

This semiotic event took place during the physician’s evening rounds in a ward where a patient’s family had negotiated with the doctor on the morning shift which homecare medicines could be kept in the clinical treatment, along with the new medicines he had prescribed. Noticing an unprescribed pill on the bedside table, the doctor doing the evening round turned to the (privately hired) caregiver and said in a very aggressive tone, “What’s this? I am going to sue you!” (“io ti denuncio!”). Luckily the patient’s daughter was present and told the doctor about the specific agreement with the physician on duty in the morning, who had failed to include this important point in his report for the evening round. Throughout this exchange between the patient’s daughter and the night-shift doctor, the caregiver looked puzzled and very alarmed. A foreigner with a poor command of Italian, she could not understand what was wrong and why she was being threatened. To be noted, in any case, is the doctor’s defying, oppositional behaviour which can only be explained by previous experience with caregivers who put both patients and doctors at risk because they do not comply with prescriptions.

The incident above was not the only one befalling this caregiver. In a different ward, the head nurse gravely told the patient’s daughter that the *badante* was placing the patient’s home food in the wrong fridge. But the daughter did not scold the caregiver, even though this was the metapragmatic directive she perceived in the head nurse’s remark. Instead, the daughter inspected the two refrigerators, and found both were empty except for her mother’s carton of lactose-free milk. One could interpret the head nurse’s remark as “doing” her workplace identity by emphasizing her “overseer” responsibilities and powers (on the discursive co-construction of identities on the workplace see Angouri and Marra 2011), but one comment issued on a later occasion made the daughter aware of a different, perhaps concurrent, dynamic. The caregiver’s looks were said to be “a bit gypsy-like” (“Un pò zingara”). Actually, this thought would never have crossed the daughter’s

mind, for the woman's hair, knotted up at the back in a rather oldish style, reminded her of her dear nanny from her childhood times in the country. The daughter, then, suddenly realized how the caregiver's looks, Eastern European speech mannerisms and homely style were causing people to align with an Alterity perspective imbued with anti-Rom prejudice, framing the woman's behaviour as sneaky and unruly. This could explain the complaint about not following rules on the correct placing of food and also the previous incident with the doctor on the evening shift. Cultural (interpersonal) schemata work deep in outgroup (see Duszak 2002) attributions of identity, but intramental processes work deeper—in this case, the daughter's mental image of the woman reverberated her own childhood memories onto a positive representation, formed through the power of affect.

Events like the ones above show the power of metacognition. Based on what they think they know, people allocate identities and may do so not only without much understanding, but, more importantly, without compassion.

Such are the beginnings of the "culture of refusal". Refusal is not necessarily voiced vigorously, as was the case with the maladroit doctor whose good faith may actually have been challenged by previous negative experience. Refusal can trickle through everyday informal talk on its uncertain boundary with institutional talk, like a head nurse's conversational report.

3. Medical consultations within the patient-centred paradigm

Fast-paced innovations requiring more extensive procedural knowledge, patients with a poor record in science accessing misleading medical information on the web, increasing bureaucracy and legal hurdles within the NHS—all of this has been daily bread for the health care professions. At the same time, inquiries on public standards of care and on patient satisfaction have firmly positioned the patient as the central figure in the therapeutic process. Within this paradigm, increasing awareness has developed out of a) the relevance of communication and b) the need to hone communicative competences not only in medical teams but in the dialogic rapport between doctors, patients and families.

In addition, anglophone countries, firstly the UK, have been at the forefront of care delivery to non-native immigrant patients whose different approaches to socio-cultural issues may impact heavily on attitudes and behaviours in the sphere of health. Integrating health services with social and language services, and training medical staff to communicate effectively, are massive concerns in university curricula as much as in the

workplace. Important research projects have been carried out and others are underway in linguistics, focussing on health care encounters of “patients in transition” and advocating for further investigation into culturally sensitive services (Kielkiewicz-Janowiak and Zabielska 2017). Italian linguists are arguing the case for genuine interdisciplinarity, “linguists in the ward”, advocating for clinical and medical linguistics, the latter focussing on doctor-patient interaction, and for a history of medicine to corroborate specialist genres (Scarpa 2017).

While medical communication is a crucial domain in the linguistic study of academic and professional discourse, the positioning of the health specialists on this “communicative turn” and the research by medical teams on health care communication styles also need close attention.⁸ Even a cursory glance at the *Pubmed* database since the year 2000 shows an impressive amount of research literature on the quality of communication, especially when involving intercultural competence, and the attending questions whether these can be taught and assessed. Programmatic papers such as the 2008 “UK consensus statement on the content of communication curricula in undergraduate medical education” (von Fragstein *et al.* 2008), based on an “iterative process of discussion between communication skills leads from all 33 UK medical schools” (*ibidem*, 1100), prove the significant theoretical, research and applied effort made in the UK first of all to identify the domains involved in clinical communication, starting from the central ethical imperative to “embrace respect for all patients and a commitment to equality” (...) and to “develop respectful partnerships with their patients and colleagues” (*ibidem*, 1102). The paper lists specific skills, but the crucial dynamic in the model is the “helical”, “dial a curriculum” approach wherein learners use their clinical knowledge and practical skills in an ongoing process of constant review and refinement of effective communication, the entire educational model being inextricably linked with the patient-centred theory.

The consensus paper triggered valuable comments especially on the need to address “all patients and not only those with specific issues” (Wearn and Hawken 2009, 388) and on important adjustments to the local, material/immaterial cultural circumstances affecting verbal, non-verbal and all aspects of communication (Mirza 2010). Over the years, the medical profession has been reflecting, across continents, countries and health care systems, on how to train undergraduates to communicate effectively. The 2015 report by the Association of American Medical Colleges, recommending

⁸ For an exhaustive theoretical background on models of the doctor-patient relationship and related communication styles, see Kielkiewicz-Janowiak and Zabielska (2017, 251-ff.).

assessment of communication quality for all students, was in fact defined a “Copernican turn” from previous curricula (Ferreira-Padilla *et al.* 2015, 312). Thus, two cohorts of first-year medical students in Rome were measured for “sensitivity to sociocultural differences, empathetic behaviours and professional skills in relationship to self, colleagues, patients and society” (Consorti *et al.* 2012, 57). These components, analyzed for their importance in the process of health care, were assessed “through the validated Italian versions of three instruments: the Socio-Cultural Attitudes in Medicine Inventory, the Jefferson Scale of Empathy and the Nijmegen Professionalism Scale” (*ibidem*, Table 3, 58).

In Italy, just like everywhere else, there are numerous ongoing attempts to include modules on doctor-patient relations in the undergraduate curriculum, but the dilemma is apparently the same all over the world: there is no use in discussing such relations with students who have yet to see a patient, so the module cannot be configured too early; later on, however, the students’ timetable is so “crowded” that there’s little time to be devoted to these matters. It needs to be said, in any case, that the younger generations of professionals seem to be keen on spending time interacting with patients, possibly because the technology involved in diagnostics and therapy needs to be explained: paradoxically, the “tech” part of medical practice actually *requires* more attention to “nontech”, or rather the translation into “non-technical” and “non-technological” discourse with patients. Thus, a module on “medical humanities” is now included in e.g. some curricula of paediatric residents. A number of remarks are in order: firstly, the overarching relevance of intercultural competence and, faced with it, the priority placed by practitioners on the language barrier (e.g. Karger *et al.* 2017; see also the “hidden curriculum” for LEP, or patients with Limited English Proficiency, in Kenison *et al.* 2017) over any other cultural component, with manifest dissatisfaction at times with such “extra impediments” as interpreting and mediation providers and a preference for help by bilingual family or others who know patients well and “can adapt the questions more effectively to the patient’s level of understanding” (Paternotte *et al.* 2016, 222; see also Antonini 2011).

Secondly, numerous studies elicit reflective practice from physicians and nurses since “medical specialists could lack the skills to reflect on the process of communication” (Paternotte *et al.* 2016, 222)⁹, recommending

⁹ See also the experimental Integrated Multimedia Pilot Project for the medical license examination (reported in Guagnano *et al.* 2001) at the Italian University of Chieti, where interest in interpersonal skills was collaboratively pursued with US universities as of 1998 (see Sensi *et al.* 1998). On the use of video feedback for group training of GPs see Scardovi *et al.* 2003. Virtual reality has also been explored

attention not only to non-native patients but also to segments of the native population such as LGBT, whose “minority stress” has deterred them from accessing health care and thus determined health disparities (Kristy *et al.* 2015, Strong *et al.* 2015). Likewise, attention is devoted to complex clinical encounters, not necessarily aiming at integration of medical content with communication but rather enhancing “already existing experience” (PERCS, Program to Enhance Relational and Communication Skills, see the Italian-American workshops discussed in Lamiani *et al.* 2012). Decision-making in oncology, where patient autonomy—one of the tenets of patient-centredness—can be severely limited by family caregivers is a relevant issue. Here, extensive literature reviews, consultations and feedback led to international consensus on guidelines with specific strategies, substrategies and language examples (Laisaar-Powell *et al.* 2018). Importantly, in fundamental discursive acts such as informed consent or printed information on medical products, the “self-to-other” translation is a crucial requirement. However, it must be mediated by the deployment of specialised language consonant with the patient’s level of understanding. This complex discursive process has been explored in the study of intralinguistic translation of medical texts, spoken and written, especially by Gotti (1996, 2013; cf. also Gotti and Salager-Meyer 2006).

Thirdly, the intercultural medical consultation mainly involves “nonjudgemental” attitudes (Kutob *et al.* 2013), emphasis on the control of emotions (Weurlander *et al.* 2018, Omid *et al.* 2018), as well as a robust interest in verifying the patients’ viewpoint which can in fact be very different from manifest behaviour. Patients’ evaluation of quality care has been verified using special scales for migrants, with ethnic-specific subscales and a communication process subscale (e.g. Harmsen *et al.* 2008) and later also qualitative, ethnolinguistic analyses of narrative interviews (e.g. Karger *et al.* 2017). The numerous inquiries into patient response show how “effective” means “collaborative” communication (Barratt 2018) involving the so-called patient outcomes, that is to say not only satisfaction but compliant behaviour with the care procedures, especially self-care, *jointly* decided during the consultation. Thus the practice of shared decision-making as described by practitioners and recommended for trainees is quite consonant with the view of language as “contexting” nourished in linguistic anthropology (Duranti and Goodwin 1992), as well as with perspectivity explicitly constructed in professional roles and situations (Graumann and Kallmayer 2002) and, to an even greater extent, with the discursive notions

in medical education, e.g. to simulate standard scenarios to be used in examinations (Fertleman *et al.* 2018).

of responsibility and evidence in meaning-making activity by the epistemological and the agentive self:

To interpret events, to establish facts, to convey opinion, and to constitute interpretations as knowledge—all these are activities involving socially situated participants, who are agents in the construction of knowledge as well as being agents when they act on what they have come to know, believe, suspect or opine [...] “responsibility” points toward the agency aspect of meaning while “evidence” points toward the knowledge aspect. But the two aspects are crucially linked. (Hill and Irvine 1992, 2)

As Gawande (2014) writes, medical undergraduates concentrate on acquiring knowledge and the control of procedures. Then, in coming to grips with their own responsibilities they realize how important it is to reflect on the “nontech”. So we come to learn from the medical research literature on clinical communication, from the responses of patients (e.g. Harmsen *et al.* 2008, Paternotte *et al.* 2017) and from physicians’ self-evaluation (e.g. Paternotte *et al.* 2016, Dos Santos Franco *et al.* 2018), also as clinical teachers (e.g. Shapiro *et al.* 2006, Lu *et al.* 2014), that the widely recognized need for enhancing communication skills in the medical degree course has sparked a lively debate as to when to integrate them in the undergraduate curriculum.

Even more disparate are opinions on how to assess communication training, with doubts on examiner expertise, on consistency across examiners and on “the degree of integration of medical content with the communication process” (Laidlaw *et al.* 2014). This is no surprise, since both patients and practitioners seem to draw satisfaction in their consultations above all from what medical communication researchers call “generic” skills, i.e. basic skills such as listening to a patient and checking on patient’s understanding, and thus believe these to be the crux of communication in doctor-patient encounters. Patients also seem to identify ‘being treated as a unique person and not as a disease’ as the salient factor in successful intercultural communication, thus driving home the point that patient-centredness and absence of stereotyping (‘migration friendly’ atmosphere) are more relevant than culture-specific knowledge (Paternotte *et al.* 2017).

In a literature review article, which is also a call for action in the teaching of communication in procedure-based medical specialties, the heart of the matter is accurately identified and worded:

curriculum development, implementation and assessment of communication skills teaching remain disconnected. (Kieran *et al.* 2018, 3)

A further merit of the above study is that it realistically deals with the difficulties of expanding the workload of graduate residents:

it is difficult to ascertain how effective published techniques might be when teaching residents faced with the demands of meeting published milestones, acquiring didactic and technical knowledge, and complying with duty-hour regulations. (Kieran *et al.* 2018, 3)

While supporting the “irrefutable” need for tailored, carefully identified “granular skills” to be implemented in a given procedural field, such as orthopaedics or urology, the study thus closes by recommending local, cost- and time-efficient curriculum design to be shared and compared across institutions.

Health duties no longer carry implicit trust between providers and users. Trust in the health care professions requires building and maintaining rapport within situations which are mostly asymmetrical from the perspective of knowledge and competence. The complexity of the discourse dynamics involved has been amply investigated in prominent studies such as those edited by Salvi and Bowker (2015) and by Salvi and Turnbull (2017).

In a patient’s journey from hospital entrance to medical interview, patient or caregiver dissatisfaction may occur at times other than in the dyadic encounter with the physician. Thus, the actual integration of communication components into disciplinary and procedural learning in medical and nursing curricula, beginning in the UK and soon spreading nearly worldwide (including the training of Italian *tirocinanti*) is not so straightforward.

Further, the process is increasingly complicated by a) the highly demanding workload in medical school and b) the language and culture barriers in our pluralized societies. Predictably, the big step forward seems to have been in the areas dealing with neurological and mental disability. Here, we find that narrative medicine and the dialogical approach are paramount. Models such as the “Open Dialogue” paradigm, where Bakhtinian polyphony applies to multi-professional teams engaging in dialogue with first-episode psychotic individuals to immediately involve their family and entire social network, have been successful in terms of fast patient improvement and recovery, as well as time- and cost efficiency (Seikkula 2006).¹⁰

¹⁰ Again, culture shock and language barriers unfortunately foreground the issue of immigrants, whose life conditions and malaise may produce psychoses up to the 2nd and 3rd generation, as remarked in the expert Round Tables held at the *Officine della*

Society is changing at an unprecedented pace and so is health care, the major move being increasing attention to and respect for the patient's individual voice within a more symmetrical and collaborative professional practice. The ultimate test of well-intentioned empathic medicine, however, is constituted by the pressure for time- and cost-effectiveness. This need for "optimizing" models is a prior demand on healthcare, since burdens such as socio-economic crises, migration and longer life expectancy are overcrowding public institutions and causing staff burnout in countries where a national health system is supposedly the gold standard and is expected to remain such.

4. Conclusion

Medicine is a key area in the socio-political arena, in professional communication and in our individual lives, therefore these short notes can only end by raising new questions, some of which can be as follows:

How long does a medical encounter last in public hospitals today, compared to the pace of private practice?

Will telemedicine and tomorrow's robots be generous with "non-tech" discursive dealings?

And, on a provocative note:

In societies where care of the elderly is increasingly configured as a major invoice in the national budget (or deficit), how much is the discourse highlighting our "finite nature", the dignity of death and of palliative home care actually veiling an axiology expecting senior citizens, especially those who cannot afford private health insurance,¹¹ to pass away in a quick, "time- and cost-effective" style?

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Salute, "Diritti in corso: itinerari di inclusione. Disagio psichico e società a 40 anni dalla legge Basaglia" (Torino, 14th-17th May 2018).

¹¹ Notice the catchy title of the June 2018 Conference presenting the Official Report on *Public, Private and Intermediated Health: La Salute è un diritto. Di tutti*. There is a clear contrast between the first and the second part of this title: is the universal (public) right becoming private and intermediated? And how so?

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CHAPTER TWO

DIABETICS'R'US: SEEKING INFORMATION AND EMOTIONAL SUPPORT IN AN ONLINE DIABETIC COMMUNITY

GILLIAN MANSFIELD

1. Introduction

In recent years, social media and networking have undisputedly transformed the way in which we communicate. Not only does social networking facilitate daily inter-personal communication to a massive audience, but it fosters content sharing and collaboration between friends, professionals, experts in all walks of life.

This chapter examines a very specific area of online communication, the seeking of health information, which has been claimed to be one of the most popular topics for discussion on the web (among others, Arduser 2011; Bhatia *et al.* 2016; Collins and Lewis 2013; O’Kane *et al.* 2016; Harvey and Koteyko 2013; Maestre *et al.* 2018; Turnbull 2015a, 2015b). Caplan and Turner (2007, 985) adopt the terms ‘computer-mediated emotional support’ and ‘online comforting communication’ that highlight the discursive behaviour of patients, as further described by Harvey and Koteyko (2013, 165):

Interactions with peers in self-management programmes offer people with different medical conditions the opportunity to share their concerns with similar others, in this way reducing the sense of isolation associated with many diseases. Such interactions are typically a locus of social support defined as ‘transaction of empathy and concern, information or advice, or tangible aid (i.e. goods and services) between two or more individuals’ and characterised by the use of verbal or nonverbal behaviours to seek or provide help (Mickelson, 1997, 157). Such support groups are particularly important

for those who suffer from chronic illness as clinical research shows that interpersonal networks significantly impact on adaptation to the everyday management of the disease.

In this study, the social actors of the online social interaction are patients suffering from a chronic disease, diabetes, where the self-management of their condition is crucial to their everyday lives. Farrell (2014, online) notes that for diabetics networking via Facebook, the most commonly discussed topics were sharing personal clinical information, requesting disease-specific guidance, and receiving emotional support. Furthermore, there is a general consensus (among others, Shaffer-Hudkins *et al.* 2014) that the most preferred topic of diabetic patients is self-management, thus highlighting the importance for diabetics to be able to discuss their condition regularly. A wealth of recent clinical research on social media and diabetes (among others, Collins and Lewis 2013; Cooper and Kar 2014; da Silva and de Freitas 2016) focusses on the therapeutic benefits of online interaction and networking and on the reasons why diabetics access dedicated websites set up by non-profit organisations, and managed by diabetic experts. In these sites, they are encouraged to share information and experiences with not only experts in the field, who have the knowledge of diabetes, but just as importantly with their peers, who have the skill of managing diabetes and are able to provide practical information and advice about coping with the condition.

Shaw and Johnson (2011, 2) emphasise this supportive aspect of social networking, and suggest that “health communication is more effective when it reaches people on an emotional as well as a rational level, relates to people’s social or ‘life’ contexts, is a combination of interpersonal communication and mass media, is tailored, and is interactive.” Pounds *et al.* (2018) likewise highlight the expression of empathy and empathic communicative acts in relationship-building communication in a Facebook-based diabetes support group.

The overall aim of this contribution is to discuss the online health-seeking behaviour of diabetics as a discursive practice, the ways in which they seek information from their peers and how they express their feelings and needs in a verbal perspective. This is further justified by the current tendency in the medical profession to foster a patient-centred approach to medical care (Turnbull 2015a, 291) which

views the patient not just in terms of his illness or a set of symptoms, but rather as a person with emotions, feelings, needs and preferences. An essential element of this approach is *empathy*, which involves the ability to

understand another person's experiences and feelings and view them from their perspective (Hojat *et al.* 2002, 1563).

The chapter focusses on the content of the starter topic thread titles that launch the social interaction in forum discussions of a popular website, Diabetes.co.uk, where diabetics talk about themselves and their predicaments on a peer-to-peer basis. Secondly, from a purely linguistic perspective, it examines the metadiscursive features of these thread titles, with a view to identifying the interactional styles and rhetorical strategies of the discussants as they attempt to engage their peers. The aim is to establish to what extent the metadiscourse and pragmatic function of these titles clearly reflect the above two reasons for social interaction—seeking both information and emotional support—and subsequently trigger the discussion in the ensuing threads. In particular, I seek to identify the language of self-narration of diabetic patients in their daily effort to cope with their illness, when they request information from a more knowledgeable or practised peer. Furthermore, the grammar and lexis of the starter post titles will be analysed in relation to the way in which they are composed in order to stimulate a verbal response from their peers.

2. Some theoretical background

It is first necessary to cover some theoretical background with which to contextualise the social interaction involved in this type of communication and on which to build the analysis of the data collected.

2.1 The social actors

Let us start with the social actors by labelling the members of a forum discussion a group of participants having similar characteristics, namely their diabetic condition, and the discussion itself as a communicative event, taking place within a community of practice. Wenger (2006, online) defines communities of practice as “groups of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly.” This confirms the reason why diabetic patients resort to online communication—to cope better with their condition. Wenger emphasises, however, that a community of practice is not simply a club of friends or a network of connections between people, but defines its identity as a shared domain of interest (here, the health condition). Justifiably, becoming a member involves commitment, mutual engagement, a shared competence, where the emphasis is on sharing information with peers. Communities of

practice thus build relationships that enable individual members to learn from each other. A website is a virtual community of practice, a virtual space containing a repertoire of resources to be shared by its stakeholders and is accessible to an infinite number of Internet users. In terms of a forum discussion, these resources are experiences, stories, tools, ways of addressing recurring problems—in short a shared practice that relies on sustained interaction. Gannon-Leary and Fontainha (2007, 2) also emphasise the resulting improvement of knowledge through the sharing of resources:

A Virtual Community of Practice [...] is a network of individuals who share a domain of interest about which they communicate online. The practitioners share resources (for example experiences, problems and solutions, tools, methodologies). Such communication results in the improvement of the knowledge of each participant in the community and contributes to the development of the knowledge within the domain.

Herring (2004, 14) describes the concept of “community” as providing “sociability, support, and identity”. With particular reference to virtual community, she identifies six sets of criteria, most of which are relevant to members of a diabetic community and its forum discussion group:

- 1) active, self-sustaining participation; a core of regular participants
- 2) shared history, purpose, culture, norms and values
- 3) solidarity, support, reciprocity
- 4) criticism, conflict, means of conflict resolution
- 5) self-awareness of group as an entity distinct from other groups
- 6) emergence of roles, hierarchy, governance, rituals

In fact, the discussants we shall shortly go on to analyse are an active core of participants, self-sustaining in their participation (1); they share a history and purpose (2) due to their health condition, which results in exchanging expressions of solidarity, support and reciprocity (3). As we shall observe, they are also apt to criticise and foreground conflict when relevant to their condition, such as issues with their doctors, or the health system in general (4). They are well aware that they form a group distinct from other groups (non-diabetics in general) (5), and they take up specific roles and identities in the discussion: moderator— staff member, active member, well-known member, Newbie, Type 1 Expert, and so on (6) (see paragraph 3.3).

2.2 The social interaction

Gunawardena *et al.* (2009, 5) claim that a community of practice has its own discourse and its own way of using language to determine meaning: “it is in examining discourse that we can see ‘how a community is shaped by language use and how language use shapes a community (Creese 2003, 55)”.

Any analysis of the discursive practice of online forum discussants must fall into the category of metadiscourse, as defined by Hyland (2005, 14):

The concept of metadiscourse is based on a view of writing (and speaking) as a social and communicative engagement, offering a means of understanding the ways we project ourselves into our texts to manage our communicative intentions.

This is clearly relevant if we wish to understand how the communicative event evolves and is to be understood. With reference to online communication, Herring (2004, 1) states,

Online interaction overwhelmingly takes place by means of discourse. That is, participants interact by means of verbal language, usually typed on a keyboard and read as text on a computer screen.

In a forum discussion then, the written serves to enact the spoken. Fairclough (1989) adopts the term ‘synthetic personalisation’, or ‘synthetically personalised discourse’, whereby language is used in such a way that mass audiences appear to be addressed as if they were individuals, through the use of the second person pronoun “you”, for example, referring to “one and all”.

2.3 The content: popularisation of scientific discourse

The social interaction of diabetics needs to be collocated in the context of the popularisation of scientific discourse. The literature in the field identifies a tripartite model of participants, content and communicative act around which any analysis must revolve. According to Calsamiglia (2003, 139-140), there are two crucial aspects in presenting scientific knowledge to the general public, the first is the role and position of the speakers and the second affecting the content: the conditions of its production, comprehension and interpretation. Gotti (2014, 16) claims, “Popularization [...] addresses not an expert group within the discipline but an audience of non-specialists.” Moreover, he also explains the purpose of popularisations in the form of

popular scientific magazines, books and news articles published for a wide readership

Popularizations target [...] a wide reading public and deal with specialized topics in a language close to general discourse and to the layman's everyday experience. The purpose here is chiefly informative and seeks to extend the reader's knowledge rather than develop a secondary conceptual system. (2014, 17)

Gotti further defines popularisation as a reformulation process, a kind of redrafting of the disciplinary content, where the language is remodelled to suit a new target audience. He (2013) also refers to the studies of Calsamiglia and Van Dijk (2004) to introduce another concept, that of recontextualisation of scientific knowledge originally produced without a lay audience in mind. It becomes increasingly clear then that we need to establish where to collocate our patients if we aim to classify their forum discussions as a form of popularised text.

In his definition, Myers (2003, 273) includes the above-mentioned tripartite model: "Popularization is a matter of interaction as well as information; it involves persons and identities as well as messages." Furthermore, he argues,

We need to question who the actors are, how the various discourses interact, what modes are involved, and what is communicated—and we need to consider what these questions imply for text analysis. (2003, 267)

This is applicable to the language of a diabetes forum discussion. While diabetics identify themselves in relation to their illness, we still need to discover how the mode of interaction affects the way in which they express themselves and to what extent they use or reformulate specific medical terminology in their discourse to their peers.

Lastly, relevant to our discussion is Hyland's (2010) concept of proximity, which he explains as

a writer's control of rhetorical features which display both authority as an expert and a personal position towards issues in an unfolding text. It involves responding to the context of the text, particularly readers who form part of that context, textually constructing both the writer and the reader as people with similar understandings and goals. While it embraces the notion of interpersonality, proximity is a slightly wider idea as it not only includes how writer's manage themselves and their interactions with others, but also the ways ideational material, what the text is 'about', is presented for a particular audience. It is concerned with how writers represent not only

themselves and their readers, but also their material, in ways which are most likely to meet their readers' expectations.

Hyland relates this to Sacks *et al.*'s (1974, 272) notion of recipient design, that is, how our lexical choice, content and following of expected discursive norms in what we say or write, makes sense to our addressees.

Harvey and Koteyko (2013, 169) observe a number of discourse strategies in peer-to-peer online interaction that achieve legitimacy of a discussant's presence in the forum and at the same time solicit support. We will seek to recognise them in our data: 1) indicating one's condition by describing symptoms and/or mentioning the history of the disease; 2) making direct or indirect requests for information; 3) making references to shared experiences; 4) describing personal successes and elaborating on positive improvements.

Our research questions then are to examine the discursive devices adopted in a thread title in order to become involved in a forum discussion, where the discussant seeks practical answers and emotional support.

The structure of the chapter is the following. Section 3 presents the corpus used for the study and the methodology adopted. The results will be reported in Sections 4 and 5, followed by concluding remarks in Section 6.

3. Materials and methods

3.1 The website

The Social Media Website, Diabetes.co.uk, was chosen as the object of this study for the wide range of interaction it provides between health professionals and patients, on the one hand, and diabetic peers, on the other. It has also been the object of other research in the field. First, Turnbull (2015a, 298) evidences the duality of social interaction of the site: "a community website whose information is provided by diabetes experts, but, above all, by diabetics themselves who share their knowledge and first-hand experience". Secondly, Hunt and Koteyko (2015, 459) highlight its online sociality "based on shared experiences of diabetes and consumption of health and lifestyle information to manage health risks."

3.2 The corpus

The corpus was compiled over an 8-month period from July 2018 to February 2019. As previously mentioned, it was limited to initial thread titles (509 in all) from the section: *Take a look at some of today's top threads*, which were published twice weekly, invariably ten at a time. They were considered representative of the thousands of weekly contributions published from a wide variety of topic threads, and thus representative of the overall content. The software programme *AntConc* was used to create a word list and subsequent concordances that appeared to be of particular significance for the analysis. In fact, the first step taken after compiling the corpus was to create a frequency list in order to gain an idea of the recurrent words in the titles. Subsequently, concordances were carried out to investigate frequent words in their co-text with a view to shedding light on any emerging discursive practices. Following a more qualitative analysis, the titles were then organised into categories according to the pragmatic function they appeared to express.

3.3 The forum on the website

The website encourages participation in a number of forums, just 4 of which are captured in Fig. 2-1 below:

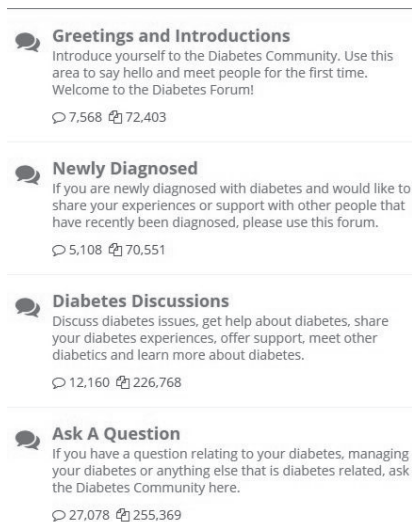


Fig. 2-1: The Diabetes Discussion Forum

At the bottom of the screen, there is a constant update of the number of posts, giving an idea of the extent of the almost synchronous discussion activity as seen in the following example:

There are 1,873,057 posts from 296,256 members in the forum *right now*.

Furthermore, an implicit promise for a speedy response is given:

Did you know: that 96% of questions get their first response in 4 minutes!
Login to join the conversation or sign-up and start a thread here.

As can be seen from a sample of *Members online now*, the identity of the discussants is invariably in the form of a nickname:

JohnEGreen, KK123, Hotpepper20000, Eurobuff, Seanmccleery, ziggy_w, EllsKBells, sentinel_prime, jpscloud, Martinaustin, ringi, LittleGreyCat, johnboy4809, Heatherpat, fractureman, trick60, pete254, Steve--h, zauberflote,

As seen in Fig. 2-1, there are a number of different forums with umbrella titles presented by the website staff:

Diabetes Discussion, Children, Teens, Young Adults & Parents, Off-Topic, Food & Nutrition, Diabetes Management, Living with Diabetes, Diabetes News & Research, Get involved.

In the Diabetes Discussion section heading the forum, there is a string of imperative forms encouraging self-presentation, ended by a friendly greeting:

Greetings and Introductions; Introduce yourself to the Diabetes Community.
Use this area to say hello and meet people for the first time. Welcome to the Diabetes Forum!

The sub-topics in each forum, some of which categorise the diabetes type (e.g. Type 1, Type 2, Gestational Diabetes) again explicitly encourage active participation. There is also a separate forum for diabetic patients using an insulin pump (Insulin Pump Forum). Interestingly, these diabetics are coined as *Insulin pumpers*, thus using what might be labelled an in-group term:

Forum for insulin pumpers and anyone interested in insulin pumps to discuss pump equipment, advantages, techniques, ask questions and offer support.

Returning to Herring's sets of criteria presented in § 2.1. above, the conflict element (4) is present in the forum named *Diabetes Soapbox - Have Your Say*. Using direct address as if to an individual, the website staff stimulate people to talk, in return for which, they promise assistance:

Have your say about anything of concern to the diabetes community. This is your platform to make complaints and discuss the best way to solve them. We aim to assist you in any way.

Patients are equally encouraged to self-narrate their moments of achievement in coping with their condition in the *Success Stories and Testimonials* forum:

Lowered your HbA1c? Lost some weight? Maybe you're proud of something someone else has done. Whatever it may be, share it here!

Clearly, each topic section guides the patient as to what kind of contribution would be appropriate.

4. Data analysis: the starter topic thread titles

4.1 Discursive practices that emerge

According to Luzón (2013), in order to foster a dialogic involvement with the reader, the writer adopts several rhetorical strategies with which to engage the reader: 1) title, 2) questions, 3) humour. Our corpus is, in fact, made up of titles, the purpose of which in any text is to arouse curiosity and stimulate further reading. This contribution, therefore, focusses on her first strategy as the object of study, but we shall see that also her second strategy is present in our findings. The third is probably applicable too, since there is a sub-section *Jokes and Humour*, but there were no humorous titles in the corpus under investigation.

4.2 Questions asked

The most frequent word on the frequency list was “What”, recurring 58 times out of the 838 word types. This is highly significant, since we usually expect function words such as *the* article, conjunctions and prepositions to top the list. The concordance revealed all 58 instances in initial clause position, asking a question. Therefore, it seems natural to ask what diabetics specifically want to know: is it simply to gain information or more than that, information enveloped in peer support and advice (see Morrow 2006)? The

most frequent question was: “What was your fasting blood glucose (or abbreviated to BG)”, occurring 19 times over the 8-month period. In fact, this thread was started several years previously:

Discussion in 'Diabetes Discussions' started by NewdestinyX, Jun 30, 2011

It is obviously a constant theme diabetics return to, a daily problem for them to keep their blood sugar levels under control. Other questions seem to be related to the topic as in “What have you eaten today?” (12 times) initiated on April 20, 2015, by a staff administrator who also guides the contribution content:

Share what you've eaten today with the rest of the DCUK community and maybe steal a few ideas for yourself!
Please remember that this is the 'Low Carb Diet Forum' and that this thread isn't for low carb debates :)

Another interesting question that summarises the practicalities of living with the condition is the following title, which invites self-narration:

What do you find the hardest about living with diabetes?

Other *Wh*-questions were recurrent: *Why* recurs 5 times, generally seeking information in the form of an explanation:

Why do diabetics get tired easily?
Why can I not get my HBA1C down?

It is clear that many starter threads concern not knowing what to do. *How* recurred 13 times, the majority of which were again seeking practical advice:

How can I sweeten my coffee?
How can I reduce my insulin resistance?
How do i know my pre and post meal numbers are on track?

Likewise, Polar questions (with or without a question mark) require an informative response, with more than a simple *Yes/No* answer:

Is it possible to have diabetes without sugar in urine?
Am I OK to eat this...
Do I wait till Diabetes take full force? What's going on?
Does it matter?

4.2.1 Topical questions

Interestingly, albeit in the minority, there are 3 topical questions about issues likely to affect diabetics' health condition. The British media spread the rumour that insulin supplies might be at risk with the separation of the United Kingdom from Europe, and so it seems only natural to ask:

Are we going to die post-Brexit?

4.2.2 Checking for normality

While the pragmatic function of a title may blur into more than one category, 19 starter titles clearly request reassurance that what the discussant is doing or feeling is normal:

Think I'm doing ok???

Symptoms Worse After Lowering Sugars?

Am I OK to eat this...

How much units insulin is a lot?

T2 vs T1 stigma— anyone else feel a bit 'shamed' for havin...

Is deterioration inevitable?

4.3 Key words

The next most frequent content words in the word list are predictably those relating to the health condition: *type*, the third most recurrent word (46 times) refers to the kind of diabetes one has (Type 1, Type 2) thus justifying its prominent use. In 7th, 8th and 9th positions come *blood* (36 times), *fasting* (33 times) and *glucose* (31 times) respectively, often appearing in a noun phrase *fasting blood glucose* (22 times). Interestingly in comparison, *sugar* juxtaposed to *blood*, appeared 13 times. We may then ask, are diabetics more likely to discuss their blood glucose levels or their blood sugar levels? The more scientific term is the more popular. In 13th position was predictably *diabetes*.

Let us now attempt to classify the other titles according to their illocutionary force.

4.4 Stating a problem

Numerous titles simply state a problem in one, two or three-word noun phrases, ranging from dietary topics to more strictly medical ones, something affecting the daily routine:

Medication
 Coffee
 Bread Alternative
 Eye Problems
 Post meal Spikes
 Reversed Diabetic Retinopathy

Problems are much less frequently stated in a verbal proposition, albeit in a non-finite clause:

Struggling to eat normally

4.4.1 Weighing up two things

And was the 2nd most frequent word, appearing 55 times. It joined two elements launched for discussion (17 times):

Alcohol and Diabetes
 Diabetes and Vertigo
 Hypo And Hyper
 Insulin and Hypos
 Pains and Reducing HbA1c
 CT Scan and Metformin

Other titles seem to reflect other media language genres (e.g. newspaper titles), adding a characteristic drama effect, as evidenced in the following sections.

4.4.2 Appeals for help

Appeals for help are more or less explicit, using the word *help* (17 times), or just stating feelings of confusion and frustration:

Anyone help?
 A little help on numbers
 Really High Cholesterol— 13— Please Help
 Lantus... AGAIN UGH help please
 Mum of newly diagnosed 12 yo seeking a friendly ear!
 I've lost the will (twice)
 Still confused

4.4.3 Expressing discontent (negativity) or a problem

Clearly linked are negative statements projecting expressions of conflict and discontent where the title precedes self-narration in the post:

Finally seen a Diabetes Nurse Specialist After 19 Months!
 Employer and time off— I'm really fed up
 Most annoying things about Diabetes
 Food is not my friend any more
 Disappointing HbA1c
 Bad Day— Just Venting

Negativity is also expressed metaphorically:

Fell Off The T2 Wagon, Lost My Way Best Way to Get Back On Track
 Stepped off the Wagon a bit
 Blood glucose went mental!

Some starter titles nonetheless indicate a positive self-evaluation to be shared with the group:

Early days but progress
 Happy day, been accepted for libre
 This is brilliant

They also express solidarity and thanks:

Type 1's stars are us,
 Diabetics R Us,
 Calling All Type 2's
 Update and thanks

These expressions reflect a community spirit, where all discussants form a distinct group—they are in it together.

4.5 Expressing the spoken in the written?

It is clear that many of these titles are written in an informal style and risk categorisation as nonstandard language since they do not follow any rules. This is not the view of Computer-Mediated Communication (CMC) scholars (Morrow 2006; Harvey and Kyoto 2013; Herring 2019). Our findings for titles are in line with their research.

Starter titles undoubtedly reflect the spoken language in a written, typed form, where typographical errors, presumably due to predictive text if discussants are using a mobile app, are very frequent. Contractions and abbreviations are other frequently used textual features, as well as *R* replacing the 2nd person of the verb “to be”:

New Type 1 21yo 4 Friends
 GP unsure of Type 1 or Type 2...
 BG slowly and steadily on the rise, but why?
 Hypo And Hyper
 Diabetics R Us
 Stomach issues no meds

An emoticon was found only once in the corpus, so we assume that feelings are preferably expressed in written text:

Not impressed with reduction in hbac :(

Indeed, discussants show their feelings through the expressive use of punctuation in repeated exclamation and question marks as well as capitalisation:

UGH!!
 PR SUCCESSES—GETTING THE WORD OUT THAT LCHF IS THE BEST
 D..
 UK's obesity crisis BLAMED on NHS
 Stress and Glucose Monitor Readings!!!
 Think I'm doing okay ???..

Furthermore, there is no fixed ruling as to whether to use initial capitalisation on every word, or none at all.

As far as disjunctive language is concerned, subject pronouns and auxiliaries are often omitted, as well as the verb *to be*:

Remember me?
 Losing too much weight
 Symptoms Worse After Lowering Sugars?
 New to the forum ! 5 years as a T2
 New HBA1c Result...Not good.

Lastly, the 2nd person pronoun *you* is used inclusively, confirming direct address to a mass audience, where individuals single themselves out with a

response. Likewise the inclusive *we/us* implies all diabetics, or at least those in the forum.

5. Discussion of results

Our data proves there is no need to go beyond the title to gain insight into the pragmatic function of a forum thread. The clinical literature stresses the dual function of online discussion groups for health issues in general, but also diabetics in particular. Our data confirms that diabetics seek information and consolation, and they begin by using titles that impact and trigger a verbal response to their problem.

Starter titles are text-based and expressed with various written verbal expedients. Harvey and Koteyko (2013, 190) note the lack of gesture and facial expressions in electronic information exchange, confirmed by the solitary emoticon in our data. They (2013, 179-180) list four dimensions of CMC, again confirmed in our data and summarised as follows: 1) its social dynamics: predominantly like writing; 2) its format is a mixture of speech and writing which is durable, but the writing is unedited; 3) its lexicon is predominantly like speech and the syntax a mixture of writing and speech, with a heavy use of 1st and 2nd person pronouns; 4) its style is predominantly like speech with a low level of formality. The text then develops a grammar of its own, or, as Herring (2019) calls it, electronic grammar or e-grammar, reflecting an informal spoken code, aided and abetted by the expressive effects of punctuation.

Discussants nevertheless appear to resort to noun phrases of various length, invariably lacking in emotion, in order to launch a topic (Metformin; Medication; Statins and Type 1). The title simply states the content of the ensuing thread, unless otherwise punctuated for expressive meaning (Hot Weather Issues!). Discussants express their feelings when specifically seeking advice and support in a more dialogic style (Think I'm doing ok???.).

There is some indication of in-group diabetic language using the scientific terms, but also in contracted form (HbA1c; Hypo and Hyper, carbs) as well as the coining of a term (Insulin pumpers).

6. Conclusions

This chapter has taken its premise from recent clinical literature, which claims that diabetics seek information and emotional support in online communication, and it has attempted to show how, on a discursive level,

this already comes about in starter titles introducing forum discussion threads. We confirmed a dialogic involvement of discussants in verbal propositions whose pragmatic function is to seek support to improve their coping with their condition, the result of which is made clear by Eng (2015, 194):

Connecting with your peers and having an open dialogue about your experiences with this chronic condition make people start feeling understood and empowered and engage in a transformative way with their condition [...]. Also, patients who become empowered by social media connections become better advocates for themselves.

Patients seek information from their peers about their experiences in order to be able to place their own in a so-called frame of daily normality. Triggering an emotionally packed dialogic involvement in the starter title certainly fosters this purpose, as indeed, the launching of more impersonally expressed topics for in-group discussion in order to improve practical knowledge of the condition.

This contribution is limited to the thread titles, and there is clearly room for further research. It would be interesting to study other areas of the website in a more health practitioner-patient setting, where administrative staff present the headlines of diabetic news in popularised text and develop rhetorical strategies to foster the emotional support needed to empower and create a frame of normality in the diabetic patient.

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CHAPTER THREE

MIGRANTS' TRAUMA NARRATIVES
THROUGH ELF:
FROM FACT REPORTS TO POSSIBLE-
WORLD REPRESENTATIONS

MARIA GRAZIA GUIDO

1. Modality in migrants' ELF-mediated trauma narratives

This chapter reports the latest data from an ethnographic research that enquires into West-African migrants' trauma narratives mediated by English as a Lingua Franca (ELF)—namely, narratives conveyed through variations of non-native/nativized English used as a “lingua franca” in contexts of intercultural communication and characterized by semantic, syntactic and pragmatic transfers from their speakers' native linguacultural schemata (Guido 2008, 2018). The initial findings of this research were first published in a paper (Guido 2006) that appeared in the seminal volume edited by Maurizio Gotti and Françoise Salager-Meyer (2006) and entitled *Advances in Medical Discourse Analysis: Oral and Written Contexts*.

In the case studies reported in this chapter, relevant theories in Cognitive-Experiential Linguistics (Sweetser 1990) and Possible-Worlds Semantics (Hintikka 1989) have been brought to bear on a Possible-Worlds construct in Modal Logic (Stalnaker 1994) that justifies the analysis of the ways in which traumatic experiences come to be represented in West-African migrants' narratives through the use of their ELF variations characterized by a frequent use of non-truth-functional modal operators (cf. Guido 2008, 2018). It was found through the observation of a corpus of data collected in Italian reception camps, that the dreadful experiences which West-African migrants underwent at home and during the migratory journey are represented in their ELF narratives as more or less distressing, depending on their more or less optimistic prospects for the fulfillment, once

they reached their destination, of the “possible world” they had dreamed of so much. Corpus data show a recurrent use of two main narrative patterns in migrants’ trauma reports through ELF that correspond to distinct modal-semantic representations of “possible/impossible-worlds” (Stalnaker 1994) respectively characterized by:

a) Hope for the fulfillment of a longed-for “dream” that migrants believe to be at hand once they reach their destination. Thus, migrants who went through a trauma but were motivated by a “strong hope” for the realization of the “possible world” that they dreamed of, often report past traumatic events by making use of “belief reports” (Stalnaker 1987; Lau 1995; Schiffer 1996), modal verbs and expressions, as well as popular proverbs through which they justify “deontically” such shocking experiences as “necessary rites of passage” leading to a better life at the end of the migration journey;

b) Despair at being deprived of the possibility of fulfilling their “dream” which, eventually, becomes an “impossible world” (e.g., because of tragic facts and events that subvert the migrants’ expectations). Narrative, in such cases, is often characterized by L1 “idioms of distress” (cf. Mattingly 1998) by which migrants project past traumatic experiences into “impossible worlds” (Zalta 1997) that represent the end of their “dream” and, thus, compel them “deontically” to re-experience past trauma in an obsessive way in the present by intensifying its effects as they go through new traumatic situations in the host country.

Each of these two degrees has been found to affect the ELF semantic, metaphorical and syntactic structures of the migrants’ narrations of past traumatic facts (cf. Pietrovski 1993), since they were differently experienced and then recalled and re-embodied again in the present. In both cases, furthermore, the protocol analysis (Ericsson and Simon 1984) of the transcribed trauma narratives by West-African migrants shows that the tone of their reports is frequently assertive and characterized by the use of deontic modality of a high value (Halliday 1994, 357-358) signaling: (*a*) an obligation to take action imposed upon the traumatized migrants by their condition of distress due to their experience of extreme facts and events, and (*b*) their determination to perform the self-imposed actions so as to put an end to their anguish and begin the recovery process. In this respect, West-African trauma narratives turn the shocking effects of past trauma into causal sources in the present compelling migrants’ future repairing actions. Such a deontic prompt to take action reveals how trauma, in West-African

narratives, cannot be traced back straightforwardly to individual experiences of anguish, or personal distressing memories, in need of a therapeutic removal—which, instead, represents the conventional therapeutic procedure in Western Psychiatry.

Indeed, other trauma conceptualizations and expressions that may differ from the accepted ones are not included among the biomedical parameters established in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM-V) issued by the American Psychiatric Association (APA 2013). On the one hand, such parameters set up the scientific terminology for the definition of the distinct psychiatric effects of a unique trauma category broadly labeled as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), and therefore they fail to classify the complex effects of multiple traumas on non-Western populations. On the other hand, the APA parameters have been conceived to comply with the impact of trauma on Westerners (Summerfield 1999) and, as such, they have been found inadequate for the interpretation of the metaphorical dimensions of trauma accounts in non-Western cultures (cf. Peltzer 1998). This can be explained by the fact that the etiology related to the diagnosis of post-traumatic effects in non-Western (and, in the case in point, in African) contexts can encompass a variety of issues justified by mental/physical causes, but also by spiritual/supernatural and socio-political reasons. Such metaphorical representations of trauma crucially inform the migrants' native "idioms of distress" (cf. Gibbs and O'Brien 1990) and trauma-narrative patterns that are conveyed through the ELF variations they use in reporting their experiences. And yet, such trauma-narrative patterns are normally understood by Western psychiatrists with reference to culture-bound clinical cases (cf. Eisenberg 1981; Mattingly 1998) which Sacks (1987) criticizes because they typically put in the foreground the pathological conditions rather than the human subjects and their traumatic experiences. Sacks, instead, proposes the adoption of a different transitivity perspective with the human subjects shifting from their usual clausal collocation in the background as passive patients to a collocation in the foreground as active agents in trauma narrative report, aiming at protecting and passing on community beliefs and values principally associated with socio-political welfare rather than with individual wellbeing. This would indeed help restore a sense of ethical and social order in the disrupted lives of people displaced from their own native injured community and struggling for the achievement of their longed-for "possible world"—a utopian dream that often turns into a dystopian disillusion, triggering in migrants a hopeless sense of despair.

2. Possible-Worlds constructs in migrants' trauma narratives of "hope"

The first case study under analysis focuses on ELF trauma narratives of "hope", in which migrants come to justify past traumatic facts in view of a long-awaited "possible-world" that most likely can come true. The subject of this case study was a Nigerian young man, speaking Yoruba (a Niger-Congo language) as his L1 and using his nativized variety of Nigerian Pidgin English perceived in Italy as a non-native ELF variation displaced from its original context of use. He had escaped from Nigeria after a terrorist attack by Boko Haram¹ killing his mother and, once in the host Country, he hoped for a better life. The topic of this Nigerian migrant's trauma narrative is Ori, the Yoruba deity of individual destiny that metaphysically embodies his culture-bound deterministic belief that a person's destiny is unchangeable (Ali 1995; Oduwole 1996). The narrative structure of this migrant's argumentation is convoluted and confused in his attempt to justify his hope for a better future in spite of the past trauma he went through. Hence, his mother's tragic fate is represented in his 'metaphysical narrative' as a "predestined prompt" (marked by the deontic modal verb "must") for the achievement of a better "possible world" for him in Italy. Therefore, the "Accept/Deny move structure" identified in his trauma narrative of "hope" reflects the migrant's attempt to reach a compromise as he forces himself to believe in his non-logical religion, trying to justify it even by making reference to popular proverbs, although the actual tragic experience that he had undergone leads him to reject such beliefs, till finding a positive compromise for accepting and overcoming trauma.

What follows is the original transcription of the migrant's trauma narrative in the nativized Nigerian Pidgin English (NPE) — perceived in Italy as a non-native ELF variation — followed by a Standard-English version (for accessibility reasons), and tagged with structural Accept/Deny-Belief and Accommodation moves for each narrative section:

Opening (Traumatic-fact):

Boko Haram bin kill my mama. One *gbosa*, one explosion big big bin chop my mama body. Piece dem kata-kata na ground. Mama eye dem look my eye dem and say: tear race, my pikin, you must to run run fo beta life.

[Boko Haram killed my mum. A 'gbosa', a huge explosion reduced my mum's body to pieces. Pieces were scattered all over the ground. Mum's

¹ The terrorist group's name 'Boko Haram' refers to the expression that in Hausa means 'Western education is sin'.

eyes looked into my eyes and said: run away, my child, you must run immediately to find a a better life.]

Accept belief:

(a) Na tru tru no clear se Ori decision fo pipul destiny dem fo no change finish. We say: "Chicken wey run way go still end up inside pot of soup"—so pipul can no be able fo change dem destiny.

[It is truly unclear that Ori's decision about people's destinies should not change totally. We say: "when the chicken runs away, it still will end up inside a pot of soup"—so people should not be able to change their own destiny.]

Deny belief:

(b) But we fo tink se no bi good, o, like my mama bad destiny.

[But we should think that it is not good at all, like my mum's bad destiny.]

Accommodation:

(c) But yes, Ori decide destiny fo beta and my mama bin die fo push me fo beta life.

[But yes, Ori decides destiny for better and my mum died to push me to find a better life.]

Close:

My destiny dey fo live fo Italy. Ori bin give me one destiny fo fight and win the desert and the sea big big se bin want fo take my life. Life na difficult fo Italy, o, but we say "if life dey show you pepper, make pepper soup".

[My destiny is to live in Italy, Ori gave me a destiny to fight and win against the desert and the rough sea that wanted to take my life. Life is difficult in Italy, but we say: "if life shows you pepper, make a pepper soup".]

As evident, this migrant's trauma narrative is built on a counterfactual logic and on two modality levels (recurring in West-African migrants' trauma-narratives of "hope") used to convey the migrant's acceptance of trauma as a projection of "hope" in a "possible world", bringing together the opposite notions of religious determinism and individual action aimed to improve his own destiny in light of a predetermined and positive divine design. These two modality levels are:

1) A *representational level of epistemic modality* accounting for the migrant's constative acts that convey his beliefs through propositional attitudes regarding:

the *indexical dimension of the actual world*, in which the conventional sense—or "primary intension"—of a concept (i.e., terrorist attack as traumatic fact) regards what the concept refers to in the actual world (Lau 1995), which determines its truth-conditions;

an *iconic dimension of possible world*, in which the referent for a concept—or "secondary intension"—deviates from its conventional sense in the actual world (Lau 1995) insofar as its truth-conditions are determined

by the semantic value that the concept acquires within an alternative counterfactual world (Lewis 1973; Zalta 1997) (i.e., terrorist attack as “better-life prompt”).

2) A *referential level of deontic modality*, accounting for the illocutionary force of the migrant’s trauma narrative that transcends the referential dimension of the real world in order to inhabit the counterfactual modal logic (Zalta 1997) of his religious beliefs represented in his trauma narrative. The Nigerian migrant represents his beliefs through the epistemic structure of his narrative which acquires, concurrently, the deontic value of a performative act prompting him to take action upon the traumatic experience that affects him so as to overcome it in the hope for a possible better world for himself.

Thus, at the *representational level of epistemic modality*, a belief report in section (a) is introduced by a *that*-clause (*se*-clause: “se” meaning “that”), in which the migrant’s reservations about the truth of his religious beliefs represent the clausal theme, whereas the logical subject “Ori” represents the rheme (Halliday 1994). This *that*-clause is an agentless constative clause with “it” (“na”) as subject placeholder that does not introduce in the main clause a direct statement of the migrant’s belief. Instead, it just represents a propositional attitude through the use of the epistemic verb (“fo” [for] meaning “should”). This epistemic verb conveys two opposite semantic presuppositions (Levinson 1983) that, in (a), are inferred by *entailment* which involves the *necessity* of Ori’s final decision on the migrant’s destiny (“fo” as “should”). This, however, is soon “denied” in (b) by the migrant’s statement based on an actual-world logic (“but we fo tink se no bi good, o, like my mama bad destiny”, meaning: “but we think that it is not good at all, like my mum’s bad destiny”).

Then, at the *referential level of deontic modality*, the migrant makes use of two *possible-world maxims of cooperation* in the attempt to come to accept his own deterministic beliefs:

experiential pliability, concerning the migrant’s epistemic adaptation of his narrative to the paraconsistent logic of his Yoruba belief;

suspension of disbelief, concerning his deontic determination to believe in such a counterfactual possible world represented in his religious creed.

Therefore, in (a), an abstract “fact report” or “metaphenomena” (namely, reinterpretations of factual events and possible-world projections of beliefs) is conveyed through an embedded hypotactic *se*-clause (*that*-clause) by

means of a declarative mood, whereas constative utterances convey an anthropomorphic representation of Ori as a psychological (theme) and the logical (agent) subject, but not as the grammatical subject of the clauses (Halliday 1994). In fact, Ori comes to be postponed into the *se-/that*-clause with “it” (“na”) as subject placeholder, thus representing Ori simply as a rhematic “fact”. These impersonal *that*-clauses, thus, account for the two speech roles (Halliday 1994) of:

epistemic proposition, to be associated to a “noun of modality” regarding possible “counterfactual” facts (namely, Ori’s decisions);

deontic proposal, to be associated to a “noun of modulation” regarding not simply a “possible fact”, but rather a “need” (namely, the “need” for his mother’s tragic destiny as a stimulus for him to look for a possible better life in Italy so as to fulfill his own “destiny”).

The “Accept/Deny move structure” of this Nigerian migrant’s “trauma narrative of hope” is indeed built on a “hypothetical syllogism” encompassing the semantic conflicts and the “vacuous truths” (Lewis 1973) that convey the migrant’s sense of bewilderment in trying to find a counter-logical religious justification of the illogical brutality at the source of his trauma. This explains how his narrative is constructed on the two counterfactual types of clause defined as *illogical compatibility* and *illogical contingency*.

An instance of clause marked by *illogical compatibility* is in section (a) of this narrative, showing confusion due to contradicting associations, to be found in the main clause, between the mood adjunct of degree “tru tru” (the reduplicated “true true”, meaning “quite”), signaling a positive polarity, and the negative particle “no” (in “no clear”, corresponding to the prefix “-un” in “unclear”), signaling negative polarity. Then, in the *that*-clause (*na*-clause), this is followed by an extension of these polarities by means of the modal operator “fo” (“for”, meaning “should”), signaling a median degree of “probability”, as well as by means of the intensional relationship between Ori (as the logical subject) and the opposite polarities that characterize him—i.e., the mood adjunct of degree “finish” (“totally”), that signal positive polarity, and the negative particle “no” (“not”) in “no change” (“not change”) that signal negative polarity. Such contradictory polarities depict Ori as a blurred figure, in contrast with the accepted deterministic Yoruba religion of “destiny”: Ori may decide to change destiny, but people, like the “chicken” represented in the proverb mentioned by the migrant, “cannot” (“can no be able fo”) change it in any way.

Clauses of *illogical contingency* (Halliday 1994) are instead characterized by a metaphysical contradiction that denies the migrant’s religious belief

with his final disclaimer introduced by a first-person negative-evaluation stance. But then, in section (c), he justifies his trauma as a hope for his possible better life in Italy (“But yes, Ori decide destiny fo beta and my mama bin die fo push me fo beta life”, which means “But yes, Ori decides destiny for better and my mum died to push me to find a better life”).

Finally, in the last section, the migrant attempts an accommodation between opposite views on destiny by assuming that Ori decided that his destiny had to be that of a “winner” overcoming personified natural elements hostile to him, such as the “desert” and the “rough sea” trying to kill him during his journey to Italy—hence it is the Nigerian migrant himself, not Ori, the one who can change his own destiny by trying to make a “difficult life” in Italy become a possible “better life” (as in the proverb he mentions, regarding the offensive burning “pepper” used to cook a delicious “pepper soup”).

In the just-analyzed narrative, the reference to a deity, Ori, as the cause of traumatic facts is emblematic of how the textualization of such facts in West-African migrants’ narratives follows the native causal conceptualization of events. In migrants’ native Niger-Congo languages, event-conceptualizations in situations of emotional and physical stress are constructed not according to the cause-effect SVO transitive structures characterizing the typology of Western languages, but rather according to the OVS ergative structures (cf. Langacker 1991, 336) that, eventually, come to be transferred to the migrants’ own ELF variations. An ergative clause structure typically collocates the transitive Object, or “Medium” (Halliday 1994, 163) in the thematic position of grammatical and logical subject of the clause, representing it as the actual energy-source of the action, thus shifting the transitive energy-flow directionality by running it counter from the source-dynamic Agent that causes a process to the transitive Object or Medium. This means that, for instance, a sentence like “torture (*causal force: agent*) caused me (*affected entity: patient*) an unbearable pain (*effect: medium*)” may be rendered in West-African ELF into an ergative clause structure like “an unbearable pain (*medium*) grabbed me (*patient*)”, collocating the transitive Object (“pain”) in the thematic position of an animate Subject characterized by force-dynamic motion and even volition. This entails that trauma effects, such as “pain”, can be experienced by West-African migrants metaphorically, as if it were the actual animate source of their distress, removing in this way its actual physical and psychological causes of trauma (Halliday 1994, 171), such as torturers and violent events. The role of the senser/experiencer, on the contrary, usually coincides with the first-person narrator.

Besides, in West-African migrants' trauma narratives, ergativity is often associated with "supernatural causation" every time that the inanimate objects which are collocated in subject position as animate agents come to be represented as personifications of Igbo/Yoruba deities—such as Ori—that affect people's lives which are entirely at their mercy. Another instance of this kind is the following trauma narrative by a young man from Nigeria, who survived a shipwreck in the Mediterranean Sea during which three of his five friends who were travelling with him died by drowning. Then, once in Southern Italy, also the other two friends died in a road accident (in which he was injured, too) as they were returning to their shacks after a day of hard work in the fields, picking tomatoes during the harvest season. The young man, thus, tried to overcome the shock for this further traumatic event by putting the blame on the greedy road, personified as the brutal Ogun, the Yoruba god of the road, incessantly causing accidents in order to catch the victims' bodies and devour them. This young Nigerian man with a basic schooling was allowed by his parents to migrate to Italy together with some friends in the hope that in the host Country he could complete his studies and to enroll at an Italian university. Yet, once in Italy, he ended up working illegally in the tomato fields. What follows is his trauma narrative of "hope" (despite his sadness for his friends' tragic death) in a Nigerian ELF variation closer to Standard English, rather than to Nigerian Pidgin English:

The sea swallow the boat and three friends when we wanted go to Italy to go to school. A ship rescue us in the sea and take us for Italy. I want go to university, but here I only pick pick tomato all day and with no documents. And at the end of the day pain chop my bones. Yesterday the van take us for our shack after tomato picking all day and the road quick crush the van against a lorry and kill my two friends, cut them body in pieces for chop them, eat them. I remember the poet Soyinka say "the road waits, famished", I learn this at school. He say Ogun, the god of the road, cruel monster, become the road and always cause road accidents to kill and eat eat people. But he can no kill me, no. My leg break, and my arm, but the hospital heal me because I must go to university.

3. Cultural hybridization of idioms of distress in migrants' trauma narratives of "despair"

The transcripts reported in this section regard ELF trauma narratives of *despair*, focused on the migrants' feelings of distress and agony as they become aware that their longed-for "possible world" cannot come true, which would entail a worsening of their psychological and social conditions. Data reveal that the more "despair" takes over, the more migrants resort to

their own native “idioms of distress” (Gibbs and O’Brien 1990) that come to be transferred into their ELF variations. Trauma narratives of “despair” also show evidence of a frequent use of a high-value deontic modality (i.e., “must”) signaling the migrants’ determination to pursue impracticable repair actions at a political level (often characterized by fierce feelings of revenge), and even at a supernatural level (Guido 2008, 2018). Another recurrent feature in this type of trauma narrative is “tense indefiniteness” conveyed by a conceptual simple present suggesting the sense of past traumatic facts that are still experientially actual and perceptually vivid in the migrants’ minds (Guido 2008).

What follows is a number of trauma narratives of “despair” by three Nigerian migrants illustrating how sensations of agony and distress caused by traumatic facts come to be expressed through ELF by means of metaphorical “idioms of distress” that need to be interpreted by reference to their linguacultural, psycho-physical, and socio-political dimensions. Data show evidence that Nigerian migrants share such idioms not only with their own native community that coined them, but sometimes they also tend to hybridize them with parallel idioms of distress of the host community so as to make them well understood — rather than adapting their idioms of distress to the conventional APA lexicon (APA 2013), as might have been expected. The transcriptions reported in this section represent three cases in point in which Nigerian migrants residing in the Southern-Italian region of Salento make idioms of distress of the host community their own by hybridizing them with idioms of distress of their native community. In doing so, they relocate their sense of distress into the new linguacultural context they live in insofar as traumatic symptoms, to be acknowledged as such, need to be embodied as culture-bound idioms of distress not simply by individual trauma-affected migrants, but collectively, by involving in the healing process the migrants’ native communities (Kirmayer 1989) as well as their host communities.

The first case regards the trauma narrative by a Nigerian woman who, to convey her suffering, appropriated an idiom of distress of the Southern-Italy region of Salento where she resided—i.e., the “Taranta’s (Tarantula’s) Bite”. In her trauma narrative, she reports that in Nigeria her husband and her only two male young children were murdered in an ambush. Since the reason for such a massacre was obscure, her community blamed her for being the cause of her family members’ death, coming to consider her a witch. What is more, like the barren women in her native community, she believed that she had no hope for reincarnation after death. Obviously, these are all socially-sanctioned pretexts for marginalizing and stigmatizing her as a woman of no value because she has no children to till the land and

contribute to the family's and community's prosperity. Hence she felt she had to leave Nigeria and, so, she went through a risky sea-voyage to Italy where she was illegally employed as a farm labourer in wheat harvesting. In Italy, however, she began to accept as true the belief that she really was the unintentional cause of the death of her family members and this conviction provoked in her a trance-like seizure similar to the self-blame traumatic symptoms suffered by barren women in Guinea Bissau, defined as "Kiyang-yang", an idiom of distress meaning "the Shadow" — i.e., a socially worthless woman (cf. Einarsdóttir 2004). The woman attributed the cause of her seizure to the "Taranta's poisonous bite", i.e., the Salento mythical spider that, by biting female farm labourers, causes in them frenzied convulsions, fits, tremor, outbursts of restless frantic movements, like writhing on the ground, jumping and running around. The "Taranta's Bite" is in fact a common idiom of distress in Salento for the hysterical outbursts suffered by socially and physically exploited female farm workers, which the Nigerian woman associated with her trauma symptoms, as evident from her following trauma narrative of "despair" characterized by reference to abstract notions ("blame", "value", "new life") and bodily parts (her "body" and her "brain" that "sees" her murdered children) collocated in ergative subject position within the clauses:

In my village, people think se (*that*) my children bin die because I'm witch. Only blame for me, o, no value for me. No children for till land, no new life after death for me. Here they say se (*that*) after work my body shake shake, jump, run, and brain go out my head when see my dead pikin them (*obsessive thought of her children*). Here they say se (*that*) Taranta bin bite me and they say se (*that*) only a drum can calm me, but they no know my pain, no, o, they no understand.

"Brain Fag" (fatigue) is another West-African idiom of distress caused by "thinking too much" about traumatic facts suffered in the past—a process that is also metaphorically illustrated by reference to correlated idioms of distress, like "Heavy Chest", "Worm Creeping", and "Ghost Possession" (Guido 2008)—as in the following case regarding the trauma narrative of "despair" by a young Nigerian man who, as a boy, was kidnapped by the terrorists of the Boko Haram group that forced him to become a "child soldier" and to commit crimes. Once in Italy, the memory of his past atrocious acts keeps tormenting him, triggering anxiety symptoms that, in his trauma narrative, are collocated in ergative subject position in clause structures—such as numbness, daze, and chest tightness while sleeping—which he hybridized with a typical Southern-Italy idiom of distress—i.e., the "Sciacuddhi", the spiteful pixie inhabiting the Salento countryside,

pressing the chest of exhausted peasants as they sleep, and plaiting the manes of the horses during the night:

My brain think think the murders I done (*obsessive recurrence of the same thoughts*). Worms creep in my brain (*numbness sensations in head*), I can no stop them, and chest, here, feel heavy, heavy when sleep come (*sensations of chest-tightness*). My Italian friends in the tomato field think that Shakudi, like small monkey, come and sit on my heart the night for choke me. They laugh and say Shakudi make also the plaits of my hair but I cry when I think that he *must* be (*epistemic deduction*) the little pikin (*child*) I bin kill, I cut him throat and he look my eyes and die and he bin innocent like my little brother. He now *must* kill me (*deontic obligation*), I know.

The metaphorical representations of the symptoms typical of the post-traumatic stress disorders, are here hybridized with the idioms of distress belonging to the host Italian peasant culture that represents the new context where he presently lives and works.

Lastly, “Being on Fire” is an idiom of distress of the physical sensation reported by sexually abused women who are uncomfortable in their own violated body and feel as if it were persistently “burning”—an idiom of distress identified in the following trauma narrative of “despair” reported by a Nigerian woman who, once in Italy, was forced into prostitution. A clinician, however, associated her burning sensation with the menopausal hot flashes, but the woman to refer to it, rather than using the conventional medical term for it, adopted the corresponding Italian idiom of distress “Caldane” (“sudden hot flashes”):

My body burn, burn, burn, burn (*hot flushes and burning sensations*). Fire consume it, heath no make me breathe. Pain make my eye see black and I fall like dead (*fainting sensation*). Doctor say I suffer “caldane” attacks because I aging. But my friends of my age no feel the same.

4. Conclusions

Ethnographic data have shown that migrants’ trauma narratives are marked by features of their typological and metaphorical L1s transferred into ELF at the levels of clause structures, spoken-discourse patterns, modality, and idiomatic lexicon. Such transfer processes contribute to making migrants’ trauma narratives be perceived in the host community as unfamiliar since they are “displaced” from their native contexts of occurrence, and “transidiomatic”, because of their different typological and metaphorical structures that come to be perceived as alien (Silverstein 1998) by “Western” specialists in post-traumatic stress disorders (PTSD) to the

point of hindering communication. In fact, such specialists—though acknowledging the tenet in Transcultural Psychiatry (cf. Kleinman 1981) of different ways of experiencing trauma in different cultures—often misinterpret migrants' trauma narratives, as they apply to them the clinical-schema categories encoded in the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* according to the American Psychiatric Association parameters (APA 2013) which have been found quite inadequate for the description of trauma effects on non-Western populations (Peltzer 1998; Guido 2008). Therefore it is necessary to develop hybrid ELF registers that can accommodate different categorizations and textualizations of non-Western migrants' trauma experiences which may be subsequently employed in migration contexts during intercultural specialized encounters.

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CHAPTER FOUR

LEXICOGRAPHIC METALANGUAGE AS (A) SPECIALISED LANGUAGE

STEFANIA NUCCORINI

1. Introduction: metalanguage, terminology, specialised language

This contribution analyses the features that allow the conventionalized system(s) used to present and describe different types of information in lexicographic products, in particular English monolingual Learner's Dictionaries (LDs), to qualify as metalanguage and as a particular form of specialized language. In general, the concept of metalanguage partakes of some of the constitutive elements of specialized language and of terminology, but the linguistic status and the purposes of lexicographic metalanguage present specific metalinguistic features.

This article will evaluate differences and similarities in the metalanguages adopted in different editions of three LDs, namely, in alphabetical order, the *Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*¹ (COBUILD); the *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (LDOCE); and the *Oxford Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (OALD). The main aim is to assess the extent to which their descriptive, conceptual and communicative role makes it possible to identify each of their metalanguages as (a) specialized language.

According to Jaworski *et al.*, “the starting point for all studies of metalanguage is the familiar observation that language is a unique communicative system in that it can be used to describe and represent itself” (2012, 3). On the basis of this well-recognized and accepted starting point, metalanguage has been defined in different ways.

¹ Cobuild stands for Collins Birmingham University International Language Database.

A generally accepted definition of metalanguage as a word is “language (used to talk) about language”, but this definition does not seem to cover all the different uses of metalanguage as a term in various fields, such as linguistics, philosophy, logic, semantics and other sub-areas (applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, pedagogic grammars, among others) (Berry 2005, 3ff). In the *Oxford English Dictionary* online (OED) the definition of metalanguage, whose first quotation dates to 1936 (less than a century ago), reads: “A language or set of terms used for the description or analysis of another language”.

This definition brings up the issue of terminology, though still highlighting metalanguage descriptive function, which is in-built in the etymological meaning of the prefix ‘meta’. The OED cross reference to “meta-metalanguage” is to the point, as this is defined as “a language used to describe a metalanguage”, which further highlights the semantic role of description with no hint at terms.

Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (W3) defines metalanguage in a different way, as follows: “A language used to express data about or discuss another language”.

This definition adds two more specific functions (expressing data and discussing a language) to the OED more neutral ones (describing and analysing a language), but, like the OED, it does not make any explicit reference to terms as being metalanguage constitutive features. Berry clearly says that metalanguage itself “is a term” (2005, 3), with reference to the knowledge about, and the ability to use, the lexis and the specific discourse features of different subjects, but he also clearly states that “terminology should not be equated with metalanguage”. Indeed, “metalanguage might not contain a single term” (Berry 2014, 24). In comparing terminology and metalanguage, especially in the field of pedagogic grammars (and, one might add, in the field of pedagogic lexicography, as well), he clarifies that “terminology is merely the lexis of metalanguage”. In his example, “*some verbs can be followed by — ing-forms and infinitives*, only the three terms underlined constitute terminology” (Berry 2010, 26). Notably, Faber equates terminology to specialized language, with reference to “the way specialized knowledge concepts are named, structured, described and translated”: more precisely, they refer to “terminology or the designation of specialized knowledge concepts” (2012, 13). Specialized language thus implies specialized knowledge which is designated by its own specific terminology. The extent to which the role of terminology is relevant in determining whether lexicographic metalanguage can be defined as (a) specialized language, is to be ascertained.

According to the OED, terminology is: “the system of terms belonging to any science or *subject*; technical terms collectively; nomenclature. Also: the *scientific study* of the proper use of terms”.

This definition clearly mentions the terms used in scientific and technical areas. In addition, paraphrasing the OED definition of metalanguage, it refers to meta-terminology, i.e. the terminology used to scientifically talk about terms.

According to W3, terminology is: “1: the technical or special terms or expressions used in a business, art, science, or special subject. 2: nomenclature as a field of study”.

This definition, though differently worded, is very similar to the OED one. Both definitions appropriately describe what terminology refers to and includes, and somehow imply that terminology is used as an/the agreed-on, subject-specific means of (expert-to-expert) communication, in particular in the W3 sense of “nomenclature”.

In a non-lexicographic definition, it must be added that the status of terminology as scientific study lies in the assumption that there must be “perfect correspondence between knowledge representation and terms” (L’Homme, 2015)² on the basis of a one-to-one correspondence: one term, one concept.

Gotti, with reference to the issue of terminology in specialized discourse, defines the latter as “the specialist use of language in contexts which are typical of a specialized community, stretching across the academic, the professional, the technical and the occupational areas of knowledge and practice”. He also specifies that three factors ought to be present to identify specialized discourse: “the type of user, the domain of use, and the special application of language in that setting” (2011, 24).

In the field of pedagogic lexicography, the type of user (i.e. learners) is well specified, but the domain of use is restricted to a one-way passage of information from specialists (lexicographers) to non-specialists (learners), who should access and understand LDs’ metalanguage and its terminology, if any, in order to improve their language awareness, based on their knowledge of and about the language, and to learn how to use it. They are not supposed to be or become specialists themselves. The third factor, the special application of language in its identified setting, seems to be fully appropriate to the lexicographic field. On the whole, Gotti’s factors can be slightly adapted to define lexicographic metalanguage as specialized language rather than specialized discourse, since it is not meant for

² No page number is present in the edition available online.
https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Marie_Claude_Lhomme.

spoken/written communication. Instead, it is a short, conventional, meaningful tool, often condensed into codes and abbreviations, aiming to give dictionary users relevant information about the language they are learning. The issue of transparency of lexicographic metalanguage as (a) specialized language will be separately addressed in each LD's sub-section below.

With reference to terminology and language awareness, which is a relevant factor in the analysis of LDs' metalanguage, given the different degree of lexicographers' and users' knowledge and the ensuing asymmetrical, one-way communication between them, Berry highlights some moot points, among which "a failure to distinguish terminology from metalanguage" and "a failure to distinguish scientific and pedagogic terminology" (2014, 21). For him, metalanguage "is certainly not restricted to a limited repertoire of technical lexis, as terminology might be characterized". Instead, "metalanguage is a much broader linguistic concept, involving *all of the language* that is used to talk about language" (2014, 24) (emphasis mine). As for pedagogic terminology, Berry highlights that "an awareness of terminology (i.e. metalingual awareness) of which terms, if any, are suitable for a certain group of subjects, is required on the part of researchers" (2014, 26), a statement that particularly applies to lexicographers involved in the making of LDs and their target users.

As a round-up of this introductory overview of the links among metalanguage, terminology and specialized language, it is interesting to note that "specialized language" appears only once in the OED, in a quotation in the entry for "phylogeny", and refers to "the emergence of a specialized language system in the brain", while the same expression is not included in W3.

The above definitions and comments show that metalanguage, terminology, specialized knowledge, specialized language, and language awareness are strictly intertwined. Interestingly, the following definitions of metalanguage given in the selected LDs are also to be considered, since they do not make any reference to terms either:

in linguistics, the words and expressions that people use to describe or refer to language can be called metalanguage. [technical]"; in British English: "a language or system of symbols used to discuss another language or system. (COBUILD8).

Words used for talking about or describing language. The language of linguistics. (LDOCE6).

[countable, uncountable] (linguistics): the words and phrases that people use to talk about or describe language or a particular language. (OALD9)

The COBUILD reference to metalanguage as a “system of symbols”, and the LDOCE and OALD mention of its use in linguistics, that is in a scientific field which has its own formalized language, make it clear that metalanguage is not just confined to “words”, “expressions” and “phrases”. This allows the analysis of both the “symbols” and the “words”, which are used in describing headwords, and their actual entry-treatment. Samples of each dictionary’s metalanguage will be analysed vis-à-vis specific characteristics and the above standpoints.

The concept of lexicographic metalanguage in general and the implications concerning the lexicographic metalanguage(s) of the selected LDs will be analysed in Section 2; main findings will be presented in Section 3; and a few concluding remarks will be offered in Section 4.

2. Lexicographic metalanguage

Different dictionaries have developed their own ways to record the types of information which substantiate both their editorial claims and their target addressees’ needs. Lexicographic metalanguage is composed of different conventional items, such as abbreviations, symbols, numbers, letters, labels, typefaces, fonts, parentheses and brackets, colours, and others, but also, and more significantly and pedagogically relevant, by the microstructure presentation mode of different types of information: all are explained and illustrated in each dictionary front or back matter.

In keeping with the selected LDs’ very similar definitions of metalanguage, each LD’s metalanguage also includes the style, syntax, and vocabulary that govern the defining apparatus. The meanings, functions, connotative and pragmatic associations of the headword must be made clear to learners in order for them to identify, understand and use the information sought, to solve problems and to improve their English.

Since the selected LDs belong to the same lexicographic typology, that is to say pedagogic lexicography, and share the same basic objectives, they also show similar concerns and yet, they have adopted different metalanguages and presentation modes, due to their specific linguistic and lexicographic approaches. Similarities and differences in their metalanguages will be assessed as features of (a) specialized language. To this end, the following preliminary considerations and working definitions are necessary.

According to Tarp “learner’s dictionaries”, which also include bilingual learner’s dictionaries, and “pedagogic lexicography” are “terms that are used with a lot of different meanings” (2011, 21). His own definition is: “A *learner’s dictionary* is a dictionary especially designed to assist learners of

languages (whether a native or a foreign language) and of scientific and practical disciplines. A learner's dictionary is synonymous to a pedagogic dictionary but focuses on the learner and not the educator" (2011, 223-224) (author's emphasis). A similar, restricted definition is adopted in this paper with reference to the characteristics of the selected LDs: an LD is a monolingual, general-purpose dictionary especially designed to assist learners of English as a foreign language, and it focuses on learners' (previously identified) specific needs. Despite the difference highlighted by Tarp, in this paper LDs and pedagogic lexicography are used as synonyms for practical purposes.

COBUILD, LDOCE and OALD have been selected to also adopt a partially diachronic approach to the analysis of their respective metalanguage in editions published at similarly well apart times, over a span of roughly thirty years (1987-2014). Various types of differences are supposed to reflect the changes in linguistic approaches, and in the theory and practice of lexicography which occurred during that period: major improvements in data collection, in the analysis of language use, in technological advancements, and insights into language teaching and learning resulted in constantly revised, ever more user-friendly lexicographic policies. It is expected that the selected dictionaries' metalanguages have also gone through overall restyling.

The first editions of COBUILD, LDOCE and OALD go back to 1987, 1978, and 1948 respectively: as for those selected for the present analysis, COBUILD1 and LDOCE2 were both published in 1987, OALD4 in 1989. Among their latest, chronologically comparable print editions, the following will be analysed: COBUILD8, 2014; LDOCE6, 2014; OALD9, 2015. The selected LDs, together with the *Cambridge Advanced Learner's Dictionary* (CALD) and the *Macmillan English Dictionary for Advanced Learners* (MEDAL), are usually known as 'the Big Five': CALD was first published in 1995 and MEDAL in 2002, and both have gone through fewer editions than the selected dictionaries. Changes in their metalanguages over a shorter time could not be compared with those in COBUILD's, LDOCE's, and OALD's selected editions.

Judging from the titles of the three selected dictionaries, their envisaged target addressees seem to differ. However, the use of "advanced" in the title of OALD and in recent editions of COBUILD, is not to be taken as a strict prerequisite for their proper and effective use. Conversely, the lack of the mention of the addressees' specific level of knowledge of English in the LDOCE and the COBUILD previous editions is not *ipso facto* meant to include beginners either. However, learners are supposed to learn how to use their dictionary, to be aware of the different steps in the look-up process,

and to be familiar with the metalanguage and its functions and meanings, provided their knowledge of the language allows them to understand those functions and meanings and the information searched for, according to the didactic activity they are involved in, the skill they are developing, or their occasional, personal curiosities or needs.

3. LDs' metalanguage

Only a few features which characterize the metalanguage of each of the selected LDs are analysed in the following sub-sections, with reference to the explanations given in each front or back matter. The style of definitions, which describe word meaning and are thus *per se* metalinguistic, will be analysed whenever they are especially relevant.³

3.1 COBUILD metalanguage (1987/2014)

The publication of COBUILD in 1987 marked a significant step in the history of LDs in general, as it was the first corpus-based dictionary, and, in particular, as it highlighted the role of lexicographic metalanguage, with special reference to the presence of an extra-column and to the wording of definitions.

The extra-column, whose “terminology” was defined as “fairly easy to understand” (1987, xvi), was a conventional and graphic novelty. It placed information about grammar features in abbreviated form, and about semantic relationships, through symbols pointing to words with a “similar, opposite, or more general meaning” (1987, xi), next to the appropriate lines in relevant word-entries. Basic didactic and meta-lexicographic principles emerged, for example, in the refusal to use linguistic terms such as synonym, antonym, and hypernym (though “superordinate” is used in the front-matter guide), and to adopt so-called lexicographese, as also shown by the style of definitions.

There were, and still are, two main characteristics of the COBUILD defining style: the headword is always present in full in definitions; and these are always presented as complete sentences, often composed of both a main clause, and a secondary one, such as an *if*- or *when*-clause. As clearly stated in the front matter “it is not really possible *to talk about* the meaning of a word in isolation” (1987, xvii) (emphasis mine). Metalanguage does indeed play a major role in COBUILD especially in its use of carefully

³ COBUILD4 “contextual definitions”, LDOCE4 “single-clause *when*-definitions”, and OALD6 “analytical definitions” are analysed in Lew and Dziemianko (2006).

selected words to describe typical semantic and pragmatic implications of headwords' context-based uses and meaning(s). To give just a few examples, in the definitions of verbs the purposeful use of the subject pronoun "you" shows that the verb subject must be human, while the use of "something" that it must be inanimate. The use of the *to*-infinitive form of a verb in the sentence-initial position of a definition usually conveys the information that the verb subject can be both animate and inanimate. However, it also carries a pragmatic function in cases in which the subject is human: since "you" can be perceived as addressee/learner/user-inclusive, it is not used in the definition of verbs which carry negative and potentially offensive meanings⁴, in which cases the *to*-infinitive form is used in a purely descriptive, impersonal way. Thus the first definition in COBUILD1 (which is very similar in COBUILD8) of the verb "slaughter", an action dictionary users would not like to be associated with via the pronoun "you", reads: "to slaughter a large number of people means to kill them in a way that is cruel, unjust, or unnecessary". Whenever appropriate, the formula "if you say that" introduces, through the meta-metalinguistic use of the verb "say", figurative or metaphorical meanings. Interestingly, though with a loose connection with the dictionary use of "you", at the end of his Introduction to the first edition John Sinclair wrote "we hope that *you, the user*, will find it [the dictionary] a genuinely helpful reference book" (1987, xxi) (emphasis mine).

Definitions also include information about grammar. For example, in the definitions of nouns the presence of the indefinite article "a" before the noun entry-word implies that the latter is countable, and its absence that it is uncountable. The same information was given in the extra-column.

Some abbreviations in the 1987 edition were not straightforward: for example, "EG" (in small capitals) which was used to introduce examples. Most abbreviations, or grammar notes, such as "ADJ CLASSIF", "PHR", or "V-ERG", were clearly described in "special entries" presented in boxes at their "correct place in the alphabetical entry list" (1987: xi), which usually reported the full form of abbreviations, with explanations and examples. Strangely, the full form of the meta-linguistic term "V-ERG" was not given in its special entry.

The COBUILD8 edition differs considerably from the 1987 one. The extra-column is no longer there; conversely there are plenty of illustrations which were not present in COBUILD1 (whereas they were in OALD4 and in LDOCE2). Three frequency bands, which were introduced in the second edition (1995), are shown as blue diamonds in the headword line. The style

⁴ On the use of "you", see Hanks (1987, 125-126) and Nuccorini (1993a, 233).

of definitions is the same; in addition, they have been written with the commonest 2,500 words in English which form “a natural defining vocabulary” (2014, xi). Grammatical information is given in full at the beginning of the entry. Several word-class grammatical “notations” are first listed and then fully explained and exemplified in the front matter, where “e.g.” is used to introduce examples of the use of a given notation, as in “**that:** stands for ‘**that**’ clause: e.g. v n **that:** *persuade* (3) *I’ve persuaded Mrs. Tennant that it’s time she retired*” (2014: xxii). Bold and italics types are meaningful metalinguistic symbols. From the point of view of metalanguage, the word “notation” (a variable noun, in that it is both countable and uncountable) is defined in the COBUILD itself as follows: “a system of notation is a set of written symbols that are used to represent something such as music or mathematics” (2014: xvii). It is indeed a term (not a frequent word in English) and as such it is to be understood by learners, as are “synonym”, “antonym”, and “collocation”, presented in “thesaurus” and in “word partnerships” boxes respectively.

COBUILD’s non-specialized metalanguage, except for grammatical and syntactic abbreviations and terms (like, for example, “clause”), at the same time includes hidden information which learners must be aware of. Reading through the defining style is a skill itself that dictionary users are supposed to master to eventually turn metalanguage awareness into language awareness.

3.2 OALD metalanguage (1989-2015)

OALD4, published in 1989, was a landmark in its history, especially with reference to the search for a higher degree of transparency of its metalanguage, and of terms proper, as will be seen, used to describe, in particular, the syntactic behaviour of verbs. The previous categorization of verb patterns, the most salient feature of OALD since its first edition, though carefully devised, was rather opaque. It partially remained so in OALD4 despite its efforts towards conveying the same type of information about verb valency via a more meaningful, communicative and transparent metalanguage. The previous purely numerical system of verb patterns (VP1, VP2, up to VP25, and their further divisions, such as VP18A, VP18B, VP18C) was revised in the 1989 edition (Nuccorini, 1993b). Information was still given in 32 codes with meaningful abbreviations, which users were supposed to read (that is, to decode and understand) on two levels: a “simple” level and a “structural” level, as explained and exemplified in the back-matter (1989, 1555), and commented on in the following paragraph.

The simple level referred to the ability to match each element in the code with the term it stood for, as in “Dn.pr”, that is “Double-transitive

verb+noun+prepositional phrase”. The dot itself in the code was meant to show the division between the direct and indirect object, as in “he gave the book to John”. Actually, in the entry for “give” the codes Dn.n and Dn.pr were presented together: the swung dash symbol (which still replaces the headword in OALD’s presentation of syntactic information) was followed by “**sth to sb**”, but the first example was “I gave each of the boys an apple”, which represents the first code, but not the “sth to sb” construction.

The structural level implied that the same code could be read as ‘verb followed by a direct object and an indirect object’, that is the “structural elements which the patterns contain”. Decoding the structural level seems easier than decoding the simple level, which makes use of more meta-linguistic terms. However, decoding and learning the five capital letters used for verbs, L, I, T, C, and D, standing for Linking, Intransitive, Transitive, Complex-transitive, and Double-transitive, also implied that learners understood the underlying concepts.

In principle, mastering abbreviations was, and still is, the key to understanding the information they convey, but the idea that the letters could be “easily learnt, so that within a short time the learner should be able to recall patterns simply by looking at the codes” (1989, 1555) sounds like wishful thinking, since the lexicographer and the user were supposed to soon share the same knowledge of specific terminology and metalanguage. It was not a matter of letters, but of linguistic concepts codified into terms.

In the same dictionary, but in another perspective, the metalanguage used in the front-matter section was more transparent, in that it did not make use of any linguistic term. For example, the following explanations were used to describe the entry features: “different word used with the same meaning as the headword” to refer to a strict synonym; “headwords with the same spelling separated by different numbers” to refer to homonyms and homographs; and “reference to a usage note where words with similar meanings are compared” to refer to loose synonyms (1989, ix, x, viii). These metalinguistic approaches, however different, revealed combined efforts towards describing language use in an as much as possible transparent way. Usage notes included detailed explanations.

OALD9 is a considerably different dictionary from the 1989 edition. However, some 70 years after the publication of A.S. Hornby’s *A Learner’s Dictionary* (1948), the editor claims credit and pays tribute to Hornby’s guiding principles in the Foreword. Indeed, the different editions of OALD have provided a thread of continuity, formally testified to by different editors and by the sample page from the first edition reproduced in the front matter of OALD9, as in immediately previous editions, and substantially by pursuing “Hornby’s aim of giving teachers and learners of English the tools

to enable them to communicate” (2015, vi). The metalanguage used with special reference to constructions is different: the term “verb patterns” survives in the inside front cover, but patterns are presented with usual part-of-speech abbreviations, such as TNN (transitive verb with two objects, noun or noun phrases), or [V **wh**] (verb + wh clause), and they are followed by examples. The pattern TNN is exemplified by “I gave Sue the book”. At “give” the pattern is shown by the usual abbreviations “sth” and “sb” and by the preposition to be used, in bold: “give sth **to** sb” is exemplified by “give the letter to your mother”, and “give sb sth” by “give your mother the letter”, in concordant pairs.

In the front matter, as in previous editions, the use of the raised number after the entry-word is defined as a “homonym number” (2015, v). Somewhat surprisingly, it is explained as follows: “this is the first of two headwords spelled *gill*”. Homonym is a linguistic term and homonyms are two words indeed spelled the same, but also pronounced the same: *gill*¹ is not pronounced the same as *gill*²; they represent examples of homographs. The OALD definition of homonym is “a word that is spelt like another word (or pronounced like it) but which has a different meaning, for example ‘can’ meaning ‘be able’ and ‘can’ meaning ‘put something in a container’”. “Can”, unlike “gill”, is indeed an example of homonymy. Interestingly, in OALD4, homographs were analogously presented with raised numbers, but the appropriate example given in the front matter was ‘bow’.

Another by now long-standing feature of OALD, but not present in the 1989 edition, is the “Oxford 3000™” keywords⁵, that is words “carefully selected by language experts and experienced teachers as the words which should receive priority in vocabulary study because of their importance and usefulness”. These words, which are shown as headwords, in larger print and followed by a key symbol, have been used to write definitions, in order to make them “easy to understand” (2015, x). From the metalanguage point of view this is not only an essential feature of OALD, but it specifically embodies and represents a fruitful way of talking about and describing the language, with reference to word meanings. The same applies to the “Longman Defining Vocabulary”, which will be presented in the following section.

⁵ A “defining vocabulary” has been used in OALD since the fifth edition (1995). It became the “Oxford 3000” and a trademark in later editions.

3.3 LDOCE metalanguage (1987-2014)

The updated 2000-word “Longman Defining Vocabulary”, whose use had been pioneered in the LDOCE first edition (1978), was “the single most helpful major feature” (1987, F8) of LDOCE2. Definitions were written using only the words in the defining vocabulary, chosen on the basis of the frequency of occurrence of their “most common and central meaning” (1987: B15). The aim was to bring clarity to the definitions as a necessary constituent element of a learner’s dictionary.

LDOCE2 purposefully avoided “mnemonic codes” (1987, F8), and gave a full description of the grammatical abbreviations and of the syntactic behaviour of adjective, noun, and verb headwords. For example, “[F]” showed that an adjective is used only after a verb, as in the case of “asleep”. Sentence patterns were shown in square brackets, in not immediately decodable ways: for example, at “buy”, “[+obj(i)+obj(d)]” was followed by the example “*let me buy a drink for you*”. Round brackets showed optional parts of a code, differently printed according to their part of speech: prepositions in dark type, adverbs in small capital letters.

The 24-page long “Full Guide to Using the Dictionary” explained all codes and especially the terms it used to describe the dictionary lay-out and information structure, for example, “homographs are words that have the same spelling, but are different in some other ways” such as pronunciation, word-class or meaning. They are “shown as separate headwords and each one is given a raised number” (1987, F30). The example given is “flock”: word-class concerns the noun (group of animals or of people) and the verb (to gather in groups); a different meaning concerns the semantically unrelated noun “flock” (soft material) which actually represents an example of homonymy. However, homonyms are also homographs. Other terms, ranging from “synonyms” to “stress”, from “phrasal verbs” to “idioms”, are explained. Examples are presented both as short phrases or whole sentences in italics.

LDOCE6 is rather different in many respects, but some features are significantly analogous, in line “with its long tradition of analysis and definition” as already highlighted in the LDOCE5 foreword. The words in the “Longman Communication 3000”, introduced in the fifth edition, are printed in red, and their frequency of occurrence in the spoken and written language is given separately, shown by the self-evident abbreviations “s” and “w” followed by the number 1, or 2, or 3, each of which means that the word is one of the 1000/2000/3000 most common words in either variety. Other words are in blue. The 2000-word “Longman Defining Vocabulary”, however, is still used to write definitions.

Grammar codes are presented in more transparent ways, for instance “[not before noun]”—that is the former “[F]” in LDOCE2, but first present in LDOCE3 (1995)—is given for “alive”. Patterns and prepositions are in bold, for example **“buy sth for sb/sth”**.

Signposts are used to show different meanings of a word: these too were first introduced in LDOCE3, but their wording has slightly changed. Synonyms and antonyms, so called and briefly explained in the front matter, are abbreviated into “SYN” and “OPP” in the entries and they are followed by related words. Homographs or homonyms are not mentioned in the front matter, but raised numbers signal them in the body of the dictionary.

An LDOCE-specific feature concerns “Grammar Notes”, which show common errors, effectively introduced by the warning triangle symbol, in a clear meta-linguistic and graphic way. For example, at “mistake” the note is: “Don’t say ~~do a mistake~~. Say make a mistake”.

4. Concluding remarks

The examples of different types of metalanguage briefly analysed in the previous section show that LDs lexicographers have tried to reduce their use of terms to a minimum. The different metalanguages, however, are examples of specialized languages: they describe and talk about the language features learners must be aware of, by using different symbols and defining styles, colours, typefaces and other communicative and didactic means. Terms are sometimes used in imprecise ways that somehow question L’Homme’s definition about the perfect correspondence between knowledge representation and terms (2015, see 1. above), which is a tenet of terminology itself. The same term does not always express the same type of knowledge representation.

Lexicographic metalanguages as used in the specific setting of LDs, which share common aims, present specific features, since LDs have competitively developed, and changed over time, their own ways to meet learners’ needs. The purposefully thought-of metalanguages of the three selected LDs do indeed talk about, describe, and portray didactically relevant features of English in as plain and direct ways as possible, on the assumption that average learners would not be able to understand experts’ terminology, though some type of terminology is unavoidable.

Metalanguage has often been defined as “specialized language”, or as “a specialized language” (Berry 2005, 3). The presence or absence of the indefinite article is a distinction Berry refers to as not “trivial”, since “language (uncountable) implies a general concept with vague boundaries”, while “a/any language (countable) implies a distinct concept with clear

boundaries” (2009, 5). Accordingly, lexicographic metalanguage is specialized language: at the same time, on the basis of the above-presented comparative analysis, even though it is very limited, it can be said that each LD metalanguage is “a” specialized language, which explains the presence of the article in parenthesis in the title.

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PART TWO

LEGAL DISCOURSE

CHAPTER FIVE

INTERDISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF ARBITRATION PRACTICE: IMPLIED CONFIDENTIALITY AND ACCESSIBILITY OF DATA¹

VIJAY K BHATIA²

1. Overview

In this chapter, I would like to suggest critical genre analytical framework for investigating the interdiscursive construction of international commercial arbitration practice (Bhatia 2017). It underpins the importance of a multidimensional and multi-perspective view of genre by drawing on interdiscursive analyses of a range of discursal data drawn from international commercial arbitration practice. The data required for this kind of study includes critical moments of interaction from specific crucial sites of arbitration practice, narratives of experience drawn from interviews with key practitioners, court judgments, and arbitration awards. These diverse

¹ The research in this chapter was inspired by a large-scale international collaboration funded by the Research Grants Council HKSAR under its Competitive Earmarked Research Grant. The collaboration involved more than twenty international teams of researchers, drawn both from legal and arbitration practice, as well as from discourse analysis. One of the most prominent collaborating teams was the Italian research unit headed by Professor Maurizio Gotti, who inspired an exemplary research collaborative spirit, which helped me to turn the research initiative into a landmark international project investigating the ‘integrity’ of the current international arbitration practice. The present chapter, which draws on an earlier paper Bhatia (2010) entitled, ‘Accessibility of discursal data in critical genre analysis: International commercial arbitration practice’ published in *Linguagem em (Dis)curso, Palhoça, SC*, 10, 3, (465–483), is a tribute to Professor Gotti’s commitment to collaborative research in international commercial arbitration contexts.

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sources of data and their analyses can then be integrated into a ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) of arbitration, its role, concerns, practices, as well as tensions on the part of participants, who come from a range of disciplinary and jurisdictional backgrounds and sites. Since the main focus of the overall study that inspired this chapter focuses on the investigation of the increasing influence of litigative procedures on arbitration practice, and resistance to such an encroachment, it requires rich interdiscursive accounts of the contested discourses grounded in a range of sites and plurality of data sets. However, before dealing with the main focus of the chapter, I would like to give a general overview of international commercial arbitration.

Hong Kong Mediation and Arbitration Centre defines arbitration as

a method for resolving disputes between parties in private as an alternative to litigation in the courts. It may be agreed by the parties before or after the dispute arises. The arbitration agreement is usually incorporated as part of the contract from which the dispute arose. However, even when there is no arbitration clause in the contract in dispute, an arbitration agreement can also be made after a dispute has arisen if the parties prefer not to go to Court. If there is no arbitration agreement, mutual agreement is necessary, as one cannot force another party to "arbitrate" a dispute if there is no arbitration clause.

(<https://www.hkmaac.org/arbitration/>)

It is important to understand that arbitration was originally proposed as an alternative to litigation in order to provide a flexible, economic, speedy, informal, private and confidential process of resolving commercial disputes. Since mutual agreement between the parties in dispute is viewed as a necessary pre-requisite for any arbitration proceeding, parties are given considerable freedom to choose procedures, including the choice of arbitrator as well as the seat of arbitration. There is also a duty of implied confidentiality in that the arbitration documents, whether spoken or written, presented, discussed, or produced are to be protected from disclosure to outsiders of the dispute, and the proceedings are generally to take place in private. The biggest selling point of international commercial arbitration has been that arbitration awards are enforceable internationally. However, parties at dispute often look for opportunities to go to court when the outcome is not to their liking. They often choose legal experts as arbitrators and counsels, as they are likely to be more accomplished in looking for opportunities to challenge the award in court. In order to exercise the autonomy of individual parties, sometimes chosen rules are closer to complex court proceedings than they are to the simpler rules of arbitration.

Such variation naturally leads to an increasing mixture of rule-related discourses as arbitration becomes, as it were, ‘colonized’ by litigation practices, threatening to undermine the integrity of arbitration practice, and in the process thus compromising the spirit of arbitration as a non-legal practice. Nariman (2000, 262), one of the most distinguished international scholars in International Commercial Arbitration, points out, “International Commercial Arbitration has become almost indistinguishable from litigation, which it was at one time intended to supplant”. However, there is very little research evidence to support such statements from experts in the field, especially members of the legal community. We have discussed in more detail aspects of confidentiality and transparency in other published work (see Bhatia, Candlin and Sharma 2009; Bhatia 2011a, b), thus in this chapter, my objective is to reflect on some of the difficulties in accessing two key sets of complementary discursive data from arbitration practice: arbitration awards and discursive data from arbitral trials. Let me discuss key aspects associated with the accessibility of interdiscursive data, both written as well as spoken, from international commercial arbitration practice.

2. Confidentiality and accessibility of discursive data

Arbitration trials and awards are crucial for the understanding and education of potential stakeholders and providers of arbitration services. Both the awards as well as the trials represent useful and insightful information for clients to know the performance of arbitrators, for researchers to appreciate and account for arbitral processes and procedures, and for practitioners to use as precedents for subsequent cases. Referring to arbitral awards, Sir Bernard Rix (2006, 227) rightly argues:

The more that arbitration awards are final and supplant and avoid any visit to the courts, the more commercial parties have, it seems to me, a real and justifiable interest in being able to discover for themselves how arbitration tribunals in general and individual arbitrators or boards of arbitrators in particular, decide and perform. They should not be simply in the hands of their legal advisers, who give them anecdotal information. Moreover, the legal advisors themselves should be in a position where they can advise their clients on an informed basis about the principles applied by and performance of arbitrators. There is also the matter of accommodating public interest in the review of arbitration proceedings, which can only be served by the introduction of some transparency and disclosure of information regarding such arbitral proceedings and awards.

Similarly, the UNCITRAL Notes on Organizing Arbitral Proceedings (<https://uncitral.un.org/>) encourages parties to include in a confidentiality agreement only those elements of the proceedings that are necessary for individual cases:

Note 32 – UNCITRAL Notes on Organizing Arbitral Proceedings – Possible content of a confidentiality Agreement.

An agreement on confidentiality might cover, for example, one or more of the following matters: the material or information that is to be kept confidential (e.g. pieces of evidence, written and oral arguments, the fact that the arbitration is taking place, identity of the arbitrators, content of the award); measures for maintaining confidentiality of such information and hearings; whether any special procedures should be employed for maintaining the confidentiality of information transmitted by electronic means (e.g. because communication equipment is shared by several users, or because electronic mail over public networks is considered not sufficiently protected against unauthorized access); circumstances in which confidential information may be disclosed in part or in whole (e.g. in the context of disclosures of information in the public domain, or if required by law or a regulatory body).

Arbitration in recent years has become relatively more transparent in that the rules from various regulatory organizations have become accessible to stakeholders, and at the same time noting that there has been an increasing number of voluntary disclosures that provide information about the way arbitration takes place. Thus, Catherine Rogers and Richard Cadwallader (2006, 1312) point out:

Arbitral decision making in the past occurred in a virtual black box [...]. At that time, international commercial arbitration was predominantly a compromise-oriented process [...]. Instead of formal, transparent rules, arbitrators crafted proceedings based on their culturally defined professional experiences and (their) sense of what was equitable and just. As a consequence of these conditions, parties had little ability to peek at the inner workings of the decisional machine. Even if they could, the number of skilled arbitrators and recognized institutions were few, so there was no basis for comparison shopping. High rates of voluntary compliance also ensured that national courts would not be able to glimpse inside the system during enforcement proceedings.

A series of reforms, in recent years, have made international commercial arbitration considerably more transparent, meaning that the rules that regulate decision-making are more readily available to interested parties, who in this instance are the users of the system. At the same time, a growing

number of voluntary and involuntary disclosures provide increased information to the users, as well as to the general public, about numerous individual cases. While the disclosures generally are made for reasons other than to advance transparency, the information they provide inevitably illuminates the inner workings of the international commercial arbitration system.

The parties can also impose a contractual obligation of non-disclosure for researchers before admitting them as observers in arbitral proceedings. The following examples offer some instances of the relaxation of the absolute conditions of confidentiality. In *Associated Electric and Gas Insurance Services Ltd v European Reinsurance Co of Zurich*, the Privy Council decided that the essential nature of commercial arbitration was private proceedings and that unlike litigation in public courts, information is not placed within reach of the public. As such, the implied restrictions on the use of documentation and materials obtained in arbitration proceedings will have a greater impact than similar materials in litigation. However, the Privy Council significantly decided that, where the issues of confidentiality touched on the award, there may not be the same degree of implied restriction of confidentiality. The reasoning given was that an award may later have to be referred to for accounting purposes or in legal proceedings and for the practical purpose of enforcing the rights conferred by the award itself. Another study PriceWaterhouseCooper (2006) concluded that confidentiality was not one of the most valued aspects of international commercial arbitration and that less than 10 per cent of the participants surveyed indicated confidentiality as one of the important aspects of arbitration. The ICC International Court of Arbitration has started publishing important extracts from its awards, after they have been adequately sanitized by the removal of any identifying information, and which are then available for comment by academics, practitioners, and other experts.

The advantage of having a repository of awards can hardly be overlooked. The disclosure of such awards could be used as educational samples during the course of training for arbitrators. It could also lead to the development of the law and practice of arbitration and the encouragement of consistency by future arbitrators in reasoned international awards. These collections of awards can have persuasive value in allowing arbitrators to collectively share experiences and can be used as examples by potential parties and future arbitrators. This sharing of experiences, and the subsequent transparency, could then set the basis for allowing arbitrators, practitioners, and academics to understand, discuss, and provide constructive criticisms of awards. This in turn is likely to lead to greater assistance in improving arbitration as a much more workable and reliable dispute resolution system.

3. Arguments against the implied duty of confidentiality

From time to time, the courts in arbitration practice have established exceptions to the duty of confidentiality, some of which we have already referred to. The intention of this chapter is not to be comprehensive on this issue, but to establish some of the purposes whereby, and circumstances in which, the duty of confidentiality can be waived. In what follows, I briefly summarize the arguments against the need for an implied duty of confidentiality in all arbitral proceedings and awards.

First, a strict adherence to the confidentiality requirement of arbitral proceedings can produce inconsistent resolutions of disputes arising out of the same transaction. International business practices often give rise to a number of related disputes involving different parties. International commercial arbitrations can often involve common issues of law or fact. In order for arbitrators, judges, and other stakeholders to benefit from others' experiences, the proceedings and awards must be made transparent and accessible.

Secondly, availability of arbitral documents and awards may be useful for the purpose of training new or less experienced arbitrators. At the moment, the resources used for training purposes are based on impressionistic and anecdotal materials, many of which may be adequate in illustrating some of the general arbitral principles, but most of which display considerable variation in their applications to actual practice.

Thirdly, confidentiality is often undermined by challenges in the courts, especially in some jurisdictions. More recently, given that the number of awards that end up in the courts is increasing, it may seem futile to safeguard the duty of confidentiality in all aspects of arbitral proceedings.

Fourthly, it has been found in several recent studies that, although the requirement of confidentiality is one of the important elements of international commercial arbitration, it is not the most important for corporate stakeholders. Flexibility in the arbitral procedures and the finality of awards remain the two most important factors in their preference for arbitration over litigation.

Fifthly, the confidentiality requirement acts as a significant obstacle to the development of arbitration as a true alternative to litigation, making it almost impossible to control the quality of service provided by the institution and the individual arbitrators. If a general duty of confidentiality is imposed or implied, then there is no way of evaluating or reviewing the quality of practice available to corporate stakeholders. If a corporation has to decide between litigation, arbitration, or mediation, it is almost impossible for it to decide in favour of arbitration, except on the advice of legal counsel. This constraint may become a significant negative factor in

the development of arbitration as a preferred alternative in the long run. Discussing various kinds of exceptions, Trakman (2002, 1) points out:

Exceptions to requirements of confidentiality are variously defined. Such exceptions arise by agreements between the parties, through party practice and trade usage, or on account of express or implied legal duties. Exceptions may also be warranted for public policy reasons. For example, confidentiality ought not to be used to disguise evidence of a crime. More controversial is the extent to which a court or arbitrator may waive confidentiality if it is being used as a pressure tactic, such as to force settlement or to extract some other advantage. Exceptions as between parties to an arbitration may be justified for various reasons. For example, a party may ask the other for an exemption from confidentiality in order to secure or perform a third-party contract. Exemptions may also be requested by the participants who are not parties to an arbitration. For example, an international arbitration association may request an exemption in the interest of research, such as to compile information about cases submitted to them, the types of issues in dispute and the size of awards.

Finally, there is an increasing number of developing and less developed countries that are in the process of establishing arbitration institutions and making their own rules of arbitration. In order for those newly established and establishing institutions to be more persuasive in attracting clients, it would be helpful if their awards were published so that corporate clients might obtain some evidence of quality so as to judge their arbitration practices. Having a list of well-renowned and experienced arbitrators may not in itself be persuasive, especially as it is well known that most of these arbitrators will be otherwise engaged, and hence unlikely to be available to arbitrate in such newly established jurisdictions. Consequently, it is more than likely that a dispute will be arbitrated by local arbitrators, or by relatively less established arbitrators, a matter which raises, once again, the issue of arbitration quality.

4. Genre-based interdiscursive construction of arbitral practice

Critical Genre Theory offers a complementary methodological alternative in the form of a discourse-based investigation of a range of professional, organizational and institutional practices. At a more theoretical level, it creates a valuable research context for the development of a more comprehensive and delicate system of interdiscursivity in genre theory (Bhatia, 2017), which has not been sufficiently explored in the current literature on genre. More generally, it underpins the importance of a

multidimensional and multi-perspective view of genre analysis for genre-based studies of professional practices. However, this kind of study not only requires access to ‘critical sites of engagement’ (Scollon, 2001), but more importantly also to ‘critical moments of interaction’ from specific crucial sites of arbitration practice, in addition to narratives of experience drawn from interviews with key practitioners, court judgments and arbitration awards, and from professional commentaries on arbitration concepts and practices. As argued earlier, these multiperspective sources of data can offer rich and interdiscursive account of the contested discourses grounded in a range of sites, especially from litigation and arbitration practice.

In order to (re)construct arbitration process, it is necessary to adopt a critically reflexive approach characterized by an integration of multiperspective data-sets, such as textual, narratological and discursive, as arbitration and litigation practices are not so clear-cut; their boundaries are frequently blurred, at least for outsiders, if not for practitioners themselves. However, it is possible to take advantage of such blurring by reflexively seeking confirmations of the communicative characteristics of arbitration process by testing practitioner hypotheses against other practitioners’ experiences and against the actualities of interaction in ‘critical sites of engagement’ (Scollon 2001), especially at critical moments of interaction. It is important to realize that in order to be rigorous in such an investigation, one may require not only access to actual data from practice, but also an engagement of the professional community in research collaboration. It is with this point of view that it becomes crucial to involve the members of the arbitration community. The following diagrams sums up the essential framework that is likely to be appropriate for the investigation.

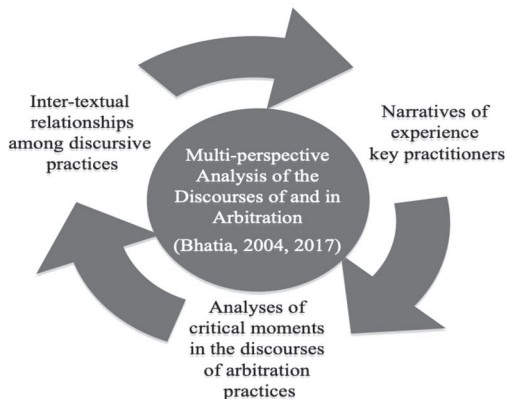


Fig 5-1: Framework for the analysis of arbitration practice

As discussed above, one of the major stumbling blocks for the study of arbitration practice as alternative to litigation in international commercial contexts still seems to be the lack of access to discursive data from actual trials. The duty of confidentiality and privacy in arbitration practice, the presumed strength and one of the so-called ‘selling points’ of international commercial arbitration practice, becomes the most potent weakness for any research initiative in this area. There often is very limited access to the discourses of and in arbitration. The most important data required is from the actual arbitration practice (trial), which invariably is inaccessible to outsiders because of the general duty of privacy and confidentiality, which is taken as a necessary pre-requisite to an arbitration trial. However, the critical question is whether it is really the case or is it that this requirement of confidentiality is only used as an excuse to preserve the business interests of the key players in the community of practice. I would like to argue for a more relaxed confidentiality requirement, particularly for the advancement of research and development of the institution of arbitration in years to come. Views and concerns about the necessity of taking privacy and confidentiality as a given requirement for international commercial arbitration practice are interesting, and have attracted diverse reactions, both in favour of and against, its protection from disclosure for different purposes and under different sets of conditions. Let me mention some of these perceptions here.

There seems to be a general agreement among legal scholars, judges, and arbitration practitioners that there is a duty of confidentiality to be observed which implies that parties in dispute would not like to disclose any information in and about the arbitration process, including the award, to any third parties not involved in the process. Confidentiality in this context refers to the protection from disclosure of all the information, that is, what in discourse analytical terms is called “discursive data”, whether spoken or written, relating to, submitted or presented during, or resulting from an arbitral proceeding, to outsiders who are not participating or involved in the arbitral proceedings. This general expectation of confidentiality of arbitral proceedings may be absolute in some jurisdictions and implied by laws in others. Article 25.4 of the UNCITRAL Arbitration Rules 1976 also point out that “Hearings shall be held in camera unless the parties agree otherwise. The arbitration tribunal may require the retirement of any witness or witnesses during the testimony of other witnesses.” The implication is that, if the hearing is held in camera, and where evidence will invariably be private in nature, then all the documents presented during the hearing and also the documents resulting from the hearing, including the award itself, shall also be kept confidential. However, this should not be viewed as an

absolute duty of confidentiality in arbitral proceedings. Article 32.5 of the UNCITRAL Rules allows the award to be made public with the consent of both parties. This rule also suggests that, if the parties agree, then the whole proceeding may be open to the public, including the publication of award. In a similar manner, neither the New York Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards 1958, nor the European Convention on International Commercial Arbitration 1961 envisages the obligation of absolute confidentiality. Moreover, when the award is contested or filed in the court for enforcement, then most arbitral documents, including the award, become public, thus undermining in effect any duty of confidentiality.

In actual practice, courts in different jurisdictions have refrained from accepting an absolute duty of confidentiality. The perceptions of the arbitration community are also varied. Yves Fortier (1999), for instance, rightly observes that the principle that a duty of confidentiality exists, at least, in the absolute form in which it is generally understood by most parties, is more truism than truth. The basic questions ranging from the nature and scope of the principle, in law, to its utility, in practice, to its formulation as a rule of arbitral procedure, are highly contentious, he points out. Similarly, Alexis Brown (2001, 971) asserts that a “presumption of confidentiality, whether implied or explicit, exists between the parties to an international commercial arbitration”. However, he also indicates that “there is a disconnect between that presumption and the frequent realities of disclosure and publicity imposed by courts, arbitrators, and sometimes even the parties themselves”. Despite the English Court of Appeal’s 1997 decision in *Ali Shipping v Shipyard ‘Trogir’*, which signalled a revived movement toward a judicially enforceable duty of confidentiality, he continues, the question of confidentiality in international arbitral proceedings is far from settled.

These observations indicate that the duty of confidentiality is implied rather than absolute and is subject to limitations and exceptions to be decided on a case-by-case basis. One of the exceptions to this duty of confidentiality has been well-established in *Esso Australian Resources Ltd v The Honourable Sydney James Plowman*, where the Australian court decided that confidentiality was not an essential attribute when there was a legitimate interest in obtaining information of public interest. Sometimes, it is also argued that the disclosure of an arbitral award should be permissible if it helps to establish a cause of action in subsequent arbitration proceedings. In this context, Justice Colman J. writing in *Hassneh Insurance Co of Israel v Stuart J. Mew* (1993, 247-248) case wrote:

[...] since the duty of confidence must be based on an implied term of the agreement to arbitrate, that term must have regard to the purposes for which awards may be expected to be used in the ordinary course of commerce and in the ordinary application of English arbitration law.

This case established an exception to the obligation of confidentiality. An award rendered in an earlier arbitration may be disclosed in subsequent litigation to prove the basis for the subsequent claim. Sir Bernard Rix (2006, 226) sums up a similar position in the English arbitration tradition as follows:

The English rule is that arbitration proceedings are prima facie confidential, but there are exceptions: thus (i) the parties may consent to lift confidentiality; (ii) the arbitration proceedings may get into the courts; (iii) the interests of justice may require disclosure.

Although it is true that there is a large degree of variation in the perceptions about the general duty of confidentiality in international commercial arbitration, it is still very difficult to get access to the discourses of and in arbitration practice. Off-stage narratives of experience of arbitration practitioners are not very difficult to have access to, but their on-stage performance (Goffman 1959) in the arbitration trial is still largely inaccessible for any kind of research. Just as there has been a degree of relaxation observed in the case of written discourses in and of arbitration, the prime example of which is the arbitration award, similarly it will be beneficial for the development of the institution of arbitration, which is in the interest of most of stakeholders, including the practitioners.

5. Alternatives sources of discursive data

Public access and transparency tend to encourage quality control in the decision-making process, enhancing its legitimacy. Similarly, disclosure of information can enable parties and other stakeholders to make evidence-based and informed choices for arbitration as an alternative to litigation. Although it is possible to make a fine distinction between transparency and disclosure of information, in practice these constructs are not always easy to distinguish. Disclosure of information creates favourable conditions for the monitoring of decision-making in arbitral proceedings. Taken together they have great potential for monitoring decision-making, and, at the same time, protecting public interest and creating a body of jurisprudence in the system of arbitration as an effective alternative to litigation. The important question remains, however, *which elements of arbitration practice must*

necessarily be kept confidential, and which ones need to be more transparent?

It is against this background of confidentiality requirements, and the challenges to them, and the clear advantages of greater transparency, for all the reasons cited above, that this chapter may be of some practical significance. For this to eventuate, access to arbitration proceedings and procedures is clearly central. However, in the absence of any support from professional and institutional practitioners, one is forced to look for alternative sources of discursive data from arbitration practice. In this respect, I suggest two potentially useful alternatives for access to discursive data.

The first alternative is the collection of substantial sections of arbitration awards, which could be collected from the court proceedings, when arbitration awards are challenged, especially from the courts of first instance, where substantial sections of awards are quoted verbatim. There are a number of advantages in getting sections of awards from these contexts: they are crucial sections of awards that become the focus of interpretation; they are quoted at crucial moments of interaction in the process of negotiation of justice in the court of law; they are all embedded in critical sites of engagement, that is, the challenge to awards; and they offer interesting contexts for comparison of awards and court judgments. It must be pointed out that awards are rarely published in full; they are sanitized, and only certain sections are published. Although it is true that the ideal kind of data would be the complete, authentic, and original, but the alternative is perhaps not very problematic either. Let me illustrate from the case of *Kenworth Engineering Ltd. (Applicant) v Nishimatsu Construction Co. Ltd. (Respondent)* (No. 33 of 2004: HKSAR High Court of First Instance). The Applicant applied for relief in respect of the 8th Interim Award of the Arbitrator. Kenworth sought the removal of the Arbitrator for misconduct or, alternatively, to set aside the award. In rejecting Kenworth's application for an oral hearing, the judge quotes from the letter by the Arbitrator:

"I have given anxious consideration for your request for an oral hearing to reconsider the timetable for this matter. You have in that letter [of 2 April 2004] given reasons why you say there should be an oral hearing.

You say that it is reasonable to ask for such a hearing for any important matter, that it would be convenient to deal with each step in the timetable at such a hearing and that an oral hearing would enable me to clarify matters when I am in doubt. It may be reasonable to ask and there may be some advantages in having an oral hearing, but I have to consider whether the costs of and delay involved in such a hearing are factors that outweigh these

possible advantages. I do not consider the possible advantages are sufficient. The matter is purely procedural with no substantive rights being affected. I see no difficulty in fixing each step of the timetable if it is to be adjusted. And you need not be concerned about me being in doubt. If I am, I will ask for clarification.

There is no, or very little, law involved in the matter that would benefit from argument by senior counsel.

What advantages there are would arise mostly from a 'live' hearing, and I cannot come to Hong Kong this month, having business here in Cape Town. These possible advantages fade when one considers a video conference. But even a video conference would take time to arrange. As I see the present position, any substantial delay now would put the scheduled dates in jeopardy. Your senior practitioners are away until about this time next week. It would take more time to arrange a video conference and I would need time to consider my decision. That would mean that a change in the timetable would become inevitable before I had even decided whether or not there should be such a change.

In the result, I am totally unconvinced that an oral hearing would be worth the delay and cost, and that application is refused."

The judge thus decides:

In my view, far from being obviously or seriously wrong, the Arbitrator's reasoning seems impeccable. I do not see that his commonsense, practical decision gives rise to any unfairness or constitutes any misconduct, whether technical or otherwise.

A little further, the judge in rejecting another claim by the Applicant, quotes verbatim relevant section of the 8th Award:

"That leaves the complaint that the List A documents at Tsuen Wan were not in 'paginated bundles'. This requirement in my direction is not that the documents must be numbered consecutively from 1 to, say, 678,435. The requirement is that they be paginated in such a way as to give each page a distinct identifying number. Now, if the documents are already paginated in this way by the Respondent's filing system, there is, in my view, no need for the Respondent's solicitor to go through all these documents and give them some other unique identifying number. That would be patent nonsense.

The Respondent says that each document concerned is numbered in accordance with the Respondent's own searchable database. The numbers are those given to the documents at the time they were written. Each page

also has a number given at this time. The Claimant does not challenge this but argues that this system is not in accordance with my discovery order. If pages were to be renumbered, the searchable database, which I would have thought very useful, would be rendered purposeless. I am not saying that the Respondent disclosure is perfect, and it may be, as the Claimant says, that some of the documents in List A at Tsuen Wan are not as they should be. But I am not here concerned to see if the Respondent's discovery is immaculate. There never was such a thing. I am concerned to judge whether the Respondent's discovery was substantially in accordance with my order. I think it was."

Once again, the judge decides,

In my view the Arbitrator cannot be faulted for his conclusion that there has been substantial compliance. Nor do I see how further submission by the parties' legal advisers could have significantly helped him to resolve the dispute.

These sections illustrate two things: first, it makes available crucial sections of discursive data from arbitration; and secondly, it allows readers, especially non-specialists, including discourse analytical researchers, to appreciate the arguments of the judge as well as the Arbitrator, and thus to have greater understanding of the mindset of specialists in arbitration. On both accounts, it offers access to critical moments of interaction, which can be viewed as key elements of interdiscursive data (both from legal as well as arbitral points of view).

The spoken data from arbitration trials is almost impossible to get. The alternatives are data from interviews of experienced and well-established arbitrators, practitioner-based accounts of discursive practice, interdiscursive reconstructions of arbitral practice, training videos, arbitration moots, views expressed in journal articles and practitioner magazines, etc., which are not ideal substitutes, but are nevertheless quite helpful in the reconstruction and understanding of arbitral processes. The following diagram represents the integration of alternative resources of discursive data to exploit accessible information for the interdiscursive reconstruction of arbitration process.

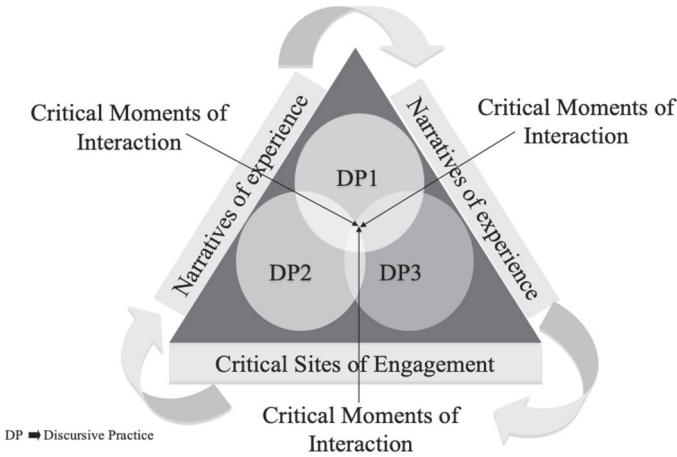


Fig. 5-2: Alternatives to actualities of interaction

6. Conclusions

In this chapter, I have highlighted one of the major issues in the study and analysis of professional practice, that is, the non-accessibility of authentic discursive data. The illustration that I focused on comes from an international initiative that I have been involved in, i.e., the interdiscursive colonisation of international commercial arbitration practice, which, by its very nature, is made non-accessible to outsiders. In the absence of accessibility of discursive data from practice, though it is often possible to study professional genres (Bhatia, 1993), it is almost impossible to study professional practice, which requires a critical genre analytical approach that crucially focuses on the way genres are used in actual practice to achieve professional objectives. It is a crucial distinction for our study, as one studies textual products, whereas the other studies textual action (see, for a detailed account of this distinction, Bhatia, 2017). I have also tried to make a claim, with some justification, I hope, that the issue of privacy and confidentiality, which makes discursive data non-accessible for this kind of research, is not something which should be taken as a given or generally implied in all forms of arbitration practice. I have argued that instead of taking the duty of privacy and confidentiality as ‘given’, it should be ‘negotiable’ in the initial phase of arbitral process as is the case with other procedural issues. It is not possible to negotiate such procedural issues in a

court trial, which is highly institutionalized and regulated, but it is certainly possible to negotiate it in an arbitral process, in which all procedures are negotiated across the disputing parties, and the arbitrators have enough control over such decisions. Unfortunately, however, it is not done in practice, not even for the sake of research of this kind, which can be beneficial for the development of the institution of arbitration and training of arbitrators, which should be one of the most important concerns today. Perhaps the professional community is too worried about protecting their own individual business interests, in that they are not seen as too 'soft' on privacy and confidentiality.

The practice of international commercial arbitration remains contentious. There is no independent means of establishing the nature of its processes and procedures as the doors for any kind of external critical inquiry are intensely guarded, more often than not completely closed by the invocation of a general duty of privacy and confidentiality, given rather than negotiable, in all arbitration procedures. Unlike courtroom practices and proceedings which are open to the public, and which provide court judgments that are readily available in published form, arbitration proceedings are held in private and the procedural details about the trials and their outcomes, including the arbitration awards, remain confidential (Bhatia, Candlin and Sharma 2009). Privacy sometimes aids firms in keeping trade secrets and financial dealings confidential from competitors and the public in general, but the parties never hesitate to bring the dispute and even arbitration decisions into the public domain when they see specific advantages deriving from such publicity, as in the case of *Danone v Wahaha* case (Corona 2011). Corona focuses on the issue of confidentiality in arbitration practice to study how corporate stakeholders, while often demanding privacy and confidentiality, do not hesitate to breach this requirement by exploiting the media when their individual interests are served better in its breach. Although in international commercial arbitration it is extremely important for the parties that everything should be confidential, she claims that the parties may well decide to disclose information in the public domain. She further claims, "it all depends on whether any of the parties make confidentiality an issue. If one party stated that they see the comments made in the media were unhelpful, or were untrue, or were in breach of the arbitration agreement [...] then by definition it becomes an issue for the arbitrator" (Corona 2011, 139).

As very little information about procedural decisions is available, the only way one may get some information is from what ethnographers calls the narratives of experienced practitioners in one-to-one interviews, or by looking at individual cases that come before the courts, either as a result of

enforcement proceedings or because an arbitral award is challenged by one of the parties, often the losing one. This lack of transparency to the whole process of arbitration in international commercial arbitration contexts in the long run, works to encourage the vested business interests of the participants, be they lawyers, arbitrators or corporate stakeholders (Redfern and Hunter, 2004). Finally, such a practice is likely to be detrimental to the development of the international commercial arbitration as an institution with its own independent culture and integrity in practice.

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CHAPTER SIX

COURT JUDGMENTS AND PLAIN LANGUAGE: SOME RECENT DEVELOPMENTS IN CANADA AND THE UNITED KINGDOM

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It is with great pleasure that I offer this contribution to Maurizio Gotti's *Festschrift*. I have many reasons to be grateful to Maurizio, not least because of his encouragement in suggesting many years ago that I should continue to develop my research into legal language.

The daunting complexity and verbosity as well as the archaic nature of traditional legal English have long been stigmatized by intellectuals and members of the legal profession. Derogatory descriptions of legal language abound, such as Lord Justice Mackinnon's lament of 1944 (cited in Drewry 1975, 443) of groping his way around "that chaos of verbal darkness", referring to the opaqueness of the Rents Acts of the United Kingdom of that time.

In this chapter, I focus on some recent cases in Canada and the United Kingdom where court judgments have been written in plain language, a phenomenon which might herald the beginning of a new era in the way judgments are written. In the judgments I will be examining, a key factor has been the need to find a way of communicating complex legal ideas to those directly affected by the rulings, including children.

My analysis concerns primarily Canada and the UK because of some striking similarities in the way these recent judgments have been drafted, but I also briefly examine the situation in other English-speaking countries in Section 2.

Given that all the cases I will be discussing are very recent (2015-2018), many of the sources I refer to come from the media or from blogs, though I am sure academic interest in these new trends will shortly follow in their wake.

1. Legal English and plain language in Canada and the United Kingdom: a brief overview

1.1 Canada

Canada has been actively involved in promoting plain legal language since the 1980s, both on a national and on a federal level. In 1988 the Justice Reform Committee of British Columbia issued a report recommending the creation of “a plain language committee to develop a strategy for introducing plain language into the justice system” (Asprey 2010, 69). In 1990 the Canadian Bar Association and the Canadian Bankers’ Association produced an influential volume titled *The Decline and Fall of Gobbledygook*. In recent years, a number of provincial and federal government offices and agencies have rewritten various forms and documents in plain language (Asprey 2010, 71). The Public Works and Government Services Canada has a dedicated area on its website on how to write in plain language.¹ Moreover, the Canadian Institute for the Administration of Justice regularly holds “Customized training” courses which include ‘Plain language communication’.²

Over the years plain language organizations based in Canada have been active, such as PLAIN (Plain Language Association International) whose first objective is to

[i]ncrease public awareness of plain language as a means of making communications from government, business, industry, the professions (including the medical, legal, information management, education and communications professions), and community organizations accessible internally and to a broad, public audience.³

It should be remembered that Canada is a bijural country with English and French having equal status, and that the theme of plain language is also debated in French, particularly in Québec: see, for example, *Bonnes pratiques de la communication écrite dans les démarches en ligne* published in 2011.⁴

¹<http://www.btb.termiuplus.gc.ca/tcdnstyl-chap?lang=eng&lettr=chapsect13&info=13>.

² <https://ciaj-icaj.ca/en/customized-training/>.

³ <http://plainlanguagenetwork.org/plain/who-we-are/>.

⁴ http://www.spl.gouv.qc.ca/fileadmin/medias/pdf/Bonnes_pratiques.pdf.

1.2 The United Kingdom

In the UK the language of officialdom has long been criticized for being incomprehensible to most non-experts. The Plain English Campaign was set up in 1979 to campaign against “gobbledygook, jargon and misleading public information”,⁵ and today it awards ‘Crystal Marks’ to organizations that aim to provide the clearest possible information. The Plain English Commission offers a similar kind of accreditation for organizations with its Clear English Standard logo.⁶ Clarity, an association promoting clear legal language,⁷ which is more international in scope but which was first established in the UK, has also contributed to the debate about making legal language more accessible to laypersons.

Before the 1970s little attempt was made to improve the language of the law in the UK. Since then, largely thanks to pressure from plain language organizations, numerous changes have been made, for example in legislative drafting which, of course, constitutes only one subgenre of legal English.

In recent years, the ubiquity and popularity of the Internet and information technology have further highlighted the need to find user-friendly ways of communicating in all spheres, even the traditionally conservative field of legal language (Williams 2018, 22-24). Since 2013 the Good law initiative (Williams 2015, 82-85), promoted by the Office of the Parliamentary Counsel, has offered a platform for discussing ways of making legislation more accessible and easier to understand.

Not only has the style of legislative drafting in the UK improved over the years, but there is also a greater awareness among legal practitioners and the public at large of the benefits of adopting a more inclusive, user-friendly approach in legal matters in general. However, certain areas of legal communication continue to show little inclination to adapt to the new climate, such as contract drafting which, with a few notable exceptions, still tends to follow the same entrenched patterns of yesteryear, despite widespread criticism from the Plain language movement (Williams 2011, 146). One recent initiative worth mentioning is the child-friendly plain English version of Facebook’s terms and conditions⁸ (described as “a jargon-busting guide”⁹) produced by Anne Longfield, the Children’s

⁵ <http://www.plainenglish.co.uk/about-us.html>.

⁶ <https://www.clearest.co.uk/>.

⁷ <http://www.clarity-international.net/>.

⁸ At <https://www.tes.com/teaching-resources/blog/digital-citizenship-young-peoples-rights-social-media>.

⁹ At <http://www.bbc.co.uk/newsround/41436333>.

Commissioner for England (Longfield 2017). As she points out (cited in Owen 2017):

The social media giants have not done enough to make children aware of what they are signing up to when they install an app or open an account. These are often the first contracts a child signs in their life, yet the terms and conditions are impenetrable, even to most adults.

However, the focus of interest in this chapter is the language of court judgments which we will turn to now.

2. The language of court judgments: introductory remarks

A judgment—occasionally spelt as judgement, though the former is the spelling normally used—is an official decision taken by a court at the end of a trial. In civil cases, a judgment establishes the respective rights and claims of the parties involved; in criminal cases, it includes the pronouncement of guilt (or its absence) and, if the defendant is convicted, the sentence. A judgment may also include the reasoning behind the court's decision. In some cases it may be cited as an authority, and treated as a precedent for other similar cases. Given the historical importance of precedent in Common law, court judgments have played a crucial role over the centuries. In the lower courts some judgments may only be oral, but in more complex cases, and especially if a case is brought before the higher courts, the tendency has been for judges to produce long-winded and often complex judgments which are usually only read and fully understood by other legal professionals. The written reasons for the judgment are not generally provided immediately following the hearing and may take days, sometimes even months, before being released.

Some of the court rules of procedure have already been restyled in certain English-speaking countries, e.g. the Federal Rules of Appellate Procedure, of Criminal Procedure, and of Civil Procedure in the United States, and the Civil Procedure Rules 1998 in the United Kingdom. However, the language of court judgments itself had remained largely unchanged until recently. This is not to say that all judgments in Common law countries are necessarily written in turgid legalese (for a general overview of the style of judicial decisions in English legal culture, see Mattila 2011, 191-194). As former Supreme Court judge of Ireland, Justice Nicholas Kearns, observes (Kearns 2008), “Lord Denning was famous for his use of folksy one-liners to commence a judgment that was often one of considerable complexity.” One oft-quoted opener by Lord Denning is his

Hinz v. Berry judgment of 1970 (cited in Mattila 2011, 102) which reads like the start of a short story or novel:

It happened on April 19, 1964. It was bluebell time in Kent. Mr. and Mrs. Hinz had been married some 10 years, and they had four children, all aged nine and under. The youngest was one. Mrs. Hinz was a remarkable woman. In addition to her own four, she was foster-mother to four other children.

In US courts judges have occasionally incorporated music lyrics in their judgments, with Bob Dylan apparently being the most frequently cited (Kearns 2008). One district judge in Montana managed to insert the titles of 42 Beatles songs into his judgment of 2007 (Pidd 2009). On 7 April 2017 Judge Andre Davis of the US Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit included an entire poem by the Palestinian-American writer Naomi Shihab Nye in his judgment (Cole 2017).

The demands for judgments to be written more clearly are by no means new, and come from various parts of the English-speaking world, given that Common law countries tend to have a similar style of writing judgments. In 1986 American academic Robert W. Benson affirmed that “legalese in court papers today is a symbol of red tape and inefficiency” (Benson 1986, 21). In 2006 Justice Michael Kirby of the High Court of Australia complained (Kirby 2006) that:

There are some judges— indeed I would say many, and even possibly most— who are psychologically resistant to any talk of “plain language”, or “plain English”, or “new language”, or changing things long established. They love to mock so-called plain English drafts and to point to their defects.

In 2009 James Allsop, currently Chief Justice of the Federal Court of Australia, spoke of the need for clarity in appellate judgments (Allsop 2009). In the same year Wayne (2009) highlighted the inordinate length and complexity of many judgments in Australia. In his talk of 2011, Lord Neuberger, president of the UK’s Supreme Court, asserted (Neuberger 2011, 3) that:

if justice is seen to be done it must be understandable. Judgments must be open not only in the sense of being available to the public, but, so far as possible given the technical and complex nature of much of our law, they must also be clear and easily interpretable by lawyers. And also to non-lawyers. In an age when it seems more likely than ever that citizens will have to represent themselves, this is becoming increasingly important.

In the United States some of the rulings made by the Supreme Court (e.g. *Milner v. Department of the Navy* of 7 March 2011) in the presence of Chief Justice John Roberts have been labelled as ‘plain language’ judgments (Strauss 2016), though the style remains relatively traditional in many respects. Dyer *et al.* (2013) also examined the question of using plain language forms in family courts in Washington State as a means of improving people’s access to justice. More recently, McLernon (2017) reiterated the need for US courts to embrace plain language.

In his study of New Zealand Court of Appeal judgments by applying the ‘Clarity Test’, Campbell Pearson (2013, 67) concluded that judges “simply did not write with the reader in mind.”

In November 2016, Lord Neuberger again stressed the need to reduce the length of judgments (Neuberger 2016, 14):

They are sometimes valuable, but often they are what I have called vanity judgments. Such judgments, of which virtually every appellate judge, not least myself, has been guilty, are at best a waste of time and space, and, at worst, confusion and uncertainty—although they are popular with academics.

Lord Neuberger also pointed to the substantial differences in style with respect to civil law judgments in the highest courts of appeal in continental Europe since the introduction of the Napoleonic Code, where judges produce a sole judgment, normally restricted to identifying technical points of law and written in a highly impersonal style. On the contrary, as we have already seen above, in many courts— particularly the highest courts— of the Common law system, including the United States, the United Kingdom, Canada and Australia, there is “complete freedom for judges to write in their own personal style, and even indulge in humour” (Neuberger 2016, 3). The outcome, as Lord Neuberger highlights, is that the judgment may be “engaging to read”, but it “can mean there is an awful lot to read” and “it is often difficult to work out what precisely is the ratio of the court on a particular decision, or the view of the court on a particular point” (Neuberger 2016, 5).

In recent years the National Judicial College of Australia has introduced a ‘Writing Better Judgments’ program (see Bathurst 2017) “to enable judges to enhance their ability to write clear, concise, comprehensive, coherent and convincing (5Cs) well-structured judgments in a timely fashion.”¹⁰

Outside the English-speaking world there are also recent cases of court judgments being written in a child-friendly way, as in Rotterdam’s special

¹⁰ <https://njca.com.au/writing-better-judgments-2018/>.

court judgment published on 6 February 2017 in a case involving children (Liefwaard 2017).

We will now examine the situation in Canada and the UK where a few plain language court judgments have been drafted in recent years, generating considerable interest in the media.

3. Recent developments in Canada

3.1 Ontario Court of Justice judgment of 11 February 2015

Our first case is a judgment from the Ontario Court of Justice (Nakatsuru 2015; see also Boyd 2015) in a criminal trial where the judge explicitly states (point 5) that he was writing it so that it could be understood by the person being tried to explain why he was being released. This intention emerges early on in the judgment (Nakatsuru 2015, point 2):

First of all, I want to say something about the style of this decision. For those who have read some of my past judgments, the reader may notice a change. For Jesse Armitage, I have tried to say what I wanted to say in very plain language. I believe that this is very important for judges to do in every decision. However, judges often do not do a good job of this. I would describe myself as one of the worst sinners.

Lord Neuberger was to echo these thoughts about ‘vanity judgments’ a year later, as we have just seen.

The Canadian judge sets the scene by describing the defendant and outlining the role of his mother in a simple, engaging narrative (Nakatsuru 2015, points 11 and 12):

When he pleaded guilty to the charges, I had little idea about who Jesse Armitage was and why he did what he did. He is a large man, boyish in his face, a face fringed by dark curly hair, and very quiet. He looks a lot younger than his age.

I know his mother cares for him. His mother has attended court for him. She was supportive. She spoke one time to me in court about him. About her fears and hopes for him. She bailed him out.

In all three Canadian judgments analysed here, Justice Nakatsuru highlights the injustices indigenous (First Nation) peoples in Canada have suffered, as well as the huge impact the legal system has had on them. The theme is introduced in the opening sentence of the judgment—“This case was heard

in the *Gladue* court at Old City Hall in Toronto”—where Gladue refers to the so-called ‘Gladue Principle’ establishing that in criminal sentencing alternative solutions to incarceration should be found where possible when indigenous persons are involved, within the wider perspective of restorative justice (Canadian Encyclopedia 2018).

As has been observed (Benmor cited in Yeung 2015), the judge “drummed down the language of this decision [...], short sentences, simple language [...]. If you read it, it was like a 'Dear diary,' that this judge wrote for this 29-year-old gentleman.”

3.2 Ontario Court of Justice judgment of 12 October 2016

Justice Nakatsuru also adopted a plain language approach in October 2016 in the *R. v. Pelletier* case: this time the judgment is directly addressed to the defendant, Josephine Pelletier (Nakatsuru 2016, point 6):

Some things weigh in your favour. You have pled guilty. You are sorry for what you did. I know there is a part of you that wants to become well. I accept you truly want to do that. Sometimes it is not easy. We do not live in a world of unlimited resources to help you.

Once again, the judge tries to place the defendant’s criminal actions, linked to drug addiction, against the wider background of the injustices borne by indigenous people over the years, recognizing “the complicity of all Canadians in how they have treated Indigenous people” (McElroy 2016), and taking “a holistic view of an offender’s circumstances and lived experiences, and how those experiences interact with our justice system” (Persad 2016). The judgment also reinforces the idea that plain language from the bench is not only “a necessary prerequisite for transparency and open access to the public”, but it “can have another effect, in signalling compassion, understanding, and the reflective nature of the bench” (Ha-Redeye 2016).

3.3 Ontario Court of Justice judgment of 13 March 2017

In 2017 Justice Nakatsuru wrote another plain language judgment (Friscolanti 2017), again directly addressing the defendant, and again involving an indigenous person who had committed criminal offences. The text ranges from describing the defendant’s personal predicament to a biting critique of Canadian colonial history (Nakatsuru 2017, points 8 and 16):

Your father is Polish. Your mother was Mohawk. She died while giving birth to you. You do not have any brothers or sisters. From birth, you lived in an orphanage for 9 years. Then placed in a number of foster homes. You were adopted by a Polish couple. But you returned to CAS care. You only met your father a couple of times. When you were an adult. They were hard meetings. You have described him as a racist. [...] As an indigenous person, you share a history. A common history with others. A history of being here on this land before the settler. A history of broken promises. Of illness and death. The loss of land. The indignity of colonization. Then there is the history of some deliberate state policies that tried to commit cultural genocide of indigenous people. Said crudely but accurately, policies that tried to kill the Indian in the Indian. As Canadians, we are all becoming more knowledgeable and sensitive to this history. And what it means.

Within the general context of court judgments, the citation above is remarkable in several ways:

- it addresses the defendant directly ('you', 'your') rather than using the impersonal third person normally employed in such cases;
- the sentences tend to be very short, an unusual feature with respect to legal language in general;
- in several cases the sentences are verbless, a trait more commonly found in 'scene-setting' prose;
- there is a general absence of legal terms, thus making the text more accessible for the layperson;
- the language as a whole is simple, particularly when describing the defendant's personal background where we find a predominance of basic Germanic terms being used;
- the judge places the defendant's personal predicament within the context of Canadian colonial history in order to help justify his final decision of granting the defendant bail rather than ordering imprisonment.

From a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective, the three judgments outlined here offer much food for thought, but such an analysis would be outside the scope of this chapter.

3.4 Other changes

In a further development in the direction of plain language, and acknowledging the needs of ordinary citizens in this digital era, as of 23 March 2018, the Supreme Court of Canada now publishes 'Cases in Brief',

i.e. short summaries of Supreme Court decisions “drafted in reader-friendly language, so that anyone interested can learn about the decisions that affect their lives” (Supreme Court of Canada 2018), on the Court website, and on its Facebook and Twitter accounts (Sheppard 2018).

Also in 2018, the Alberta Court of Appeal produced a 50-word judgment which is “so short, you could tweet it” (cited in Burns 2018). However, in this particular case the language used is still standard court legalese (Burns 2018):

The unanimous decision of the court is as follows. We have examined this case very closely and pursuant to s. 686(1)(a) of the Criminal Code of Canada, have concluded that on this record, the convictions are unreasonable and cannot be supported. The convictions are therefore quashed and acquittals substituted therefor.

From this brief outline, it is clear that Canadian courts are becoming increasingly sensitized to plain language issues, as is also testified by the frequency of articles related to plain language appearing in the online ‘News and Reports’ section of the Provincial Court of British Columbia.¹¹ In most cases, the innovation consists in switching from a conventional, legalistic drafting style to one which foregrounds comprehensibility for the layperson; the criterion of concision is generally not taken into consideration.

4. Recent developments in the United Kingdom

In the UK, Supreme Court judgments, and also Court of Appeal judgments, are decided by a panel of judges, whereas High Court judgments are pronounced by single judges. Given the rather ‘personalized’ approach that judges in the higher courts operating in the Common law system are allowed in writing their conclusions in a judgment, it was only a question of time before a High Court judge in the UK took that liberty and produced a judgment that subverted some of the rules without actually breaking any of them, adopting a style very similar to that used by Justice Nakatsuru in the Ontario rulings outlined above in Section 3. Such has been the case of High Court judge, Justice Peter Jackson, where two recent judgments of his have caused a minor sensation in the judicial and media world. Even more recently, Deputy District Judge Lucy Reed has also written a judgment that

¹¹ E.g. that of 9 June 2015 at <http://www.provincialcourt.bc.ca/enews/enews-09-06-2015> and that of 18 July 2017 at <http://provincialcourt.bc.ca/enews/enews-18-07-2017>.

differs markedly from the style conventionally adopted for court judgments.

4.1 High Court (Liverpool) judgment of 4 February 2016

The first case concerns Justice Peter Jackson's judgment in a family court case brought before the Queen Elizabeth II Law Courts in Liverpool in 2016. As he says at the beginning of the judgment, he wanted to keep it as "short as possible so that the mother and the older children can follow it" (Jackson 2016, point 1). That said, the judgment still amounts to 6,659 words, rather longer than the average research article. However, the innovative element here is clearly the tone and style in which it is written: despite its length the judgment won the Osborne Memorial Award from the Plain English Campaign in 2016 (Plain English 2016, 1). The average sentence length is a mere 17 words, with the narrative being laid out with extreme simplicity (Jackson 2016, point 2):

The case is about a white British family. There are four children – H [a boy aged 12], A [a girl aged 10], N [a boy aged 3] and R [a girl aged 10 months]. Since July they have been living with foster carers. The younger children see their mother four times a week. The older children are at school and they come twice a week. The meetings have gone well. The mother and the children are very close and want to live together again. The mother now lives with her own mother, who I will call the grandmother.

Here the judge narrates the story of a family where the father's extreme religious views rapidly led to an intolerable situation for the rest of the family, ending up with his unsuccessfully attempting to take the family to Syria under false pretences, and culminating in his and his wife's arrest and in the children being put in foster care. Evaluative language— and not just pure facts—can be discerned from the start ('The meetings have gone well', 'The mother and the children are very close ...'), but this is in keeping with the language of judgments in general where facts and interpretation are closely intertwined.

It is the absence of legal terminology throughout much of the narrative that is striking, with only the last part of the judgment placing the story within a judicial context. Here is a typical example in which the mother is portrayed as a vulnerable, albeit loving parent (Jackson 2016, points 15-17):

15. [...] In a day-to-day way she is a good mother and she certainly loves her children very much.

16. But there is more to being a parent than that. You have to make good plans for your children. You have to know what is right for them and be strong enough to try to make it happen. You have to protect your children from bad influences.

17. I'm afraid that in that way the mother has not been a good parent. She has been weak and foolish. She has allowed her feelings for Mr A to blind her to what he is really like. Even now, she is struggling to see what everyone else can see. She feels sorry for him and makes excuses for him. That is what Mr A wants her to feel. He has got inside her head and it will take time for her to recover.

On the whole, the tone could not be said to be colloquial, despite the occasional use of abbreviated forms ('I'm afraid'), but it does include elements more easily found in an informal, conversational style, such as the impersonal use of 'you' ('You have to know what is right for them'), simple, non-technical advice about good parenting ('You have to protect your children from bad influences'), and elementary psychology ('He has got inside her head and it will take time for her to recover'). The fact that the narrative is split into 27 points (point 27 itself is by far the longest: see below) also contributes to making the narrative more readable and easy to follow. Even the more strictly 'legal' part at the end of the judgment—comprising points 28 to 43—is written in a very discursive way that can be easily understood by a layperson.

The element that most grabbed media attention at the time, however, was not so much its readability as the fact that the judgment was “thought to be the first in English legal history to incorporate an emoji, or web symbol, to explain a point of evidence” (Bingham 2016). Here is the passage in question (Jackson 2016, point 27, part 13):

The mother left a message in the caravan for the father's sister, who I will call the aunt. It told her how to look after the family's pets. The message said that the family would be back on 3 August. It has a 😊 beside the date. After the family left, the police searched the caravan. They found the message and say that the 😊 is winking, meaning that the mother knew they wouldn't be coming back. I don't agree that the 😊 is winking. It is just a 😊. The police are wrong about that, and anyhow they didn't find anything else when they searched the caravan.

Justice Jackson labelled point 27 'The risk of Mr A taking the children to live outside England'. The point is split into 43 parts, each of which aims to justify the decision taken to arrest the father so as to thwart his plan (the father denied having such an intention) of taking the family to Syria. The

issue here is a relatively minor one, namely that of refuting the idea put forward by the police that the mother was complicit with the father, but it does give weight to Justice Jackson's thesis that the mother may have simply been naïve about the holiday plans rather than being an accomplice with her partner. The inclusion of the emojis cannot therefore be reduced to a publicity-seeking gimmick but has a natural justification in terms of strengthening the judge's reasoning, and is part of the overall ethos of producing a judgment that can be easily understood by the mother and the older children involved in the case, using a language and describing situations they can directly relate to. The presence of emojis here is hardly likely to usher in a wave of emoticons in future court judgments. Nevertheless, it does serve as a reminder that such liberties are indeed possible in court judgments without undermining their authoritativeness, and this in turn may lead to a more general reflection on the need to produce court judgments that are more in tune with the demands of the general public in today's world.

4.2 High Court (London) judgment of 26 July 2017

The following year Justice Jackson again attracted media attention by writing a family relocation ruling which, apart from the first four introductory paragraphs, consists of a letter sent to a 14-year-old boy. In this unusual instance of (sub)genre subversion, the judge skilfully juxtaposes in the opening paragraphs information and considerations of a strictly personal nature with the requirements of the law (Jackson 2017):

Dear Sam,

It was a pleasure to meet you on Monday and I hope your camp this week went well.

This case is about you and your future, so I am writing this letter as a way of giving my decision to you and to your parents.

When a case like this comes before the court, the judge has to apply the law as found in the Children Act 1989, and particularly in Section 1. You may have looked at this already, but if you Google it, you will see that when making my decision, your welfare is my paramount consideration— more important than anything else. If you look at s.1(3), there is also a list of factors I have to consider, to make sure that everything is taken into account.

As with the previous judgment, the judge adopts an engaging, informal tone without losing sight of the fact that the overriding concern is to produce a judgment that will inevitably have an enormous impact on the daily lives of the family members directly involved in the case. Given that the judgment

is written in the form of a letter to an adolescent, the tone is occasionally colloquial, as in the opening words of this extract with the discourse marker ‘so’ and the use of the ‘going to’ form of future time reference (Jackson 2017), a decidedly less ceremonious alternative to the more standard performative formula ‘I therefore make the following orders’ (Baker 2012) conventionally adopted in such cases:

- So, coming to the orders I am going to make:
- A. I dismiss your dad’s applications to take you to live in Scandinavia and for you to apply for citizenship there.
 - B. You will have a holiday of a week in the second half of August this year with your dad, to be spent at his home unless he and your mother agree that it is going to be spent somewhere else.

Even the judge’s final remark, ostensibly talking about a film, is an example of how he manages to make a point about the judgment in question concerning Sam (the underlying message being that the judgment constitutes a case of true justice, and not a miscarriage of justice as the father will doubtless construe it) in a seemingly light-hearted manner (Jackson 2017):

Lastly, I wanted to tell you that your dad and I enjoyed finding out that we both love the film *My Cousin Vinny*, even if it might be for different reasons. He mentioned it as an example of a miscarriage of justice, while I remember it for the best courtroom scenes in any film, and the fact that justice was done in the end.

Kind regards

Mr Justice Peter Jackson

The judge ‘signs off’ the judgment with the standard formula used in ending a letter, a further subversion of the subgenre of court judgments with respect to the norm.

4.3 Family Court (Swindon) judgment of 27 March 2018

A more recent plain language judgment, this time by Deputy District Judge Lucy Reed in the Family Court sitting in Swindon, concerns an adoption case where, in her 12-page judgment, she “explained her decision to allow a baby boy to be adopted so that the child’s father, who has a learning disability, can understand” (Fouzder 2018).

As in the two judgments examined above, the language used is simple and discursive, with abbreviated forms frequently adopted ('they aren't true', 'that's why', 'I don't think') even if legal/bureaucratic terms are occasionally employed ('threshold document', 'care and placement orders', 'foster placement'), given the particular nature of the case. The judgment is slightly over 4000 words in all, and the average sentence length is 17.4 words. There are headings to guide the reader ('What the case is about', 'Who is everybody', 'The background' etc.).

The crux of the judgment is conveyed in extremely simple— and occasionally emotive— terms, even if the question itself is fraught with complexities of a legal and psychological nature (Reed 2018, point 52):

Jack's mum and dad asked me to let them look after Jack. It is very sad that I haven't been able to agree to that. They are Jack's parents and if there was any way they could care for Jack safely they should be allowed to do so. My job is to put Jack first at all times. Sadly the problems that I have read about were so serious that I decided these orders had to be made – the law says I should not make such a serious decision unless there is no other option. I don't think there is another option that is good enough for Jack.

5. Discussion and concluding remarks

The three UK judgments outlined above all concern families and what should be done with the children, whereas the three Canadian judgments concern criminal cases and the treatment of indigenous persons. What is striking in these six judgments is the similarity of approach, regardless of whether we are dealing with civil law or criminal law: in each case the judge felt the need to explain the decision to the person(s) directly affected by the judgment. Clearly, there are certain areas in court judgments where it is easier, and makes more sense, to adopt plain language. Other areas concerning, say, taxation or corporate banking, may not lend themselves so easily to such an approach, even if the principle of clarity should arguably apply across all areas of law.

Each of the six cases has received media attention, be it from local or national newspapers or from blogs written by legal professionals. Continued media highlighting of such cases may eventually lead the way towards a more general reform of the way judgments are written, as there is undoubtedly room for improvement even where the subject matter may be highly technical and of little interest except to those directly affected by the judgment.

In all the cases analysed, the stylistic changes made aim at enhancing intelligibility, i.e. ensuring the text can be understood by those directly

involved, sometimes including children and persons with learning difficulties, and not just the average layperson. However, to the best of my knowledge, no concerted effort has yet been made to reduce the length of judgments, an aspect often stigmatized not only by the Plain language movement but also by authoritative judges such as Lord Neuberger. It goes without saying that any attempt to ‘streamline’ court judgments should in no way jeopardize the overriding need to ensure that the judgment is fully coherent and exhaustively deals with the issue at hand.

The pressure of accountability deriving from the fact of living in a digitalized online world, where social media can shape opinions and stigmatize ‘bad’ behaviour, may well prove to be a decisive factor in persuading the bench worldwide to adopt a style of writing judgments better suited to the demands of the 21st century. The six judgments examined here at least suggest a path that might be followed by others in terms of directness and comprehensibility. They also contribute in creating a perception among the general public that judges (or at least some of them) are in tune with the needs of a modern, caring society. However, persuading some Common law judges to rein in their centuries-old penchant for prolixity and abundant rhetoric may prove to be a harder nut to crack!

The words of Justice Nicholas Kearns would seem to provide a fitting conclusion (Kearns 2008):

The enduring value of any judgment will derive ultimately from the qualities of imagination, perception and clarity brought to bear upon the resolution of a legal issue. In this respect good prose, which ultimately may be seen as a form of good manners and consideration for the reader, makes for good judgments.

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CHAPTER SEVEN

LINGUISTIC VAGUENESS IN THE CONCEPT
OF ‘BEYOND REASONABLE DOUBT’

PATRIZIA ANESA

“To be a meaningful safeguard,
the reasonable-doubt standard
must have a tangible meaning that
is capable of being understood by
those who are required to apply it.
It must be stated accurately and
with the precision owed to those
whose liberty or life is at risk.”
(Justice Harry A. Blackmun¹)

1. Introduction

In the USA, the standard that the guilt in a criminal trial shall be proven by the prosecutor ‘beyond reasonable doubt’ (BRD) is now a cornerstone of criminal procedural law. However, this concept has evolved considerably during the centuries and its definition and application remain controversial. Although apparently unproblematic, the analysis of its meaning and scope has often raised crucial questions, and its essence continues to be debated by jurists, lawyers, professionals, and academicians. Indeed, the intrinsic vagueness of a complex notion such as BRD seems to cast a shadow on the real applicability of this fundamental doctrine in a criminal trial. This seems to be even more the case in a jury trial, in which jurors are asked to apply such a vague and theoretically indeterminate principle on the basis of what they hear in *voire dire* and during the trial. This results in a demanding task, especially considering that jurors, by definition, lack specific legal knowledge.

¹ *Victor v. Nebraska*, 511 U.S. 1, 29 (1994).

This study aims to investigate the notion of BRD by focusing on the explanatory strategies employed in jury instructions, and in closing arguments, in a highly controversial criminal trial held in the USA. The case in question concerns the internationally-known trials of ‘the West Memphis Three’, namely the Misskelley trial and the Echols/Baldwin trial, with particular reference to the latter.² In such a debated case, the correct application of the concept of BRD on the part of jurors has been strongly questioned and has been seen as one of the elements which may hamper the very notion of a fair trial. This analysis aims to observe what type of information the jurors received about the nature of BRD in different phases of the proceedings and what linguistic and explanatory strategies characterize the definition of such an indeterminate notion.

2. The case of the West Memphis Three

In May 1993, three 8-year-old boys were reported missing from their homes in West Memphis, Arkansas, and were subsequently found dead. Their bodies were tied with shoelaces and showed evidence of torture. Three teenagers, Jessie Misskelley Jr, Damien Echols, and Jason Baldwin, who all allegedly belonged to a Satanic cult, were accused of the crime. In particular, Echols was considered to be the head of the group. He was 18 years old, had had a disturbed childhood, and was known in the community for being a loner and an obsessive fan of heavy metal music. During the investigation, local police obtained a confession from Misskelley, although the defence affirmed that it included factual errors. Subsequently, the three teenagers were charged with the murders. Misskelley’s trial took place in January 1994, while the trial of Echols and Baldwin began on February 22, 1994. Both trials were held before Judge David Burnett. Following these two separate trials, the juries found the three defendants guilty of murder. Baldwin and Misskelley were sentenced to life in prison, while Echols was sentenced to death. However, some serious concerns were raised about how the trials had been conducted. The case attracted considerable attention with the release of the documentary *Paradise Lost: The Child Murders at Robin Hood Hills* (1996) and a significant number of people, including celebrities, became vocal supporters of the defendants. Subsequently, after the

² The Damien Echols and Jason Baldwin trial took place from February 22 to March 18, 1994.

consideration of new DNA evidence, and after entering an Alford plea,³ the three were released in 2011.

These trials have had a huge impact on public opinion, not only because of the cruelty and the brutality of the crimes, but also due to the lack of substantial evidence which led to the conviction of the defendants. Those supporting the innocence of the three defendants stress that, given the controversial elements emerging in the trial, such as the debatable way in which the investigation was conducted and the lack of undisputed evidence, the doctrine of BRD may not have been appropriately applied. Moreover, significant biases against the three defendants may have guided the jurors' decisions.

3. Reasonable doubt: epistemological background

In criminal cases the Fourteenth Amendment to the US Constitution requires proof of guilt beyond reasonable doubt in order for a person to be convicted of a crime. Additionally, the Sixth Amendment establishes the right to be tried in the community where the crime was committed. It is, however, plausible that different communities may have dissimilar perceptions of the idea of a crime itself, and of what BRD means, and that they may set considerably different thresholds when defining BRD.

The fundamental doctrine of BRD is often considered particularly inaccessible and, by its nature, not clearly and plainly defined, leaving the jurors to create their own interpretations. Therefore, given the lack of a unanimous definition of this concept, it comes as no surprise that jurors are often unable to understand it completely, and to apply it according to the law (Diamond 1990). In this respect, as Corwin states, “[t]he interaction between the defendant’s right to acquittal on evidence that leaves a reasonable doubt of guilt, and the defendant’s right to a trial by jury, necessitates that jurors comprehend and apply the reasonable doubt standard fairly and properly” (Corwin 2001, 830).

It should be noted that not all standards of proof appear as indeterminate as BRD. For instance, the standard in civil cases (preponderance of the evidence) is generally described as more easily comprehensible, even by non-specialists. Indeed, as it is in line with the balance of probabilities

³ This plea can be used by defendants when they plead guilty while still maintaining their innocence. It was named after Henry Alford, who was involved in the 1970 Supreme Court case *North Carolina v. Alford*. For a critical discussion of the application of the Alford plea to this case see Vota (2012).

principle, it is plausible to state that the likelihood of liability needs to be over 50% and, thus, is perceived as more clearly definable and applicable.

Whitman (2008) underlines that the modern application of the BRD standard differs considerably from its original purpose. Indeed, it formerly represented a theological rule, rather than a purely legal one. While today it is generally meant to be a form of protection of the accused, its original aim was to protect the jurors, according to the values of Christian theology. More specifically, convicting an innocent person while experiencing doubts was considered a mortal sin. Conversely, jurors did not have to fear for their souls if their decision was beyond reasonable doubt. The significant change that the essence of the doctrine has undergone over centuries also contributes to its vagueness and indeterminacy (Whitman 2008).

In order to define BRD, theorists tend to agree on the idea that there needs to be some level of subjective certainty, related to a high degree of probability, while formal certainty is impossible. As Heffer notes (2007, 7), “[s]uch a state of subjective certainty [...] is not a formal (absolute or mathematical) certainty but a functional certainty which enables the jury to safely act on the assumption that the defendant is guilty”. Thus, reasonable doubt is “interrelated with the feeling of certainty” (Corea-Levy 2012, 50). However, the feeling of certainty does not necessarily and automatically equate with actual certainty (Goldman 1993).

With the aim to reduce the degree of flexibility in the definition of BRD, it has also been suggested that quantitative definitions could be employed to establish the level of probability required (Kagehiro and Stanton 1985). Thus, this degree of probability has sometimes been defined from a purely quantitative perspective, such as 90% (Kagehiro 1990). In this vein, Saunders openly supports the need for a measurable approach to the definition of BRD (Saunders 2005, 11):

The standard needs quantification. Despite huge instinctive aversion to our proposal to quantify the standard, we believe most legal professionals will come to terms with it once they understand that is not so difficult to implement as they might imagine and once they see a change is inevitable. There may be those who oppose losing the ability to subtly sway the definition of reasonable doubt in a jury’s mind.

However, several scholars and practitioners seem to agree about the inherent qualitative nature of the concept. Along these lines, Rembar also states that “[p]roof beyond a reasonable doubt is a quantum without a number” (Rembar 1980, 412). Indeed, it is evident that a quantitative definition would not be in alignment with the subjective nature of the standard, which is so by definition, and, in any case, it would be extremely difficult to apply

such statistical evaluation to a specific case. In this respect, Laudan (2006, 77–78) states:

While I could perhaps tell you that I believe strongly in the guilt of the accused, that I found the prosecution’s case powerful and that of the defense weak, I would be hard pressed to tell you whether I would assign a probability of 95, 85, or 75 percent to the prosecution’s hypothesis that the defendant committed the crime. And even if I did pull some specific number out of a hat, it would be a stretch to imagine that it accurately represented something like my ‘degree of belief’ in the defendant’s guilt.

The scholarly debate about the virtues and vices of qualitative and quantitative interpretations of BRD has raged for decades and seems deemed to remain ongoing. Despite the different definitional approaches, the subjectivity of the concept continues to represent one of its intrinsic features.

4. Jury instructions on BRD

Jurors can be informed on what BRD is at different stages during a trial. An important step for the framing of the principle is the instruction phase, in which jurors are generally instructed on the nature of the doctrine. In the USA, State Courts may adopt different approaches on the issue of whether to define ‘reasonable doubt’ or not for the jury. For instance, in Illinois, Trial Courts are admonished from defining this concept. Ten other states have adopted the same approach: Kentucky, Mississippi, Oklahoma, Texas, Wyoming, Oregon, South Carolina, Vermont, Virginia and West Virginia (O’Neil 1996). Other states, including Arkansas (where the case under investigation took place), grant the court the decision to define the term if there is no pattern jury instruction.⁴ The Federal Courts are also split as to whether there is the need to define reasonable doubt. The main reason behind the decision to avoid providing a definition lies, heuristically, in the idea that the standard cannot be easily and fully explained (O’Neil 1996).⁵

The intrinsic vagueness of BRD manifests itself in the “considerable variation in the language used to explain it across jurisdictions within the United States” (Koch and Devine 1999, 654). More specifically, Stoffelmayr and Diamond (2000) remark that, although specific criteria have to be applied in the definition of reasonable doubt, “[w]hat is reasonable depends on the consequences of the decision, and attempts to provide clear

⁴ For a discussion of pattern jury instructions see Tiersma (2009).

⁵ See *Victor*, 511 US, at 5 (“Although this standard is an ancient and honored aspect of our criminal justice system, it defies easy explanation”).

instructions should not define away the flexibility in the beyond a reasonable doubt standard in a blind drive for precision” (Stoffelmayr and Diamond 2000, 770). In the case of confusing and misleading instructions, these are generally considered acceptable by the Review Court, as long as they meet the principle of minimum accuracy and, taken as a whole, could not reasonably mislead the jurors (see Brown 2000, 1106). Indeed, appellate review assesses legal sufficiency and not comprehensibility. However, clearly, the misinterpretation of the standard can go against the purpose of the standard itself.

A lot of work has been done regarding jury instructions and their comprehensibility (see, *inter alia*, Rose and Ogloff 2001). Questions about the clarity of instructions have been raised also in relation to the possibility and ability on the part of the jurors to apply complex legal notions, such as reasonable doubt, to specific situations. The correct interpretation of BRD and its application to a concrete case may also be hindered by the human tendency to reduce complex decisions into simpler ones. Indeed, as Simon (2004, 511) states, “[c]oherence-based reasoning posits that the mind shuns cognitively complex and difficult decision tasks by reconstructing them into easy ones, yielding strong, confident conclusions.” It is also worth noticing that, in line with Coherence Theory, people are cognitively inclined to favor certainty over uncertainty (Goldman 1993). This is, thus, in contrast with the request to apply the concept of BRD in that, when facing complex decisions, people tend to amplify a (slight) preponderance for one choice in order to make it correspond with the feeling of certainty.

In the Echols/Baldwin trial, the related instructions were delivered on 17 March 1994, and they include the following passage:

The State must prove, beyond a reasonable doubt, each element of the offense charged. On the other hand, the defendant is not required to prove his innocence. The filing of an information is merely the means by which a person is brought to trial. It is not evidence, and is not to be considered by you in determining the guilt or innocence of Jason Baldwin or Damien Echols.

There is a presumption of the defendant’s innocence in a criminal prosecution. In this case, Jason Baldwin and Damien Echols are presumed to be innocent.

The doctrines of BRD and the presumption of innocence are strictly interrelated. One difference lies in the indication of the level of doubt admissible. BRD accounts explicitly for a doubt defined as ‘reasonable’,

while *in dubio pro reo*⁶ does not explicitly define the type of doubt contemplated. In the case of a violation of these two principles, the very conceptualization of a ‘fair trial’ is devoid of meaning.

In the trial under investigation, the instructions continue as follows:

I’m gonna read this one again. There is a presumption of the defendant’s innocence in a criminal prosecution. In this case, Jason Baldwin and Damien Echols are presumed to be innocent. That presumption of innocence attends and protects them throughout the trial and should continue and prevail in your minds unless and until you are convinced of their guilt beyond a reasonable doubt.

Reasonable doubt is not a mere possible or imaginary doubt. It is a doubt that arises from your consideration of the evidence, and one that would cause a careful person to pause and hesitate in the graver transactions of life. A juror is satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt if, after an impartial consideration of all of the evidence, he has an abiding conviction of the truth of the charge.

This definition is syntactically less intricate than in other cases (cf. Tiersma 1999, 194–6), but it displays some complex aspects, in that it includes technical and archaic terms (“abiding conviction”), as well as negative definitions (“It is not a mere possible or imaginary doubt...”). Additionally, its focus seems to be placed on which doubts are reasonable, rather than on what the government’s burden should be, which represents a common issue in jury instructions on the BRD standard (Solan 2001). From a cognitive perspective, this definition cannot be unproblematically applied, as hermeneutic efforts have to be made, for example to distinguish between the notion of information and the notion of evidence.

However, the explanation offered avoids the use of certain adjectives, such as ‘substantial’ or ‘grave’, which may have a higher or lower level of probability than ‘reasonable’. In this regard, in *Cage v. Louisiana*, the Supreme Court stated that “[i]t is plain to us that the words ‘substantial’ and ‘grave,’ as they are commonly understood, suggest a higher degree of doubt than is required for acquittal under the reasonable doubt standard.”⁷ The instructions provided also avoid tautological expressions which define reasonable doubt as a ‘doubt which is reasonable’, which have often been employed in other trials. Clearly, definitions of this type are based on an

⁶ *In dubio pro reo* (“[when] in doubt, for the accused”) means that a defendant cannot be convicted when doubts about his or her guilt exist.

⁷ *Cage v. Louisiana*, 498 U.S. 39, 41 (1990).

uninstructive circular description which is in opposition to an appropriate application of the doctrine.⁸

The core problem of the definition offered in this trial (which is common to most jury instructions on the matter) rests on the presence of vague words, such as ‘mere’ or ‘imaginary’, and the term ‘reasonable’ itself. Indeed, the complexities lying in defining and applying the idea of ‘reasonable’ depend on its indeterminate nature, to the extent that Mellinkoff, in his seminal work, lists it among ‘weasel words’⁹ (Mellinkoff 1963, 21). The term is inherently vague, and thus, although apparently simple, is semantically intricate in that it is often understood through personal acquaintance rather than through an unequivocal description.

5. BRD in closing arguments

In the case under investigation, the term ‘reasonable’ is mentioned by both the prosecution and the defense and appears in different sub-phases of closing statements, such as the closing arguments for the prosecution, the closing arguments for the defense, and the prosecution’s rebuttal.

In his closing arguments, John Fogleman (prosecution) repeats the definition offered in the instructions (“And that instruction the court gives you has a clear definition of reasonable doubt. It’s not a mere possible or imaginary doubt”). It is presented as ‘a clear definition’ in order for the lawyer to be perceived as a facilitator of understating and to reduce the uncertainty which may arise in the jurors’ minds when having to decide if the standard of proof has been reached.

Now y’all heard all through jury selection, you probably heard a hundred times, that the State has the burden of proof beyond a reasonable doubt. And that is this State’s burden and we welcome that burden. As we told you during jury selection it’s also important that you not require more than what the law requires of us. And that burden tells you basically two things. How much the State has to prove and what the State has to prove. What the State has to prove, if you’ll recall, are only the elements of the offenses charged. Nothing else. Not whether somebody got blue socks or white socks or anything else, other than the elements of the offense charged. How much we have to prove, beyond a reasonable doubt. And that instruction the court

⁸ See *Victor v. Nebraska*, 511 U.S. 1, 15 (1994) (quoting *Dunbar v. United States*, 156 U.S. 185, 199 (1895), at 25).

⁹ As with other ‘weasel words’, ‘reasonable’ shows a tendency to be part of collocations which are sensitive to co-selection and is often found in expressions such as ‘reasonable doubt’, ‘reasonable interpretation’, or ‘reasonable explanation’ in the context of a criminal trial (see Anesa 2012, 177).

gives you has a clear definition of reasonable doubt. It's not a mere possible or imaginary doubt. But once you are convinced, if you have an abiding conviction of the truth of the charge, you are convinced beyond a reasonable doubt.¹⁰

The prosecutor also emphasizes that the jurors must not require more than that which the law requires. This is followed by the idea that an abiding conviction is a conviction beyond a reasonable doubt (“But once you are convinced, if you have an abiding conviction of the truth of the charge, you are convinced beyond a reasonable doubt”) in line with jury instructions. However, as mentioned above, the term ‘abiding’ is also subject to controversial interpretations and appears, to a certain extent, gradable. Thus, it is difficult to establish the exact level which renders a conviction abiding.

Instead, Val Price (the lead defense attorney for Damien Echols) focuses more specifically on technical aspects of the trial, presenting evidence as a source of reasonable doubt. Hedging devices (e.g. expressions such as ‘I think’) seem to mitigate the strength of his arguments, and so the equation between the evidence and the possibility of BRD does not appear substantial and convincing. This approach is counterbalanced by boosting devices such as ‘certainly’. However, the presence of adverbs such as ‘perhaps’ inevitably seems to invalidate the strength of the lawyer’s hypothesis:

And I think the...this is...the evidence...the possibility of John Mark Byers as a suspect is certainly an aspect of reasonable doubt in this case. [...] Perhaps that hair matched up with this gentle...the man at Bojangles. And that is certainly, is a reasonable doubt.¹¹

Paul Ford (defense) equates reasonable doubt to a doubt that makes a careful person pause and hesitate. He also clearly emphasizes that it is the State that has to prove guilt BRD.

Since the burden of proof rests with the prosecution, a successful defense must offer alternative theories which appear plausible enough that they sow seeds of doubt in the minds of the jury. In this case, no convincing alternative theory was provided. Although some of the evidence was clearly controversial, the defense did not manage to construct a persuasive story which could convince the jurors to acquit the defendants according to the BRD doctrine. In this regard, reasonable doubt definitions appear to encourage jurors to compare the validity of the stories rather than to evaluate

¹⁰ The Damien Echols and Jason Baldwin Trial: Closing Argument of John Fogleman, March 17, 1994.

¹¹ The Damien Echols and Jason Baldwin Trial: Closing Argument of Val Price, March 17, 1994.

the strength of the prosecution’s case. This is in line with Hastie *et al.*’s theories (1983), which suggest that jurors evaluate a case in light of competing stories weighed against one other.

Replicating the approach adopted by the prosecution, Ford also repeats (almost verbatim) part of the instruction previously provided by the court (cf. §4, above). This technique is often used as way of conveying an alignment with the principles which are to be observed. Thus, the definition, ‘not a mere possible or imaginary doubt’, is reiterated.

Reasonable doubt is not a mere possible or imaginary doubt. It is a doubt that arises from your consideration of the evidence and one that would cause a careful person to pause and hesitate in the greater transactions of life. A juror is satisfied beyond a reasonable doubt if after an impartial consideration of all the evidence, he has an abiding conviction of the truth of the charge. The State has to prove beyond a reasonable doubt. A careful person that pauses and hesitates is not a person who is convinced beyond a reasonable doubt.¹²

The final argument belongs to the prosecutor Brent Davis. He focuses on the jurors and their feelings in order to define reasonable doubt. There is no reference to the fact that the prosecution has to prove guilt BRD. The argument follows a scheme according to which, if jurors can feel satisfied about returning a verdict of guilt, then they must be automatically convinced beyond reasonable doubt.

Look at all the evidence, and piece it together, and when you do, you’re gonna find that these defendants are guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. And you’ll feel — you can feel — good. You don’t have to feel guilty which is what defense attorneys want you to do. You can feel good in returning a verdict of guilty. Once you gone through that evidence and made that determination that there’s proof beyond a reasonable doubt.¹³

As Corea-Levy (2012) stresses, jurors are asked to rely on their feelings as to what certainty is when reaching verdicts, but such feelings are not reliable in that they are inevitably affected by biases. Consequently, “the malleability of the reasonable doubt concept creates fertile ground for conviction decisions based on implicit biases that should play no role in the decision-making process” (Corea-Levy 2012, 48). The application of BRD on the part of the

¹² The Damien Echols and Jason Baldwin Trial: Closing Argument of Paul Ford, March 17, 1994.

¹³ The Damien Echols and Jason Baldwin Trial: Closing Argument of Brent Davis, March 17, 1994.

jurors is not exempted from biases related, for instance, to sex, race, religion, and lifestyle. In the case of the West Memphis Three, those who maintain their innocence state that the jurors were profoundly biased, especially with regard to the defendants' life choices (including their religious beliefs, lifestyle, taste in music, etc.).

It may seem plausible to assume that, absented robust evidence, a verdict of acquittal must be delivered. However, the trier of fact does not have to show the logical reasoning which led to a certain decision, nor do they have to demonstrate that such reasoning is cogent. Consequently, the subjectivity of the principle may appear irrational, given the consequences that its application may have.

6. Conclusive remarks

In the adversarial system which characterizes most Common Law countries such as the USA, the concept of 'reasonable doubt' plays a remarkably important role in that it is the standard of proof that the prosecution's evidence must meet. BRD is discussed in different phases of the trial, and this analysis has focused in particular on its linguistic realization in jury instructions and in closing arguments. The analysis of this doctrine, and its verbal realization in criminal proceedings, is a key issue for the conduct of a fair trial, as issues with the interpretation of the standard of BRD can create a serious equal protection problem. Hence, the definition of BRD undeniably plays a crucial role in the outcome of a trial, as the way the standard of proof is defined in a case may affect the verdict returned by the jurors. Moreover, the interpretation of the very concept of BRD may be affected by factors which, within a certain community, have an effect on the perception of a crime, and of the standard which needs to be proved in order to find a defendant guilty of that crime.

Jurors are required to apply the definition of reasonable doubt provided by the court and, consequently, they must evaluate what type of evidence would reach that standard. It is true that this activity is conducted, generally, before the evidence is presented in court, but it is not to be excluded that such a definition may be altered during the trial. Thus, jurors essentially need to create their own definition of reasonable doubt by imagining what types of evidence would amount to *beyond* a reasonable doubt. Ultimately, unbeknownst to jurors, their biases may alter their perception of the BRD standard and they may show a strong inclination for one side over another, even when the evidence is completely balanced.

In particular, the continuing debate concerning the case of the West Memphis Three has often focused on the incapability of the jurors to apply

the concept of BRD and to interpret the evidence provided in an impartial way. Although this may be the case, the analysis of the definition of reasonable doubt offered in the jury instruction during this case appears in line with the general recommendations offered by the courts and scholars. Indeed, despite the inevitable vagueness which lies in the nature of the standard itself, the instructions avoid synonymic expressions which may be confusing and, at the same time, also avoid tautological expressions which do not contribute to clarifying the essence of the doctrine. Thus, interpretive issues seem only marginally linked to the linguistic construction of the instructions provided. Rather, they derive from the inherent vagueness and ethical indeterminacy that the principle of BRD brings with it.

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CHAPTER EIGHT

GENDER NEUTRALITY IN LEGISLATIVE DRAFTING: LINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES*

GIULIANA ELENA GARZONE

1. Introduction

Gender-neutrality is an important issue in legislative drafting for the obvious reason that in legal texts there is an absolute need for an accurate wording that may include all parties involved, male and female (and other). But this is at odds with the linguistic resources available in many languages, which are often in themselves unsuited for a comprehensive epicenic use. In most languages for a long time the remedy adopted was the conventional use of the masculine as a generic to include the feminine, an expedient which is usually not limited to the domain of the law, but is widely used in all sectors, also in every day linguistic communication.

With the rise of feminism and gender equality movements this aspect of language use came under serious scrutiny. In the 1970s this led to “a mini-revolution in language and style” (Kurzon 1989, 99) in many contexts, especially in publishing, in broadcasting and in institutions, and attempts started to be made to correct sexist language use. It was felt that the use of the masculine to include the feminine was mainly due to men’s historical predominance over women: for instance in the case of English it derived from the fact that “English linguistic convention has historically treated men as prototypical of the human species”, as Cameron points out (2006, 736). Thus the “male as norm” rule (Cameron 2006, 738) started to be interpreted as a manifestation of gender inequality and of man’s power.

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Non-sexist language campaigns have been under way for a few decades now, especially focusing on gender-specific terms and on pronouns, in a general context where alongside women's liberation movements increasing importance is being gained by militancy in favour of LGBT+ rights, adding the notion of "gender inclusiveness" to that of "gender neutrality". But, of course, when attempts are made to change a language from the top down, some difficulties may arise, so it is not surprising that so far results—although non negligible—have not been exactly brilliant (Cameron 2006, 738).

The issue of gender-neutrality in language is all the more acute in the case of legal communication, an area where in actual fact—differently from other domains—imposing language change may not be so problematic, because of the total control that can be exerted on drafting styles. And systematic gender-neutral drafting may contribute to favouring societal changes or consolidating them. It should be noted that gender-neutral drafting does not necessarily produce legislation that guarantees gender equality (cf. Maclean 2013), but has the aim to avoid the explicit encoding of discrimination.

2. Aims, method and materials

This Chapter focuses on the encoding of gender in normative legal texts, discussing the issues involved in a gender-neutral drafting style and examining some of the techniques used in order to realize it in legislative texts with special regard for pronominal reference.

The background to the study is provided by the numerous studies devoted to sex discrimination and the law (Rhode 1989; Conaghan 2013) and to gender-neutral drafting in legal scholarship (Kurzon 1989; Eagleson 1994/1995; Petersson 1998, 1999; Greenberg 2008; Maclean 2013), also authored by linguists (e.g. Williams 2008). In the analysis, reliance is made on the literature on the encoding of gender in linguistics, first and foremost Corbett (1991), grammatical studies of the encoding of gender (e.g. Helliger/Motschenbacher 2015) as well as sections of grammar books devoted to the issue (e.g. Quirk *et al.* 1985). Reference to drafting guidelines in use in the UK (OPC 2018) is also made, as well as to others in use elsewhere (e.g. UNESCO 1999; European Commission 2018), and to gender-neutral writing produced in writing and composition studies (e.g. Miller and Swift 2000 [¹1980], a milestone in the genre).

Although the analysis is essentially qualitative, computerized routines are also relied on to evaluate variation in usage for specific linguistic items and to retrieve contexts of use, by making recourse to the Wordlist and Concordance Tools of the Wordsmith Tools software suite (Scott 2012).

The corpus to which the study refers consists of statutes passed in the UK Parliament in 1973-1974, 1989-1990, 2010-2011 and 2016-2017 respectively, for a total of 4,366,813 tokens, with the following characteristics

	1973-74	1989-90	2010-11	2016-17
<i>tokens</i>	1,105,763.00	1,076,404.00	1,082,776.00	1,101,870.00
<i>nr. of files</i>	66.00	24.00	47.00	38.00
<i>STTR¹</i>	23.41	22.36	20.89	21.50

Table 8.1: Description of corpus.

As emerges clearly from Table 1, each of the sub-corpora contains a similar number of tokens, so raw data are perfectly comparable with no need for normalization or recourse to percentages.

After discussing the different linguistic devices languages use to assign gender, this study zooms in on English and its peculiarities in gender representation, and examines English drafting conventions and the problems that have arisen with respect to gender-neutral language, looking at the principles followed both in gender-neutral legislative drafting guidelines and in actual practice. Then it goes on to discuss the impact of gender-neutral drafting on the language used in legal texts and on the strategies to be deployed in order to achieve gender-neutral drafting.

3. Encoding gender in language

In order to discuss the encoding of gender in legislative drafting, as a preliminary step it is necessary to illustrate how systems of gender assignment in language work.

First of all, a clear definition of gender in language is of the essence. Corbett (1991, 1) uses as a starting point Hockett's very general definition: "genders are classes of nouns reflected in the behaviour of associated words" (Hockett 1958, 231). Quirk *et al.*'s (1985) definition is more specific: "By GENDER is meant a grammatical classification of nouns, pronouns, or other words in the noun phrase, according to certain meaning-related distinctions, especially a distinction related to the sex of the referent" (1985, 314). In this chapter the main focus is on the latter distinction.

In many languages gender assignment mostly corresponds to real-world distinctions of sex, but in many others it does not. Gender assignment

¹ Standardised type/token ratio.

systems are basically of two kinds: semantic systems, which in varying degrees are essentially based on natural gender, and formal systems, which apply where semantic rules fail, with the formal system largely prevailing in many languages.

As regards semantic systems, reliance on meaning for gender assignment is the main criterion, but there is ample variation: in the rare instances that rely on strictly semantic criteria (e.g. in Dravidian languages) this principle is applied in all cases and “the meaning of a noun determines its gender and given the gender of a noun we can infer something about its meaning” (Corbett 1991, 8) (for instance, in the case of humans and animals, their sex). But otherwise there is ample scope for variation (e.g. metaphorical use), with variably large “semantic residues” to which other criteria are partially applied (Corbett 1991, 13). Where semantic criteria fail to account for gender assignment because large numbers of nouns fall outside semantic assignment rules, recourse is made to formal criteria (Corbett 1991, 32).

Gender assignment in formal systems depends on the form of nouns rather than on their meaning, although a semantic component tends to be always present. There are essentially two types of criteria. The morphological criterion, which often overlaps with a semantic core, is mainly based on inflectional considerations: e.g. “nouns of declension II are feminine”. When instead gender assignment follows phonological criteria, rules refer just to a single form of a noun, e.g. “nouns ending in a vowel in the singular are feminine” (Corbett 1991, 32).

After this very general introduction, attention will focus specifically on the English language.

3.1 Gender in English

In broad terms, in English gender is inflectionally unmarked for determiners, adjectives and for most nouns. Some of the pronouns express gender distinction, notably some 3rd person pronouns and *wh*-pronouns:

<i>it, which, etc.</i>	[NONPERSONAL]
<i>who, whom, etc.</i>	[PERSONAL]
<i>he, himself, etc.</i>	[MASCULINE, <i>chiefly</i> PERSONAL]
<i>she, herself, etc.</i>	[FEMININE, <i>chiefly</i> PERSONAL]

(cf. Quirk et al. 1985, 314)

In the case of nouns, gender can be described as ‘notional’ or ‘covered’ as their classification is semantic and is based on their co-reference with

personal, reflexive and relative pronouns. The only exception is for some nouns that are morphologically marked on a derivational basis by means of suffixes, e.g. *prince* – *princess*, *hero* – *heroine*, *usher* – *usherette* but also *bride* – *bridegroom*, *widow* – *widower*. Denominations of higher animals are also morphologically marked in specialized contexts: *dog* – *bitch*, *bull* – *cow*, etc. Otherwise gender is covertly marked in various combinations with the PERSONAL trait.

In pronoun use, in line of principle strictly semantic criteria apply. Male humans are masculine, female humans are feminine, and anything else is neuter. But this is only the general pattern and is applied with a degree of variability, especially in marginal cases, for instance animals; when they are part of people's personal sphere, especially if they are named, they are usually referred to according to their sex. Animals in fairy tales are assigned a gender by convention. Other exceptions are names of countries, which are referred to as objects when they are considered as indications of a geographical entity, and in the feminine when they are considered as political/economic units, and "boat names", also used with feminine co-reference. A further element of variability is that in some cases semantic rules are overridden by emotive and affective factors (e.g. downgrading human beings to it, or upgrading objects marking them with gender (Corbett 1991, 12; Quirk *et al.* 1985, 318n.). While for the sake of the current discussion the elements given so far will suffice, for a systematic classification of gender in English reference is made to Quirk *et al.* (1985, 314-318).

In light of the foregoing considerations on gender assignment, it is evident that grammatical gender does not necessarily reflect or suggest natural gender or sex, although they may overlap. Obviously, this is more evident in formal gender assignment systems which show that in purely linguistic terms gender does not mirror natural gender (sex) or does so only partially. This point will be illustrated by means of an example from Italian, a language with a prevalently morphological gender assignment system, which often reflects natural gender, but in many cases does not. One of the basic rules of the system is the following: "Nouns belonging to class I, ending in '-a' in the singular and '-e' in the plural, are feminine", reflecting the fact that in Italian the *-a* desinence is associated with feminine. But there are some meaningful exceptions. For example, the noun *guardia/e* ("guard, warder, policeman or policewoman") belongs to class I, but its meaning is both feminine and masculine (more often, as guards and warders are more often men). Given that in Italian most pre- and post-modifiers (articles, adjectives, past participles) are morphologically marked for gender, co-reference with *guardia* is in the feminine, following the rule for class I

nouns: e.g. “*una guardia impegnata nel suo lavoro*”. But this does not have the consequence that we Italians perceive any femininity in a burly policeman, neither do male guards feel discriminated against. In Italian a similar problem regards plural pronouns to be used with reference to subjects that are both feminine and masculine, as no neutral or gender-inclusive plural subject pronouns are available, so the masculine is normally used (*essi*), with a recent tendency, especially in spoken language, to replace it (not always in a grammatically correct manner) with the object pronoun *loro*, which is gender inclusive. These are grammatical conventions that have no substantial impact on the construction of male and female roles in society, and as such they are perceived.

By the same token, the “male as norm” rule, which has prevailed in legislation in England and in many other countries until relatively recently, simply establishes a convention that is merely linguistic, also in legislative drafting (i.e. the so-called Masculine Rule, see below). Thus, in purely theoretical linguistic terms, the use of the masculine as a generic does not necessarily involve a form of discrimination against women.

However, if one should consider the historical reasons that contributed to the establishment of this rule and determined the fact that having to choose one of the genders to be used as an epicene for male and female the choice fell on masculine, it appears evident that these reasons have obviously to do with women’s status in society, reflecting prejudices against them in an essentially male-centred society.

4. Significance of the “Masculine rule”

In a historical study of gender encoding in legislative drafting in England, Petersson (1998) shows that before the introduction of the so-called Masculine Rule in 1850 reference to genders was relatively unstable, but since the 1500s the prevailing practice had been that the language made clear which laws applied to whom. Both masculine and feminine pronouns were used when the subject matter included both sexes, and when reference was made to one of the sexes only pronouns referring to that sex were used (Petersson 1998, 98). This system, which Petersson (1998, 100) defines “of express reference”, lasted until the early XIX century, until the law reform that took place from 1822 to 1878, which was moved by the need to streamline texts radically, as proven by the fact that the statute book was reduced from 118 volumes to just 18. Within this context, the idea emerged that reference to the sexes could be simplified by using the masculine as an epicene. It was endorsed by grammarians and intellectuals, among them Jeremy Bentham who saw it as a way to avoid the “evil of longwindedness”

(cf. Petersson 1998, 102). First codified in a 1827 Statute,² it was officially adopted in 1850 with the *Abbreviation Act (An Act for Shortening the Language used in Acts of Parliament (1850 UK), 13 Vic, c. 21)*, where its official definition first appeared: “words importing the Masculine Gender shall be deemed and taken to include females, ... unless the contrary as to Gender ... is expressly provided” (emphasis added). It was confirmed in the *Interpretation Act 1889 (c. 63)*: “s 1(1)(a) words importing the masculine gender shall include females”.

The measure introduced in the 1850 Statute was not uncontroversial, if only because—quite curiously—some scholars thought it too broad to apply to all statutes as it would threaten “men only” laws, i.e. the Reform Bill which would then entitle also women to vote (Petersson 1998, 108). Less surprisingly, criticisms were also raised focusing on the implication that the use of masculine as a generic implies the “exclusion” or “inferiority” of women. This notion gained ground in time determining the need to improve this aspect of legislative drafting, a need which was felt ever more acutely with the rise of women’s liberation movements in the 1960s and 1970s.

One of the first results of this trend was the passing of the *1978 Interpretation Act* which in its section 6 introduced a reciprocal rule providing that also feminine could be used as a generic to refer to both sexes:

6. (a) words importing the masculine gender include the feminine,
- (b) words importing the feminine gender include the masculine.³

This statute was hardly effective in favouring the introduction of gender-neutral drafting because, as Petersson (1998, 41) points out, although it formally introduced reciprocity, it did not supersede the masculine rule, rather incorporated it. So in spite of the choice offered, the preference for the application of the Masculine Rule continued, also on account of the need to make textual amendments to existing laws (cf. Williams 2008, 152).

In this respect, the United Kingdom was a late comer, as Australia had adopted a policy of gender-neutral drafting since the 1980s both at national and state level, and so had New Zealand. Canada followed suit in 1991, and South Africa after the fall of the apartheid in the mid-1990s (cf. Peterson 1999; Williams 2008). In UNO documents the switch to gender-neutral

² *An Act for Further Improving the Administration of Justice in Criminal Cases in England*, 21 June 1827.

³ Section 6 also included a provision regarding number: “(c) words in the singular include the plural and words in the plural include the singular”, which is not considered here as it does not fall within the scope of the present discussion.

drafting dates back to the 1990s, and in EU legislation to the turn of the millennium (cf. e.g. UNESCO 1999; European Commission 2016/2018).

In the United Kingdom, the real turning point was the *Written Ministerial Statement* issued by Leader of the House of Commons Jack Straw on 8 March 2007;⁴ it provided that:

from the beginning of next Session, Government Bills will take a form which achieves gender-neutral drafting so far as it is practicable, at no more than a reasonable cost to brevity or intelligibility. This policy already applies to tax law rewrite Bills and is consistent with the practice in many other jurisdictions in the English-speaking world [...]. Many believe that this practice tends to reinforce historic gender stereotypes and presents an obstacle to clearer understanding for those unfamiliar with the convention.

It is evident that the introduction of a consistent gender-neutral style inevitably determines some problems for the drafters and “carries a risk of reducing the simplicity, clarity or elegance of the final product” (Greenberg 2008, 67): this appears quite evident if one thinks that the Masculine Rule was originally introduced in an effort to streamline legislative writing. Greenberg points out that this will inevitably involve “a cost of implementing the policy of gender-neutrality”, but he advocates a more positive spirit that may see it as “an opportunity for rejuvenation and improvement” (Greenberg 2008, 67).

This is possible only if the effort to achieve gender neutrality is not limited to replacing the masculine pronoun with “he or she”. Instead, although it seems difficult at first, a real change in mentality and in drafting habits can lead to an approach to legislative drafting that does not in itself require the use of pronominal reference to the parties involved.

5. Techniques for gender-neutral drafting

Drafting guidelines have been issued indicating a vast repertoire of techniques, some of which advocate a real “restructuring” of traditional sentence (clause-complex) patterns. Two aspects are included in gender-neutral drafting: avoidance of nouns to refer to roles or professions where a gender-specific word is used with the presumption that a certain role of profession is performed by a particular gender (e.g. policeman, housemaid, etc.), and avoidance of gender-specific pronouns for a person who is not

⁴ <<https://publications.parliament.uk/pa/cm200607/cmhansrd/cm070308/wmstext/70308m0003.htm#07030896000015>>. Unless otherwise specified, all websites were last accessed on 21 September 2018.

necessarily of that gender (OPC 2018, 7). In this study only the latter aspect will be considered, focusing on gender-neutral pronominal reference.

Greenberg (2008) lists and discusses various possible techniques to realize gender-neutral writing suppressing gender-specific pronouns (and possessive adjectives): repetition of noun, omission, reorganization of sentence, recourse to alternative pronouns, tagging (i.e. the assignment of a tag to a noun, e.g. a letter – that can be used to replace it for the rest of the enactment). Other techniques listed in the *Drafting Guidance* book (OPC 2018) are the use of the passive and the substitution of *the* or *that* for the possessive. Here some of these techniques will be discussed, evaluating their efficacy and usability as well as their drawbacks.

5.1 Lexical and textual changes

The most obvious technique that allows to avoid using pronouns altogether is the repetition of the noun for which the pronoun would be a proform. Frequent recourse to this technique is probably the reason for the decrease in the STTR from 23.41 and 22.36 in the 1973-74 and the 1989-90 corpora respectively to 20.89 and 20.98 in the 2010/11 and 2016 corpora, which indicates a higher degree of lexical uniformity.

In the following example, the word *person* is repeated three times in an excerpt of 36 words, in positions that in traditional Masculine-Rule-informed drafting would have been taken up by the pronouns *he* and *him* (e.g. decides that *he* should be compensated...; must pay compensation to *him*). See the following example:

- (1) 4 (3) If a *person* ceases to be a non-executive member of the IfA [Institute for Apprenticeships] and the Secretary of State decides that *the person* should be compensated because of special circumstances, the IfA must pay compensation to *the person*. (*Enterprise Act 2016* (c. 12), Schedule 4)

In the following example, the repetition regards the noun phrase “the Secretary of State”:

- (2) The Secretary of State may, at any time during the second six-month period, decide that the prohibited munition should be destroyed, and if the *Secretary of State* so decides the *Secretary of State* may authorise a person to destroy it. (*Cluster Munitions (Prohibitions) Act 2010*, 14(6))

Although in the first edition of the *Drafting Guidance* book (2010) it was specified that “he or she” is a good substitute for “the Secretary of State”⁵, here the drafters prefer to repeat the whole phrase. Today it seems that for gender-neutral drafting this is one of the preferred solutions, although the effect on the overall aspect of the text is somewhat odd, especially in terms of cohesion.

Other techniques used are based on omission. This includes the omission of the pronoun / possessive as such, as in the following examples listed in the *Drafting Guidance* (10) e.g.: “Circumstances which justify doing so” instead of “circumstances which justify him doing so”; “immediately before death” instead of “immediately before his death” (OPC 2018, 10).

In other cases where the drafting conventions include useless superfluities, it is a whole clause potentially including a pronoun that can be omitted. This has also the advantage of moving in the direction of plain language. Greenberg (2008, 68-69), for instance, discusses the possible omission of the clause “as he thinks fit”, which is recurrent in legislative drafting. Compare the following examples taken respectively from the 1973-74 corpus and the 2016-17 corpus:

- (3) (b) the Secretary of State-
 - (i) may from time to time refer to the Committee for consideration and advice such questions relating to the operation of this Part of this Act as he thinks fit (*Social Security Act 1973*, 48(b))

- (4) (6) The Secretary of State may from time to time revise the specification of partnership functions included in a nomination under subsection (1) if [...] (*Enterprise Act 2016* (c. 12), Part 3)

The two sentences are structured exactly in the same way and it is evident that in the 2016 Act the drafter has decided not to insert the clause that according to traditional conventions would certainly have been there. It is meaningful that a search for *thinks fit* yields 220 hits in the 1973 corpus, 177 hits in the 1990 corpus, 112 in the 2010 corpus and only 45 hits in the 2016 corpus, which indicates a purely occasional use today, all the more so as many of the occurrences are in amendment rules.

Some other techniques recommended require a degree of reorganization of the sentence. One of these involves recourse to the passive voice instead of the active. It is recommended also by the *Drafting Guidance* book, in spite of the aversion of Plain Language towards the passive. The following

⁵ This provision was still there in the 2015 edition of the *Drafting Guidance*, but it has disappeared in the 2018 edition.

example is provided: “explaining why the regulations have not been laid” rather than “explaining why he has not laid the regulations” (OPC 2018, 9).

An example from the 2016 corpus illustrates this technique more clearly:

- (5) (1) If a person is convicted of an offence under section 24C, the court may order the forfeiture of the vehicle used in the commission of the offence. (*Immigration Act 2016* (c. 19), Part 2, 24F)

The wording above avoids the use of a pronoun by giving preference to the passive (“a vehicle *used*”) and to a nominalisation (“in the *commission* of the offence”), thus preventing recourse to the third person pronoun (e.g. the forfeiture of the vehicle *he* has used when *he* committed the offence).

Another possible reformulation that avoids the use of a gender-specific personal pronoun is recourse to a hypothetical relative clause instead of an *if*-clause, a type of adverbial clause which is characteristically frequent in legal discourse. Thus the hypothetical clause is embedded in the form of an adverbial relative clause value introduced by *who*. Compare the following two sentences from the 1989-1990 corpus and the 2016-17 corpus respectively:

- (6) If a person makes default in complying with the requirements of subsection (1) or (2), he is liable to a fine. (*Companies Act 1989*)
- (7) 19(4) A person who commits an offence under this section is liable on summary conviction to a fine. (*Housing and Planning Act 2016* (c. 22), Part 2)

In the latter example the structure of the sentence is organised so that the use of the third person pronoun is not necessary. According to the *Drafting Guidance* (OPC 2018,10) this solution may be problematic in that “it postpones the operative words to the end”, thus compromising readability, especially if the sentence is long. But in actual practice this is avoided if the clauses are organised appropriately within the sentence, as in the following example, where the hypothetical relative clauses have been postponed:

- (8) 79(4) Whether or not it acts under subsection (2), the Commission may of its own motion by order remove any trustee, charity trustee, officer, agent or employee of the charity—
- (a) who has been responsible for the misconduct or mismanagement,
 - (b) who knew of the misconduct or mismanagement and failed to take any reasonable step to oppose it, or
 - (c) whose conduct contributed to it or facilitated it
- (*Charities (Protection and Social Investment) Act 2016*)

5.2 Changing the pronouns

While all the techniques discussed so far consist of some form of rephrasing to prevent the need to use the personal pronoun, the techniques to be discussed in this section involve a change in the pronouns used.

In this respect, the easiest alternative is the use of “he or she” or “she or he”:

- (9) The provision that may be made under subsection (1)(a) includes provision giving power to the Secretary of State to prevent the charging of fees that *he or she* considers excessive. (*Housing and Planning Act 2016*, 163(2))
- (10) A voter with disabilities is a voter who has made a declaration under rule 31(2) that *he or she* is so incapacitated by blindness or other disability, or by an inability to read, as to be unable to vote without assistance. (*Parliamentary Voting System and Constituencies Act 2011*, Schedule 2)

This technique is convenient in that it leaves the structure of the sentence virtually unchanged, but can be rather inelegant. Furthermore, as the *Drafting Guidance* book (OPC 2018, 8) points out, while traditionally the masculine epicene was “sometimes used to include legal persons other than individuals”, this cannot be done with the double pronoun. The option “he, she or it” is possible when other legal persons are also considered in addition to individuals, but the repetition of this phrase “can be awkward” (OPC 2018, 8)

Another option based on recourse to alternative pronouns, which is of most interest for the linguist is the so called “singular they”, a form whose correctness has always been doubtful, but has been included among the acceptable options in legislative drafting.

The so called “singular they” is the second meaning of *they* given in the OED, as follows:

- 2. In anaphoric reference to a singular noun or pronoun of undetermined gender: he or she. Especially in relation to a noun phrase involving one of the indefinite determiners or pronouns *an*, *each*, *every*, *no*, *some*, *anybody*, *anyone*, etc. This use of *they* has sometimes been considered erroneous.⁶

But in spite of the doubts cast on its correctness, the OED gives as many as 14 examples of singular *they*, from a quotation from *William of Palerne* dating back to 1375, through Fielding (1749) ad Ruskin (1873) to a 1999

⁶ “*they*, pron., adj., adv., and n.”, 2. *OED Online*, Oxford University Press, June 2018, www.oed.com/view/Entry/200700. Accessed 2 August 2018.

essay by psychologists and consultants (Pease & Pease, *Why Men don't listen & Women can't read Maps*). The last example given in the entry, taken from the latter essay is the following: “The psychiatric label for a transgender person is that they are suffering Gender Identity Disorder.” This is of special interest as it shows the usefulness of this use of the pronouns, not only to refer to both sexes, but also to refer to transgender persons (cf. also Baron 2018).

Singular *they* is described in Quirk *et al.* *Comprehensive Grammar* (1985, 770), as “commonly used as a 3rd person singular pronoun that is neutral between masculine and feminine”, and as “a convenient means of avoiding the dilemma of whether to use the *he* or *she* form.” In the past restricted to informal usage, it is now increasingly accepted even in formal usage, especially in American English.

In the original edition of his *Dictionary of Modern English Usage* Fowler (1926, 648) openly considered it an error criticizing the OED for only saying that this form is “not favoured by grammarians”. But Burchfield in the 2000 edition of the same *Dictionary* points out that “such constructions are hardly noticed any more or are not felt to lie in a prohibited zone” (Fowler and Burchfield 2000, 779), although he defines them non-grammatical, seeing their rise as a response to linguistic needs that could not otherwise be met:

All such ‘non-grammatical’ constructions arise either because the notion of plurality resides in many of the indefinite pronouns or because of the absence in English of a common-gender third person singular pronoun (as distinct from *his* used to mean ‘*his or her*’ or the clumsy use of *his or her* itself). (Fowler and Burchfield 2000, 779, emphasis in the original).

Garner (1998/2016, 195) sees it as a form of “noun—pronoun disagreement”, justified by the fact that indefinite pronouns, although singular, “carry an idea of plurality” and describes it as “one of the most frequent blunders in modern writing or a godsend that allows us to avoid sexism” (Garner 1998/2016, 736). So he suggests that “Where it can’t be avoided, resort to it cautiously because some people may doubt your literacy”.

More recently, its consistent use in legislative drafting and in other forms of formal texts as an effective technique to avoid sexist language has somehow promoted this type of usage beyond colloquialisms.

Quite meaningfully ‘singular *they*’ was appointed “2015 word of the year” by the American Dialect Society, “for its emerging use as a pronoun to refer to a known person, often as a conscious choice by a person rejecting

the traditional gender binary of *he* and *she*.⁷ In 2017 “singular they” made its way into two of the main stylebooks in US academia and journalism, the *Associated Press Stylebook* (Sopelsa 2017) and the *Chicago Manual of Style* (cf. Perlman 2017), having been accepted in the *Washington Post Style Guide* in 2015 (Okrent 2015).

In the UK its status has been more controversial, although not totally negative. The *Drafting Guidance* book (OPC 2018, 8) accepts the fact that “it is certainly well-precedented in respectable literature over the centuries”. But it warns that “whether this popular usage is correct or not is a matter of dispute” and reminds the reader that in a debate on gender-neutral drafting in the House of Lords in 2013 a number of peers expressed concern about the use of “they” as a singular pronoun (OPC 2018, 9). It concludes that this usage may seem more natural in certain contexts (e.g. when the antecedents is “any person” or “a person”) than in others, thus suspending judgment. The fact that in the previous editions of the same *Guidance* (2015, 2016, 2017) the debate had been depicted as considering the use “controversial”—and concluded with a negative statement: “On that basis it is best avoided” (2015, 8; 2016, 8; 2017, 8 8)—indicates that in time the attitude towards this structure is gradually becoming less hostile.

In the corpus, entirely composed on UK General Acts, no instance of this usage was retrieved. However, there are instances of it in Statutory Instruments. The following two examples were referred to in the Parliamentary Debate mentioned above (HL Deb 12 December 2013 cols 1004-1016):

- (11) (3) For paragraph 12 substitute—
 “Additional room
 12.—(1) A renter is entitled to an additional bedroom if they satisfy any of the following conditions—[...]”
(Statutory Instrument 2013 No. 2828, Annex F, Amendment of the Universal Credit Regulations 2013)
- (12) 5. The claimant is entitled to one bedroom for each of the following categories of person whom the relevant authority is satisfied occupies the claimant’s dwelling as their home—
 (a) [...]
 (f) The claimant or their partner is a person who requires overnight care
 (g) The claimant or their partner is a qualifying parent or carer
(Statutory Instrument 2013 No. 2828, Annex E, Equality Analysis for The Size Criteria and children with disabilities)

⁷ <<https://www.americandialect.org/2015-word-of-the-year-is-singular-they>>.

This kind of usage is cautiously accepted in EU legislative drafting “only when the reference is absolutely clear”, also because “it is still perceived as grammatically incorrect by many speakers” (European Commission 2016/2019, 65), but recommended by the Department of Justice of Canada (2015), while in US State legislation it is mostly indicated as to be avoided. Thus, the status of this structure is still uncertain, although it can be guessed that in time it may be accepted as an option in legislative drafting.

6. A look at quantitative data

After this overview of some of the techniques recommended for a gender-neutral drafting style, in order to find indications as to the actual use of such techniques in actual drafting practice in the UK it is interesting to look at the quantitative data from the corpus that gives us a picture of how the use of certain relevant items evolved quantitatively over time. The data are shown in Table 2.

A trend that emerges clearly from Table 2 is the dramatic reduction in the use of the masculine personal pronouns *he*, *him* and the possessive *his* over time, which confirms the abandonment of the Masculine Rule. But how the use of the masculine as a generic has been replaced is quite complicated to describe as there are so many factors to be considered. A parallel increase in recourse to the alternative pronouns *he or she* and related object pronouns and possessives has taken place, but the numbers are limited. Comparing the 1973-74 and the 2016-17 data, a relatively substantial increase of 2,704 occurrences is recorded for *person** (29.63%) and of 524 for *individual** (74.43%). There is also an increase of about 20% in the frequency of *who/whom*. However, all these increases in the use of substitutive devices, which in aggregate total 3,696, does not fully make up for the huge loss of occurrences of masculine pronouns/possessives, which amounts to 5,964. This is possibly due to recourse to omissions, and also to repetitions of words or expressions different from *person* or *individual*. In fact, the quantitative data do not record a possible tendency to reorganize the sentence so as to make recourse to a personal pronoun unnecessary. Last but not least, one has to keep in mind that in the period considered there took place substantial changes in legislative drafting inspired by Plain Language, which may have interfered with the trends being evaluated here. This could possibly be one of the reasons for the decrease in the occurrences of *they/them/their*, which have approximately halved in the course of the period, providing obvious evidence that recourse to singular *they* has not become a common practice in legislative writing in the UK.

	1973-1974 1,105,763 tokens		1989-1990 1,076,404 tokens		2010-2011 1,082,776 tokens		2016-2017 792,076 tokens	
he	2,497	0.21%	2,436	0.21%	239	0.02%	168	0.01%
him	1,737	0.15%	1,720	0.15%	59	<0.01%	63	<0.01%
his	2,003	0.17%	1,938	0.17%	75	<0.01%	42	<0.01%
he or she	6	<0.01%	2	<0.01%	38	<0.01%	55	<0.01%
him or her	2	<0.01%	0	0	22	<0.01%	17	<0.01%
his or her	22	<0.01%	2	<0.01%	46	<0.01%	59	<0.01%
they	1,101	0.09%	1,394	0.12%	718	0.06%	657	0.05%
them	862	0.07%	1,023	0.09%	386	0.03%	341	0.03%
their	976	0.08%	879	0.08%	445	0.04%	407	0.03%
person ^{*8}	6,421	0.55%	7,113	0.61%	7,785	0.65%	9,125	0.76%
individual [*]	180	0.02%	328	0.03%	613	0.05%	704	0.06%
who	1,345	0.11%	1,726	0.15%	1,600	0.13%	1,654	0.14%
whom	675	0.06%	691	0.06%	446	0.04%	834	0.07%
whose	296	0.03%	432	0.04%	224	0.02%	252	0.02%

Table 8.2: Frequency of gender-neutral style related items.

6. Conclusions

The preliminary discussion of the system of gender encoding in language has shown that in exquisitely linguistic terms the use of the masculine as an epicene for male and female is purely conventional and in itself is not meaningful with regard to the gender/s being designated. But it does have a societal relevance and this makes the effort to achieve gender-neutral legislation worthwhile, also considering that in turn, given the constructive power of language, achieving it may favour linguistic evolution and contribute to the spread of gender-free discourse also outside legal texts.

The analysis of examples put forth in the *Drafting Guidance* (OPC 2018) and of excerpts from Statutes and Statutory Instruments confirms that, as

⁸ The count for *person*^{*} and *individual*^{*} considers only the plural of these nouns and excludes cognate words like *personally*, *personnel* and *individually*.

Greenberg warns (2008, 67), there will inevitably be “a cost of implementing the policy of gender-neutral writing”. If anything, the application of the Masculine Rule made legislative texts less complex and clearer, possibly with the exception of “men only” laws like the Reform Act where the use of the masculine to refer to males only needed to be specified. On the contrary, all the techniques to obtain a gender-neutral drafting style considered in this chapter have some kind of drawback. Repetitions can compromise cohesion; furthermore, constant repetitions that would not occur in natural speech “can jar and might detract from readability” (OPC 2018, 8). Frequent recourse to “he or she” can be awkward, excessive use of the passive detracts from readability, omission can cause uncertainty in the interpretation of the sentence, (OPC 2018, 8-10), as the documents of the Drafting Techniques Group also points out. It emerges that the objective to be pursued— a gender-neutral drafting style—is considered to be so important as to make acceptable, at least in theory, the idea of using linguistic structures that are usually reputed as erroneous (e.g. singular *they*).

However, the inelegance and contrived aspect of certain structures now replacing the masculine pronoun as a generic are probably due to the relatively recent introduction of the principle of gender-neutral legislation and will probably become less problematic in time, with a gradual change in mentality that leads drafters to switch gradually to a renewed drafting style which in itself requires pronominal reference much less frequently.

This is possible only if the effort to achieve gender neutrality is not limited to replacing the masculine pronoun with “he or she”. Instead, although it seems difficult at first, a real change in mentality and in drafting habits can lead to an approach to legislative drafting that does not in itself require the use of pronominal reference to the parties involved.

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PART THREE

ACADEMIC DISCOURSE

CHAPTER NINE

IDENTITY NARRATIVES: SCHOLARLY STORYTELLING IN ACADEMIC GENRES

KEN HYLAND

1. Introduction

A narrative, most simply, is a spoken or written account of connected events: a story. In recent years, the stories we tell about ourselves, particularly those elicited through biographical interviews, have become the preferred method of data collection for researchers interested in identity (e.g. Block, 2006). The idea is that identity can be explored by tapping into the accounts that individuals select, structure and relate at appropriate moments. The emphasis is on reflexivity and the belief that storytelling is an active process of summation, where we re-present a particular aspect of our lives. Giddens (1991) argues that self and reflexivity are interwoven so that identity is not the possession of particular character traits, but the ability to construct a reflexive narrative of the self. In other words, by analyzing the stories people tell about themselves we can understand how they make their lives coherent and meaningful.

Despite their popularity, however, I see interviews as a poor means of understanding identity. The narratives they produce are a self-conscious assembling of experience for a stranger from the local university. They are produced in a formal and contrived context and have little real-world significance or consequences for the subject. In fact, most of the time we are not performing identity work by narrating stories of ourselves into a researcher's microphone but claiming identities while engaged in doing something else. If identity is really a *performance* and not an *interpretive recounting* then we need to explore narrative in the genres people routinely use in their everyday lives. For the academic it is the *public* account which gets attention, gains credit and builds reputations. It is how others see us,

rather than what we do privately, that contributes to our persona. We need, in other words, to look at the public narratives through which people tell their stories and in this chapter I am going to focus on three of these which are commonplace in academic life: acknowledgements, homepages and bios.

2. Narrative genres and academic communities

These genres are part of the taken-for-granted background of academic life and are neither strictly academic nor entirely personal. They do not carry the weight of scrutiny and assessment by colleagues and review boards and stand outside the research record. Acknowledgements, homepages and bios are nevertheless sites of professional exposure: providing personal spaces for self-representation and story-telling which stand in contrast to the anonymized, author-evacuated prose of mainstream academic work. Here writers can craft more personal identities in public venues. So, in different ways, they are story-telling genres, and in them we can read the stories academics tell about themselves and the identities they are trying to create by doing so.

Identity is a significant aspect of the relationship between individuals and institutions, and as a result is inscribed in the discourse choices made by community members when participating in valued genres. Whenever we speak we do so from within a specific “regime of language” (Kroskrity 2000) and this is often not a matter of conscious individual awareness, but of routine and habit, accumulated, acquired and changed through myriad repeated interactions. This is what Bourdieu referred to as ‘habitus’ and Foucault as our ‘archive’: the partially visible discursive systems which we take for granted and operate within. In other words, disciplinary discourses are evidence of mutual recognition and preferred patterns of alignment and we can recover something of these alignments and preferences through the study of collections of texts. Corpora are important here as they represent a speaker’s experience of language in a restricted domain and so provide evidence of typical choices in that domain.

Corpora haven’t really been exploited as a way of looking at identity but they provide evidence of how we typically use language in a given context. In corpora are traces of routine community practices and it is the repeated patterns of language that reveal actors’ preferences and so construct communities and the individuals who work in them (Hyland 2012). By mapping typicality, corpora can show us how individuals collectively and repeatedly assemble markers of ‘who they are’ through interaction. So, these academic narrative genres represent the individual in a way which is

valued by the community and so express something of the tension between membership of that community and independence from it. This is what I have called *proximity* to a discipline, showing belonging, and taking a distinct *position* towards it, showing individuality. In this paper, I will argue two things:

- that these narratives tell us both about community and identity: that is, about disciplines and the people that make their professional lives in them;
- that corpus analysis is a productive way of studying both.

3. Community and identity

Because corpora allow us to focus on community practices, they also tell us something of how writers understand their communities: what their readers are likely to find persuasive and impressive. So these repeated rhetorical decisions don't just construct communities; they also construct individuals. Benwell and Stokoe (2006) argue that identity is "the ways that people display who they are to each other" so it doesn't exist *within* individuals but *between* them. It is the product of the interaction of individuals and is created within social relations. This is identity as the 'performance' of a speaker or writer – what they *do* through the texts they engage in and the linguistic choices they make. In this view identity is something we create through the ways we participate in our everyday discourses. So while it may be a 'performance', and subject to change, it is a performance which is re-inscribed in us over time.

As I have argued elsewhere (Hyland 2012), these individual and collective identifications are symbolized in genres, so that when we speak and write we do so in community-specific ways, thus proclaiming both individuality and membership of a group. Identity thus involves *proximity*: it depends on *identification with* something as we draw on the disciplinary schema which both shape and enable particular 'speaking positions' and disable others (Baynham 2006). At the same time, these broad templates for how we see and talk about the world are also the resources we need to present our own perspectives. Academic reputations involve saying something new, but doing so in ways that are familiar to those we are trying to convince. So while proximity concerns how genre choices construct individuals as members, *positioning* is how these choices construct members as individuals.

Obviously everyone is different. Social class, ethnicity, gender, age and so on influence how we make sense of our disciplines and how we interact

with colleagues in performing a professional identity. When acting as academics, however, we are acting in a restricted context which gives meanings to our language choices. We can see something of this in the narrative genres of acknowledgements, article bios and academic homepages, where self-representation is most explicit.

4. Identity in thesis acknowledgments

Acknowledgements offer students an opportunity to give credit to institutions and individuals who have contributed to their thesis in some way and seem to have little to do with identity. But in recognising debts at the end of a long and demanding research process, they also seek to make a favourable impression on readers and tell a story to help create a professional and personal identity.

Ben-Ari (1987), for example, suggests that acknowledgements help construct a professional identity through their strategic role in ‘careering’. I found postgraduate students do something similar in a corpus of 240 acknowledgements accompanying Masters’ dissertations and PhD theses written by Hong Kong students in six disciplines (Hyland 2003; 2004). The students use this genre to not only recognize assistance and support, but also to construct a particular persona by managing his or her relations to the disciplinary community and affiliation to particular research groups, leading figures or academic orientations. Thus 95% of thanks included the reason for acknowledging the person which suggests that writers weren’t only addressing the people they acknowledged but a much wider audience. In fact they were using the acknowledgement to construct a narrative for themselves as good researchers and sympathetic human beings.

The opening reflecting move, for example, allows students to consider what they have gained through the research experience. Here writers can present a more open and revealing self, revealing a real individual coping with, and triumphing over, the demands of research:

- (1) When I naively stepped onto this path of self-discovery, I hardly understood the academic, emotional and physical difficulties in doing a qualitative research and writing an academic paper. (SA PhD)
- (2) I feel I have learnt a lot from writing this thesis searching for the truth of science and life. This is the great treasure I will cherish not only in my future academic career but in my whole life. (Bio PhD)

Often there is an implication in these reflections that this tremendous effort and sacrifice deserves success, that the writer is a hard-working, conscientious individual, worthy of the degree:

- (3) This dissertation took almost three years from conception to completion. It involved countless cycles of exploration, inquiry, meditation, enlightenment, doubt, confusion, uncertainty, and perseverance. (AL PhD)

Thanking for academic help also crafts a professional narrative. PhD graduates are often anticipating a scholarly career, and a relationship with one's supervisor can secure the guidance and professional contacts of an established academic. Supervisors appeared in every acknowledgement and almost always before anyone else.

- (4) First and foremost, I must thank Prof. Wong Suen, my supervisor for his continuous help and care for my learning. His generosity and intelligence will be one of my happiest memories for the rest of my life. (Bus PhD)
- (5) I would like to thank Dr. Mun Fai Leung, my supervisor, for his patient and insightful guidance. (Engineering MSc)

More directly relevant to the public construction of an academic self, however, is the fact that who we identify with contributes to how we would like to be seen.

In the hard sciences, the creation of knowledge is heavily dependent on the collaborative exchange of materials, information, and pre-prints so that the effective construction of an academic persona depends on who you know. Mentioning key figures can both gain the writer important credit and help project a scholarly persona. Less obviously, the construction of identity also occurs in acknowledging individuals and institutions who have provided resources such as data, technical help and financial support towards the research. Equally, we can also see the textual production of an academic self in the detailing of thanks for prizes, prestigious scholarships, company sponsorships or travel grants. As here:

- (6) The research for this thesis was financially supported by a postgraduate studentship from the University of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong and China Gas Company Postgraduate Scholarship, Epson Foundation Scholarship, two University of Hong Kong CRCG grants and an RCG grant. (Computer Science PhD)

- (7) This project was generously supported by funding from Hong Kong Polytechnic University's Staff Development Committee. Support has been forthcoming, too, from Cathay Pacific Airways in the form of complimentary air travel, which has allowed me to attend a number of overseas conferences and thereby bring the research to the attention of a wider audience. (Applied Linguistics PhD)

While the writer may feel obliged to refer to his or her funding agency, such awards help mark the writer out as an individual whose academic talents have already been recognized and who may therefore be a deserving candidate for further honours. But in the human sciences, students more often thanked their subjects. This is a vivid example:

- (8) I would like to acknowledge the invaluable contributions of the hundreds of Filipino domestic workers in Hong Kong who unselfishly shared their lives and whose life's narratives essentially formed the basis of this dissertation. [...] For reasons that they would understand, they would remain anonymous in this work. However, if someday they get the chance to read this work, I have no doubt that they will readily recognise their voices that have enlivened the many Sunday afternoons shared together in the parks, under the bridges and under the trees; in the sun and rain; enduring the heat and cold of the changing seasons. (AL PhD)

While subjects are unlikely to read the text, such rhetorical intimations of professional commitment and academic competence can be communicated to professional readers, hinting at the authority and involvement of the writer and of trials overcome.

In addition to crafting a disciplinary persona in their acknowledgements, almost 40% of the thanks in the corpus were to friends and family. The fact most of these recipients were given their full names suggests an awareness of another audience altogether. Here is an opportunity for the writer to represent him or herself as a social person, something which is not available in the dissertation proper:

- (9) My heartfelt gratitude especially to my two mentors, my mother, Mrs. Gita Vyas and my father, Late, Dr. V. K. Vyas who said that I could do whatever I set my mind to. (Applied Linguistics PhD)

References to the tensions and hardships of research are common at this point in these acknowledgements. Alluding to the struggle and ultimate triumph over the difficulties of graduate study helps display core academic

values of modesty, generosity and gratitude which help define the public face of their discipline:

- (10) Most importantly, I would like to thank my parents and my dearest wife, Rowena Chui. Without their support and great encouragement, I cannot concentrate on my work and overcome the difficulties. (Computer Science PhD)

These statements not only recognize friends and relations, but also index shared belonging through participation in a community ritual which signals a change of status and seeks recognition as a member.

To sum up, while acknowledgements are often seen as outside the pantheon of academic genres, they are very much part of the rhetorical package of the dissertation, offering insights into the persona of the writer. By telling a story about who the writer is, or chooses to present him or herself as, acknowledgments are a narrative of identity, a representation of the storyteller as a competent academic and worthy human being.

5. Identity in academic bios

A more obvious opportunity for academics to present a scholarly identity is in the short personal bio statements which accompany research articles. Bios are authentically produced, naturally occurring texts constructed for a genuine purpose; a site where academics stake a claim to a certain version of themselves for their peers and institutions. This is probably the most explicit public assertion of self-representation in scholarly life. It is a genre where, in 50 to 100 words, academics present a narrative of expertise for themselves, sitting in stark contrast to the article itself, which has been stripped of identifying information for blind review. The bio, then, is an opportunity for scholars to manage a public image by recounting achievement. It is a genuine story-telling genre which, rather than producing self-conscious talk in a low-stakes interview context, makes a claim for a meaningful academic identity.

This section discusses a corpus of 600 bios taken from articles in three disciplines, Applied Linguistics, Electrical Engineering, and Philosophy, with 100 bios by males and females in each discipline (Hyland and Tse, 2012). Using this corpus, we looked at what people said about themselves (moves) and how they said it (based on verb types). Table 1 gives the frequencies per 1000 words of these features.

Moves	Totals	% Words	Verb Types	Totals	% Words
Employment	577	12.1	Relational	133	27.9
Research	475	10.0	Circum.	138	2.9
Education	296	6.2	Intensive	856	18.0
Publications	283	5.9	Possessive	365	7.7
Achievement	88	1.8	Material	1103	23.2
Comm. services	84	1.8	Mental	58	1.2
Personal profile	50	1.1	Verbal	54	1.1
			Behavioural	2	0.0
			Existential	1	0.0
Total	1853	38.9		2548	53.5

Table 9.1: Overall Frequencies of Moves and Verb Types

The table shows that writers overwhelmingly mentioned employment in their bios, always stating their current post and, together with research interests, this comprised over half of all move types in the corpus. In terms of *how* they represented these experiences, writers used relational and material process (verb) types in 95% of all clauses. The dominance of these process types stresses the importance of what the individuals claimed to *be* and what they *do*.

Relational process examples were mainly what Halliday (1994, 119) calls *intensive* types, where a writer claims to *be* something, such as an assistant professor, a doctoral student or whatever. These made up two thirds of all relational processes, with possessives, where writers stated they *had* some form of experience or research interest, comprising another 27%. Circumstantial processes, where the process includes an attribute of some kind, such as what the writer is *interested in* or an institution he or she is *affiliated with*, were far less common.

Looking at the *move results* in more detail, we find that gender is a relatively insignificant factor in influencing how writers represented themselves in bios with both men and women saying similar things about themselves in similar ways, the main difference being that men tended to foreground rather more what they had accomplished by publications and service to the community. Many women did not mention publications at all and simply offered a list of their educational experiences and professional qualifications.

We also considered rank in our analysis and found an upward curve in the mention of research, employment, publication and achievement moves as status increased. Senior scholars were significantly more likely to discuss both their research interests and publication outputs while research students largely set out an educational background. In the absence of a clear publication record, they sought to manufacture a credible disciplinary identity by highlighting the fact they had taken a higher degree at a

prestigious university. These credentials were often accompanied by a statement of the writer's research interests, as here:

- (11) Gero Decker works as research assistant in the Business Process Technology group at the University of Potsdam. His research interests focus on suitability of modeling languages [...] (EE)
- (12) Meredith Graupner is a doctoral candidate at Bowling Green State University. Her research interests include computer-mediated communication, multimodal writing assessment[...] (AL)

Overall, however, rank and gender are relatively unimportant in constructing an identity in bios compared to discipline. The most striking difference is the importance engineers give to education, where they claim expertise in a specific area of study to promote a scholarly insider-competence in esoteric skills and knowledge:

- (13) Karla J. Oty received the B.S. degree in mathematics from Trinity University, San Antonio and the Ph.D. degree from the University of Colorado. Her dissertation in analysis was entitled "Fourier-Stieltjes Algebras for R-discrete Groupoids." (EE)
- (14) Irene Ntoutsis received her Ph.D. in Informatics from the Department of Informatics, University of Piraeus, Greece. (Phil)

This perhaps reflects the apprenticeship-model of education in the hard sciences. Research is typically less individual than in the soft knowledge fields and offers publishing opportunities with a research team. So for many engineers educational training is a significant aspect of their career profile and therefore tends to be given more prominence in their bios. In contrast, applied linguists crafted identities around their research interests, making a claim for credibility through insider expertise. These made up about a third of all acts in their bios:

- (15) Her research interests include second language writing and language assessment. (AL)
- (16) He conducts research on the teaching of psychology and the linguistic analysis of written text. (AL)

This not only stakes a claim for academic credibility through familiarity with areas of current interest, but also aligns the writer with a particular camp of like-minded individuals.

Philosophers, in contrast, highlight their publications. Research in philosophy embraces a broad range of topics with long range solutions, slow publication times and books as preferred modes of dissemination (Becher and Trowler, 2001). This means publications assume a significance very different from the multiply authored, frenetically paced outputs of the physical sciences.

Identity, however, is not only expressed in terms of *what* we talk about but *how* we talk about it. My verb analysis shows that relational forms increased with rank and material forms decreased with rank. Relational clauses present identity claims as they construe ‘being’ and writers claim to *be* something. So there is a shift from seeing our activities as something we *do* to something we *are*. These claims are strengthened by use of *identifying* over *attributive* choices, particularly among professors, where they are over twice as frequent:

(17) Kim Knott is Professor of Religious Studies, University of Leeds, Director of the AHRC Programme ‘Diasporas, Migration and Identities’, and General Secretary of the European Association for the Study of Religions. (Phil)

(18) She is the author or co-author of over 40 technical papers and is the holder of two patents. (EE)

These choices give a definiteness and uniqueness to what is being claimed. They *identify* the writer by signalling that this is an important part of who they see themselves as. The bios of students and support staff, in contrast, use attributive options to signal class membership rather than a unique identity:

(19) Lia Plakans is an assistant professor at the University of Texas at Austin. (AL)

(20) Meredith Graupner is a doctoral candidate at Bowling Green State University. (AL)

However, while status has some impact on identity representation, again it isn’t status or gender but discipline which is the major influence. Applied linguists, for example, were more likely to represent their work as an act of discovery and cognition through mental processes:

(21) Her research explores prosody as an interactional resource and cross-cultural aspects of turn-taking. (AL) (Emphasis added)

- (22) He investigates writing skill in classroom and workplace settings [...] (AL)

This adds a reflective tone to a bio and represents the writer as a thinking academic. Engineers, in contrast, used more verbal forms to present themselves as arguers and discussers:

- (23) She is now lecturing at Sanjesh College of Computing and Statistics, Tehran, Iran. (EE)

- (24) He proposes the use of selectively grown epitaxial layers [...] (EE)

Like mental processes, verbal choices highlight agency, bringing the role of the writer or presenter to the forefront and helping to construe the author explicitly in a scholarly role.

The greatest disciplinary variations, however, were in the use of relational processes. Philosophers used identifying relational clauses twice as frequently as applied linguists and nearly four times more than engineers. This stresses a unique position for the writer and emphasizes an individual contribution:

- (25) He is the author of Description, Evaluation, Praeskription (Berlin, 1993), [...] (Phil)

- (26) He has been President of the International Association for Aesthetics, Secretary Treasurer of the American Society for Aesthetics, and [...] (Phil)

The preference of this pattern in philosophy is perhaps due to the individualistic ethos of the discipline, where writers put their personal stamp on what they write. Interpretations and arguments are seen as the creative insights of the author and offer a different positioning to the self-effacing ideology which sees results as the collective endeavours of a team reporting experimental outcomes.

So, while the bio seems a homogenous genre with limited options, they are cross-cut by rank, gender and, most significantly, by discipline. This story-telling genre thus presents a narrative of the self, but one constructed out of the rhetorical options particular communities make available. Writers gain credibility as disciplinary members by *positioning* themselves in relation to others using these discourses and are themselves positioned by these same discourses. So there is a tension here as, while genre conventions can index membership, claiming *similarity*, writers gain reputations by

making choices using a distinctive set of options. Positionings are not all the same and this is even more apparent in academic homepages.

6. Identity in academic homepages

Identity partly involves *identification*: identifying ourselves as belonging to a particular group by taking on its discourses, what I have called proximity. Creating an academic homepage thus involves presenting the self by selecting materials likely to be valued by a particular group; it means making an identity claim. But identity has become a marketing tool for universities who frequently manage this genre to promote the institution rather than the individual. As Thoms and Thelwell (2005) observe:

The institution merely constructs academics in the model that is ideologically suited in order to promote the institution. Academics are thus denied any autonomous subjectivity construction, and yield to the constructed display items in the university electronic window.

The identity of academics is marginalized in the name of university branding, supressing a multi-dimensional person to better showcase the university.

To regain some control over their representations, many academics create their own pages and to understand how these individual claims are made I compared differences in the two versions of this genre. I created a corpus of 100 homepages in philosophy and physics: 50 university hosted and 50 individual pages by the same authors and with equal numbers of full professors and Assistant Professors and of men and women from each discipline (Hyland 2011). I studied the visual design, hyperlinks, and textual representations as materials used to construct identity. These features both create proximity to community-valued practices and help position academics as an individual.

Visual representation is important in constructing identity in homepages and the most striking feature of university staff pages is their glossy uniformity. Design, format, colour and images are determined by the institution and duplicated for every member in a department. While located in different disciplines, universities, and countries, the pages in figures 1 and 2 have a similar grid structure and narrow colour range. The pages are dominated by banner headings carrying institutional logos and department and university names, and by sidebars with departmental information. These features act as symbols of ownership which remove agency and position the individual as an employee. Following left to right reading conventions the text on the left is scanned first, providing the context in which we ‘read’ the

author himself. The institutional context is therefore the point of departure for the representation of the academic's identity.

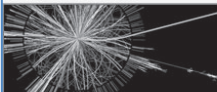

	<p>Harvard University site map contact us</p> <h2 style="text-align: center;">DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS</h2>
<p style="text-align: center;"> Home About People Academics Research Administration Services & Facilities Events Library </p>	
<p>Faculty by Name</p> <p>Faculty by Research Area</p> <p>ADDRESS/TELEPHONE Harvard Biological Laboratories Room 3063 16 Divinity Avenue Cambridge, MA 02138 (617) 495-0924 send email</p> <p>STAFF SUPPORT Donna Lundberg Harvard Biological Laboratories Room 3063 (617) 495-0924 send email</p> <p>LINKS MCB Page Berg Lab CV</p>	<p>FACULTY</p> <h3 style="text-align: center;">Howard Berg</h3> <div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> <div data-bbox="340 501 851 549"> <p>Herchel Smith Professor of Physics and Professor of Molecular and Cellular Biology PhD 1964, Harvard University</p> </div> <div data-bbox="851 421 1005 549">  </div> </div> <p>Motile behavior of bacteria: flagellated bacteria possess a remarkable motility system based on a reversible rotary motor linked by a flexible coupling (the proximal hook) to a thin helical propeller (the flagellar filament). The motor derives its energy from protons driven into the cell by chemical gradients or electrical fields. The direction of the motor rotation depends in part on signals generated by sensory systems, of which the best studied analyzes chemical stimuli. Howard Berg's research group is trying to learn how the motor works, the nature of the signal that controls the motor's direction of rotation, and how this signal is processed by the chemical sensory system. The group is also studying non-flagellated bacteria that glide over solid surfaces by as yet unknown mechanisms. These questions are being approached by a variety of molecular-genetic and physical techniques, including fluorescence and fluorescence resonance energy transfer. The goal is an understanding of motility and sensory transduction at the molecular levels.</p> <p>Selected Publications:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Yuan, J., and Berg, H.C. "Resurrection of the flagellar rotary motor near zero load", <i>Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA</i> 105, 1182-1185 (2008). • Sourjik, V., Vaknin, A., Shimizu, T.S., and Berg, H.C. "In vivo measurement by FRET of pathway activity in bacterial chemotaxis", <i>Meth. Enzymol.</i> 423, 365-391 (2007). • Berg, H. C., <i>E. Coli in Motion</i> (Springer, NY, 2004) 133pp. • Berg, H.C., "The rotary motor of bacterial flagella", <i>Ann. Rev. Biochem.</i> 72: 19-54 (2003). • Skerker, J.M. and Berg, H.C., "Direct observation of extension and retraction of type IV pili", <i>Proc. Natl. Acad. Sci. USA</i> 98: 6901-6904 (2001). • Berg, H.C. "Motile behavior of bacteria", <i>Physics Today</i> 53 (1): 24-29 (2000). • Turner, L., Ryu, W.S. and Berg, H.C., "Real-time imaging of fluorescent flagellar filaments", <i>J. Bacteriol.</i> 182: 2793-2801 (2000). <p style="font-size: small;">Page updated: 31-Mar-2009 Copyright © The President and Fellows of Harvard College</p>

Fig. 9-1: A Harvard academic university homepage

UCL PHILOSOPHY DEPARTMENT

Search UCL UCL Home » Philosophy » Information for Staff

Home
Staff
Students
Applicants
Alumni
Other Links:
Study Guide
Centre for Philosophy Justice & Health
European Social & Political Studies
Science & Technology Studies

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PUBLICATIONS INCLUDE:
'The Transparency of Experience', *Mind and Language*, 17 (2002).
'Episodic Memory as Retained Acquaintance', in *Time and Memory*, Hoerl, C., and McCormack, T. (eds.), Oxford University Press, (2001).
'Bodily Awareness: A Sense of Ownership' in *The Body and the Self*, Bermudez, J., Marcel, A. and Eilan, N. (eds.), MIT Press, (1995).

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Fig. 9-2: University College London academic university homepage

Squeezed into the remaining space, subjects are presented through a brief paragraph, contact details, publication list, and a photograph. The tightly cropped portrait minimizes context and disconnects the subject from time and place, reducing the individual to a generic academic filling a vacant space on the homepage. Repeated across an entire department, these features construct the subject as one academic among many, subjugating individuality to the institution (Hyland 2013).

Hyperlinks are also important as they help construct identity by association. Who we publicly connect with says something about our interests, our communities and how we want to be seen. Unsurprisingly, the university pages are dominated by institutional links with 31.8% to the department, 12.9% to the university and 16% to courses and student matters. Only 11% of the 700 links in the corpus are connected to the individual subject.

Because of this, academics attempt to reclaim their identity representations by creating personal pages. Visually these are generally more idiosyncratic. Stripped of university branding, logos, institutional advertising and glossy

homogeneity, they convey integrity through minimalism and DIY design. One way authors personalised their homepages is through more and more varied photographs, so there were 5 times more photos in the personal pages and 80% of these were of children, partners, pets and hobbies rather than the author, revealing the writer as someone with a life outside university. In these pages the visual does not merely embellish text but plays a central role in presenting the self.

Links are also different on personal pages, contributing to a more individual identity by creating a network of personally meaningful connections. When given a choice, authors reduced links to their university and department dramatically, and increased them to their publications (from 14% to 49% of all links) and disciplines (from 4.8% to 10%). Most academics linked to their pdfs and reference lists or took readers to labs, journal sites or professional associations. Thus, authors used their personal pages to showcase *themselves* as academics rather than their institutions.

Despite these differences, however, there were considerable resemblances. Over 80% of the personal pages mentioned jobs, research and publications and only 10.8% gave any personal information, usually personal interest and hobby sites. So while some authors used their personal page as a chance to present an academic-self more creatively, most remained adamantly scholars with little sense of author individuality. In a genre which generates strong expectations of personal disclosure, the decision to present only a professional suggests that the bland academic presented is all there is.

7. Conclusions

While the genres I have discussed here are not conventional narratives, they are available to academics to tell stories about themselves: to present themselves in ways that aren't possible in the more central knowledge-producing texts. Like those genres, however, acknowledgements, bios and homepages show how we choose our words to create selves which have value in our communities. In one sense, then, identity means constructing credibility: we seek to show ourselves as recognisable, and recognisably competent, students, teachers, nurses, fishmongers, or whatever. We do this by negotiating a self which is coherent and meaningful to both the individual and the group. This means, of course, that identity is not simply a matter of personal choice, but it also means that we are not just prisoners of our social groups. The narratives we present, the stories we tell of ourselves, are not created in a social vacuum but are conveyed using genres which restrict what rhetorical habits we can bring from our past experiences and what we use from those available.

Genres, then, are the ways we relate independent beliefs to shared experience and so using corpora to study them shows us something of how, through our repeated choices from a repertoire of options, we display ourselves as the people we want to be. As such, the production of narratives of identity is always the production of community and of self.

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CHAPTER TEN

DISSERTATIONS, ESSAYS, AND PAMPHLETS
1660–1800:
A STUDY ON THE GENRES

IRMA TAAVITSAINEN

1. Introduction

Dissertations have become gatekeepers of positions in higher education institutes in the present-day world and they act as drivers' licences to independent academic research. Their genre conventions vary according to the fields of study and academic traditions. Different practices prevail, for example in the ways dissertations are defended in different countries in Europe, whether publicly or more privately, as a completed, published book or as a manuscript subject to requested revisions.¹ There are some English for Specific Purposes (ESP) studies about various aspects that pertain to this academic genre, but no historical accounts have been offered.² In this study, I shall deal with the genre of dissertations from a diachronic angle, and its adjoining and overlapping genres of essays and pamphlets in a historical perspective, with the main focus on eighteenth-century non-literary texts.

2. Theoretical point of departure

This is a genre study based on empirical evidence of three closely related and neighbouring genres, focusing primarily on dissertations. Genres have

¹ Consequently, the guidelines to the candidate vary too, and various disciplines require different realizations of the genre, apparent e.g. between hard sciences and humanities.

² Dissertation sections have received attention, e.g. by Hopkins and Dudley-Evans (1988). A more recent study on text patterning clusters focuses on distinguishing between the features of dissertations and other academic genres (Hyland 2017).

been defined in various ways by researchers, e.g. as by abstract groupings of texts according to their communicative functions. There is a fairly large body of ESP literature deriving from the work of Swales and other pioneers in the field, in which Gotti's work is a part.³ This article draws from prototype theory as adapted to genre studies by Alistair Fowler (1982) and my own studies in the field using a historical pragmatics approach. Genres can be seen as dynamic cultural schemata to organize knowledge and experience through language (Taavitsainen 2001). Cognitive aspects have recently received increasing attention and the notion of *genre script* has already proved useful (Taavitsainen 2017). This term focuses attention on the communicative practice and takes both parties into account: genre scripts are based on conventions, as seen both in the structure and language use in a chain of texts where previous texts for the same purpose can act as models for authors and help readers appropriate the meanings, creating "horizons of expectation" that guide the reception of the text (Jauss 1979). This scheme works for both literary and non-literary traditions, but genres need to be fairly well established for prompts like "once upon a time" or "take a spoonful of [...]" to work in this way.

My point of departure rests on the insight that all genres have their own histories and need to be studied in relation to their neighbouring genres: individual texts may exhibit genre features to different extents, and categories overlap, merge and diversify (e.g. Taavitsainen 2016). Authors and audiences, writers and readers, with their sociolinguistic parameters, are important in historical pragmatics, and situational contexts are essential as texts are seen as communicative events between text participants, regarded in their larger cultural frame of the period. I shall rely on digital data from dictionaries and corpora to assess these genres within the larger context of the period. The eighteenth century with its new developments poses special challenges, as the style appreciated by polite society readers favoured rhetorical devices and language decorum (see McIntosh 1998). This was contrary to Royal Society language policy launched in the previous century where "amplifications" were discarded (Sprat 2003 [1667], 111–113). According to a previous study, both styles are found in eighteenth-century medical texts (Taavitsainen, Jones and Hiltunen, 2019), with the more flourished style increasing towards the end of the period; the same observation was made by McIntosh (1998) on more literary writings. Authors paid attention to designing their texts with points of culmination often achieved by citations from ancient or contemporary authorities, e.g. a

³ For various approaches to genres, see the overview by Paltridge (1997).

sea-bathing treatise by John Anderson (1795)⁴ employs quotations from both literary and medical authors, like Shakespeare and Hippocrates, to provide the culmination points of his arguments.

3. Research questions and methods

The genre of dissertations has not hitherto received much attention and to my knowledge its history has not been charted in detail. At the initial stages when the genre label *dissertation* first emerged in English, it was used with the meaning of ‘dispute’, now obsolete (*Oxford English Dictionary*, OED), and often interchangeably with the genre label “essay” and sometimes even “pamphlet”; in the course of time early uses became obsolete, and the terms diversify and acquire different shades of meaning. My research questions are: where do texts labelled *dissertations* stand in the eighteenth century and to what extent can rhetorical devices be encountered in them? Are there special developments that deviate from the main line in this period? When does the specification of an academic genre connected with university degrees take place?

I shall probe into my research questions with a combination of methods. The first relies on dictionary entries to establish the timeline, and the second focuses on genre labels in pertinent text passages that may reveal eighteenth-century views on the genre. This is called metacommunicative expression analysis.⁵ Metatextual explanations about how genre labels are used give a contemporary view and show how authors perceived their texts.⁶ These extracts have been scrutinized with qualitative discourse analysis, paying attention to the styles of writing.

4. Dictionary definitions and meaning change

Dictionary definitions are perhaps the best way to assess the timeline of the meaning changes as they present examples with precise years of writing and the text extracts are selected to exhibit the progress of the meaning changes. Modern dictionaries contain various definitions of the term *dissertation*. The OED online gives the following definition (note the use of

⁴ Eighteenth-century texts mentioned in the article are included in the corpus of *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (LME MT, see its bibliography).

⁵ The method was developed for speech act studies (Taavitsainen and Jucker 2007), but it is suitable for genre studies as well.

⁶ Applied to several genre labels, it will eventually lead us towards an ethnographic view of genres.

the term *essay* in it):

An extended scholarly essay, usually based upon original research, submitted for a degree or other academic qualification. (s.v. *dissertation*)

The first quotation that contains this meaning is from 1873, the second from 1930, and further examples are from 1964, 1972 and 1984. This is the only recent meaning and shows the latest phase in the process of meaning specification into a written document of academic qualification for the highest degree(s) by universities:

Graduates of the School who pursue for one year a course of study prescribed by the Faculty, and present an acceptable dissertation embodying their results, receive the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. (1873 *Catal. Officers & Students 1873–4* (Columbia College, N.Y. 114).

The Final Honours Examination shall consist of nine papers, or eight papers and a dissertation. *Cal. Univ. Newcastle upon Tyne 1964–5*, 327.

Like the first description, some others also rely on the word *essay* in their descriptions, e.g. ‘a long essay, especially one written for a university degree or diploma’ (*The Concise Oxford English Dictionary* (11th Edition)). Some circularity is also present, as the term *dissertation* is included in definitions of *essay* as ‘[a] short written composition in prose [...] without claiming to be a complete or thorough exposition [...] the essay is more relaxed than the formal academic dissertation’ (Baldick 2008, *Oxford Dictionary of Literary Terms*, s.v. *essay*). The above examples indicate that the two adjoining genres are still closely connected and partly overlapping.

The OED gives two earlier meanings, marking the first, ‘dispute’, as obsolete (see below). The second explains *dissertation* more broadly:

A spoken or written discourse upon or treatment of a subject, in which it is discussed at length; a treatise, sermon, or the like;

The examples come from the years 1683, 1729, 1762 and 1841. Dictionaries from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries have similar definitions, e.g. an entry in *The English dictionarie: or, An interpreter of hard English words* (1623) by Henry Cockeram reads: “To dispute on matters. Dissertation. A disputing on things.”⁷ Samuel Johnson’s *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) gives:

⁷ No page numbers are given for the early quotations.

DISSERTA'TION. n. s. [dissertatio, Latin.] A discourse; a disquisition; a treatise. Plutarch, in his dissertation upon the poets, quotes an instance of Homer's judgment in closing a ludicrous scene with decency and [...]

5. Neighbouring genres in more detail: essays and pamphlets

The history of the neighbouring and partly overlapping genre of essays precedes dissertations as it shows established conventions much earlier, already at the end of the sixteenth century, and it branches into subgenres in the seventeenth century. The genre was first created in French by Michel Montaigne in his *Essais* (1580) and introduced into English by Francis Bacon in 1597, 1612 and 1625; his output included both literary and non-literary essays, following their French models (see Taavitsainen 2017). The genre label became more common after 1650, and different traits emerged. The Royal Society (founded in 1662) created experimental essays which became one of the core genres in *The Philosophical Transactions* (PT; see Gotti 2001, 2003, 2005, 2006). The new style of writing science was manifest in Matter-of-fact⁸ first-person narratives of how the experiments were performed, and the contents took the special quality of the discourse community into account. Its members came from various disciplines and discussed eagerly the scientific issues at hand, whatever the field. The reports were detailed and repeatable, emphasizing the active presence of the scientist (Gotti 2011, 212), and allowing the readers to share the experience. In the eighteenth century, newspaper essays became an important new genre for polite society readers and wider literate audiences. Essay writers include such prominent literary figures and pamphleteers as Daniel Defoe, Richard Steele, Joseph Addison, Jonathan Swift and Samuel Johnson (Atwan 2012, 111). A remarkable characteristic of essays, whether scientific or literary, is that they always contain a subjective viewpoint and display a personal touch (Friedrich 1979, Atwan 2012).

Dictionary definitions of *essay* emphasize their unfinished quality or incompleteness, e.g. the OED online begins its records with the 'experiment', 'a first tentative effort' and 'a rough copy, a first draft' in Royal Society writings. The eighteenth-century use of *essay* as a fairly hasty piece of writing seems to crystallize in the following quotation from one of the most popular medical authors of the century:

⁸ According to the Matter-of-fact principle, everybody could verify and agree upon the appearances, although the causes were debatable (see Dear 1985, 160).

[...] the best my Time, my Abilities and my Health would permit, which cannot bear the Labour of much Fileing and Finishing [...]. (George Cheyne, *An Essay on Health and Long Life*, 1724, xviii)

The following description is found in Samuel Johnson's dictionary (1755):

E'SSAY. n. s.

[...] accent is used on either syllable.] 1. Attempt; endeavour. Fruitless our hopes, though pious our essay Your's to preserve a friend, and mine to praise. Smith. 2. A loose sally of the mind; an irregular [...]

A change to 'regular treatises' occurs in 1782/1819, and the present-day meaning is described as '[a] composition of moderate length on any particular subject, or branch of a subject; [...] more or less elaborate in style, though limited in range' (OED online, sense 8). Adjectives like "experimental, experiential, exploratory and open-ended" have been used to characterize essays, opposing them to "categorical, dogmatic, systematic and conclusive" writings by Atwan (2012), who also noted that "in Alice-in-Wonderland fashion, an essay can be whatever anyone claims it is".⁹

Pamphlets are another adjoining and overlapping genre, though the labels are used interchangeably to a lesser degree than *dissertations* and *essays*. The OED explains the development of the term *pamphlet* as:

[...] now more commonly used of factual or informative documents, esp. of a relatively ephemeral nature, issued as a single work. In the 17th cent. used variously of issues of plays, romances, chapbooks, etc., and also of newspapers and newsletters.

The entry continues: "[m]ore specifically, pamphlets are seen as polemical texts" and they often take their material from current political issues.¹⁰ The overlap of this kind of pamphlet with early "dissertations" deserves an excursion into the eighteenth-century world of satirical writing, as having a "dissertation" among such works reveals how the term was understood and made use of. A satiric or even "mythological" pamphlet, as it is called, grew out of the political battles waged in the first half of the eighteenth century (Macey 1970). It has the title *A Dissertation on Dumpling. Pudding and dumpling burnt to pot* (1727), and declares that it is "published for the general information of mankind" (title page). This text also shows how

⁹ The electronic version is without page numbers.

¹⁰ Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary* (1755) gives 'PA'MPHLET. n. s.[...] a book sold unbound, and only stitched.' Thus, it pays attention only to the physical side without mentioning the contents.

popular satirical writing of this type was, as six editions were printed, the last in 1770. The author, Henry Carey,¹¹ also provides a *Key* to facilitate the reception of the text, but this text counts as a satirical pamphlet by itself, and sounds almost as cryptic as the *Dumpling* itself to a modern reader without a thorough knowledge of the background. The editor Samuel L. Macey (1970) continues his introduction by praising the author's level of imagination that makes these two pamphlets "delightful reading even today". He explains the gist of the text in the following way:

by insinuating that to love dumpling is to love corruption, he effectively and amusingly achieves satiric indirection against a number of political and social targets, including Walpole. The *Key* is in many ways a separate pamphlet in which Swift is the central figure under attack after his two secret visits to Walpole during 1726. (Macey 1970, i)

This description stands far apart from modern dissertations, but provides an excellent example of the fluctuation of genre labels and the stage of their development during the eighteenth century.

6. Mapping the genre label *dissertation* in large electronic corpora

The large electronic corpora of *Early English Books Online* (EEBO 1500–1700) and *Eighteenth-Century Collections Online* (ECCO 1700–1800) were searched for occurrences of *dissertation* both as a text title and within the texts, and the pertinent locations were then assessed qualitatively by metacommunicative expression analysis. With it the focus shifts from dictionary definitions to the authors' perceptions of the genre through the labels that they chose to employ for their texts. These passages may also reveal pertinent aspects of expected audience reception. Metapragmatics is a recent addition to the historical pragmatician's toolkit, and here it is applied to characterize forms of communication, i.e. genres (see Hübler and Busse 2012).

The large electronic database of EEBO gave 1,538 hits in 581 records for *dissertation*, but a large part of these are found in Latin passages. The earliest entry in English is by John Foxe 1583 in *The meeke nature of K. Edward*, with the meaning of 'a dissident opinion'. Life is at stake in these dissertations:

¹¹ Carey (1687?–1743) is described as an "elusive and engaging figure" who wrote e.g. a "farce-burlesque" and invented quaint names and catching rhymes (Sampson 1970, 398).

He alwayes spared and faoured the life of man: as in a certayne dissertation of his once appeared, had with Maijster Cheke in fauring y^e life of hereticke: in so much that when Ioane Butcher should be burned, all the Councell could not moue him to put to his hand, but were fayne to get Doct. Cranmer to perswade with him, and yet neiither could he with much labor induce the king so to do say|yng: what my Lord? will ye haue me to send her quicke to the deuill in her error? (Foxe 1583, 1295)¹²

The next occurrences are from 1611 and 1612, and also concern disagreement about casting a death sentence. In 1620 the meaning of ‘dispute’ occurs in a religious meditation “and learned Hierome in that dissertation, as he calls it”. In general, the term *dissertation* occurs frequently in religious controversies particularly in the 1690s.

The database of *Eighteenth-Century Collection Online* (ECCO 1700–1800) contains 106 hits for *dissertation* in 47 records, mostly in poetry and music, or religious and administrative texts, and increasingly as a subsection title in essays and non-literary treatises. The following literary dissertation deals with anecdotes and its author, Isaac Disraeli,¹³ explicates the genre in an interestingly modern way in his “Preface” with metatextual evidence that suggests the existence of a genre script already at this time:

A Dissertation demands (and I confess it) a certain systematical regularity, which is above me. But a Dissertation on Anecdotes is a thing so eccentric, that if, on the whole, my pages are not found to weary the reader, it is just that he should have the candour not to complain, if it does not precisely answer the idea he may form of a Dissertation. (ECCO, 1793, iii–iv)

This quotation emphasizes “systematic regularity” as a characteristic of a dissertation. It sounds modern, and the author continues by comparing his own text to an essay (understood as a hastily produced piece of writing), expressing his thoughts with negations; he tries to assure that his text is not haphazardly put together of loose pieces. Instead, his aim is to achieve something more profound, i.e. a more connected view that reveals the true nature of anecdotes:

I am even desirous, that this Essay may not be considered as destitute of connection, because at the first glance it may thus appear. The work consists not of a mere mass of loose anecdotes; [...] elucidate those reflections on

¹² The early texts referred can be found in *Early English Books Online* (EEBO).

¹³ Isaac Disraeli (1766–1848) wrote “pleasing and discursive works”, e.g. *Curiosities of Literature* in 1791 (Sampson 1970, 569), an area to which the thoughts quoted below seem to be connected.

the nature of anecdotes, which, if they shall be found to be pertinent, is all of which I am solicitous. ECCO, (1793, iv)

Another religious tract is also called *dissertation* and it is a very learned treatise in the field of theology, written by Alexander Gerard, D.D. in 1766. Its purpose is to confirm the truth of Christianity, and much of the text is presented in a dialogic form with the title “The EVIDENCES of CHRISTIANITY”.

When the search for *dissertations* was restricted to medical records in EEBO, it produced hits mainly in Latin, but the word was increasingly used in English contexts as well. The earliest mention is from 1657 in an English translation of Jonstonus Johannes’ Latin tract by Nicholas Culpeper. In 1695 it occurs as a section title by Archibald Pitcairn, in *Apollo staticus. Or, The art of curing fevers by the staticks invented by Dr. Pitcairn*. ECCO showed only six medical dissertation labels in the main title, distributed fairly evenly throughout the century (1719, 1746, 1750, 1762, 1771, 1780).¹⁴

The most intriguing occurrence of the term is found within a midwifery text. This piece of writing is labelled *A short narrative of an extraordinary delivery of rabbets* (St. André 1727). It reports on a woman who allegedly gave birth to fourteen rabbits. This story has links to two different directions: it can be counted as “wonder literature” that flourished in popular books like Aristotle’s *Masterpiece* with a whole section devoted to related stories of monstrous births. However, this text is also connected to the contemporary scientific evolutionary debate on whether a species can give birth to an offspring of a different species. It is to this side that the mention of *dissertations* pertains. The reference is to oral debates on conflicting views of problematic topics like this among the members of the top academic discourse community of the time. Thus, the meaning is close to the original, i.e. ‘dispute’ in oral performance. To ascertain the veracity of the event, the text mentions the eye-witnesses who gave evidence to the woman giving birth to fifteen rabbits. The following passage serves as confirmation of the truth value of this story:

Elizabeth Helmes of Guilford in the Guilford in Com’ Surrey. County of Surrey Widow, maketh Oath, That on Sunday the twentieth Day of this instant November, at about four in the Afternoon, she asked Mr. Ahlers, who dined then at her House, bearing the Sign of the White-Heart, whether he

¹⁴ Four of them are included in our medical corpus *Late Modern English Medical Texts* (LMEMT, 1700–1800). Cf. *Essay* in LEMT is found in over 20 text titles from 1706 to 1798.

believed this Account; and that his Answer was, That he fully did believe it. To which this Deponent reply'd; Then I hope, Sir, you will convince a great many Unbelievers when you return to London, as some other Gentlemen have already done; to which he said he should, as this Deponent apprehended. Eliz. Helmes.

Jur' vicesimo quinto die Novembris An. Reg. Regis Geo. &c. 13. Anno Domini. 1726. Coram (LMENT 1727, 37)

Listing eye-witnesses was a customary component in the Royal Society experimental essays (cf. Gotti 2011) and shows another firm association with the practice of the top-ranking scientific discourse community.

7. Styles of writing

All examples quoted so far have been fairly straightforward and neutral in their style. There is, however, more variation in the latter half of the eighteenth century, and a closer look reveals two different trends. E.g. *A dissertation on the King's evil* (1763) shows some interesting features that are connected with seventeenth-century scientific writing. In accordance with texts by some founding members of the Royal Society, such as Henry Power, the anonymous author builds his argumentation into a dialogic form with imaginary objections and answers to hypothetical questions:¹⁵

But the Objection, which will probably be made to this Medicine, on Account of its Composition being a Secret, may perhaps in Time be removed; for when its Efficacy is firmly established and acknowledged beyond Controversy, the Proprietors have Thoughts of presenting it to the Public, if their good Intentions are not prevented by any cruel and unreasonable Opposition. (Anon. 1763, 4)

Yet the reference in the above passage is to a more popular contemporary conflict about propriety medicines also known as *nostrums* that had secret recipes and by which charlatans made their money in the eighteenth century, which Porter (1989) (after Stewart Holbrook¹⁶) calls “the Golden Age of Quackery”.

¹⁵ He numbered his objections systematically, and used interpersonal comments to make the dialogue more oral, e.g. “[...] why should not we conclude the like of its next neighbouring Element, the Ayr? / To the first Objection, I answer, The thought by [...] I should grant that there should be some difference [...] I shall answer your Second Objection with this following [...] Experiment [...]” (*MERCURIAL EXPERIMENTS. CHAP. VI. Experiment 7*).

¹⁶ Holbrook applies the term to the early twentieth century.

Another text displays a very different style with personal affect features. The eloquent diction of another anonymous text called *A dissertation upon the nervous system* from 1780 shows emotional language use with interjections and exclamations:

To what a wretched condition are the best of Men often reduced by it! Their strength and appetite fail; a perpetual gloom hangs over their minds; they live in the constant dread of death, and are continually in search of relief from Medicine, where, alas! it is not to be found. Those most liable to this Disease, are the Virtuous, the Valiant, the Brave, and those of an enlarged understanding (Anon 1780, 41).

The text also contains proverbial phrases of wisdom and overlaps with religious treatises with, for example, an embedded prayer. However, this text stands alone in the present data of medical dissertations and serves to illustrate the wide scope of dissertations in the eighteenth century. It also shows that the genre of dissertations (with the vague meaning of ‘dispute’) also branched out into satirical writing, in accordance with the spirit of the time (see above).

8. Conclusions

My research questions dealt with the diversification of some adjoining and partly overlapping genres in the eighteenth century, and the LMEMT corpus offers textual evidence for outlining the developments. In a nutshell, the genre described by the label *dissertation* was still in the process of formation in the eighteenth century. Mostly the term is found to refer to texts that could also be described by the label *essay*; but in some instances the earlier meaning of ‘dispute’ still lingered on. In contrast to *dissertations*, the genre called *essay* was more established, whereas the use of the term *pamphlet* was in decline with some interesting fringe features. The main line of development is fairly clear, but there are deviations and the styles of writing vary. Most texts keep to fairly neutral prose, but some erupt into rhetorical eloquence, and the satirical vein of writing, typical of the eighteenth century, is also found under the label of *dissertation*. The connection with university degrees is not present in my data, and the OED records it first in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The dual method of this overview proved fruitful as the two complemented one another nicely: dictionaries reveal the timeline, but they do not bring out all meanings or shades of meaning. Text passages located by metalexical search words in large electronic corpora serve this purpose much better, and my study was able to give a more accurate picture of the

developments by a third method, namely qualitative discourse analysis. Thus, triangulation revealed more aspects than any single method alone would have done, and can hence be recommended for studies like the one above.

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

MIRROR, MIRROR ON THE WALL: WHICH STRATEGIES CAN SUIT THEM ALL?

FRANCA POPPI

1. Introduction

English is nowadays the dominant language in the higher education sector in Europe. Not only is it the preferred medium of communication for scholars at international conferences or visiting professors, but it is also the medium of instruction used in a growing number of degree programmes (Gotti 2014).

Universities in many non-English-speaking countries are indeed embracing the challenges of internationalization, as they believe that teaching disciplinary subjects in English will make study programmes more accessible and attractive to international students, improve the foreign language skills and employability prospects of local students and enhance the international prestige and mobility of academic staff (Coleman 2006; Dearden 2014).

If, on the one hand, this can open up new opportunities, on the other hand, it also poses dilemmas as far as the accreditation and training of teaching staff is concerned. For instance, what language competences and which methodological skills should the teachers deploy in order to teach their subjects through English?

Teacher education courses are being developed and offered in several universities, also in Italy (Costa 2015). However, university teachers seem to display at times “a distinct lack of awareness of a need to change pedagogy in order to help students (whether home or international) to cope with content delivered through a second language” (Dearden and Macaro 2016, 469; Cots 2013).

In fact, research by Guarda and Helm (2017) indicates that a shift in the teachers’ perception is necessary if they are to become fully effective when teaching in English. Indeed, alongside linguistic competence, lecturers

should especially hone a range of pragmatic strategies which can help them to interact more efficiently with their students.

The present study takes into account three courses that were taught in English at the University of Modena and Reggio Emilia in the academic year 2016/17. Under the supervision of the author, a master degree programme student recorded and then transcribed the lectures delivered by three members of the University's teaching staff dealing, respectively, with: international law, service management and marketing strategies. The three lecturers L1, L2 and L3 are all native speakers of Italian and delivered their courses to the students of a master degree programme entirely taught in English which combines foreign languages, economics and legal subjects. Moreover, after the end of their lessons, the lecturers were also interviewed in order to gather their feedback and opinions on their recent EMI teaching experience.

By looking at the transcripts of the lessons, the present contribution aims in the first place to unveil the strategies deployed by the three lecturers during their lessons, in order to introduce new terms or topics and to make the progression of the lecture smoother and easier for the students to follow.

Moreover, by cross-validating the results of the analysis with the information provided by the interviews, the present study plans to establish whether or not a conscious change in the lecturers' pedagogy occurred in order to help students to cope with discipline-related content delivered through a foreign language.

2. English Medium Instruction

Scholars have described EMI using a wide range of descriptions: Dearden (2014, 2) labels it a "rapidly growing global phenomenon", and Macaro (2015, 7) goes on to describe it by using the vivid metaphor of the "unstoppable train". Both definitions help us to understand the momentum that EMI has reached at an international level.

The provision of EMI-taught courses has increased exponentially in Italian Higher Education (HE) in recent times (Santulli 2015, 271). Several arguments have prompted universities to deliver courses and even entire programmes in English. In the first place, English can be considered as a means to make Italy more accessible to foreigners. Moreover, EMI can make didactic methods more innovative and contribute to the renewal of course planning. Finally, since English is a straight-to-the-point language like no other, it perfectly fits the requirements of scientific fields of study (Santulli 2015).

The pressure on European HE institutions to offer a wide range of subjects through English, inevitably raises the issue of whether a sufficient number of teachers are capable of teaching content in a second language. Although recent European survey data revealed that 95% of EMI programme directors rated the English proficiency of their teaching staff involved in English programmes as good or very good (Waechter and Maiworm 2014; O'Dowd 2018), other reviews of current practice have highlighted a need for a more structured and rigorous approach to the language and methodology training of teachers (Dearden 2014; Halbach and Lázaro 2015).

3. Materials and methodology

The three courses under scrutiny were all intensive ones, taught over a single semester. However, the contact hours assigned to them as well as the ECTS credits allocated differed significantly. The law course was the longest, as it involved 72 contact hours (and was allotted 12 ECTS). The course on service management lasted 54 hours (9 ECTS) and the one on marketing strategies 36 hours (6 ECTS). The audience consisted of 80 Italian students and about 10 foreign students who were either enrolled in the Master degree programme or part of an exchange scheme.

The three lecturers displayed distinctive teaching styles. L3 often asked students to get themselves organized into groups and work together on specific case-studies before reporting on their findings; while L1 and L2 adopted a more monologue-oriented attitude. However, all the teachers tried to elicit questions and contributions from the students.

The lectures were transcribed using the VOICE (Vienna-Oxford International Corpus of English) simplified transcription conventions¹. The lecturers' names were omitted, and the same approach was used for

¹ The transcription conventions in transcribing the lectures were the following:

1. <un>xxx</un> for unintelligible words or stretches of words;
2. (.) for brief pauses;
3. (overlapping), (murmuring), (laughing) for signalling student or lecturer reactions to specific situations;
4. <@>...</@> for words or stretches of words uttered laughingly;
5. ehm., ah., uhm., for hesitation phenomena;
6. Words uttered with emphasis were CAPITALISED;
7. All repetitions, self-repairs, false-starts were transcribed;
8. Unrecognized words or possible alternatives for them were written into round brackets followed by a question mark, e.g. (word ?);
9. No punctuation was used in the transcription process.

students, who were referred to by the symbol S followed by a number (i.e. S1, S2, S3). Altogether, the corpus amounts to 410,249 tokens, i.e. 195,572 tokens for the law course, 161,472 tokens for the management course and 53,205 tokens for the marketing course.

The aim of the present study was to identify the pragmatic strategies most frequently adopted by the three lecturers. According to Dörnyei and Scott, ‘strategy’ was originally a military term, referring to the implementation of a set of procedures for accomplishing something (1997, 179). In the case under scrutiny here, ‘strategy’ has been used as an umbrella term for those vital, problem-solving, communication-enhancing solutions that lecturers adopt to teach successfully.

Gotti’s (2014) and Björkman’s (2011) studies were used as a point of departure for the analysis. Gotti carried out his research at the University of Bergamo and categorized the most common strategies adopted by lecturers in their EMI teaching activities into three broad typologies: explanatory, metadiscursive and cooperative strategies. Explanatory strategies include, for instance: previous knowledge checks, followed by the lecturer’s integration of the student’s answer; use of direct appeals (*you know*); use of inclusive *we*; presentations of specific cases, to make the explanation more concrete; comprehension checks; reformulations, use of gestures and multilingual translation; display of a supportive attitude (adapted from Gotti 2014, 342-346). As for metadiscursive strategies, Gotti (2014) explicitly draws on Aguilar Pérez and Arnò Macià’s (2002) classification. According to their functionalistic approach, metadiscursive strategies, which help students to understand the most salient turning points of the lecture, can be distinguished as textual and interpersonal. The most frequent textual metadiscursive strategies that Gotti (2014, 346-347) was able to find in his analysis are: frame markers, which signal the transitions between different stages by means of several illocutionary indicators, such as the verbs *show*, *explain*, *introduce*, *review* or *describe*; rhetorical questions, by means of which the lecturer raises an issue which he/she subsequently illustrates; rephrasing (e.g. *in other words*), which also contributes to establishing a friendlier relationship with the interlocutors (Mauranen, 2010). The most frequently employed interpersonal metadiscursive strategies are: emphasising; inserting interactivity in the explanation by anticipating possible objections or comments that the students might want to raise (Gotti 2014, 346-352). Finally, cooperative strategies are meant to enhance comprehension and overcome obstacles by drawing on cooperation between the lecturer and the students. However, the present study did not investigate this third type of strategies.

Gotti's list of strategies was integrated with the insights from a study by Björkman (2011) based on authentic data she collected in a Swedish technical university with EMI courses. Her analysis showed that the most frequently used pragmatic strategies employed by lecturers in EMI-taught programmes are: comment on terms and concepts; comment on discourse structure; signalling importance; back-channelling; self- or other-repair (Björkman 2011, 953).

The approach adopted here for the analysis of the transcripts is twofold. The transcripts were at first analysed in full in order to establish possible recurring trends. Then, a set of five lectures for each lecturer was analysed in detail, to identify and label each different strategy deployed.

4. The analysis

The extensive analysis made it possible to collect some general information and to arrange the strategies into two broad categories, depending on whether they were used to introduce new terms or topics, or to make the progression of the lecture smoother and easier for the students to follow.

4.1 Introducing new terms or topics

Different strategies—and notably questions—were used to pave the way for a new definition or a new topic.

4.1.1 Rhetorical questions

In the corpus it is possible to find several instances of rhetorical questions, i.e. questions which were not really meant to be answered by students but which, on the contrary, just served as a pretext for introducing some kind of information.

- (1) L1: *what are commodities? [rhetorical question] commodities are raw materials raw products [rephrasing] so sugar milk flour oil raw materials [provision of new/additional information]*
- (2) L2: *what is entrepreneurial orientation? have you ever heard about this concept? [rhetorical question] entrepreneurial orientation is how can I say risk non-adversity [rephrasing] of a main entrepreneur of a firm is a sort of pro-activeness towards innovation [rephrasing] and many times is quite connected to the fact that entrepreneurs have some kind of previous experience into foreign markets also in terms of background*

in terms of university studies or in terms of connections friends so this kind of experience [*provision of new/additional information*]

Examples no. 1 and 2 clearly prove that the lecturers were not expecting the students to provide an answer to their question. In fact, the question is used as a stepping stone for introducing new information. In other words, the lecturers do not limit themselves to answering the question, but expand on it by providing extra information. Moreover, we can also notice that L2 is fully aware of the need to try and convey the new disciplinary contents in the most accessible way. Therefore, he provides alternative renditions for the concept of entrepreneurial orientation (see the two instances of rephrasing).

4.1.2 Checking previous knowledge

In most cases, before introducing a new concept or topic, the lecturers ask for the students' contribution, implicitly checking their previous knowledge, and then start off from the students' answer, to provide further details on the topic at hand. This is for instance the case in example no.3:

- (3) L2: What does it mean that my manufacturing process is not saturated?
 (.)(.)(.) *What is saturation? [previous knowledge check](.) (.)*
 S: when you are producing much more than is needed
 L2: much more? (.)(.)(.) No it's not connected to the demand, saturation is connected to my facility my *factory [rephrasing] [personalization]* as you said in the beginning [*direct appeal*]
 S: they cannot produce more products
 L2: *yeah [backchannelling]* basically I'm ehm.. the level of production is the maximum *with my actual system of production with my actual factory [rephrasing] [personalization]*

Differently from the rhetorical questions, the above-mentioned example shows that the lecturer actually pauses for a few seconds in order to let the students collect their ideas and provide an answer to the question. So, this is indeed a real question. At the same time, the example also proves that several strategies are used at the same time during the lecture. In fact, besides providing new and additional information, the lecturer directly addresses the students to engage them in a closer dialogue; backchannels are used to express attention and agreement, and synonyms are provided in order to facilitate the students' comprehension. Moreover, he also employs the possessive adjective *my*, to make the examples more personal and therefore more engaging and meaningful.

4.1.3 Chains of questions

On some other occasions the lecturers pose a series of questions designed to trigger and guide the students' own answers:

- (4) L3: disparities in terms of economic wealth are something new so why that? I mean why income disparities are something new? [*rephrasing*] what can *we* consider [*inclusive we*] *I mean* what is the main driver the main factor explaining these differences right now? [*rephrasing*] (.) any idea?

S1: technology

L3: technology is part of the story but there is something more specific than

S2: the colonization process

L3: yeah [*backchannelling*] but this does not explain why some countries have grown richer colonization again is one side of the coin there is something much simpler

S3: industries

L3: industrialization so the idea is that ehm.. since the beginning of the industrialization process divergences economic divergences at global scale have widened and this is the key [*provision of new/additional information*]

The example above shows that chains of questions were employed to provide students with useful hints that they could take advantage of in order to find the most appropriate answer to a specific question (e.g. “technology is part of the story, but there is something more specific”; “there is something much simpler”). Many of these strings of questions succeeded in prompting an appropriate answer and also when the answer was only a tentative one, it served the function of stimulating the students to intervene and add to what other students had just said. Once again, alongside the strategies deployed to provide new/additional information, the lecturers also tried to facilitate the students' understanding and involvement by providing alternative renditions of different terms (rephrasing), backchannelling and using the inclusive first person plural personal pronoun.

4.1.4 Comprehension check questions

After introducing new and difficult concepts, the lecturers frequently asked the students direct questions so as to check their understanding. The students' reactions to these questions helped lecturers to decide whether or not new or improved explanations were needed before moving on to a new

topic. This strategy was employed in different ways, through a variety of questions addressed to students:

- (5) L1: is it clear? Should I recall it?
- (6) L2: domestic company is OUR exporter is OUR parent company so is our focus parent company is our exporter so is our Italian SME OK?
- (7) L3: any question? Any doubt? Is everything OK?

4.1.5 Personalization

Besides questions, another strategy used as a pragmatic facilitator is represented by personalization. The three courses analysed in this study dealt with a very wide range of theoretical and subject-specific contents. While the lecturers tried hard to provide students with the clearest definitions possible and to trigger their involvement in the explanatory phase, in many situations they also resorted to personalized examples, to help students to better visualize what they had just been told.

- (8) L1: it could be the case *if I live in Sicily* and there is one meter of snow probably something unpredictable in May but *if I live in Norway* one meter of snow in May could be predictable so the impediment is not valuable itself but it's valuable if is unpredictable an heavy snowing in a sunny place in a summer season is unpredictable an heavy snowing in ehm.. a north country during the winter is a predictable event may not say² ehm.. I am a Scandinavian manufacturer there is snow I am not in a position to deliver there is snow 200 days a year so this is not that event that may prevent you for delivering or providing due performance of your obligations so this is a general principle intended at least to release the stringency of exact performance of obligations under an international sale but there are limitations to that principle

By using vivid examples and drawing on real situations, lecturers succeeded in helping students to understand better the concepts and the terms they had just introduced.

² The structure of the lecturers' lessons was reproduced verbatim. Only capitalization, when required, was added in the transcription process.

4.2.1 Facilitating students' comprehension

The strategies deployed to introduce new terms and concepts were not used in isolation, but rather in combination with other types of strategies aimed at facilitating students' understanding. In fact in examples (1), (2), (3) and (4) we have already seen examples of *rephrasing*, *direct appeals*, *use of inclusive 'we'* and *backchannelling* which were employed to engage the students and make sure that the contents of the lectures were properly understood. Indeed, differently from the explanatory strategies described above, these strategies do not focus on content but rather on the way content is conveyed.

4.2.2 Frame markers

Frame markers are used by lecturers to organize their discourse in such a way that it becomes more easily understandable for students. They can take the form of retrospective signalling (Björkman 2011), which helps the lecturers to remind the students of the last topic they had dealt with, and sometimes serves the purpose of combining the newest topics with the oldest ones:

- (9) L3: yesterday we moved from the idea I am just recapping the lecture so we moved from the idea that the economy as a whole and the environment are characterized by tight connection
- (10) L1: I will recall to your mind an example we had long long time ago at the very first lesson of our course

They can also be employed for prospective signalling, which is used, on the contrary, to anticipate future topics:

- (11) L3: today I will discuss with you the importance of studying such topics so why economic development can be important as a subject matter
- (12) L2: so tomorrow we will start focusing on the business model design so tomorrow we will not talk about international markets but we will talk about how firms create value

It is evident from the examples listed above that frame markers can vary a lot and can serve very different purposes. Examples (10) and (11), for instance, are characterized by the use of the first person singular. While in example (9) the lecturer shifts to the use of the first person plural "we". By

using an inclusive “we” instead of simply “I” the lecturer places himself at the same level as the students, almost implying that he is undertaking this process of discovery of new contents together with them. It follows that this seemingly unimportant shift from “I” to “we” is in fact very significant, as it actively involves the students in the cognitive structuring and scaffolding of the lecture.

4.2.3 Self-repairs

Self-repairs were also quite frequent in the corpus. When lecturers realized they had just uttered something wrong or potentially confusing, they employed a self-repair strategy in order for the message to be reformulated properly.

These self-repairs are often related to minor or unimportant deviations that would probably not have hindered the students’ comprehension. However, once again they prove that the lecturers were keenly aware of the need to try and be as clear and understandable as possible.

- (13) L1: at the end of the time at the end of the day
- (14) L2: next answer? Next question sorry and answer too
- (15) L3: the industrial sector do not follow does not follow such ehm..
such a pattern
- (16) L3: so the gap is expected to bridge be bridged

4.2.4 Emphasis

Emphasis was frequently used in the corpus. In particular, the lecturers tended to stress particular terms so as to make them stand out:

- (17) L1: European Union relies a lot over it relies a lot over it and SO MUCH over it that (seems?) this is a general principle of law that cannot be derogated by the parties
- (18) L2: diversification? PRODUCT diversification not market diversification product diversification?

By doing so they were able to stimulate the students’ attention and make them focus on a specific concept. In addition, another feature that can be noticed is the choice of particular words and collocations—charged with

emotive connotation, figurative meanings or semantic markedness—still aimed at attracting the students' attention:

- (19) L1: you may understand this has *dramatic impact* over our case
- (20) L1: so it is one of the *pillars* of our course
- (21) L2: Japanese firms are big or not?
SS: big
L2: are *super big*
- (22) L3: India has *a very a huge number* of highly educated people

Moreover, content words and grammar words were also repeated, so as to facilitate understanding and make given contents easy to be retained:

- (23) L1: in UK court procedure are very very very costly

4.2.5 Pre-empting students' queries

In the corpus there were also a few situations in which the lecturers managed to include the students' (possible) doubts or unasked questions in their explanations. Gotti (2014, 351) points out that this strategy helps lecturers to “make their lectures more dialogic”, as they express “possible objections or comments that the students might want to raise”. Here are a few examples from the corpus:

- (24) L1: OK *you may say but how this all this deals with us?* It deals a lot
- (25) L3: this is what the neoclassical model should expect to happen so in the end you have economic forces that narrow the wage differential and these are the economic forces behind such a narrowing process of wages in this case between a developed and a lagging behind region after migration (.) *you don't agree because and I know there are other economic forces* that may occur in both regions and in particular the Myrdal model suggests that there are actually other kinds of forces in act

By using this strategy, lecturers manage to anticipate and provide a suitable answer for the questions students might have been willing to ask, but also to stimulate their interest in a given subject:

- (26) L1: one very risky business is to deliver for example to deliver products never deliver to Miami *you say why?* because in Miami there are several

arrests through the years there is a system according to which all the containers coming from Europe are requested to be ehm.. unpolluted by possible mouses and whatever so they say there may be insects inside that are not known in the US so it's called fumigation meaning we put poison inside with a special way and this cost 2000 3000 euro per container

5. An overview of the lecturers' opinions

To complement the results of the analysis, the lecturers were involved in a semi-structured interview. The aim of the interview was to establish whether or not their perceptions matched the results of the analysis. The interview included several questions (listed below) which were meant to make the lecturers reflect on their personal experience (questions I-III), methodological choices (questions IV-VI) and adopted communicative strategies (questions VIII-X), as well as to elicit their needs and opinions (questions XI-XIII).

- I. How long have you been using English as a medium of instruction?
- II. Do you feel comfortable in using English as a medium of instruction?
- III. In your opinion, what are the advantages and disadvantages of using English as a medium of instruction?
- IV. Do you think your teaching methodology has changed as a result of using English as a medium of instruction? Why? How?
- V. Are there any aspects of your L1 teaching methodology you feel you have improved by means of EMI?
- VI. Are there any strategies you consciously use in your EMI teaching methodology?
- VII. Compared to your L1 lectures, do you think your EMI lectures are more student-oriented? Why?
- VIII. Compared to your L1 lectures, do you think your EMI lectures are more cooperative? Why?
- IX. Do cooperation and negotiation of meaning play a role in your EMI lectures?
- X. Do you ever use your L1? Why?
- XI. What type of support should EMI lecturers get to develop their EMI teaching techniques?
- XII. How do you think a lecturer can become good enough to use English as a medium of instruction?
- XIII. How would you rate your recent EMI teaching experience on a 1-10 scale?

It was decided to use open-ended questions in order to let the lecturers speak at length about their experiences and needs. The analysis of the answers

provided valuable insights into some of the phenomena observed during the corpus-based analysis.

In the first place, the lecturers confirmed many of the observations collected during the corpus-based analysis. It is clear, in fact, that when it comes to introducing new terms and topics the lecturers consider resorting to questions, rephrasing and examples very effective:

- (27) L1: “I now put greater attention on law texts so my lessons are focused on having slides containing the official text and relying on that teaching so I will *repeat* the sentences we are going to look at the *keywords* of the article being projected”
- (28) L1: “I always pray for *questions* because this is my teaching strategy (...) questions are not a problem are very encouraged because they allowed me to have just better *clarifications* on issues or points that may have been not in a good explanation possibly or obscure for them”
- (29) L2: “what I tried to do last year was to involve students to enhance their *involvement* through the use of exercises and also through the introduction of *questions* open questions”
- (30) L3: “I tended to make different *examples* as well yeah probably in the way you apply the theoretical background to empirical basis teaching in English versus teaching in Italian has an impact an effect in the choice of examples of practical examples”

As we see, while organizing their lectures, the teachers are aware of the need to repeat, rephrase, use keywords and emphasis and try to involve the students.

The answers provided shed light on some of the most debated topics concerning EMI, but most importantly they proved that the adoption of EMI has made the lecturers change their pedagogy, from simply translating courses and their contents from Italian into English, to reorganizing, restructuring and redesigning them:

- (31) L1: “I have redeveloped the contents of the course according to English contents it’s much better (...) the major failure was that in the first year I simply attempted to translate contents from the Italian course to the English course I have spent a lot of time in redrafting the contents in order to have them fulfilling EMI requirements and now the course runs much better”

- (32) L2: “in the new lecture this year I will restart from how can I say not from the basics but I will try to make it simpler but with the same approach I don’t want to change the approach but I want to make it simpler”
- (33) L3: “it’s a kind of cross-fertilization from both sides teaching in Italian and teaching in English may benefit as well”
- (34) L3: “you have to think more carefully about what you are referring to and the examples and so on so probably it’s a kind of effort also for the teacher that have to deal with OK the same topics you already know but in a slightly different way which is just based on the different language adopted”.

As we see, all the lecturers agree in defining EMI as being quite demanding, precisely because it requires complete and careful restructuring of the contents and of the strategies to be deployed.

6. Conclusion

The spread of EMI at European level has been met with contrasting reactions. On the one hand, it is possible to find ardent supporters of the introduction of EMI courses in the European higher education system. Their appreciation is based on a purely scientific interest in EMI or they indeed appreciate the unifying role that English can play in European academia. On the other hand, however, there are scholars who maintain that EMI may represent a threat in the long run. Indeed, by increasing the offer of EMI-taught courses, universities tend to reduce or dramatically alter the didactic role that the national language spoken in a given country used to play before the introduction of EMI-taught courses. Despite these different reactions, over the last decade EMI has consolidated its role as an important pedagogical tool in higher education.

The present contribution investigated the role of pragmatic strategies in EMI lectures by looking at a corpus made up of three different courses. On the basis of the data collected, we have observed that the main strategies deployed by the lecturers are the following:

Strategies to introduce new terms/topics	Strategies for making the progression of the lecture smoother
rhetorical questions	rephrasing
checking previous knowledge	direct appeals
chains of questions	inclusive 'we'
personalization	backchannelling
comprehension checks	frame markers
	self-repairs
	emphasis
	pre-empting students' doubts

Table 11.1: Pragmatic strategies

By drawing on the lecturers' views it was possible to have many findings of the corpus-based analysis confirmed and explained on the basis of their teaching experience. Pragmatic strategies in EMI contexts are not just adopted on a spur-of-the-moment basis or, in other words, they do not simply represent a response to a single communicative necessity. Lecturers use pragmatic strategies consciously and carefully as they are well-aware of the beneficial role that properly deployed strategies can play for the transfer of relevant contents in their courses. Moreover, the lecturers seemed to be particularly keen on eliciting the students' interest and participation. In general, students were not simply meant to be mere recipients of the lecture, but they were required to be actively involved in the discussion and negotiation of the contents. Their participation during the lectures, whether spontaneous or triggered by means of questions, was a fundamental feature of all the lectures and possibly an indication of the fact that, when teaching in a language different from their own, lecturers had to re-think and re-organize their own syllabuses (see 35), since EMI cannot be reduced to translating from Italian to English (see 32).

These observations, however, simply refer to the findings yielded by the analysis of the three courses. Given the limited extent of the research, it would not be possible make generalizations and consider the trends observed here as those of EMI in higher education. In other words, these final remarks apply only to the corpus and to the interviews which were under scrutiny here, and would need further research and investigation to see if they are representative of the EMI phenomenon at large.

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CHAPTER TWELVE

ANALYSING ACADEMIC ELF IN ECONOMICS

MARINA BONDI AND FRANCESCA VITALI

1. Introduction

Increased mobility and greater cultural exchange are among the most important factors which have led to the adoption of English as the language of international academic communication. This inevitably affects the language of scholars across the world (e.g. Gotti ed. 2012; Gotti 2012).

The new need to use English to participate in the global scholarly exchange has attracted attention to issues of communicative inequality and potential discrimination between native and non-native speakers (Ferguson *et al.* 2011; Lillis and Curry 2010). At the same time, non-native speakers are seen as contributors to the richness of perspectives in academic communities (Canagarajah 1996; Flowerdew 1999, 2001; Pérez-Llantada 2014), as academic writing – with its taxonomies, lexical density and rhetorical structures – is seen as acquired through lengthy formal education by native and non-native speakers alike (Ferguson *et al.* 2011; Römer 2009; Tribble 2017).

A different, but equally useful perspective is offered by the area of English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), where mutual understanding, endonormativity and explicitness can be more important than correctness (Mauranen *et al.* 2010; Mauranen 2012; Hynninen 2013). In this perspective, English is shaped by its users, especially in the global context of academic use. In particular, ELF speakers are asked to adopt a “cooperative imperative” that requires language accommodation to ensure communication (Seidlhofer 2009). The cooperative imperative assumes the tendency to strive for greater explicitness in search for mutual understanding (Mauranen *et al.* 2010, 184): careful use of metadiscourse (references to the discourse itself, contributing to the organisation of the evolving text rather than to the subject matter), indicating local organisation and negotiating topics (Mauranen 2012).

As highlighted by Hyland (2015), the expansion of English to the world of publishing has also coincided with an expansion in international publishing, an increased emphasis on publication and institutional ranking and the emergence of an evaluative regime in higher education, where assessing productivity (impact measures) contributes to an increasing marketization of knowledge and possibly also to greater assertiveness in writing. Nowadays, scholars are required to write for both a national and international audience. They thus increasingly rely on “shapers” (Burrough-Boenisch 2003) or “literacy brokers” (Lillis and Curry 2006, 2010) (i.e. the different kinds of mediators involved in the production of the final text to be published, such as academic supervisors, language professionals, reviewers and editors) to increase the possibilities of achieving their publication goals. While there is extensive literature on ELF and English for Academic purposes, scholars only recently started manifesting an interest in the study of academic English-medium text production and the impact of literacy brokering activities on the process (Hyland 2015), focusing for example on L2 writers’ relation to native-speaker standards (Anderson 2010; Heng Hartse and Kubota 2014). As also discussed by Bondi and Borelli (2018), the gate-keeping function of literacy brokers cannot be ignored and the language that gets published is probably influenced both by the “selling imperative” of the publishing industry and by reference to native-speaker standards.

The aim of this study is twofold. It intends to shed light on the differences between the language of published specialised journal articles and that of ELF writing, and to provide a better understanding of the impact of literacy brokering activities. Therefore, the research questions addressed in this study are as follows:

- RQ1. In which aspects do the language of published specialised journal articles differ from the language used in ELF unpublished drafts?
- RQ2. What are the potential reasons behind the linguistic choices of literacy brokers?

In section 2 we present the corpora and the methodology, while in section 3 we focus on the features of ELF writing when compared to published language. Lastly, in section 4 we contrast unedited and published ELF writing, before presenting some conclusive remarks.

2. Corpora and methodology

The study extends the methodology adopted in Bondi and Borelli (2018), by comparing a corpus of unedited texts not only with a corpus of published texts, but also with the published version of the unedited texts.

The SciELF–Economics corpus (SciELF–EC) comprises 24 unpublished economic research papers written in English by non-native speakers and not yet edited or proofread. It aims at representing the use of ELF for written international communication within the scientific realm. These 24 drafts are part of a larger corpus, the SciELF, which in turn is one of the components of the Writing Academic ELF project (WrELFA), directed by Professor Anna Mauranen at the University of Helsinki. The SciELF corpus is an independent subcorpus comprising 150 unedited research papers written by authors with ten different L1s. The authors of the corpus collected and selected science-related research papers, identified with the acronym Sci, as well as texts belonging to the social sciences and humanities, categorised as SSH. The SciELF–EC is a subcorpus of the larger SciELF corpus and cuts across the division, with the more mathematically-oriented approaches labelled as Sci. Table 1 below illustrates the corpus composition:

Category	Number of articles	Number of words	% of total words	Avg. words/article
Sci	10	48,187	42.9%	4,818
SSH	14	64,151	57.1%	4,582
Totals	24	112,338	100%	4,680

Table 12.1: The SciELF–EC

The SciELF–EC was compared to a reference corpus labelled as the Corpus of Published Economics Research Articles (CPERA) comprising articles of economic, financial and management science. It is the largest corpus used for this study as it comprises 96 research articles written in English (1.071.879 words). The texts were collected from 12 specialised academic journals among the most influential ones worldwide¹. For each academic journal four issues were selected among the most recent ones, two published in 2017 and two in 2016. For each issue four articles were selected; hence

¹ *Academy of Management Journal, Journal of Finance, Strategic Management Journal, Quarterly Journal of Economics, Management Science, Journal of Economic Perspectives, Journal of International Business Studies, Review of Financial Studies, Journal of Marketing Research, Review of Economic Studies, Journal of World Business, Journal of International Management.*

sixteen research articles for each academic journal were included. Initially, the intention was to select samples written by English non-native users. However, this criterion was soon disregarded as there were no certainties regarding the language background of the authors. Also, it seemed inconsistent with the intention of mapping the English language used in published economic journal articles as a whole, regardless of their authors' language background.

The third corpus named Published SciELF–Economics (P-SciELF–EC) comprises 13 published research articles as its name might suggest (69,089 words). The most salient peculiarity of this corpus is that it contains the published versions of 13 of the articles included in the SciELF–EC. It would have been ideal to carry out this secondary analysis by comparing all final drafts with their published version, but only 13 out of the 24 research articles drafts of the SciELF–EC seem to have been published on academic journals so far and made available for free consultation. Despite this initial setback, it was decided to proceed with the analysis, although on a smaller scale than desired, given that more than half of the published versions of the SciELF–EC texts were found.

It was interesting to notice that the majority of them have been published in international academic journals. Only two have been issued on national outlets, and only one was published in a book.

The corpus displays an almost even presence of research articles labelled as Sci (6 out of 13) and as SSH (7 out of 13). Also, it should be remembered that all articles have been written by English non-native users. Therefore, this corpus offers an insight into the features of published ELF. Table 2 shows the corpus composition in more detail:

Category	Number of articles	Number of words	% of total words	Avg words/article
Sci	6	32,258	46.69%	5,376
SSH	7	36,831	53.31%	5,262
Totals	13	69,089	100%	5,315

Table 12.2: The P-SciELF–EC

The first phase of the analysis consisted in contrasting the SciELF–EC and the CPERA. We started by studying the keywords list elaborated through AntConc 3.5.7. The attention was centred on general language items rather than on lexical features related to the disciplinary area under scrutiny. The exploration aimed at identifying elements of metadiscourse, defined as “the cover term for the self-reflective expressions used to negotiate interactional meanings in a text, assisting the writer (or speaker) to express a viewpoint

and engage with readers as members of a part community” (Hyland 2005, 37). Hyland proposes a distinction between interactive and interactional resources. Under the label ‘interactive discourse’ he includes linguistic devices which the author uses to organize the text and manage the information flow to guide the reader towards the desired interpretation. ‘Interactional discourse’, on the other hand, concerns the interaction between the author and the audience and the resources which display the writer’s personality and attitude. Table 5 below provides a more detailed presentation of the model (Hyland and Jiang 2018; Cao and Hu 2014; Hyland 2010).

Interactive resources	Interactional resources
<p>Transitions: mark the relations between main clauses, e.g. <i>in addition, but, thus</i>, etc.</p> <p>Frame markers: refer to the text structure, to indicate a shift between topics or to announce a goal, e.g. <i>finally, to conclude, my purpose is</i>, etc.</p> <p>Endophoric markers: refer to other parts of the text or to visual representations, e.g. <i>as noted earlier, noted above, see Table 1</i>, etc.</p> <p>Evidentials: introduce citations and indicate the source of information, e.g. <i>according to, some scholars argue</i>, etc.</p> <p>Code glosses: elaborate meaning through examples or rephrasing, e.g. <i>for instance, in other words</i>, etc.</p>	<p>Hedges: avoid full commitment to a statement, e.g. <i>might, perhaps, possible</i>, etc.</p> <p>Boosters: express certainty and give emphasis to a proposition, e.g. <i>in fact, definitely</i>, etc.</p> <p>Attitude markers: display the author’s affective attitude, e.g. <i>I agree</i>, etc.</p> <p>Engagement markers: address the readers by guiding their attention or involving them in what is being said by using imperatives, questions, reader pronouns, references to shared knowledge, e.g. <i>consider, as you will see</i>, etc.</p> <p>Self-mention: refer to the author, e.g. <i>I, we, my, our</i>, etc.</p>

Table 12.3: Metadiscourse (Hyland’s model)

All candidate items in the keyword lists were analysed within their context of use to validate their metadiscursive function. To allow comparing corpora of considerably different size the results displayed by words lists had to be normalized per 10,000 words (ptw).

The analysis of keywords allowed us to study the word forms which appear to be unusually frequent in unedited final drafts (positive keywords) and in published economics research articles (negative keywords). Given the different nature of the corpora in terms of writers' linguistic background, it was not possible to conclude whether the differences observed were due to native/non-native speaker style or to the revised/unrevised nature of the corpus.

In the second phase of the analysis, we focused on the keywords list elaborated by comparing the P-SciELF-EC and the SciELF-EC. The examination aimed at revealing variation across the two corpora, respectively representative of edited and unedited ELF.

3. SciELF-EC vs. CPERA

Table 12.4 below shows the word forms that characterize SciELF when compared to published articles. Details provided concern their frequency, both raw and normalized, and their keyness.

Rank	Keyword	SciELF-ECs		CPERA		Keyness
		Raw Frequency	Norm. frequency	Raw Frequency	Norm. frequency	
49	<i>Text</i>	52	5	23	>1	+161
89	<i>According</i>	107	10	295	3	+103
120	<i>Paper</i>	115	11	384	4	+85.4
142	<i>Authors</i>	71	7	180	2	+75.4
160	<i>Presented</i>	67	6	174	2	+69.2
192	<i>Should</i>	151	14	717	7	+58.1
209	<i>It</i>	461	43	3142	29	+52.8
238	<i>Analysis</i>	181	17	990	9	+47.84
274	<i>Research</i>	244	23	1520	14	+41.38
280	<i>Mentioned</i>	36	3	87	>1	+40.3
295	<i>Aim</i>	26	2	47	>1	+38.42
413	<i>Important</i>	146	14	897	8	+26.1

Table 12.4: Selected candidate metadiscursive items

Examining their context of use through the concordancing and cluster/N-grams plot tools allowed identifying the relevant expressions and categorizing them according to Hyland's model.

When looking at Interactive resources, the most obvious observation is that the data showed a large use of other-reporting evidentials, especially the non-verbal form *according to*. The expression *according* occurs 107 times in SciELF-EC; in 96 cases it is followed by *to* and refers to specific sources of information or community-based literature:

- (1) According to Pitra (2016) innovation measurement can be assessed in two basic levels. (SSH12)
- (2) According to market research conducted in Finland, Russian tourists spend most of their money on food during their visits (TAK 2012). (SSH29)

By citing other sources, the authors provide support for the argument presented in the article, and they do it with the most prototypical and neutral form of attribution, without openly manifesting their interpretation.

The use of the metadiscursive noun *aim* points at an interesting set of expressions in which authors announce their goal, hence functioning as frame markers. Concordance plots showed that *aim* appears in 14 texts, the majority being of social scientific domain, and in 17 cases out of 26 occurrences it is used in expressions of purpose.

- (3) Our aim is to identify the qualitative variation in the conceptions within a certain group of people. (SSH29)

Concordance analysis highlighted the use of both personal and impersonal statements of purpose and showed that ELF authors adopt preferably an impersonal voice when presenting their goals, the most common expression being *the aim of the paper*. Typical clusters of the word *paper* are: *the main goal of this paper*, *the objective of this paper*, *this paper aims at*, *the goal of the paper*, *the goal of this paper*, *the paper aims to*.

As far as endophoric markers are concerned, instances of intratextual references to either visual representations or other parts of the text were found within more than half of the unedited drafts analysed, precisely 15 files out of 24. Endophoric markers were identified through the analysis of concordances and both left and right-hand collocates of the metadiscursive verbs *presented* and *mentioned*. In only 21 cases (14,7% of the total 67 occurrences), *presented* was used to make non-linear references, i.e. to draw the reader's attention to tables and figures. Similarly *mentioned* is again

more common within the corpus of unpublished texts, and more often used to make linear references, i.e. to refer to the unfolding text instead of visual presentations (16 cases out of 87 occurrences).

- (4) The data presented in Table 2 are extracted from Total's disclosures of GHG emissions for 2000-2009. (SSH50)
- (5) As mentioned before, the permanent involvement of the public is a key element of the process. (SSH52)

Moving on to interactional resources, hedging devices typically indicate that an assertion is based on reasonable thinking rather than accredited knowledge and give readers space for their own opinions and interpretations of what is being said. In addition, hedges protect the author from the risk of openly contradicting existing literature and disrespecting other points of view (Hyland 2005). The analysis of keywords pointed out a frequent use of the modal epistemic verb *should*. Concordance analysis highlighted that *should* was mostly used as a hedging device and predominantly found within the conclusive section of research articles:

- (6) This variable should be considered as exogenous since each individual decision explains insignificant variation of aggregated market characteristic (less than 1%). (SCI64)

It seems that ELF authors recur to hedging expressions to present information as a suggestion or personal opinion rather than as an accredited fact. This way writers step back from the argument presented and disguise their personal judgments to avoid minimizing the readers' or other colleagues' perspectives. However, within this context of use *should* could also function as a 'guiding', directive device, as in example 6 above.

Moreover, the scrutiny of the keyword list interestingly showed an unexpected high frequency of the attitude marker *important*, revealing the author's attitude towards the object or concept presented.

- (7) In fact, gender differences on socio-economic characteristics are important determinants of gender differences on volunteering, but other explanations might coexist. (SSH63)

By introducing an evaluative adjective, authors do not only express their position with regard to the concept they introduce, but also induce readers to agree with their point of view. This is most evident in stretches of language where *important* is associated with a preposition, such as *to* (19 occurrences) and *for* (9 times). The most frequent pattern is *it is important*

to + verb.

- (8) It is important to highlight, how a firm can use the information about the latent importance of various attributes. (SCI161)

Expressions such as *it is important to know/understand/note* are manifestations of cognitive acts through which the authors strategically guide readers towards a desired interpretation or understanding of the concept they present in favour of their argument (Hyland 2005).

This tendency of ELF authors to stress the importance of a concept or guide the readers' interpretation seems to clash with the intention of maintaining a low-key authorial voice. However, it would be fair to say that modals, attitude markers and forms of self-mention could be seen as complementary manifestations of authorial voice (see Bondi 2014).

ELF writers seem to avoid the use of first person personal pronouns and possessive adjectives in favour of more impersonal expressions, such as for example the general noun *author* in its plural form. This shows a more consistent tendency to prefer general words to refer to the identity of the author, thus adopting a neutral identifier.

- (9) The authors attempted to place the issues into the historical context. (SSH14)

The preference for a third-person authorial voice is confirmed by the extensive use of impersonal passive expressions revealed by the examination of the concordances of personal pronoun *it*. Examples of impersonal expressions retrieved from the SciELF–EC are: *it can be argued/concluded, it could be argued/objected that, it is assumed/believed that, it is worth mentioning/noting*. All this shows that the authors often do not wish to identify themselves with the proposition or to take credit for the perspective presented.

In addition to impersonal expressions, unedited final drafts show a more frequent use of general nouns such as *research* and *analysis* as manifestations of authorial presence, mainly in association with the demonstrative adjective *this*, and with verbs pointing to topics and objectives, rather than to argumentative moves or conclusions.

- (10) This analysis is centred on the tourism sector of Central and Eastern European region by highlighting [...]. (SSH51)

After analysing positive keywords, we shifted our attention to negative ones to examine and highlight the most salient features of published texts of the

economic domain. Table 12.5 presents the most significant negative keywords from a metadiscursive point of view.

Rank	Keyword	SciELF–EC		CPERA		Keyness
		Raw Frequency	Norm. frequency	Raw Frequency	Norm. frequency	
686	Argue	3	>1	193	2	-20.27
670	Suggests	12	1	373	3	-21.98
655	Thus	58	5	1054	10	-23.92
639	Show	37	3	787	7	-25.84
608	They	167	16	2,500	23	-29.4
606	Their	271	25	3,740	35	-29.67
542	Likely	34	3	988	9	-53.64
531	These	183	17	3172	30	-63.02
511	Our	136	13	4179	39	-243.61
508	We	516	48	10343	97	-301.22

Table 12.5: Selected candidate metadiscursive items

To begin with, we noticed a significant quantitative variation in the use of consequential adverb *thus*, guiding the reader's line of reasoning, as well as logically linking propositions:

- (11) Although the Team Principal is not responsible for the cars' construction, he or she has the final say in all strategic decisions. We thus control for his background, as discussed below. (J3 I7 17 2)

As for potential frame markers, the verb *show* is frequently used to refer to visual representation or information (in 110 cases out of 787 occurrences). The most frequent left-hand collocates are: *table* (34), *appendix* (22), *columns* (15), *panel* (12), *figure* (10), *section* (9), *tables* (8).

- (12) In sum, the results in this section show that even if transitory dividend risk distinct from income insurance is non-negligible, it does not help explain the timing of dividend risk, short-term equity risk, premium, or slope. (J2 I5 17 2)

While ELF texts were characterized by an even use of both linear and non-linear references, it is interesting to notice that in published research articles there is a clear prevalence of non-linear references.

Both unedited and published articles showcased a frequent use of integral citations of other scholars' work, with a preference for indirect quotations. However, it was interesting to notice that ELF writers have a strong preference for the expression *according to*, while published articles displayed the tendency to include cited information into quoting propositions by rephrasing or summarizing it. Again, the reporting verb *show* was often found to be associated with authors' names within the CPERA, precisely 109 times.

- (13) As Galeotti et al. (2010) show, this monotonicity of the equilibrium consumption choice with respect to out-degree is, in fact, obtained in a much more general environment. (J10 I 16 2)

The examination of the concordancing patterns of the metadiscursive verb *argue* also shows a similar preference for integral indirect quotations in published research articles (44 occurrences). While confirming the importance of intertextuality in academic discourse, reporting evidential verbs such as *show* and *argue* can sometimes function as boosters. Concordance analysis showed a large use of these verbs to make strong and assertive claims.

Another interesting way of referring to the work of other authors which was found within the corpus of published articles is by using the plural third personal pronoun *they* and the possessive adjective *their*, highlighting a general preference for personal mentions.

Hedging devices characterising the language of published economics research articles were *likely* and *suggests*. Their most relevant clusters with hedging function were: *may be more/less likely, it is quite likely, would be more likely, may be increasingly likely/less likely; this result/evidence suggests, our research/evidence suggests, this finding suggests*, etc... The data showed that both expressions acted as mitigating devices to negotiate the content of a statement and mark it as a provisional claim, subject to potential overthrow or future revision. While unedited drafts showed an unusual frequency of hedges transmitting hypotheticality and assumption to the audience, it seems that recently published articles favour hedging forms which leave more space to speculation and appeal to the audience's evaluative skills.

As anticipated before, concordance analysis of verbs *show* and *argue* revealed a considerable number of examples in which both verbs function as boosters, conveying confidence in the value of the findings and claims

presented:

- (14) We show that the real or perceived threat of Trojan horses is most severe, when corruption is pervasive in the host country. (J 12 I3 17 2)

The most frequent clusters of both *show* and *argue* are expressions involving personal pronouns *we* and *I*, such as *we show* (166 occurrences) and *I show* (17), rather than *results show* (58), or *we argue* (69) and *I argue* (20), rather than *they argue* (8). The use of *show* especially represents the writer's intention to present more objective and data-supported claims, as Hyland and Jiang (2018) point out. Therefore, it could be assumed that published articles involve a higher degree of conviction and commitment in presenting findings and claims.

Probably the most relevant observation emerging from the analysis of negative keywords is that personal deixis is considerably underused in the corpus of unedited texts. Writers of published articles signal their presence with personal pronoun *we* and possessive adjective *our*, predominantly used as exclusive self-mention resources, i.e. referring to the authors themselves, and not involving the readers' community. Both *we* and *our* are most frequently associated with text-related expressions, such as *results* (345), *sample* (320), *study* (197), *findings* (185), *data* (155), *model* (152), *analysis* (142), *research* (101), etc. as right-hand collocates, or *find* (500), *use* (461), *show* (166), *consider* (137), *examine* (136) etc. as left-hand collocates. In addition to personal self-mentions, published articles revealed a more considerable frequency of determiner *these*. Authors seem to refer to themselves also by using more impersonal expressions such as *these results* (185 occurrences) and *these findings* (84 occurrences).

While ELF writers seem to place greater emphasis on the methodological and analytical aspect of their work by frequently using terms such as *approach*, *methods* and *methodology*, the language of published economics research articles seems to draw attention to the outcome, by using metadiscursive verbs such as *find*, *show*, *estimate* and *observe* more frequently, thus emphasising the value of the production of new knowledge.

4. Focus on Published ELF

The analysis of the positive keywords list obtained comparing P-SciELF–EC with SciELF–EC did not yield significant evidence of an increase in the use of metadiscursive devices in the corpus of edited ELF. Nevertheless, it was interesting to observe a more unusually frequent use of

attitude adjective *significant* (42 occurrences; Keyness: +78.88) and its adverbial correspondent *significantly* (23 occurrences; Keyness: +26.29). These two elements fall under the category of attitude markers for they convey the author's appraisal of a proposition by manifesting the relevance of the information presented or by implying an agreement with other researchers.

The use of *significant* and *significantly* might confirm the preference for a stronger authorial voice and, therefore, indicates that literacy brokers intervened on final drafts to emphasise the author's position and compensate for the lack of personal references.

- (15) The most significant findings of the papers concern the validity of considering social rationales when studying informal entrepreneurship. (SSH59P)

Another keyword worth considering is the general labelling noun *findings* (33 occurrences; Keyness: +22.54). Again, it could be an indicator of the increased relevance given to results by literacy brokers to emphasise the work and the presence of the author, instead of focusing on the methodological aspects of the research.

- (16) These findings are further strengthened by the responses to the statement "Waste recycling is a worthwhile activity". (SSH53P)

As shown by the example above, *findings* is also used as a self-mention device when associated to the personal pronoun *our* (1 occurrence) and the plural determiner *these* (4 occurrences), or in more impersonal self-referencing expression, such as *the main findings of the study* or *the findings of the paper/ this research/ this study*.

The examination of positive keywords did not yield further evidence of relevant changes to the unpublished drafts as far as metadiscourse is concerned, which might suggest a low impact of literacy brokering activities on the final versions. It thus seemed appropriate to cross-check the keywords list examined with the one produced by contrasting the P-SciELF-EC with the reference CPERA. To determine whether the published versions of unedited final drafts truly differed from the texts comprised in the CPERA we examined both positive and negative keyword lists.

It was possible to observe that the vast majority of positive keywords were topic-related, hence there were no indications of any unusual frequent use of metadiscursive devices, while the negative keywords displayed an unusually infrequent use of all those metadiscursive elements which were

identified as typical of published research articles (*might, show, they, their, these, we, our*). The lack of relevant evidence highlighting language changes to the metadiscursive practices of ELF writers could either indicate that editors deemed the language adequate for publication overall, or that by replacing specific linguistic choices literacy brokers might risk altering the individual style of the writer.

5. Conclusions

To summarize our findings, first of all it could be said that ELF writers have shown a clear preference for disguising their authorial voice by adopting ‘zero stance’ reporting techniques, i.e. *according to*, or hedging devices to avoid taking a clear stance in relation to the argument presented. Frame markers are generally used to point to topic-related propositions rather than to argumentative moves, but the use of attitude markers revealing the affective attitude of the author is noticeable, though mostly related to prototypical patterns with the term *important*, stressing the importance of a point or guiding the reader’s perspective towards their desired communicative outcome. Last but not least, unedited research article drafts show a recurring pattern of indirect self-mentions instead of personal pronouns. ELF writers seem to prefer avoiding direct references to their authorial identity and maintaining a more neutral stance, based on prototypical language forms which may be more easily acceptable and understood in an international community (see also Bondi and Borelli 2018) in the logic of the “cooperative imperative”.

Published articles, on the other hand, are characterized by a higher level of textual cohesion, as shown by the more frequent use of the consequential conjunction *thus*, presenting arguments as logical consequences of other propositions. Another interesting feature of published economic research articles involves the more frequent reference to visual representations within the body of the text, which might suggest a preference for more objective and data-supported claims, also confirmed by the use of metadiscursive verbs *show* and *argue* as boosters to emphasize the role of the authors and their contribution to knowledge production and dissemination. The most salient feature observed is the prevalence of a stronger and more present authorial voice. Published articles display a strikingly more frequent use of the first person, thus indicating a more intrusive authorial voice. Nevertheless, the increased use of boosters and personal self-mentions resources is compensated by hedging devices and evidential markers, which contribute to moderating the tone of the claims and recognising the value of existing literature.

These differences, of course, are not necessarily attributable to editors and text reviewers, as they could also depend on the presence of native speaker writers in the corpus of published articles. Writing instructions and the local institutional context could for example account for the perceived underuse of first person singular pronouns (e.g. Hyland 2002; Martínez 2005; Sheldon 2009; Šinkūnienė 2018). The use of boosters and visual representations, on the other hand, could be attributable to the publishing process.

Finally, the comparison between unedited and published ELF, despite the small sample of published versions, allowed some further observations. Editors, proofreaders and other figures involved in the process of editing and publishing research articles seem to apply changes to the language of original drafts to convert what could be perceived as an impersonal presentation of data into a more ‘persuasive endeavour involving interaction between writers and readers’ (Hyland 2005). In particular, they emphasize the relevance of the research and its outcome, whereas they don’t seem to worry about other matters of style which may simply reflect cultural diversity and openness to diversity. By doing so, they increase writers’ chances to gain the audience’ agreement and professional recognition from the academic community.

However, the sample of published versions of unedited final drafts is extremely small. What has been illustrated so far should be regarded as a hypothetical proposition, rather than accredited facts. Therefore, it could be the starting point for further investigation.

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CHAPTER THIRTEEN

GETTING READY FOR THE NEXT STEPS: MULTIMODAL AND HYPERMODAL KNOWLEDGE COMMUNICATION IN ACADEMIC CONTEXT

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1. Introduction

In the international world of studying specialized communication, one of the leading figures is Maurizio Gotti. Throughout his career he has contributed to the establishing and expansion of this domain with his own work, in the form of major projects and important articles as well as edited books. Much of his work has been on legal communication, but another important area of his research has been academic communication, as testified by the many CERLIS conferences in Bergamo on different aspects of scholarly discourse, among which also aspects of multimodal communication.

We share this interest of his. As a tribute to Maurizio Gotti's contribution to the study of multimodality in scholarly settings, in this chapter we aim to provide a synthesis of our research work related to multimodal knowledge communication, and, more precisely, knowledge constructed in academic context and disseminated on different multimodal platforms for different audiences. This research work is meant to assess the impact upon academic knowledge of the tremendous changes occurring in communication practices in general. We are interested in the present diversification of academic generic configurations and publishing formats that has been intensified by the easily accessed and permanently evolving digital technologies, and by the competences of the new generations of multiliterate users.

Our overall perspective is based upon an understanding of knowledge communication analysis as being concerned with “investigating the intentional and decision-based communication of specialised knowledge in professional settings (among experts as well as between experts and non-experts) with a focus upon the interplay between knowledge and expertise of *individuals*, on the one hand, and knowledge as *a social phenomenon*, on the other, as well as the coping with *knowledge asymmetries*, i.e., the communicative consequences of differences between individual knowledge in depth as well as breadth” (Engberg 2016, 37).

Although aware of their previous existence in academic contexts (Jakubowicz and Van Leeuwen, 2010; Pasquali, 2007), our interest revolves around the specific affordances of the multimodal and/or hypermodal knowledge communication that today mark the novel practices of construction and dissemination. We consider these novel practices to offer researchers both the opportunity and the challenge to train themselves in being multiliterate individuals without giving up their scholarly identity.

In this chapter, we explain the multimodal and hypermodal construction and dissemination processes that we have observed by exploring different textual products in contemporary academic context, and more precisely: traditional research articles (RAs), academic visual essays, academic video essays, research video articles and hypermodal generic configurations. The data have been provided by two peer-reviewed international journals, namely *Visual Communication* (<https://journals.sagepub.com/home/vcj>) and *Audiovisual Thinking* (<https://www.audiovisualthinking.org>), by Elsevier’s *The Article of the Future* project (<https://www.elsevier.com/connect/the-article-of-the-future>), the *Journal of Video Experiments (JoVE)*, (<https://www.jove.com/>) and the *Harvard Business Review (HBR)*, (<https://hbr.org/>). We focus on characteristics of such publication venues and on the key challenges which can be identified when approaching methodologically the new generic formats that continue to appear in the academic context across domains.

This chapter is primarily meant to provide an introductory articulation of our systematic investigation of the multimodal and hypermodal turn that characterizes contemporary academic knowledge construction and dissemination. The chapter is also intended to serve as a resource for researchers interested in conducting fine-grained analyses of academic knowledge-making and in contributing to the advancement of this kind of qualitative methodologies. We will conclude by pointing out possible new avenues that could advance the research publication practices of modern university life when exploring this unavoidable multimodal and hypermodal turn.

2. Theoretical frameworks

In our investigations of academic communication formats in multimodal and hypermodal settings, we rely especially upon theoretical approaches stemming from genre analysis, multimodal analysis and knowledge communication studies. In this section, we will sketch out our multi-faceted theoretical framework, before discussing some of our analytical results, in Section 3.

2.1 Genre Analysis

With respect to genre analysis, we refer to the concept of genre as typified social action, following Miller (1984). She sees genre as a recurrent situated construal of a rhetorical type and a classification that is open (Miller 1984, 155-157). This means that instantiations of a genre, i.e., the concrete textual realizations that we investigate, are not mere copies of a genre structure. Instead, each new instantiation is individualized and adjusted to the specific conditions of the situation in which it is produced. However, such individual texts typically emerge based on genre knowledge held by expert writers, a kind of knowledge also described in terms of conventionalized prototypes (Paltridge 1997) or Generic Structure Potentials (Hasan 1977). The core idea is that texts are applied as substrates in knowledge construction and dissemination processes (cf. below), and they function as such by being adjusted to the affordances of the concrete situation, but based upon knowledge about what texts performing the substrate function prototypically look like.

Our application of the concept of genre focuses upon the functional aspects of prototypical textual aspects and the processes of creating prototypicality through social actions. A central analytical tool in this context is the distinction between three different generic flows suggested by Bateman (2008, 2009). He discerns three distinctive structural strategies: the text-flow, the page-flow and the image-flow. In the text-flow, “the visual line of the developing text provides a basic one-dimensional organizational scheme”, and “the spatial nature of the page is not made to carry significant meanings in its own right” (Bateman 2009, 61). Certainly, the incorporation of visual elements like tables and diagrams can also be encountered here. The page-flow can incorporate the text-flow and “adds the possibility of spatially-signaled rhetorical relations supporting the communicative intentions” (Bateman 2009, 61). The image-flow “is used to organize sequences of graphical elements rather than the text organized by text-flow”, and these sequences have “a very specific range of additional

meanings over and above those in the contributing images” (Bateman 2009, 61). By including these three analytical approaches in the tool box of genre analysis, an avenue is opened towards studying traditional as well as novel formats of constructing and disseminating academic knowledge, including aspects of multimodality and hypermodality.

2.2 Multimodality and hypermodality

Due to the appearance of various combinations of semiotic modes (language, images, music and sound) in the structure of old and new genres, the conceptual frameworks of *multimodality* (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2001 and Kress 2010) and *hypermodality* (Lemke 2002) have become relevant in the exploration of these increasingly complex genres. When defining a mode, Kress clarifies (2005, 7):

I use the term ‘mode’ for the culturally and socially produced resources for representation and ‘medium’ as the term for the culturally produced means for distribution of these representations-as-meanings, that is, as messages. These technologies—those of representation, the modes, and those of dissemination, the media—are always both independent of and interdependent with each other.

When the semiotic modes enter in dynamic relations with each other in the same text or across texts in digital hypertexts, multimodal researchers consider that “each mode is partial in relation to the whole of meaning” (Kress and Jewitt 2000, 3) and highlight the fact that each mode can contribute to knowledge communication through specific affordances when knowledge is resemiotized (Iedema 2003) or/and remediated (Bolter and Gruzin, 2002) in various domains.

Kress also addresses the impact of multimodality upon knowledge, stating that: “Knowledge is made and given shape in representation according to the potentials of modal affordances, the process of representation is identical to the shaping of knowledge. Makers of representations are shapers of knowledge” (Kress 2010, 27).

2.3 Knowledge communication

Where the two previously presented theoretical approaches are more interested in formal aspects of communication (conventionalized prototypicality, interaction of modes in the construction of meaning), the last theoretical pillar in our theoretical building is interested in the content being constructed and disseminated through communicative interaction, as

in academic knowledge. The corner stones of the approach are stated in the following basic definition of knowledge communication as an object of Knowledge Communication Studies (Kastberg 2007, 8):

Knowledge communication is strategic communication. As 'strategic' it is deliberately goal-oriented, the goal being the mediation of understanding across knowledge asymmetries. As 'communication' it is participative (interactive) and the communicative 'positions' converge on the (co)construction of (specialized) knowledge.

As we can see, the three concepts that serve as corner stones are the idea of goal-orientation, that of interactive nature and of the co-construction processes aiming at least at intermediary convergence of experts upon the specialized knowledge they develop in and through their academic communication. Especially the fact that knowledge is seen as emerging from the interaction of different participants introduces a dynamic force in the theoretical description: if academic knowledge emerges from participants trying to understand each other, this intent in itself will generate ongoing developments of the knowledge through the ongoing process of (mentally) constructing knowledge understandings and (communicatively) disseminating such diverse understandings.

In our various studies, we combine this idea of academic knowledge developing perpetually in communicative interactions with the idea of genre as typified—but not repetitive—action and the idea of meaning being constructed by the interplay of elements presented in different modes. Hence, we have combined three different theoretical approaches each with their specific profile, but sharing basic assumptions about the procedural character of communication and meaning construction.

In the next chapter, we will present some of the results of our analysis on the basis of the combination of the three theoretical approaches presented above.

3. Overview of methodological approaches and some main findings

From our perspective, the study of the communication of academic knowledge is “the study of how academic knowledge generated by researchers is communicated to other researchers in a participative process leading to (co-)construction of knowledge among producers and users of documents” (Engberg and Maier 2015b: 229). We have been mainly interested in explaining instances of academic knowledge communication

carried out in new multimodal and hypermodal settings in competition with traditional ways of disseminating academic knowledge like, e.g., the traditional RA. For that, we have selected and developed a range of different methodological tools, which we present here together with some of the main findings. In this connection, it is relevant to distinguish between issues with a focus upon the construction of knowledge, on the one hand, and issues focusing upon the dissemination of knowledge, on the other.

3.1 Construction issues

In our analytical work on construction issues in academic knowledge communication in novel settings, our focus has been on new transitional and intermediate generic forms, on multileveled knowledge building processes, and on the impact of digital environments upon authors' identity.

3.1.1 The transitional and intermediate generic forms

As the exploitation of multimodality is novel in the academic field, we have found it relevant to investigate the process of typification that can be expected, when the traditional goals of academic knowledge communication are applied to new formats. We selected two journals, *Visual Communication* and *Audiovisual Thinking*, for exploring multimodal data that could explain the dynamic transition from traditional RAs to academic visual essays and academic video essays. The comparative analysis was performed on the basis of two traditional RAs, five visual essays and four video essays.

The conceptual framework for our empirical genre analysis has been developed on the basis of Bateman's "layers of description" mentioned above, namely, the text-flow, the page-flow and the image-flow (Bateman 2009, 60). In order to label the unstable categories of emerging subgenres that we have encountered in the two journals, we have borrowed two terms from the evolutionary taxonomy used in natural sciences. Thus, we have classified them as *transitional* and *intermediate* forms. Transitional are those forms that do *not* present a substantial number of traits that the established genre does not possess as well. Transitional are those forms that are on the way of developing away from an established genre, but still share more characteristics with the established genre. They are thus closer to the prototype of the established genre than to that of the emerging genre. Intermediate forms, on the other hand, are those forms that although retaining some of the characteristics of the established genre, actually *do* have a significant number of unique traits not connected to the established genre (Maier and Engberg 2014, 117).

3.1.2 The multileveled knowledge building processes

In the study of academic articles from *Visual Communication* and *Audiovisual Thinking* we have focused upon the emerging generic forms, i.e., the process of constructing new formats. Shifting the focus to another construction issue, when exploring the *Article of the Future* project's, the *Journal of Visual Experiments*' and *Harvard Business Review*'s multimodal and hypermodal data, we have developed specific descriptors for the possible relations between semiotic modes that can appear through the user's interactions with the respective documents. Hence, we look here at the influence of individual users upon the knowledge construction process (where focus in the previous set of studies was upon the emergence of new typifications at the level of a generalized typology). The impact of these interactive possibilities upon a more efficient process of rendering scientific knowledge has also been in focus.

The data from the *Article of the Future* project of Elsevier publishing house has been represented by 13 prototype RAs embedded in and affected by the web context of the publishing house. The idea behind Elsevier's project was to develop a publication format for academic journal articles that conserves the status and functioning of the traditional printed RA, but takes advantage of the possibility of offering information in new formats made available by internet platforms which enable users to work with RAs on the screen rather than only in a printed format. Here the new forms of interaction comes into the picture. This corpus was the first that we analysed according to the specific descriptors mentioned above. The system of descriptors we propose is aimed at characterizing processes of *knowledge building* (Scardamalia and Bereiter 2006) through users' interaction with the document offered in an internet environment. We distinguish between two basic processes: *knowledge expansion* and *knowledge enhancement* (Engberg and Maier 2015b, 231-232). Knowledge expansion processes deal with more quantitative aspects, so to speak in the breadth of the knowledge potentially being built through the interaction. We distinguish here between the building of *core knowledge* (= the central research knowledge presented in the article) or of *peripheral knowledge*. The latter process may generate knowledge that is normally *necessary and presupposed* and hence not explicated, or *supplementary*, i.e., not central, but potentially relevant in order to connect core knowledge to other fields of knowledge. Knowledge enhancement processes, on the other hand, refer to the depth of the knowledge to be built from the users' interaction with the document. This perspective is thus more qualitative in its view. Here, we distinguish between processes building *new knowledge* and processes only building

repeated knowledge. Furthermore, the interaction with the academic content in an internet and screen environment generates the possibility of building what we term *other types of new knowledge*. This is knowledge which is not domain-specific, but which may influence the process of building new or repeated domain-specific knowledge. One example is knowledge about authors' looks, dress or speech mannerism. In our analysis, we have been able to use this category in order to classify instances of video presentations as *potentially building counterproductive knowledge* (see, for examples, the case of the journal *JoVE*, below).

Concerning the results of the analysis of the prototypes from the *Article of the Future* project, we found that many of the knowledge building processes connected to the possibilities of interaction with the multi- and hypermodal document fall in the categories of peripheral rather than core knowledge building (Engberg and Maier 2015a, 55-61). We found a few examples where for instance videos from experiments are shown, thus giving the user access to more core knowledge. But for instance links to explanations of background knowledge were seen to be mainly intended for non-expert users. From the qualitative point of view, we found more repeated knowledge and other types of knowledge to be built from the new interaction types than knowledge actually deepening the insights into the central aspects treated in the article. It seems that, at least in these prototypes, the traditional written format is still used as the main mode for presenting the core research knowledge.

In *JoVE*, we investigated a total of six video articles belonging to several scientific domains. They have several authors but not all the authors are visualized in the videos. When approaching the *JoVE* videos, the multimodal methodological tools used to examine the engagement of the viewers have also been selected from Norris' theoretical framework related to mediated actions (Norris 2009; 2014). In Norris' approach to multimodal (inter)action analysis, the focus is on "a social actor acting with or through mediational means" in a mediated action (Norris 2013, 157). We have focused on how chains of *lower-level actions* (researchers' utterances, gestures, postural or gaze shifts) build *higher-level actions* by employing multimodal processes such as foregrounding specific modes (*modal intensity*) and/or interweaving them in intricate ways (*modal complexity*). Thus, each *JoVE* video has been examined in order to reveal how it multimodally documents the research process through the researchers' chains of lower-level and higher-level actions contributing to both *knowledge expansion* and *knowledge enhancement* processes.

In *JoVE*'s videos, apart from the expected knowledge expansion and enhancement processes facilitated by the multimodal presentation of the

researchers' chains of lower-level and higher-level actions, *multilayers of knowledge* also appear through recurrent techniques such as split screens or still and moving images. However, the chosen publishing format has also facilitated the representation of two other types of knowledge: *apparent knowledge enhancement* and *counterproductive knowledge*. As in Elsevier's *Article of the Future* project, the *apparent knowledge enhancement* is manifested through knowledge that is resemiotized (e.g. written text on the homepage and the pdf format), and/or remediated (e.g. the written text in the article and in the speech excerpts of the video) with very small differences, if any. Furthermore, a similar appearance of *counterproductive knowledge* takes place due to the choice of the video format. For example, the disclosure of the researcher's identity as a particular human being with specific facial expressions (from smiles to frowns), physiological traits, postural behavior, gestures, speech patterns, and clothes choice, contributes to the construction of potentially counterproductive knowledge that takes away focus from the construction of core knowledge.

When examining knowledge construction and communication in the *Harvard Business Review's* digital environment, the two basic conceptual frameworks that we draw upon are both *knowledge mediation processes* and *levels of explanatory depth* (Maier and Engberg, forthcoming). Both frameworks aim at describing multimodal texts as a basis for knowledge construction processes and especially how the combination of modes is productive in HBR' digital context. The objects of the study were three articles in the journal and three products supplementing the articles (an interview, an instructional video and a webinar) offered via the HBR website. As already explained, the first approach (the *knowledge mediation processes of knowledge enhancement and expansion*) is procedural and focuses upon the interaction and the relations between different modes in the process of creating the textual meaning. In the articles, we found knowledge expansion processes mainly connecting core knowledge in the article with peripheral knowledge in the form of further readings, for instance, from the HBR archive of articles, or comments by readers. The expansions lead to actual enhancements in the form of knowledge about other work by the same author, for instance. Furthermore, we found a good portion of apparent enhancement processes, where the same information is offered in new formats. The supplementing material shows a similar picture concerning knowledge expansion and enhancement, although the generic formats are different.

The second approach (*levels of explanatory depth*) is more structural and aims at assessing the complexity of the knowledge base created by the multimodal text. The idea is to distinguish between different levels of

complexity when presenting causal connections in theory-based explanations. We distinguish between explanations demonstrating *causal relevance* (two factors are causally connected, but no specifications are given concerning the direction), explanations demonstrating *causal powers* (one factor influences another, e.g. a magnet attracts metal, but no specification is given concerning the mechanism behind), and explanations demonstrating *causal relations* (causal relations between factors are presented together with the underlying system actually explaining why the causal relations exist). This analysis was carried out only upon one article and its supplementing interview. The article shows more examples of descriptions including causal relations than the interview. We interpret this as an indication that the article emphasises more the academic character of the knowledge to be built on the basis of the text, whereas the interview emphasises more the practical relevance of the knowledge. Together with the other results, this confers a special profile of a journal like HBR, aiming to make academic knowledge more accessible for experts working in the world of business.

3.1.3 The impact of digital environments upon authors' identity

In order to accommodate a more nuanced understanding of academic knowledge communication and construction, we resort now to the transmedial strategies of revealing the identity of academic narrators which were included as an analytical category for a study published in a volume edited by Maurizio Gotti (Maier and Engberg 2013). When exploring the changes in the representation of the narrator's identity in the transition from RAs to research video essays in *Visual Communication* and *Audiovisual Thinking*, we have identified several strategies. In RAs, the strategies of foregrounding the narrator's identity are monomodal and can consist of direct mentioning of the name, affiliation and main biographical data below the title on the first page or last page of the articles, on the one hand, and via first person pronouns in the running text.

However, the video essay format permits a representation of the narrator's identity that is characterized "not only by multimodal forms but also by remediated and/or resemiotized forms and is reinforced in multiple layers" (Maier and Engberg 2013, 157). The multiple layers of multimodal and remediated identification forms give the narrators a more prominent role as they succeed in diminishing the distance between them and their audience. As a result, these forms contribute to "controlling the audience' understanding and interpretation more closely, and simultaneously strengthening the undeniable authenticity of narrators' statements" (Maier and Engberg 2013, 158).

3.2 Dissemination issues

The investigation of the new generic formats has also provided us the possibility to reveal the relations between the dissemination of knowledge in the traditionally dominating written mode, and the novel multimodal and hypermodal venues offered by Elsevier's *Article of the Future* project, *JoVE* and *HBR*. Here, our focus has been on the author-induced and publisher-induced challenges provoked by such digital environments.

3.2.1 Author-induced challenges

The chosen video format in, for example, *JoVE* has contributed to the readjustment of the level of academic formality and to a diminished distance between researchers on screen and viewers through various multimodal strategies: the eye contact between researchers on the screen and viewers, the direct address “you” when experiments are being conducted, or the rhetorical questions and imperatives addressed to the viewers during the presentation of experiment procedures. However, the researchers' lack of training in communicating through this generic format is obvious, although, according to the publishers, at least in the previous stages of the development of the journal “publishing in *JoVE* allows authors to dynamically present their methods, data analyses and results clearly, accurately, and professionally with the guidance of *JoVE*'s professional videographers and editors” (*JoVE* homepage 2015). Our research results on the emergence of counterproductive knowledge (e.g., Engberg and Maier, forthcoming) point out that not all articles seem to have taken full advantage of such professional guidance.

3.2.2 Publisher-induced challenges

After investigating the *JoVE* publishing strategies, it has also become obvious that “due to embedded hyperlinking features and the multimodal (gestural and/or just verbal) encouragements of the researchers to the users to access other knowledge sources from the articles' webpage, the videos cannot be efficiently used without those accompanying web sources” (Engberg and Maier 2019, 186). However, this also means that, in this context, the video and not the RA becomes the central part of the publishing endeavor.

HBR has been chosen as another data source for investigating publisher-induced challenges because it is a proof of how disseminating ideas outside the core field of academic discourse is gaining more and more importance. It has offered us the possibility to establish potential differences between

researchers' articles and their surrounding digital material (*transmedial gradation*, Maier and Engberg, forthcoming) under the assumption that those articles and digital material have different audiences and/or fulfil different purposes. We have found many of the strategies known from digital academic research publishing, but also, for instance, a lack of references to actual academic work. We have also found a tendency to enhance knowledge by promoting the article itself in the HBR context and by inserting unrelated promotional knowledge for the supplementing purpose of advertising the channel to potential customers. For example, embedded in the middle of the RAs we can encounter announcements in which the reader is encouraged to register for webinars that have no connections with the articles' topics. Additionally, the advertising aspect becomes even stronger in imperatives such as "Give the gift of success to a friend or colleague", which are supposed to persuade the reader to attract more subscribers. By interrupting the reading process, the presence of such boxes containing advertising material contributes to a new way of disseminating academic knowledge. However, it seems obvious that the advertising discourse disrupts the academic one diluting its argumentative power and may therefore be seen as a publisher-induced new strategy.

4. Concluding remarks

Through this review we aimed to give a brief overview of methods and approaches, which we have used in our studies of multimodal and hypermodal ventures of facilitating academic knowledge. In this way, we intended to contribute to the literature on qualitative research methodology dedicated to contemporary academic knowledge creation and dissemination, which is an interest we share with Maurizio Gotti, as is visible in the many national and international projects he has directed throughout his career as a researcher. Furthermore, by presenting at least sketches of our analytical results so far we also wanted to give first insights into what the change of format is used for, i.e., what the direct consequences are for the dissemination of specialised knowledge. As "the confinement of academic knowledge to the boundaries of the written text is more and more challenged these days" (Maier and Engberg 2013, 149), the necessity of acknowledging and exploring systematically the on-going proliferation of new generic clusters and publishing formats cannot be ignored any longer, especially because, as Hull and Nelson's (2005, 226) suggest:

The new media that afford multimodal composing might helpfully be viewed not as a threat to or impoverishment of the print-based canon or traditional means of composing, but rather as an opportunity to contribute a

newly invigorated literate tradition and to enrich our available means of signification.

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PART FOUR

HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

“THE DUTCH HERE HAV BIN VERY HYGH”: CHARLES LONGLAND’S DIPLOMATIC CORRESPONDENCE OF THE 1650S

NICHOLAS BROWNLEES

1. Introduction

In this paper I shall examine the diplomatic correspondence sent by Charles Longland to John Thurloe, the English Secretary of State, in 1653-1654. At the time of the correspondence Longland was England’s agent at Leghorn, a recently-built, fast-growing port on the Tuscan coast.¹ England’s strong commercial ties with Leghorn necessitated not only the appointment of a government agent for the town but also reports from this person. From the summer of 1653, England’s agent was Longland, and hence it was his duty to provide frequent analyses of the various naval, commercial, diplomatic and political manoeuvring involving the English, Dutch, Spanish and Grand Duchy of Tuscany in and around that part of the Mediterranean coast. This manuscript correspondence is fascinating from both a historical and linguistic point of view. Regarding the epistolary language, I shall examine the correspondence in relation to its textual structure, semantics and orthography.

2. Charles Longland

By the time Charles Longland (1603-1688) began his correspondence with Thurloe, he had been living in Leghorn for about ten years.² Undoubtedly

¹ In referring to the town as ‘Leghorn’, rather than ‘Livorno’, as the town was and still is called in Italy, I am following seventeenth-century English practice.

² For information about Longland, as well as the English community in Leghorn during the mid-seventeenth century, see Chorley (2001), Villani (2003, 2013) and

a shrewd business entrepreneur, by the early 1650s he had established himself as one of the most successful English merchants at the Tuscan port. Like his compatriots his work was based around shipping and the profitable trade that had developed in exporting or importing goods to and from England. However, his interests were not just money-related: he was also politically committed and of strong religious conviction. A fervent supporter of Parliament in its struggle against Charles I, he had lent Admiral William Penn the substantial sum of £1,000 in support of his parliament-backed mission to hunt down and capture royalist ships in the Mediterranean in 1651. Longland's religious beliefs were no less forthright than his political views. Not just violently anti-Catholic, he also rejected any form of episcopalianism. This, for example, is clearly seen in his refusal to follow his compatriots' decision to donate money towards the payment of an Anglican minister in Leghorn in 1668.

Given these views, coupled with his social and financial standing at Leghorn, it is not surprising that when in the summer of 1653 Oliver Cromwell instructed Thurloe to establish a domestic and international network of spies, informers, agents and diplomats, the Secretary of State should turn to Longland for information about Italy. Since the end of 1651 Longland had been supplying news about ship movements in the Mediterranean to the English Admiralty, now he was required to write to and inform one of the highest civil servants in the republican Commonwealth, a man who has been described as “one of the forefathers of espionage and intelligence gathering in England” (Marshall 1994, 304).³

The more than 100 letters sent by Longland to Thurloe that have survived are almost all published in *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe 1652-1658* (Birch, 1742, whose online edition is found at <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/statepapers.aspx>). For the purposes of this essay I have examined Longland's letters from 5 September (his first letter) to the end of 1654. In all they amount to 25 letters comprising 10,000 words. The letters were sent on 5, 19 September, 28 November, 5 December 1653; 9 January, 13 March, 10 April, 8 May, 3, 10, 17, 24, 31 July, 7, 14, 21 August, 11, 18 September, 9, 16, 23, 30 October, 13, 20 November and 4 December 1654. The fact that Longland wrote more letters during the summer months is not surprising since in Early Modern Europe it was between spring and autumn that important newsworthy events such as military and naval manoeuvres tended to take place. For an agent like

Venning (accessed in February 2019 like the other links indicated in the present chapter).

³ The republican Commonwealth was replaced by Oliver Cromwell's Protectorate in December 1653.

Longland, who was required to supply intelligence of such nature, these were the busiest months of the year.

The online edition of Longland's letters to Thurloe faithfully transcribes the wording, spelling and punctuation of the English agent's text but does not give important graphic and spatial details regarding the original manuscript text.⁴ For example, we are not given indications as to Longland's hand nor the amount of space separating the salutation from the body of the text. Both these features could provide significant pragmatic meanings since, for example, an ornate hand with extensive space between salutation and body of the text could signify marked deference in relation to the addressee.⁵ However, even without these graphic and paratextual features, the texts that are included offer fascinating insight into the language adopted by an English foreign agent in the nascent professional spy network set up under Oliver Cromwell.

3. Charles Longland's letters to John Thurloe

3.1 Textual superstructure and semantic macrostructure

In my examination of Longland's letters I will begin by providing an excerpt from the letter of 5 September. As regards structure, content and orthography the letter is typical of much of Longland's correspondence.

(1) Leghorn, 5 Sept. 1653. [N. S]⁶

Honored Sir,

By yours of the first of August I am again confirmed, that the advyses I send you from Rom ar not such things as you desire: however having paid for them three monthes anticipat, I must giv you the trouble of viewing them til the expiration of the said tym. Next week I am promist such a correspondant, as you desyre in Rom; as yet I do not know the quality and condition of him, but my next shall advys you. Concerning the engagement betwixt our fleet

⁴ In the preface to the first volume of the 1742 version, the editor, Birch, writes that "he can with the utmost sincerity declare, that he has not retrenched, altered, or added a single word through the whole collection; an assertion, which may easily be verified by having recourse to the originals themselves", <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=55220>.

⁵ See Dossena (2012, 21-24) for considerations relating to the material world of the epistolary text.

⁶ "N.S" stands for 'novo stile', the new Gregorian calendar that was followed in Tuscany.

and the Duch, which you mention begun on Fryday the 28th of July, the Duch letters arryved here the first current say it ended the 30th wherin they got a very great victory, having sunk and burnt about twenty of our ships: they only lost theyr general Tromp. This news continued current for two dayes (for no Englishman in town had any advys of the succes) but by the happy arryval of a French ship from Marcelles, I received a fresh letter from a frend ther, that stopt the current, and tels us, that our fleet obtained the victory, having taken, sunk, and burnt thirty of theyr ships, and taken a thousand prisoners with the los only of two ships. I hope with the next letters to hav al confirmed from your own good hand: in the mean tym the Itallians are al amazed, and althoh they ar generally our enemyes, which is much heiten'd by the malignity of our own nation, yet they now begin to detest the basnes of the Duch, who seek to mak lyes theyr refuge, having so often bin tardy in the sam kind. That state in recompence of Tromp's good servis hav now sent comision hether, that his son be comander in cheif of al theyr ships of war in the Mediterranean seas; so 'tis clear, that they intend to keep them here al this winter. At present aboute eighteen sail ly betwixt Cales and the Streit's mouths, wher they examin al manner of ships, that com in, or go out. When the parliament and state at hom think it sesonable to send a fleet to remov them, I am confident twenty sail wil esily do't, and keep the lordship of thes seas without costing the state a penny; for since our nation hav bin outed of the Turky trade, the Duch and French hav exceedingly increased in it, that if such a fleet be sent hether with a discreet comander in chief, and stout fighting men, theyr purchas may more than pay theyr charge. [...]. Several other great advantages myht such a fleet bring to the commonwealth, besyds opening a trade for our shiping, it might aw the French, countenance the Spanyard, who is very low, reduce the pyrats of Barbery to such termes by theyr presence, that our captiv country men myht be redeemed at an esy rate, and good conditions settled for prevention of theyr piracy in the future. Here is in this port about ten Duch men of war, who intend sudenly to go out to look for som of our ships, which they conceiv may com from Newfoundland with fish, as also a ship or two going hom from Zant. This is what the present affourds, wherin I humbly beg your pardon.

Sir, your humble and faithfull servant
Charles Longland.⁷

In my analysis of Longland's epistolary structure and content I shall refer to the textual superstructure and semantic macrostructural levels, two terms I borrow for this study from van Dijk (1985, 1988) who elaborated the concepts from both a theoretical and practical point of view in his analysis

⁷ I follow the same spacing between salutation, subscription and body of text as found in the online edition of the letters.

of hard print news. In determining the schematic textual organization (textual superstructure, i.e. opening, body, closing, see Table 1 below) and topics or semantic content of the correspondence (macrostructural level, i.e. salutation, reference to previous correspondence, reporting news, request for news, subscription, see Table 1), it will be possible to compare these features with those analysed in other studies of contemporary diplomatic correspondence. In particular, reference will be made to Brownlees (2012), where the letters of English and Italian diplomats writing at the turn of the eighteenth century are analysed.⁸

The letters begin with either the salutation “Honoured/Honored Sir” (letters 1-12, 19) or “Honourable/Honorable Sir” (letters 13-18, 20-25). Both salutations are interaction-up and would appear fitting given both Thurloe’s social and professional status. He was Longland’s superior and hence deserved an interaction-up honorific but as he was not of the aristocracy it was not fitting to provide a salutation such as ‘My Lord’.⁹

Following the Opening, the Body of Longland’s letter sometimes begins with either reference to his own previous letter or that of Thurloe’s. For example, in (1) above, the English agent refers to Thurloe’s letter “of the first of August”, whereas on 9 January 1654 he writes in reference to both his and Thurloe’s last letters: “Last week I gav answer to yours of the 21st November”. However, back referencing to previous correspondence is much less frequent in Longland’s letters than occurs in other diplomatic correspondence of the period between full-time diplomatic envoys and their superiors. For example, in Brownlees (2012) we see how at the turn of the eighteenth century Sir Lambert Blackwell, the Florentine-based English envoy to the Grand Duchy of Tuscany, and Francesco Terriesi, his Tuscan counterpart in London, regularly introduce their diplomatic correspondence with reference to either the date or general contents of their last letters or acknowledgement of receipt of the last letter they had received from their respective superiors. This epistolary back referencing reflected the more

⁸ Okulska’s study of diplomatic correspondence of the Middle and Early Modern English periods is less relevant since although she adopts the concept of genre superstructures as “text constructional units” (2006, 47) she above all focuses on single narrative reports in contrast to regular or periodical diplomatic correspondence that I examine here and in Brownlees (2012).

⁹ Although Cromwell abolished the House of Lords in 1649, in most formal correspondence salutations continued to reflect the same sensibility to social standing as in the past. For example, diplomatic letters written to Oliver Cromwell during the Protectorate frequently address him as “Your Highness” (*A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe 1652-1658*, Birch, 1742). Nevala (2004) provides an overview of forms of salutation in 17th- and 18th-century correspondence.

continuous nature of the diplomatic correspondence between envoy and Secretary of State than was the case between Longland and Thurloe. The envoys had to provide a weekly news update regarding their diplomatic mission, but given the inherent unreliability of cross-European postal communication in the Early Modern period, we find the envoys not just referring to previous letters that had been received and sent, but more particularly reiterating in their letters almost word for word sections of their previous correspondence. In contrast, Longland was not expected to supply such continuous information. Rather than an envoy, he was an agent, and as such was only expected to correspond when he had particular news to convey. Likewise, Thurloe’s own position towards Longland was different from that reserved to Blackwell and Terriesi by their respective superiors. The latter Secretaries of State engaged in a much more frequent epistolary exchange with their correspondents because they were not just interested in receiving information but also wished to instruct their envoys regarding what they should do. Thurloe, on the other hand, was principally interested in having Longland as an informer or agent, someone with whom it was not necessary to maintain regular correspondence. This key difference between the diplomatic roles of Longland and Blackwell explains why although both sets of correspondence fall broadly under the term ‘diplomatic correspondence’ they contain significant differences at a semantic macrostructural level.

Leaving aside referencing to other correspondence, the Body of Longland’s letters contains what he considers news capable of interesting his superior. The news is set out factually though in its presentation we see that the English agent very much regards himself as an interested party. Thus, in (1) he refers to “the Itallians” as “our enemyes” whilst on 31 July 1654 he writes of the Spanish, England’s allies:

(2)

Indeed the Spaniard is so low in these parts, that without some succour from England he can hardly subsist. God send al may be for his glory, and the good of England!

(31 July 1654)

Longland likewise unhesitatingly presents personal views about British matters, such as in (3), where he unreservedly expresses the hope that he will soon be hearing of the defeat of the Royalist forces in Scotland:

(3)

I infinitely rejois, that the protector and parlement agreed, which must certainly conduce to the happines of this nation [..].

(13 November 1654)

As conclusion to the Body of the letter, we sometimes find Longland deferentially requesting further information relating to matters affecting British domestic politics or foreign policy:

(4)

I know you ar extream ful of bisnes; otherwise now and then a word of occurrences at hom would be very acceptable [...].

(16 October 1654)

(5)

I should be hartilly glad to hear, that Middleton and the rest of the Hyhlanders in Scotland were queld; which I hope wil sudenly be braught to pas.

(21 August 1654)

(6)

The great loss of the Spaniard at Arras renders him extreamly low in the ey of the world. I should gladly hear, how England stands in relation to Spayn and France.

(18 September 1654)

This request for news reflects not just Longland's personal involvement and interest in such matters but also his recognition that his job as informer and agent was facilitated by his having access to recent news and events. If an agent or diplomat were in possession of fresh news, he was better able to maintain his all-important social and professional status in his adopted country of residence. This recognition of the importance of being privy to recent information is expressly stated by Longland in his letter of 9 January 1654.

(7)

It would ad much to my credit here, as I am the state's servant, to hav frequent and good advys of al such passages at hom at the first hand: the governor and other officers wil ask me, if such and such things be so; wherunto I can say nothing but what is common upon the exchange, which if it once prov true tis six tymes the contrary: 'tis in your power to remedy this, and enable me to keep a better correspondency with the great duk's officers [...].

(9 January 1654)

Following the body of the letter, the letters conclude with the subscription. Although they sometimes change in wording, all of them are formulaic and suitably index the British agent's inferior status: "I am, Honoured sir, your

most humble servant, Charles Longland”, “I am, Honoured sir, your most faithfull servant, Charles Longland”.

Summing up, Longland’s correspondence broadly contains the following textual and semantic features:

Textual Superstructure	Semantic Macrostructure
Opening	1. Salutation
Body	2. Referencing to when his own letter was sent and/or when he received Thurloe’s last correspondence
	3. Reporting his news
	4. Request for news from Thurloe
Closing	5. Subscription

Table 14.1: Constituent parts of Longland’s correspondence

The fixed textual superstructure of Opening, Body and Closing is filled by the semantic macrostructure where 1), 3) and 5) are obligatory while 2) and 4) are often found.

3.2 Orthography in mid-17th century England

Before examining the distinctive features of Longland’s orthography it is necessary to consider the extent to which orthographic standardization had been established by the 1650s. As Salmon (1999, 44-55) writes, orthographic standardization varied according to whether the text was printed or manuscript. Regarding print texts, printers had largely settled upon orthographic standardization as is exemplified by this passage from *Mercurius Politicus*, one of the best-known periodical news pamphlets of the period:

(8)

From Legorn of the 18 of October, stilo novo, it is written, That the English ships are still penn’d up there, and at Portolongone, and like to be so still, till relief come to them: For that the *Dutch* have taken on Merchantmen to make men of war and augmented their number, which is now almost Thirty. Also, that the Dutchmen in those Parts express great good will toward the Scottish King, and have given a new name to the Phœnix Frigat which they took from the English, calling it *Charls the Second*.
(*Mercurius Politicus*, 4-11 November 1652)

In contrast manuscript texts accommodated much greater orthographic variety. This is seen in all forms of private correspondence including the

following passages from two diplomats also writing to Thurloe in 1653-1654. Passage (9) was written by the English 'resident' (agent) at Hamburg and (10) by the English ambassador to Sweden.¹⁰

(9)

Sir,

Its said heere, the last post miscarried, which is the reason I truble you with a copie of my letter thereby. This day comes on yours of the 4th present, with the inclosed for my lord ambassador. This I sent thence per last. I suppose, ere theise can reach you, the signinge of the rest of the provinces will be knowne to you, and the issue of the treatie thereupon to all. No doubt but the Lord, who hath looked upon your faithfull proceedings and fair dealinge with them, will witnesse to it, whether in peace or warre, so as the world shall be convinced of your reality, as its sufficiently of their deceitfulnessse. It seemes France and Spaine vie in their forwardnesse to court his highnesse. The Dane, though but a novice to them at cajoling, will come in for a part, as I gave you notice in my last of Williamson's cominge to congratulate his highnesse. I am sorrrie Mr. Feake and Mr. Sympson should so enforce their owne restraint. Good men may in a precipitated zeale forfit more than their libertie to a state.

(14 February 1654)

(10)

Sir,

Monsr Bloome came to me with a compliment, that the chancellor was troubled he could not visitt me before his goinge from this towne; that he withdrew himselfe to be free from businesse, and to recover his health; and that at his returne he would come to me. This gentleman did beginn some discourse about my businesse; and I takinge him for a spie, thought it reasonable to tell him what I beleevved he would againe report. I told him, that France, Spaine, Portugall, Italy, Flanders, Holland, Switzerland, Denmarke, and other princes and states had sent their publike ministers to his highnes my lord the protector, to seeke his friendship; but his highnes havinge sent his ambassador into this kingdom, soe little respect is shewed him, that in three or four moneths an answer hath not bin given him.

(31 March 1654)

In (9) the principal recurrent nonstandard orthographic features comprise the insertion of final <e> while in (10) there is not only the insertion of final <e> but also the doubling of final consonant.¹¹ However, whilst not conforming

¹⁰ Both letters are found in the online version of *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe 1652-1658*.

¹¹ The substitution of final <ie> for <y> cannot be regarded as nonstandard since in the periodical news pamphlets of the period it was still commonly found. See

to standard print orthography, neither (9) nor (10) are so deviant as to violate the general sociolinguistic norm of the age whereby “*the scholar and gentleman* is still free to use, within reason, his own spelling system” (Salmon 1999, 44).¹² Such orthographic idiosyncrasies were tolerated though the emphasis on educational and social standing is crucial because in those cases where it was absent non conformity with presumed orthographic standards could be treated with ridicule and contempt. This was made evident in some of the political polemic of the preceding decade when both Royalists and Parliamentarians mocked their adversaries for their perceived inability to spell correctly. For example, *Mercurius Aulicus*, the royalist publication, rejected a parliamentarian pamphlet’s assertion that the king’s forces, based in Oxford, should have stuck to “Lodgick”, or other academic pursuits associated with that university town rather than becoming embroiled in politics by retorting: “Good Sir let Logicke alone till you can spell it without a D.”¹³ For *Mercurius Aulicus*, orthography provided an all-important key to understanding the value of a person or publication, and where the orthography did not conform to standard practice that person or pamphlet was rightly ignored.¹⁴ The royalist pamphlet was assuming that unlike the “gentleman and scholar”, who chose to favour his own spelling of the word instead of that commonly accepted, the parliamentarian publication had been guilty of not even knowing the standard spelling.

3.3 Charles Longland’s orthography

My analysis of Longland’s orthography will be exemplified by the first lines of his letter of 5 September 1653.

(11)

By yours of the first of August I am again confirmed, that the advyses I send you from Rom ar not such things as you desire: however having paid for them three monthes anticipat, I must giv you the trouble of viewing them til the expiration of the said tym. Next week I am promist such a correspondant, as you desyre in Rom; as yet I do not know the quality and condition of him, but my next shall advys you. Concerning the engagement betwixt our fleet and the Duch, which you mention begun on Fryday the 28th of July, the Duch letters arrvyed here the first current say it ended the 30th wherin they

Rutkowska (2016) for further details on this and orthographic indications of vowel length.

¹² The foregrounding in “the scholar and gentleman” is mine.

¹³ *Mercurius Aulicus*, 23 June-29 June 1644, 1062.

¹⁴ For further considerations on orthography and its pragmatic implications during the English Civil War, see Brownlees (2014, 117-134; 2009a, 2009b).

got a very great victory, having sunk and burnt about twenty of our ships: they only lost theyr general Tromp. This news continued current for two dayes (for no Englishman in town had any advys of the succes) but by the happy arryval of a French ship from Marcelles, I received a fresh letter from a frend ther, that stopt the current, and tels us, that our fleet obtained the victory, having taken, sunk, and burnt thirty of theyr ships, and taken a thousand prisoners with the los only of two ships. I hope with the next letters to hav al confirmed from your own good hand: in the mean tym the Itallians are al amazed, and althoh they ar generally our enemyes, which is much heiten'd by the malignity of our own nation, yet they now begin to detest the basnes of the Duch, who seek to mak lyes theyr refuge, having so often bin tardy in the sam kind.
(5 September 1653)

The numerous differences between Longland's orthography and standard print orthography are evident, as is also clear the much greater degree of nonstandard deviation in Longland's correspondence compared to that of the English resident's and ambassador's in (9) and (10).

The principal orthographic features in Longland's correspondence can be summarized as follows:

- a) the abolition of the silent final <e> in words such as *Rom, ar, giv, mak, sam*;
- b) the occasional loss of silent <e> in median position: *wherin*;
- c) the substitution of <y> for <i> in medial position when the vowel indicates /aɪ/: *tym, desyre, arryved*;
- d) the elimination of double consonants in final position: *til, los, succes, al*;
- e) the occasional elimination of double consonants in medial position: *tels* (but not *letters*);
- f) the occasional addition of a consonant to form a double consonant: *Itallians, malignity*;
- g) the rejection of single silent letters: *Duch, frend, ther, althoh*;
- h) the substitution of <t> for <ed> with verbs finishing with /t/: *promist, stopt*;
- i) the substitution of initial <i> for <e> with words beginning with /i/: *Englishman*.

Whilst these features are found throughout Longland's correspondence they are not employed invariably. For example, in his subscription to Thurloe, we sometimes find "faithfull servant" not 'faithful servant', "hope" is found instead of 'hop' and "happening" is used instead of 'hapening'. However, despite such occasional inconsistencies, it is clear that Longland's orthography

is based on a set of principles or rules. What is interesting is to consider whether Longland’s orthographic system reflected the ideas of any spelling reformer of the time, and, if so, what this tells us about Longland’s decision to adopt such a system in his own correspondence to Thurloe.

Given the time he began his correspondence to the Secretary of State, it seems most likely that Longland was indeed following the ideas of one of England’s spelling reformers of the period. The reformer was James Howell and he had set out his views on spelling reform in his address “To the Intelligent Reader” in his high-selling volume *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae: Familiar Letters Domestic and Forren*.¹⁵ The volume first came out in 1645 and was enlarged with further letters in 1647 and 1650, with the final edition coming out in 1655. In his address to his readers, and as explanation for the nonstandard orthography that had generally been followed in the volume, Howell writes:

(12)

To the Intelligent Reader.

Amongst other reasons which make the English Language of so small extent, and put strangers out of conceit to learn it, one is, That we do not pronounce as we write, which proceeds from divers superfluous Letters, that occur in many of our words, which adds to the difficulty of the Language. Therefore the Author hath taken pains to retrench such redundant, unnecessary Letters in this Work (though the Printer hath not bin so careful as he should have bin), as amongst multitudes of other words may appear in these few, done, some, come; Which, though we, to whom the speech is connatural, pronounce as monosyllables, yet when strangers come to read them, they are apt to make them dissillables, as do-ne, so-me, co-me, therefore such an e is superfluous.

Moreover, those words that have the Latin for their originall, the Author prefers that Orthography, rather than the French, wherby divers Letters are spar’d, as Physic, Logic, Afric, not Physique, Logique, Afrique; favor, honor, labor, not favour, honour, labour, and very many more; as also he omits the Dutch k, in most words; here you shall read peeple not pe-ople, tresure not treasure, toung not tongue, etc. Parlement not Parliament, busines, witnes, sicknes, not businesse, witnessse, sicknesse; star, war, far, not starre, warre, farre; and multitudes of such words, wherin the two last letters may well be spar’d. Here you shall also read pity, piety, witty, not piti-e, pieti-e, witti-e, as strangers at first sight pronounce them, and abundance of such like words. [...]

¹⁵ For information on Howell and his contribution to spelling reform, see Iamartino and Vicentini (2003). For further general information on Howell’s cultural and literary importance in mid-17th century England, see Schneider (2005, passim), Considine (2010) and Woolf.

Aristotle *hath a topic Axiom, that Frustra fit per plura, quod fieri potest per pauciora*, When fewer may serve the turn, more is in vain. *And as this rule holds in all things els, so it may be very well observ'd in Orthography.*

These words of Howell's reflect Longland's own system. From the author's general orthographic principle that "When fewer may serve the turn, more is in vain" to the multiple examples that he provides we see evident similarities between what he espoused in his widely read publication and Longland's own orthography. As with Howell, Longland also generally avoided "redundant, unnecessary Letters" in his spelling with the result that he too spelt 'Parliament' as *parlement* (13 November 1654), 'some' as *som* (5 September 1653) and on most occasions 'warre' or 'warr' as *war*. In some occasions the English agent even provides more extreme phonetic spellings than those suggested by Howell: 'people' as *peple* (17 July 1654), 'business' as *bisnes* (16 October 1654).

Admittedly, we have no incontrovertible proof that Longland had read Howell's work but given the similarities found in Longland's orthography and that used and explained in Howell's widely-read publication it is highly likely that Longland had been influenced by it. Perhaps he had come across it in England before setting off for Leghorn in the 1640s or maybe a copy of one of the editions had arrived in Leghorn after 1645. Whatever the case, what is undeniable is that as regards orthography, and its reform, political leanings did not affect attitudes to the inadequacies of English spelling. Howell was a royalist and had dedicated *Epistolae Ho-Eliaanae: Familiar Letters* to Charles I. In contrast, Longland's forthright parliamentary support was so well-known that Salvetti, the Grand Duke of Tuscany's agent in London, said that in Cromwellian England he was "tenuto per gran parlamentario" ('considered a great parliamentarian', Villani 2013, 166-167). Howell and Longland had different politics but both were self-declared patriots who found English spelling unsatisfactory. In his address to his readers Howell had emphasised the difficulties foreigners had in learning the language, and maybe this too had influenced Longland. He would have been only too aware that unlike English spelling Italian spelling was broadly phonetic with the result that learning the language was much easier.

Although we do not know Longland's exact reasons for adopting a reformed orthography, we do know that he invariably used it when communicating with English authorities in London.

Longland was not a professional diplomat relying on good will and patronage to further his diplomatic career. He was a successful foreign-based merchant willing and able to help his country achieve its political objectives. For this end he corresponded with John Thurloe, England's

Secretary of State, but whilst he was willing to respect many of the conventions associated with asymmetrical diplomatic correspondence he was not ready to sacrifice his very particular orthography. As for Thurloe, although we are uncertain whether he found the spelling bizarre, there is no doubt that the contents of what was sent back to London were considered strategically important. Longland corresponded with Thurloe right up to the Restoration in 1660 after which he was left to concentrate on his business interests in Leghorn while Thurloe retired into obscurity. Fortunately, before his retirement, the Secretary of State had hidden his correspondence for posterity in a ceiling above his office. Thanks to that, we can analyse and enjoy some of the first diplomatic correspondence sent back from Italy under England’s newly-created diplomatic network in the 1650s.

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CHAPTER FIFTEEN

THE DAWNING OF ACADEMIC EVALUATION: OLDENBURG'S TRANSACTIONS OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY

GABRIELLA DEL LUNGO CAMICIOTTI

1. Introduction

The present paper focuses on the correspondence coordinated by Henry Oldenburg as Secretary of the Royal Society exchanged between European scholars and experimenters. A specific year has been chosen as case study: the first volume containing the correspondence of the year 1666.

Epistolary discourse is a multifunctional textual genre, whose official and practical use has developed over the centuries giving rise to different textual sub-genres (Del Lungo Camiciotti and Pallotti 2014, 17-18). As in the seventeenth century correspondence is used, in addition to personal purposes, to exchange scientific information among members of the European network linking experimenters and scientists, the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, containing letters and reports addressed to the Society, can be considered the beginning of academic journals and papers. It is today a widespread viewpoint that academic writing, far from being objective, shows persuasive and evaluative features (Hyland 1998). The aim of the present paper is to investigate whether this is true also of seventeenth century scholarly writing.

2. Scientific correspondence and community

In the seventeenth century the letter was a widely used way of disseminating scientific knowledge across the network linking European scholars. The letter was in this period a semi-public document as it was usually read to more people than the addressee; this was customary for familiar letters, but more so for letters reporting experiments and

discoveries addressed to the Royal Society. As affirmed by Gotti (2014, 153): “As it was commonly understood that the knowledge shared by the network through these quasi-public letters would be made visible in the public discourse of the community, some—or parts—of them were read at the meetings of the Royal Society or were published in journals such as the *Philosophical Transactions*. Indeed, Oldenburg [Henry Oldenburg, first Secretary of the Royal Society] often read the contents of the letters that he received at the meetings of the Royal Society, thus transforming his private correspondence into public communication.”

The letter is a genre that implies a sender and at least one receiver of the information contained in it; however, transmitting news is not its only function. It is a dialogic text, and as such it may contain evaluation, both subjective and inter-subjective because the personal opinion expressed by the writer construes a world view shared with the reader. By telling the reader what the writer thinks or feels about the transmitted information, the letter construes a value system that is underpinned by communal ideological assumptions about the world; it also implies the construction of both the writer's persona, how he or she wants to be perceived by readers, and that of the reader. The exchange of letters between seventeenth century scholars is no exception; they belong to the international community which had its centre in the Royal Society, founded in 1662 to disseminate scientific knowledge. As observed by Gotti (2014) scientific correspondence was communal: letters often conveyed information carried out not only by individuals but also by groups and were frequently addressed not merely to single experimenters but also to teams of researchers. Because of this, we can say that the construction of writer's and addressee's epistolary personae reflects the membership practices and roles of the whole community.

That of *community* is a concept that is central to discourse analysis as it draws attention to the fact that communication is always situated in social contexts and provides a way of understanding how meaning is produced in interaction. So, the analysis of the mid-seventeenth century texts contained in the *Philosophical Transactions* may help understand the rhetorical practices of the emerging scientific community and the construction of the community itself. Evaluation is not only a personal act; it is interpersonal and a collective social practice. So, as it is constructed in interaction, it can also help shed light on the shared values of a community such as the scientific one; scholarly work and communities, however, evolve over time, and so do their values, in that academic authors write in the context of contemporary cultural assumptions. For the purposes of this paper, I will focus on the beginning of scientific writing to assess the role played by evaluation and metadiscourse as these seem today a main concern of

discourse analysts dealing with academic discourse (Hyland 1998).

As reported by Valle (2014), the general historical background of the seventeenth century scientific community is based on shared values: on relative secularization and rationalism, on the rejection of both supernatural explanation for natural phenomena and of the authorities of classical antiquity in favour of experimentalism. In short, knowledge of nature is now constructed using methods that are empirical and inductive, based on the direct observation of nature and manipulative experiments. This approach, which influences the writing practices of the scientific community, is defined as ‘modern’ in opposition to textual authority, and is well illustrated by the activity of the members of Royal Society and their correspondents all over Europe.

3. Materials and method

The purpose of this paper is to study Oldenburg’s *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society*, Vol. 1-1666, in order to highlight the use of metadiscursive devices, in particular evaluative elements, in order to assess whether academic discourse is, from the start, as objective and impersonal as it has for a long time claimed to be or, as recently claimed (Hyland 1998), evaluation is a very important component of academic writing. Text-based discourse analysis is employed in this paper combining quantitative information and qualitative interpretation. For the purposes of this investigation I have used the electronic edition of the first volume of the *Transactions*, edited by the Project Gutenberg; for the quantitative analysis I have used LancsBox, the toolbox developed and made available by the University of Lancashire.

The assumption is that the letters and reports received by Oldenburg to be read at meetings and published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, are mostly presented to readers from the editor’s point of view, that of Oldenburg, who is very present in the text interacting with readers. Another assumption is that the Royal Society journal addresses not just a scholarly community, but also a discourse community as the first issues of the journal show a specific writing style, inaugurated by Oldenburg in the context of seventeenth century scientific culture.

In academic communication, as in any social interaction, when people engage in exchanging news, the purpose is not only to convey information; in such texts we may find a large number of lexical and grammatical elements whose main function is to adopt interpersonal positions, expressing at the same time an evaluation towards the contents or the addressee. For this reason, in recent years linguists have become increasingly interested in

how evaluation is expressed and how it should be integrated in linguistic theory.

Evaluation is defined by Hunston and Thompson (2000, 39) as the expression of the writer's attitude or emotional reaction to the contents of their text. As the authors state, this function can be carried out both by lexical items, particularly evaluative adjectives and adverbials, and stretches of text; it can be expressed by direct explanatory speech or comments, or by a range of intensifiers and modal verbs and expressions conveying a positive or negative connotation. To sum up, evaluation, as an interpersonal textual feature, is a cover term for the expression of the speaker's or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feeling about the entities or propositions that speaker/writer is talking/writing about. For the purposes of this paper I have mainly followed Hunston (2011), who focuses on language resources rather than just positive or negative words. According to Hunston, evaluation is typically conveyed also by collocations and phrases indicating an attitude, and is frequently expressed cumulatively and implicitly.

A similar position as to information and interaction is held by Hyland (2008) who uses the term *metadiscourse*—a general concept including evaluation—to refer to the conceptualization of interactions between text producers and their texts, and between text producers and users. According to Hyland metadiscourse is an important means of facilitating communication, supporting a position and building a relationship with the audience or readership. Metadiscourse is therefore an important link between a text and its context as it points to the expectations readers have for certain forms of interaction and engagement (Hyland 2008, 13). More recently Hyland (2017, 2-3) has underlined the importance of the concept of metadiscourse for indexing social and rhetorical context in a vast range of genres; this he considers particularly important for analysing academic writing (cf. Hyland 1998).

It is both Hunston's and Hyland's position that any text is based on interaction, no genre seems exempt. Its importance in the creation of academic knowledge cannot be overestimated. As a matter of fact, in scientific research papers and textbooks the analysis of interactional elements provides a means to explore how writers, in the academic community, construct both texts and readers and how they respond to their audiences.

4. Analysis

A first reading of volume 1 of the *Transactions* has shown that evaluation is an important component of Oldenburg's writing, though it is varyingly distributed in the various parts of the journal; the *Transactions* are mixed texts as they contain different text-types, with different characteristics. The predominant speaking voice throughout the journal is that of Oldenburg when reporting experiments or informing about research communicated through letters by English and foreign scholars to the Royal Society, or when he reviews a treatise that has been sent to the Society; it is in these sections that Oldenburg engages in a dialogue with readers, or evaluates the transmitted information or the correspondents themselves. However there are also parts where information is directly reported without any framing device or intrusion on the part of Oldenburg: the journal also contains brief pieces of news or letters reported verbatim.

An instance of an objective report is the brief summary of a letter, just one paragraph, where readers are informed that there had been "a very Odd Monstrous Birth" at Limmington in Hampshire, that of an ill formed calf. In some cases letters are not 'edited', but entirely/integrally reproduced, as in the case of a letter of a member of the Royal Society reporting a successful experiment. Before being directly reported in its original wording, the letter is introduced by a frame, explaining the circumstances that gave rise to its compilation: "The said Monsieur Hugens, having been informed of the success of the Experiment made by Major Holmes, wrought to a friend in Paris a letter to this Effect". Presumably the letter was reported verbatim because it was considered particularly important in that it helped disseminate the knowledge of a successful experiment conducted by a member of the Royal Society.

Similarly, Oldenburg's way of reporting news is both direct and indirect. We often hear his voice engaging indirectly in a dialogic relationship with the readers—which is the prevailing mode adopted by the editor—when he is communicating information received by the Society, but there are also parts where he directly addresses the readers as community. For instance, the contents of the volume are framed by both an introductory and a concluding section where Oldenburg addresses directly the community. The introductory section is addressed to the Royal Society, and Oldenburg uses the first person to explain what the reader may find in the volume. In the first paragraph the author at the same time boosts the purpose of the Society and hedges his role as editor by showing humility:

In these *Rude* Collections, which are only the *Gleanings of my private diversions in broken hours*, it may appear, that many Minds and Hands are

in many places *industriously* employed, under Your Countenance, and by Your Example, in the pursuit of those *Excellent Ends*, which belong to Your *Heroical Undertakings*.

He then concludes this introduction by emphasizing the goals of the Society and underlining his personal role and commitment to the task undertaken:

This is my Solicitude, as I ought not to be unfaithful to those Counsels you have committed to my Trust, so also that I may not altogether waste any minutes of the leasure (sic) you afford me. And thus have I made the best use of some of them, that I could devise. To spread abroad Encouragements, Inquiries, Directions, and Patterns, that may animate, and draw on Universal Assistances.

The concluding section of the volume again evaluates in a favourable manner the role of the Royal Society by using very positive expressions, but the boosting of the Society is counter-balanced by the use of negative politeness. Of course the contemporary norms of epistolary politeness are reflected in the linguistic choices; in the seventeenth century it was common to show respect and deference by means of formulaic expressions rooted in the discourse of humility characterizing the patron-client relationship. As a matter of fact, the letter concludes with a formula, *Your humble and obedient Servant*, that was common at the time and would remain in use, at least in business correspondence, until the nineteenth century (Del Lungo Camiciotti 2006).

The Great God prosper You in the *Noble* Engagement of Dispersing the true Lustre of his *Glorious* Works, and *Happy* Inventions of *obliging men* all over the World, to the General *Benefit of Mankind*: So wishes with real Affections,
Your humble and obedient Servant
Henry Oldenburg

The opening letter is followed by a table of contents and an introductory section underlining the importance of sharing knowledge for the advancement of learning. Then accounts of received information follow, in which the Author of the experiment or study is usually positively evaluated. These are the expressions used to refer to experimenters and correspondents: “the Ingenious Mr Hook”, “Monsieur Auzout, a French Gentleman of no ordinary Merit and Learning”, “Noble Person”, “an Inquisitive Physician”. This is however counter-balanced by the hedging of the author’s claim, as we will see.

Adjectives associated to authors and their works are invariably positive: *curious* (33 occurrences), *ingenious/ingenous* (23), *excellent* (21), *noble* (8), and *inquisitive* (7); the high proportion of *curious* seems due to the fact that it indicates a positive quality in a scholar and an interesting characteristic of an observed phenomenon, something that attracts the attention of inquisitive minds. As to *ingenious* and *excellent*, they clearly indicate positive qualities. The text contains other positive adjectives, such as *remarkable*, *eminent*, *notable*, *wonderful*, *important*, *good*, *famous*, *prodigious*, *positive*, *celebrated*. Negative criticism is very rare. Also readers are defined as *ingenious*, *curious* and *attentive*, that is, they are supposed to share not only the interests, but also the qualities of the scholars investigating natural phenomena. In addition, reference to the reader sends a clear signal of membership as it textually constructs both the writer and the reader as people with similar interests and goals, that is to say, scholars disseminating scientific knowledge to other scholars in a communal project of advancing learning.

In some cases Oldenburg reviews a received book. For example, speaking of a treatise by a “great virtuoso”, the positive evaluation is more elaborate, in fact, in addition to boosting the virtuoso’s value as scientist, he underlines his other merits:

But that which is most of all surprizing to many, is, that with all that strength of understanding, which was requisite to make good these rare qualities, lately mentioned, he had so polite and delicate parts, that he composed Latin, French, and Spanish Verses with the same elegancy, as if he had lived in the time of Augustus, and passed the greatest part of his life at the Courts of France and Spain.

The *reader*, when directly mentioned (6 occurrences), is supposed to be twice *curious* and one *attentive*, while the *author*, though of course he is mentioned more frequently than the reader (43 occurrences), is only twice directly qualified with positive adjectives—*Ingenious and knowing and excellent*—being mostly introduced neutrally by *this/the/our*. It has been observed (Valle 1999, 198-199) that the position of the authorial voice as the source of information and the controlling voice in the text is uncertain in the first period of the Royal Society’s discourse: the editorial voice takes over the control of the actual text, while the authorial voice is mentioned indirectly by phrases such as *in his own words*.

Also the verbs used to introduce the author’s opinion are usually rather neutral: *saith* (30), *affirms* (26), *finds* (16), *addes* (11), *acknowledges* (2), *concludes* (2), *offers his thoughts* (1). Very frequent are also verbal expressions with the noun *account* (55), such as *give/make an account*.

Three verbs are less neutral: *hopes* (9), *despairs not* (3) and *fancies* (1), but they are not frequently used.

However the neutrality of the verbs used to introduce a claim on the part of the author is often mitigated by hedging devices, and at least in one case a hedging verb is used: in *An Accompt of the improvement of Optick Glasses*, after introducing one of the topics, Oldenburg explicitly evaluates the author's claim by using the verb *pretend*:

The First regardeth the excellency of the long Telescopes, made by the said Campani, who *pretends* to have found a way to work great Optick Glasses with a turn -tool [...]

Later in the same report the author's claim is again explicitly evaluated with hedging devices reducing the truth value of his statement:

He addeth, that he is now observing, whether those sallies that have been seen therein in the said Planet do not change their scituation (sic), which if they *should* be found to do, he *judgeth*, that Jupiter *might* then be said to turn upon his Axe; which, *in his opinion*, *would* serve much to confirm the opinion of Copernicus.

Parenthetical phrases are frequently used to mitigate a claim, to attribute to the author a statement and so distancing Oldenburg's from what is reported; the more frequent are: *according to him*, *according to his account*, *in his opinion*, *according to his reckoning*, *he thought*, *by his relation*, and *saith he*.

Sometimes Oldenburg openly criticises the claim of the author as in the report about *Of the New American Whale-fishing about the Bermudas*. He writes: "One, *but scarce credible*, quality of this Oyl, he affirms to be [...]" . But this bald-on-record criticism is not frequently used. Normally criticism, if not indirect, is counterbalanced by boosting the quality of the scholar. In commenting on a received letter, Oldenburg writes:

It is the *deservedly famous* Monsieur de Fermat, who was, (*saith the Author of the Letter*) one of the *Most Excellent Men of his Age, a Genius so universal, and of so vast an extent*, that if very knowing and learned Men had not given testimony of his extraordinary merit, what with truth can be said of him, *would hardly be believed*.

Also the use of modal verbs confirms the impression that Oldenburg clearly attributes to the author of a letter or piece of information the agency of the claim. It is in fact the case that the most frequently used modal verb is *may* followed by *would*; this can be considered an indirect way of evaluating

because it gives a tentative flavour to the reports. The frequency of modal verbs is as follows: *may* 172, *would* 90, *can* 66, *could* 54, *must* 53, *might* 38, *ought* 9.

It is however in reviewing books and treatises, as may be expected, that Oldenburg more openly offers his value comments by means of his personal rhetorical strategy, which consists in alternatively acknowledging the author's reliability as experimenter and scholar and mitigating his claims. In spite of the neutrality surrounding the word *author*, the correspondents, when named, and the activities of the Royal Society, are normally boosted and mitigated at the same time by Oldenburg. Today book reviews have one particular dimension of evaluation, 'praise' or 'blame', in focus (Shaw 2014), which are normally expressed explicitly, but there may also be implicit evaluation, which depends on whether a particular value is universally held or not and so depends on extratextual information. In the case of Oldenburg's reviews we can speak of 'limited praise', that is, there are propositions where evaluation seem to be ambiguous, as the wording does not suggest clear polarity.

The very detailed report of the contents of the treatise by Robert Hook—defined as “The Ingenious and knowing Author of this Treatise”—*An Account of Micrographia*, is interspersed with positive phrases evaluating Hook's work,

In representing these particulars to the Readers view, the Author hath not only *given proof of his singular skil* in delineating all sorts of Bodies (he having drawn all the Schemes of these Microscopical objects with his own hand) and of his *extraordinary care* of having them so curiously engraven by the Masters of that Art; but he has also suggested in the several reflexions, made upon these Objects, such *conjectures, as are likely to excite and quicken the Philosophical heads to very noble contemplations.*

But we can also find hedging devices:

Here our Author maketh it *not improbable, but* that, by these helps the subtility of the composition of Bodies, the structure of their parts, the various texture of their matter, the instruments and manner of their inward motions, and all the other appearances of things, *may be more fully discovered*, whence *may emerge* many admirable advantages towards the enlargement of the Active and Mechanick part of Knowledge [...], because we *may perhaps be enabled* to discern the secret workings of Nature, [...]

Another example of Oldenburg's personal way of communicating his point of view to the readers is offered by his report of *The Motion of the Comet predicted*. He begins by describing how the publication has arrived, then

proceeds to describe the contents of the publication giving emphasis to the innovative hypothesis advanced by the author and at the same time indirectly evaluating his claim, as can be seen in the extract below:

There was lately sent to one of the Secretaries of the Royal Society a Packet, containing some Copies of a Printed Paper, Entituled, The Ephemerides of the Comet, made by the same Person, that sent it, called Monsieur Auzout, *a French Gentleman of no Ordinary Merit and Learning* [...]. The end of the Communication of this Paper was, That, the motion of the Comet, that has lately appeared, having been predicted by the said Monsieur Auzout, after he had seen it (*as himself affirmed*) but 4 or 5 times: the Virtuosi of England, among others, might compare also their observations with his Ephemerides, either to confirm the Hypothesis, upon which the Author had before hand calculated the way of this Star, or to undeceive him, if he be in a mistake. The said Author Dedicateth these his conceptions to the most Christian King, telling him, that he presents Him with *a design, which never yet was undertaken by any Astronomer*, all the World having been hitherto perswaded, that the motions of Comets were so irregular, that they could not be reduced to any Laws, and men having contented themselves, to observe exactly the places, through which they did pass; but *no man, that he knows, having been so bold as to venture to foretel the places, through which they should pass, and where they should cease to appear* [...]. After this our Author finds that this Comet, *according to his account*, should pass the Æquator [...] whence drawing a little to above the Northern Line of Pisces, *it should in his opinion* cease to appear a little beyond that place [...].

But that, which he judgeth most remarkable, is, that he found by his Calculation, that the said least distance *should be* on the 29 of December, when the Comet was opposite to the Sun, which *he does not know whether it may not serve* to decide the grand Question concerning the Motion of the Earth.

As we have seen, the present analysis reveals that evaluation on the part of the editor is an important component of the *Transactions*, but also that the interaction with the readers is shaped in a way that today may appear peculiar. It is a balanced, not partisan, way of communicating to readers the point of view of the writer of the *Transactions* on the reported scientific research going on in the European learned world. As the features of academic writings are socially grounded in the practises of disciplinary cultures, we may infer that Oldenburg's choice of expressing evaluation is not just personal, but relates to his particular audience and the purposes of the Society, and is rooted in seventeenth century scientific culture. During its early years the Royal Society was a scientific discourse community with its own social identity and rhetorical norms. It consisted of a core of committed Baconian experimental philosophers, such as Boyle and Hooke,

whose aim was the creation of new knowledge, and its journal was edited by Oldenburg, whose aim was to devise a new way of disseminating such knowledge by elaborating a rhetorical norm responding to the expectations of the contemporary scientific discourse community.

5. Concluding observations

The *Philosophical Transactions* were addressed only in part to the community constituted by members of the Society; the publication was originally designed by Oldenburg to facilitate the dissemination of scientific knowledge to a more general European scientific community, transmitting news of findings and experiments to scholars in various countries. It is perhaps also due to this purpose that the style characterising the publication was the 'plain style', which avoided the rhetorical excesses that were common in that century, in order to transmit information about scientific observations without distortion. This choice made the Royal Society also a discourse community with distinct and explicit epistemological and rhetorical norms. Though personal comments and intrusions by Oldenburg are rather limited, the use of evaluative and metadiscursive devices as textual and rhetorical practise is part of the emerging scientific writing discourse. Oldenburg, in addition to using the plain style, elaborates a specific way to limit his intrusion in the text and to render it more, if not objective, at least balanced. He is very present in the text as a controlling voice, but also tries to render his reports less personal by distancing himself from the assertions of the report's author, though normally boosting his reputation in observance of the gentlemanly code then prevailing and perhaps also to enhance the reliability of the Society's network itself. It is then characteristic of the beginning of the discourse of the Royal Society to soften excessive positive evaluation of its authors and workings with hedging devices, thus often presenting a proposition as an opinion rather than a fact. Because of this contrasting strategy, the precise appeal to the readership is not always clear, as Oldenburg makes use of both inclusive and distancing devices. However, as today, evaluation plays a critical role in this first phase of academic writing. We may conclude by saying that science writing has invariably involved, since its beginning, writer's engagement and reader's involvement and that Oldenburg can be considered an innovator in that he not only used the 'plain style', but also tried to present as neutrally as was then possible the received information, thus founding a reporting scientific style that would continue to be used for a long time. The interpersonal element, though not excessive and rarely explicitly expressed, is clearly present in the *Transactions*, thus initiating a

trend that is still present not only in the texts of the human subjects, but also in scientific ones (Hyland 2014).

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CHAPTER SIXTEEN

LANGUAGE AND POWER
IN EARLY 20TH C. CHINA:
THE CASE OF SHANGHAI MINUTES
OF MEETING

ROBERTA FACCHINETTI

1. Aim and scope of the study

Early 20th century China was a country where the long-lasting cultural tradition of the imperial rule coexisted with the newly-born republican government, led by the Nationalist party, which had superseded the Empire with the fall of the Qing dynasty in 1911. This change triggered political turmoil, administrative readjustments and a zeal for modernization and reforms which the West, along with Russia and Japan, soon took advantage of.

The decade ranging between 1920 and 1930, in particular, was pivotal in Chinese modern history and specifically for Shanghai, which steadily increased its power on the international arena,¹ to the point that it soon became “the Chinese metropolis *par excellence*” (Samarani 2008: 101). The Hongkong and Shanghai Banking Corporation building was constructed in 1923, the *North China Daily News* building was set up in 1924, while in 1927 the Customs House was founded and in 1929 the Shanghai Stock Exchange was opened. Shanghai gradually became the focal point of many activities that would eventually shape modern China; such privileged role was also due to the fact that the city held a special status since, unlike other

¹ An effective analysis of China’s situation in the first half of the 20th century can be found in Ebrey Buckley (2010: 262-301), while thought-provoking overviews of Shanghai in the same period of time are provided by Yeh (2007), Bergère (2009), Samarani (2008), Zhang (2015), and Tang (2016), among others.

Chinese territories, as will be illustrated in Section 3, its Municipality witnessed the presence of foreigners as rulers but not as owners of the land. This led to a situation where foreigners and locals coexisted with their own cultures and styles, first as separate—though interdependent—communities, then more and more intermingled.

It is against this socio-historical background that we need to view the Municipality of Shanghai in the 1920s, whose Council's Minutes of Meetings (henceforth MoMs) are the topic of the present paper. MoMs are a text type which has long been ignored by scholarly research, at least from the linguistic point of view, possibly due to its "hybrid" status that places it halfway between legal documents and (press) reports. Bearing this in mind, the present study has a twofold aim; in the first place, I intend to shed more light on MoMs as a textual type, with special reference to their structural and linguistic distinctiveness. Secondly, by focussing on Shanghai MoMs from the early 20th century, I intend to delve into the evolution of the foreign (largely British) management of municipal affairs on Chinese territory, paying special attention to the relations between such Western powers and local Chinese citizens at the time.

Hence, the present study intends to place itself at the crossroads between linguistic analysis, on the one hand, and socio-historical research, on the other, viewing both as two sides of the same coin, under the conviction that historical-linguistic research cannot do without an adequate socio-historical contextualization, especially when intercultural aspects come into place, and that the study of historical documents for linguistic purposes can—and needs to—be of help to other disciplines like History and Sociology, but also International Relations and Public Diplomacy, in a fruitful interdisciplinary way.

Bearing in mind the double-folded aim of this paper, I will first illustrate the study corpus, the Shanghai MoM Corpus (Section 2), which will serve as a reference for all the following sections; then I will overview the Shanghai International Settlement and its Municipal Council at the time under scrutiny, also drawing on the corpus for more in-depth information (Section 3). Section 4 will illustrate the textual type of MoMs, as presented in present-day training books. Such information will lay the basis for the linguistic analysis of the Shanghai MoM Corpus, which will also allow detecting possible structural changes that may have occurred to this text type over the last century.

2. The Shanghai MoM Corpus

The Minutes of Shanghai Municipal Council are collected in 28 volumes issued by the Council from its beginning in 1854 to its end in 1943. The MoMs were first hand- and then type-written from 1906 onwards. A joint project between the *Lyon Institute of Asian Studies* and the *Institute of History* of the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences has allowed for the digitalization in OCR format of all the type-written documents, which are now publicly available.

For the compilation of the Shanghai MoM Corpus, the set of digitized MoMs issued between 1920 and 1930 has been selected; then the OCR documents have been rearranged in separate files corresponding to each one of the 10 years under scrutiny and each MoM has been tagged to easily trace and analyze it through the corpus. At the time of writing the present paper, a more in-depth tagging is under way, whereby every MoM is being tagged both structurally and content-wise. Structurally, the following sections are identified, as transpiring from the corpus texts:

- Heading: name of the committee, date, time
- Attendees: present, absent
- Approval of previous minutes
- Topics and related decisions
- Closing: time of meeting termination, place and time of next meeting, signature

Linguistically, due to the poor quality of some pages, it would be hard for any software of analysis to trace every single word or phrase in the corpus; hence the decision was taken to tag the data content-wise, that is, according to topics of discussion. More specifically, each yearly Minute Book is opened by an Index reporting—in alphabetical order—all subject matters raised in Council Meetings that year, as exemplified in Fig. 16-1:

<u>Administration Building:-</u>	
Council Room Furniture	142,169
Decoration	142
Panelling	142,169
Telephones, Automatic system	77,95,143
<u>Advertising.</u>	28
<u>Aeroplane Regulations</u>	119
<u>American Agents.</u>	236
<u>Ammunition, attempted sale to Local Military Authorities.</u>	173,208
<u>Annual Report.</u>	63,68
<u>Arms see Firearms.</u>	
<u>Arrests & Search Warrants see Police Force.</u>	

Fig. 16-1. Index of Minute Book 31, 1920, Letter A.

The tagging system applies a tag to each one of the Index topics and subtopics in correspondence of their discussion page(s). This has two advantages for the present study: in the first place, it allows locating each subject in all the MoMs, along with its frequency of discussion in the decade scrutinized and beyond;² secondly, it facilitates tracing “sensitive topics” under such headings as, for example, *Foreigners, Chinese, Labour, Education, Press, Refugees, and Taxation*, which are not always identifiable as separate words in the corpus due to the quality of the originals.

Finally, the tagging system respects the headings and subheadings as they are presented in the Index of each Minute Book; so, when Index subheadings are subsumed under overarching terms, the same rationale is applied in the tagging, as in the following examples:

- (1)
 - a. Bread supply *see* Food Control
 - b. Local Unrest *see* Strikes, Students
 - c. Newspapers *see* Press
 - d. Moral Conditions in the Settlement *see* Prostitution & c.
 - e. Russian extraterritoriality & Consular jurisdiction *see* Consular Body
 - f. Power supply *see* “S” under Electricity Department

For the present study, the analysis has concentrated on two years, namely 1920 and 1930, marking respectively the beginning and the end of the decade under scrutiny. This sub-corpus covers a total of 83 MoMs:

² The study is part of a wider project that intends to analyze documents from different textual types and different historical periods for intercultural purposes.

	1920	1930
January	2, 5, 6, 7, 12, 14, 21, 28	6, 22
February	4, 11, 18, 25	12, 24, 26
March	3, 10, 17, 24, 29, 31	5, 12, 24, 26, 31
April	6, 8, 14, 21, 28	9, 17
May	12, 19, 26	14, 28
June	2, 9, 16, 23, 30	11, 25
July	7, 14, 21, 28	9, 23, 30
August	4, 11, 20	--
September	22, 29	3, 17
October	6, 13, 20, 27	1, 15, 29
November	3, 17, 24	12, 27
December	1, 8, 15, 20, 22, 29	8, 10, 15, 23

Table 16.1: MoMs issued by the Shanghai Municipal Council in 1920 and 1930.

The different number of MoMs in the two years may be indicative of a different attitude of the Council with reference to their need to meet, which was stronger at the beginning of the decade, where weekly—if not bi-weekly—meetings were frequent, along with “special meetings” summoned for very urgent affairs. In contrast, at the end of the decade the Council met almost half the times and allowed themselves recess in August.

This ties in with the diversity in topics discussed in the two years. Indeed, in 1920, the Council tackled not only matters of ordinary administration within the Settlement (“Building contracts”, “Children’s playgrounds”, “Parks”, “Drainage”, “Electricity”, “Telephone connexion”, “Traffic”), but also, more frequently, knotty issues like internal security and order, almost exclusively with reference to the local Chinese (“strike”, “Arrests and Search Warrants”, “Brothels”, “Disturbances”), strained relations with the local Press (“Criticism of Conductor in N.C.D. News”, “Newspaper editors unsuitable”) and with the Diplomatic body (“Consular Body—Action without Council’s knowledge”), among others.

In turn, the topics reported in the 1930 MoMs lead to two main considerations. In the first place they are the litmus paper of a more collaborative attitude of the foreign rulers towards the Chinese population compared to ten years earlier, as testified to by the Index headwords illustrated in (2), some of which require only one mention through the year, like the Chinese representation in the Council, while others recur regularly in the Minutes of different meetings:

- (2)
- | | |
|---|----------------------------|
| g. Chinese Newspaper, request for subsidy. | 182 |
| h. Chinese District Court. | 47, 67, 74 |
| i. Chinese Language, use of for official documents. | 86, 91, 103, 109, 111, 132 |
| j. Chinese Government Bureaux in Settlement. | 265, 272, 278, 282, 288 |
| k. Council, Chinese representation | 3 |
- (From Index of Minute Book 37, 1930)

Secondly, rather than dedicating great effort to the maintenance of internal order and to safeguard the ruling supremacy of the Council, as occurred in 1920, these MoMs show the increased interest of the 1930 Municipal Council in social activities (“Public library”, “Orchestra & Band”, “House of Public Entertainment”, “House numeration”, “Swimming Pool”, “Veterinary Surgeon”) and in a more inclusive type of society, opening up not only to Chinese citizens, but also to foreigners of different nationalities (Russian, Indian, and Japanese, among others), as in (3):

- (3)
- | | |
|--|--------------------|
| a. Royal Asiatic Society | 78, 181, 188 |
| b. Municipal Gazette, Chinese edition of | 103, 109, 111, 132 |
| c. Municipal Gazette, Russian edition of | 103 |
| d. Staff General
Indian Branch | 128 |
| e. Japanese Employees, pension scheme | 206 |
- (From Index of Minute Book 37, 1930)

In contrast, topics like difficult relations with the diplomatic body and with the press are hardly ever mentioned.

The tagging system focussing on both content and structure allows making up for the poor quality of the original type-written documents on the one hand and, at the same time, tracing and comparing the above-mentioned aspects in the whole Shanghai MoM Corpus on the other, thus serving the double-folded aim anticipated in Section 1, that is, linguistic study intertwined with socio-historical analysis.

Bearing this in mind, Section 3 will overview the Shanghai International Settlement’s Municipal Council from its birth to the time of analysis.

3. Shanghai International Settlement's Municipal Council

Shanghai was occupied by the British forces in 1841 and became a British settlement in 1842, because of the Treaty of Nanjing,³ which, along with other successive treaties, allowed foreign merchants to trade with anyone they wished on Chinese soil. The American Concession, opened in Shanghai in 1848, later merged with the British one to form the Shanghai International Settlement, while the *Concession française de Changhaï*, opened in 1849, kept its separate status. In turn, the Chinese retained control over the original walled city and of the area surrounding the foreign enclaves.

As anticipated (Section 1), the Foreign Settlement of Shanghai was however different from most other Chinese territories handed over to the foreigners. Indeed, the land on which it was created was only leased to the British Government and not transferred as a property to them. Being a settlement and not a possession, Shanghai was in a different situation from other Western possessions in China, which were inhabited by foreign citizens—the Chinese not being allowed into the possessions—who developed their own cultures largely isolated and distinct from the local Chinese. The unicity of the Shanghai International Settlement may have eased dialogue between foreigners and locals through the decades more than in the other foreign settlements.

Undoubtedly, relations between rulers and locals took decades to smooth down here as well. Indeed, when in 1863 the Council was set up, it was composed only of elected representatives of the qualified foreign ratepayers. By the late 1860s the British Consul was the *de jure* authority in the Settlement which was still wholly foreign-controlled in the early 1920s, the British holding the largest number of seats, followed by American and other foreign representatives.⁴ For decades no Chinese citizen was permitted to join the Council, as testified to by Figure 16-2, featuring the members of the Council meeting on January 7, 1920:

³ The Treaty of Nanjing, ending the First Opium War (1839–42) between the United Kingdom and the Qing dynasty of China, was signed on 29 August 1842.

⁴ In the 1930s the International Settlement was still controlled by foreign staff from different nationalities; the British held the largest number of seats on the Council and directed all the Municipal departments. The only department not chaired by a Briton was the Municipal Orchestra, which was run by an Italian.

Present:

Messrs E. G. Pearce* (Chairman)

C. M. Bain

A. Howard

W. P. Lembe

H. A. J. Maoney

W. L. Morrison

A. Brooke Smith

The Secretary and

Assistant Secretary.

Fig. 16-2: MoM January 7, 1920.

However, the issue of Chinese representation in the Council became more and more topical, as confirmed by the frequent exchange of strong, opposing views between the Council (against any Chinese representativity) and the Diplomatic Consul (in favour), as shown in (4) and (5), where members of the Council are outraged at the initiative taken by the Consul of writing a letter to the Foreign Affairs in Britain suggesting the appointment of two Chinese members in the Council:

- (4) The position of the Chinese in the Settlement is not unlike that of Guests in a Hotel; so long as they pay their bills they are welcome, even suggestions are welcome, but they cannot be permitted to run the Hotel. (January 2, 1920)
- (5) Mr Wilkinson protests at the act of the Consular Body in dealing with a matter such as this behind the backs of the Council. (January 6, 1920)

The situation gradually changed through the years, also under the increasing pressure on both the Council and the British government by the diplomatic body, on the one hand, and of Chinese citizens who made their voice more and more heard, on the other. Corpus data clearly show that the Chinese were increasingly allowed to contribute to the running of the Municipality. Finally, in 1928 the Chinese were admitted to the Council and, by 1930, a more inclusive attitude to the Chinese community was in place; on May 14, 1930, new Chinese members were given a “hearty welcome” as new members (6):

- (6) On behalf of his foreign colleagues the Chairman extends a hearty welcome to the Chinese members upon their taking their seats on the Council. (May 14, 1930)

By then, the Chinese also ran a set of key activities within the Municipality. A snapshot of the list of members shows how, in just ten years' time, the situation drastically changed:

Present:

Messrs. G. W. Sheppard, Vice-Chairman, (in the Chair)

A. D. Bell

N. S. Brown

J. W. Carney

K. Fukushima

S. L. Hsu

A. J. Hughes

H. Leslie

O. S. Lieu

O. Okamoto

T. D. Woo

L. T. Yuan

Yu Ya Ching

The Director-General,

The Treasurer & Comptroller, and

The Secretary.

Fig. 16-3: MoM December 23, 1930.

Further corpus data—not illustrated in the present paper for want of space—testify to an increasingly strong collaboration between foreigners and locals towards the end of the decade, with the Chinese board members expressing their views openly in the Council and ruling key activities in the Settlement, as evidenced in Section 4 below.

4. Shanghai Minutes of Meeting

As summarized records of meetings from public/private organizations or institutions, MoMs serve the main purpose of informing attendees and non-attendees about what was discussed or happened during such meetings. Often viewed as the mere ordinary burden of secretaries and clerks, their importance has largely been underrated as a mere ‘notarial act’; yet they “form a vital part” of the communication process (Team FME 2013: 4).

Indeed, in the first place, by reporting what happens inside institutions on the unfolding of their local/national/international relations with third parties, MoMs are a form of news in its own right; secondly, by issuing the

decisions taken, they may also fall into the domain of legal documents, thus leading to a hybrid genre, where language contributes to (a) the performative role of taking decisions and (b) the communicative role of delivering such decisions to the public or anyway to whoever has the right to read such documents.

The way this double function is put into practice, in terms of structure and linguistic specificities of MoMs, requires great attention to preserve the objectivity of the report and the neutrality of the (legal) act, thus avoiding any angle or attitudinal slant to transpire with reference to what is being summarized.

The following list, from a recent textbook on MoMs (Team FME 2013) details in order of occurrence the essential elements currently required when writing a professional MoM:

- *Heading*: name of the team or committee and the date, as well as the location and time of the meeting;
- *Attendees*: names of those who came to the meeting, those who sent their apologies and those who require copies of the minutes;
- *Approval of previous minutes*;
- *Action items* (items requiring action, including any unfinished business from the previous meeting as well as all current and new ones that now require attention);
- *Announcements*: any announcements made by the participants or those who sent their apologies, including proposed agenda items for the next meeting;
- *Next meeting*: where and when the next meeting will be held;
- *Signature line*.

(Adapted from Team FME 2013, 6)

The above matches almost perfectly the structural elements that have been recorded in the Shanghai MoM Corpus and that has been used for the tagging reported in Section 2. The only difference is in *Announcements*, which in the corpus is not a separate item but rather subsumed under the section *Topics and related decisions*. Hence, as a preliminary result, judging from the data, it can be concluded that over the last century the structure of MoMs has been maintained virtually unaltered.

I will now look in detail at the use of language in each section as transpiring from the corpus. Though no exact quantitative data can be produced in terms of wordlists, keywords or concordances, due to the difficulty of deciphering some of the OCR pages, conclusive results can be

reached on the overall preference for words/phrases regularly occurring in the single sections of each MoM in 1920 and 1930.

4.1 Heading, attendees and approval of MoMs

Both in 1920 and in 1930, each Minute regularly starts with the following fixed phrase: “*At the (special) meeting of the Council held on DATE, at TIME, there are:*”, the time being placed on a second line as in (7a, b):

(7)

a. At the special meeting of the Council held on Tuesday, April 6, 1920,
at 11.30 a.m., there are:

b. At the meeting of the Council held on Monday, January 6, 1930,
at 4.30 p.m., there are:

The opening phrase is followed by the names of *Present* and *Absent* members, along with those of invited people, who are non-members of the Council asked to report on specific topics. These people, generally greeted with thanks by the Chairman, leave the meeting before decisions are taken (fixed phrase: “*X withdraws*”, see (8.a.)). Similarly, any member arriving after the beginning of the meeting is identified and recorded in the MoM with the fixed phrase “*X attends*” in correspondence to their coming, though no exact time is given:

(8)

a. The Commissioner of Revenue withdraws.

b. He Acting Treasurer attends. (July 23, 1930)

With reference to the approval of MoMs from previous meetings, the formula regularly used both in 1920 and in 1930 is as follows: *The minutes of the meeting of ... / the minutes of the last meeting are (read and / submitted and) confirmed and signed by the Chairman.*

Such formula is always in the passive form; indeed, passives are much more exploited than actives throughout the corpus, as will be illustrated more in detail in Section 4.2 below.

The approval of the MoMs of the previous Council meeting is frequently followed by the approval of the MoMs of other bodies dependent on the Council, like the Public Utilities Committee, the Works Committee, the Traffic Committee, the Watch Committee, the Staff Committee, the Chinese Education Committee, and the Library Committee. In 1930 this practice is

regular and pervades a number of fields—with several MoMs from different bodies being approved at Council meetings—while it occurs on a more sporadic basis in 1920 MoMs. This also testifies to a more articulated and inclusive structure of the Municipality in 1930 as compared to 1920.

4.2 Topics, related decisions and closing

When the Chairman introduces a new topic, two phrases are generally used:

X explains / (proceeds to) inform(s)
Members are informed that...

There follows the position of the intervening members, which is introduced by the writer of the MoMs with a variety of reporting verbs, most frequently: *state, point out, express the view that, consider, suggest, doubt, be of the view that, point out, maintain, contend, reply, allude*, as in the examples below:

- (9) Replying to Mr. Sheppard, the Director-General states that the semi-official approval of the Indian Government to Major Gerrard's transfer has been received, but its official sanction has yet to come. [...] He suggests that the case of Captain Martin should be referred to the Watch Committee for detailed consideration. (October 29, 1930)

Reporting verbs may also be placed in embedded clauses, clarifying that what is being reported is merely the speaker's view:

- (10) It is perfectly plain, he contends, that this Regulation presupposes that when the Council and the Ratepayers have agreed upon a change, they can-not put the suggested change into force except by the procedure laid down in the Regulation. (January 6, 1920)

Similarly, the need to distance the writer from what is being written is also worded with epistemic interpolations like *in his opinion* and *in his view*:

- (11) Mr Sheppard doubts whether the Police are competent to undertake this work as in his view such duties are of a more specialised nature than the Police Department can reasonably be expected to perform. (January 22, 1930)

Indeed, the analysis of MoMs has shown that the writers are very keen on disclaiming responsibility for what is being written, thus adopting the

typical attitude of a reporter.

When summarizing the views taken by the participants without mentioning each intervention, the phrase “*the view prevails that*” is frequently adopted:

- (12) In further discussion the view prevails that the introduction of a condition forbidding strike is uncalled for and would be offensive. (October 29, 1930)

Finally, the decision-taking phase is generally identified by the following phrases either in the active or, more frequently, in the passive form:

- *(Finally) members direct that.... X be + PAST PARTICIPLE*
- *At the conclusion of the discussion, it is decided...*
- *After scrutiny, X is (formally) approved / it is (formally) approved that*
- *After (brief) discussion, this proposal is unanimously/generally approved.*

Specifically, with reference to the voice of the verbs, the passive form is overwhelmingly favoured. In so doing, the report focusses on the fact being discussed or agreed upon rather than on the agents. This widespread practice often leads to lengthy, complex sentences, which make full sections of the MoMs akin to legal documents:

- (13) The Policy Daily Report of the proceedings at a mass meeting held under the auspices of the Amalgamated Association of Street Unions in the Public Recreation Ground near St. Catherine’s Bridge, yesterday morning is next read. (January 2, 1920)

Indeed, since the Council was the ruling body on any aspect of the Municipality, MoMs frequently relate decisions on disputes and MoM writers heavily borrow from the legal field, both in terms of structure and in terms of lexicon, as in (14), where the writer faithfully reports the Deputy Secretary’s intervention as if it were delivered in court:

- (14) In connexion with the recommendation that a refund be made to the Land Investment Company of the amount of the outstanding fees received from them for the period 1926/29, the Deputy Secretary explains that from a legal point of view the position of the Land Investment Company and that of Mr. Feng Ping Nan, the other property owner concerned, is somewhat different inasmuch as the latter has never given an undertaking to defray this charge, although in order to get the connections he undertook to pay extra municipal rates. The architect employed in the erection of Mr. Feng’s property had written to the Commissioner of Public Works that he understood a charge would be

made, but Mr. Feng maintains that the architect was not authorised to bind him to any payment or informed him of the charge in question. Apart from contesting the matter in principle Mr. Feng refused to meet this charge on the ground that he was not legally liable and has been unable to recover this amount from the tenants of the property. In the circumstances therefore the Deputy Secretary doubts whether the Council can enforce payment of this charge in respect of the period for which through a clerical oversight no debit notes were rendered by the Council. The Land Investment Company, however, paid up the amount in arrear when subsequently presented with the debit notes although he is not aware whether it has been or will be able to reimburse itself from its tenants. Legally therefore there may be some difference in these two cases although from the point of view of equity the Council may consider that both parties should receive similar treatment in respect of the period for which the Council omitted to render debit notes. (January 6, 1930)

All the examples above also testify to the fact that the writers of MoMs report in the present tense and use a set of proximal and distal forms of temporal reference in a deictic way, as if the Minutes were transcribed during the meeting. The same can be said for simple time adverbials like *now*, *soon*, *lately*, *recently*, *ago*, *today*, *tomorrow*, *yesterday*, along with complex time adverbials consisting of a deictic modifier and a non-deictic measure word, like *last/next* + DAY/MONTH/YEAR, or *this morning/afternoon/evening* (Levinson 1983: 75), as shown in examples (15-17).

- (15) He requests members' approval of process of execution this afternoon also of action. (January 12, 1920)
- (16) All necessary arrangements will be completed by tomorrow evening January 6. (January 2, 1920)
- (17) Telephone Company Negotiations—The Director General reports that M. Verdier called on him yesterday [...]. He gathered from M. Verdier that the proposals, the written text of which was received this afternoon, are such that agreement between the two Councils is possible. (March 26, 1930)

Finally, when closing a meeting, throughout the corpus the same phrase is exploited as closing line: *The meeting terminates at* + TIME, followed by the signatures of the Chairman and Secretary. From May 1920, the closing line is preceded by the approval of the Municipal Gazette, the official body of the Shanghai Municipal Council, where the Minutes were published, along with letters from readers, financial statements on income and expenditures,

municipal budget and any other topic that might be of interest to the ratepayers. Such approval was sporadic in 1920 and regular in 1930. The Gazette is “*submitted in proof and proved for publication*” within a couple of days of the meeting. Interestingly, starting from September 1930 the Chinese translation of the Gazette is also mentioned for approval and publication:

- (18) A letter from the Director of Chinese Studies forwarding “dummy” copies of the Chinese edition of the Municipal Gazette and drawing attention to the difficulties of publication simultaneously with the foreign edition is considered.

Upon the Chinese members stating that they do not consider any objection will be put forward by the Chinese Community if the Chinese edition is published a few days later than the English edition the proposal put forward by Mr. Kliene that in order to overcome the difficulties of translating, printing and proof-reading the Chinese Edition be published on the Wednesday following the day of publication of the English edition, is approved. (17 September 1930)

The issuing of a Chinese version of the Gazette in the first place, but most of all the fact that the Chinese members of Council are consulted and their advice followed to safeguard proper translation and consequently clear communication between foreigners and locals, is once again a sign of the change in attitude of the “rulers” compared to the attitude exhibited by the MoMs of ten years earlier.

5. Conclusions

From a purely linguistic viewpoint, the data of the Shanghai MoM Corpus give account of Minutes of Meetings as a textual type that in the first half of the twentieth century had grown to be very similar to present-day MoMs, with lexical and structural specificities that position this textual type halfway between legal writing and news reporting.

Though limited in time and space, the corpus also yields interesting results from the socio-historical point of view, being the evidence of a much greater phenomenon: the evolving relations between the West and China. Through the centuries, the West has given China different names, most notably *Serica* at Greek-Latin times, *Cathay* in the Middle Ages, and *China* since the Renaissance. The Chinese themselves have named their country differently: *Tiān xià*, *Huáxià*, *Shénzhōu*, *Jiǔzhōu*, for example, have all been ousted by the now widespread *Zhōngguó* (“Central/Middle kingdom”). If giving a name is indicative of some sort of ownership, the diversified names

of China, swinging between East and West, are particularly telling, especially with reference to the decade that has been the focus of the present paper. Corpus data tell us that the Western “colonizing” interest for China/Zhōngguó—which led to clashes between languages, cultures and powers—gradually gave way to a more collaborative attitude, increasing respect for the Chinese population and a growing sense of shared collectivity.

In all, with its small piece in the mosaic, the present study has possibly contributed to casting new light on the relationship between East and West against the background of linguistic and socio-historical studies, in so much as the language of MoMs from early 20th century foreign rulers in Chinese territory has proved to be the litmus paper of their changing political standpoint and of how they delivered it to the press and to the general public.

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CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

THE DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF ETHOS IN 19TH CENTURY SELF-HELP MEDICAL BOOKS BY WOMEN DOCTORS: AN EXPLORATION

PAOLA CATENACCIO

1. Self-help medical books in 19th century America and the emergence of female physicians

This chapter is devoted to a thematic analysis of the introductory parts of five self-help medical manuals written by female physicians in the course of the nineteenth century in the United States of America. The study builds upon previous research conducted by the author and Giuliana Garzone (see Garzone & Catenaccio 2019) on similar manuals written by male physicians in the same period and seeks to identify the characteristics of female self-help books *vis-à-vis* their more popular and widespread male counterparts. In particular, the analysis seeks to trace the discursive traits whereby female physicians build their own ethos.

Self-help manuals rose to popularity in 19th century United States for a number of interrelated reasons (Risse 1977). The main one was practical. In a country as vast as the United States, where many communities were isolated, doctors were hard to come by, and some form of medical knowledge was therefore essential for everyday life. The development of a do-it-yourself attitude towards medical issues was also encouraged by a fairly widespread lack of trust in the medical profession. Such lack of trust was partly due to the lack of a regulatory framework for accessing medical practice. This meant that medical education was highly uneven throughout the country, and men who called themselves “physicians” had often very limited expertise. In many areas folk healers continued to be a point of reference for the population, who had little chance to protect themselves from imposters of various kinds. Moreover, despite the important advances in medical

knowledge over the period, much medicine was still based on abstract principles not always grounded in evidence. Self-help manuals reflected this complex scenario: not only did they focus on providing advice which was eminently practical, but they poignantly took their distance from “theory”, i.e. the kind of traditional medical knowledge which built on abstract principles instead of observation, and which had often been proven detrimental, rather than beneficial, to health.

Within this scenario, a small number of women also started to produce self-help medical books. Their positioning in the field of medical practice was hardly established at the time. While some women had been practicing as family physicians, it was only in 1849 that Elizabeth Blackwell, the first American female doctor, graduated from a lesser known medical school where she had gained acceptance after having been rejected by all major colleges. Until then, medical education for women had been informal to say the least, and in most cases remained so for many years to come.

Recently, the role of women in the medical profession has been the object of an increasing number of studies (see, amongst others, Susan Well’s 2001 landmark book); most of them, however, have been devoted to groundbreaking figures in the history of female medicine. By contrast, little seems to have been written on minor figures such as the authors of the self-help manuals discussed in this chapter. Lesser known, often self-appointed physicians, they offer in their writing interesting insights into evolving conceptualisations of gender roles, professional expertise and female empowerment.

2. Corpus and method

The analysis is based on five self-help manuals written by women physicians. They have all been retrieved from the “Medicine in the Americas, 1610-1920” collection of the U.S. National Library of Medicine. The collection (which can be accessed from the following URL: <https://collections2.nlm.nih.gov>, last accessed April 15th, 2019) gathers digitalised, searchable versions of a wide variety of medical books. As mentioned above, self-help manuals were popular at the time. The vast majority of them were written by male doctors, but a few remain which were written by female physicians. Among them are the ones selected for this study, which were retrieved by manually searching the catalogue (no search function is available for author gender).

The five self-help manuals span a period of about 60 years, from Mrs Mott’s *The ladies’ medical oracle* (1834) to Mary Dies Melendy’s *Cure of disease simplified* (1893), through V. H. Maxwell’s *A female physician to*

the ladies of the United States (1860), Rachel Watson's *What every family wants* (1868), and Sarah Howe's *Nature the best physician* (1880). The manuals differ in length (varying from the 26 pages of Sarah Howe's pamphlet to the 368 of Mary Ries Melendy's sizeable tome, which is also the one most informed by contemporary scientific knowledge, despite containing a chapter entitled "Healing with the power of Mind"). All books claim to offer advice based on scientific truth and/or their author's personal experience, though they differ greatly as to what they understand under the label of "scientific truth". Three out of five adopt approaches well away from conventional medicine—one going so far as claiming to be a "non-medical commentary" (Mott 1836), another one being openly Thompsonian (Watson 1868), i.e. based on the herbalist theories of Samuel Thompson (very popular at the time), and a third one (Howe 1880) entirely based on the authoress' personal experience of the inadequacy of conventional medicine to solve such problems as the prolapse of the uterus, for which she puts forth her own personal remedy.

In all the volumes, reference is made to the need for female patients to be educated, and claims are reiterated as to the professional authority of female doctors. It is these aspects of the books that this study aims to investigate. By means of qualitative analysis based on close reading of the texts, this chapter aims to explore the way in which the authoresses of these books discursively construct their own professional ethos in the texts. In particular, the study aims to explore the way in which the persona of the female physician—and of women in general—is constructed *vis-à-vis* prevailing representations of predominantly masculine medicine.

The analysis focuses mainly (but not exclusively) on the introductory passages to the books, where the writers' ethos is more likely to be explicitly constructed and their motivations for writing the manual described in detail. The sample is limited; as a consequence, the findings can hardly be generalised. Nonetheless, the books testify to the establishment and consolidation of (occasionally self-proclaimed) female physicians' credibility and authority in 19th century America—a social process which has started to be examined in some depth in respect of the field of conventional medicine (see above, Section § 1), but which is highly nuanced and deserving of further exploration.

3. Trust-building in female physicians' self-help manuals: Establishing rapport and building common ground

The five manuals herein investigated were written by a group of ladies different in their backgrounds and attitudes towards both the medical

profession and women's role in it. As mentioned above, the books are far from being compendia of contemporary medical knowledge (see Garzone and Catenaccio 2019). Rather, they belong to the broad field of "popular" medicine, which surged during the mid- to late nineteenth century, aided by the political climate of the time. The "democratization of healing"—as Rutkow calls it (2010, 45)—was encouraged and legitimised by "the ascent of President Andrew Jackson's populist embrace of the common man". Rutkow (2010, 45) observes that Jackson (whose presidency lasted from 1829 to 1837) was a vocal advocate of self-determination; this created a favourable climate for "medical autonomy, non interventionist care, and home doctoring" (*ibidem*) and directly contributed to the rapid rise and success of sectarian medicine ranging from the botanical theories of Thomsonianism, to the vegetarian regime of Grahamism, to other non-conventional medical approaches such as hydropathy and homeopathy (see Hoolihan 2001, xv; Duffy 1993, 81-94). "Domestic healing", or "kitchen medicine" (Risse 1977, 3) were extremely popular, and self-help books embracing unorthodox traditions enjoyed a wide circulation.

The books considered for this study belong to the latter category. They feature sections with titles such as "Homeopathic remedies" (Howe 1880) and "Medical electricity" (Melendy 1893), and even when their approach is not immediately detected in the titles of the chapters, they bear the signs of an approach to medicine which takes its distance from that of official doctors. Even though their scope is limited (in some cases extremely so)—which may imply an exclusively experience-based, empirical view of ailments—they all set aside some room to express cautious or skeptical views of traditional medicine.

The five manuals are very different from each other; yet, they share a common purpose to educate female readers and provide them with knowledge they can safely rely on when carrying out their functions as wives, mothers and carers. For this reason, female ailments and, more generally, conditions (such as pregnancy and childbirth), as well as the care of children, are dominant subjects (though by no means the only ones). They are books written by women, for women, and while they often fall short of promoting "radical ideas" (as one of them calls them) in respect of women, they all invariably insist on the need for women to educate themselves and become "self reliant" (Howe 1880, 4), so as to better serve their families and society.

3.1 “Only a woman can know what woman has suffered”: Manuals written by women, for women

In all the manuals analysed bar one (Watson 1868), gender is topicalised—be it the gender of the doctor, the gender of the patient, or both. While not all authoresses (as they call themselves) have the same opinion as to why women should be admitted to the medical profession, they all explicitly address the issue, though they do so in different ways and using slightly different, though often overlapping, arguments. The first manual—Mrs Mott’s *The ladies’ oracle* (1834)—justifies the access of women to medicine by referring to “morality, modesty [and] virtue”, which are put under strain by the “intrusion” of male doctors in the realm of feminine physicality:

- (1) Morality, modesty, virtue, amiableness, would have no intruders, if females were educated for medical attendants. The young virgin is taught by questions from the doctor, (questions which must be asked) ideas of impropriety, and a thousand little conjectures, which ought never to have found their way to the heart. (Mott 1834, 10)

By the same token, she argues against female doctors attending on male patients (*ibidem*). A more widespread involvement of female doctors in the care of female patients would not only preserve the latter’s modesty, but also contribute to better outcomes:

- (2) This very painful and unpleasant complaint has hitherto proved obstinate with medical men, the reason is obvious, they have never been placed in a situation to cure it, it is next to impossible; what female could give the proper information to the male practitioner. And indeed, in justice to medical gentlemen, I must say their talent is frequently lost from the natural delicacy of our sex. They are frequently blamed where the blame attaches to the patient only. I have had many patients who have been under the care of excellent physicians in Boston for a long time without aid. The secret has turned out, they never informed their medical adviser of their true situation. (Mott 1834, 61)

This argument was well established at the time: women were supposed to be best suited to the care of fellow-women because of their shared experience, as well as out of natural propensity. Another of the authoresses of medical manuals, Maxwell (1860), also insists on this point:

- (3) No woman can be ignorant of her own feelings, and if they are remembered, cannot fail to use them advantageously as keys, as means

of investigation in cases of diseases she herself has passed through. Only a woman can know what woman has suffered, or is suffering. [...] Thus the female physician must necessarily possess sources of knowledge denied and inaccessible to the most studious and skillful man. [...] The amount of relief, and above all, the mental ease a woman can give another in sickness, where implicit confidence exists, are so great as to merit a thorough discussion, and the importance of the obvious aid so bestowed, will in all cases serve to establish the (to the writer, at least,) self-evident truth, that in the majority of diseases peculiar to women, no one but a woman educated in medicine, is the proper physician. (Maxwell 1860, 6-8)

The preservation of modesty both authors refer to is a central motive in all the books. The authors, however, do not confine themselves to this motive, and make use of more forceful arguments in favour of women's involvement in medicine. Mott, for instance, extols women's intellectual capabilities, which she claims to be equal—if not superior—to those of men. Responding to typical critiques of women demanding access to traditionally male professions, she makes the following statement:

- (4) It may be argued, that women are not talented enough, they are weak vessels, they have not nerve enough. What act of heroism did man ever do that history will not point to the prototype in woman? Who so proper to tend and nurse the sick? The day will soon arrive, when female society, will be rid of male intruders, into secrets at which Virtue blushes "that the sun doth see." [...] I think, without disparagement to the high medical talent society has the benefit of, that there is nothing contrary to the rules of society, or delicacy of our sex, in female practice. What I have done in this good city is known to thousands, let it therefore be received as the best proof of what I hope to be enabled to do for years to come. (Mott 1834, 10-11)

That women can, and indeed should become conversant with all aspects of medicine is also powerfully argued by Watson (1868). She calls for medical education for all, but especially for women, because on them depends the health and progress of the human race:

- (5) Every person should acquire a knowledge of medicine for their own benefit —particularly mothers—whether they intend to practice it or not. The art of preventing and curing disease is simple and easily learned if rightly undertaken. A late writer observes that if women generally understood properly their own physiology and hygiene, and that pertaining to their offspring, there would be vastly less of suffering among them and in their families, and fewer cases of "Female

Weakness,” for which remedies are advertised in almost every paper. This would strike at the root of the evils sought to be remedied, by removing the ignorance of women on these subjects, which fosters prudery and false ideas of life and the relations of the sexes. All persons, (women as well as men) should have proper and thorough instruction on all points which relate to their health and happiness. Knowledge of themselves, and all that is attainable of the mysterious phenomenon of life, is more essential to women, for it most deeply concerns them. It is they who have the care of our little ones, and on them depend the health of the future generations. (Watson 1868, vi)

For Watson, the education of women falls within the more general purpose of elevating common people so that they can better take care of their own health and live more satisfactory lives. Within the scope of this overarching goal, women play a special role because to them is entrusted the education of children. Along the same line, Mendely extends the scope of women’s influence to the moral aspects of child raising, crediting mothers with the power to mould the minds of their offspring. This is in line with the commonly held opinion at the time that women were endowed with a moral strength which made them superior to men (see, amongst others, Harris 1978); this made them especially suited to the medical profession (Morantz 1978).

- (6) Woman's nature is so heroic that she would willingly risk her life in order to have children that will be an honor to her. She is willing to do her best, but is wanting in a knowledge of the governing laws. She only slightly realizes that the disposition of her infant, whether sunny, confident, hopeful, strong and steady, or dark, despairing, weak and vacillating, is a matter almost wholly under her control. She little realizes that the conditions of her mind are repeated in the mind of the child; that her mental states are indelibly impressed on the mind of the child she is forming; and that the connection between the mind of mother and child is telegraphic and direct. She little realizes the power she possesses, even independently of her husband's assistance, to direct the character and disposition of her offspring. (Melendy 1893, 29)

The way to women’s empowerment lies both in making them realize the importance of their role and trust their capabilities, and in giving them the opportunity to acquire competences which make them independent of men. In promoting her method for curing women suffering from a prolapse of the womb, Howe calls upon women “to help this car of progress go along”, calling it their “duty” to do so. By learning “to help [them]selves”, women will become “self-reliant” and effect a “great redemption of [their] sex” (Howe 1880: 4)—an expression which refers specifically to the restoration

of health after such a debilitating illness, but which, besides and beyond the sales pitch, represents a call for women to be the masters of their own physical wellbeing.

- (7) This wonderful cure is so safe and simple and easy to perform [*sic*], it comes within the reach of all. Every female should have this knowledge in her possession, both married and single; for the reason that she is liable to this trouble at all times of her life, as none are exempt. The fashions and customs of every day life make heavy demands on the female organization, in all the walks of life; both the poor and rich—the high and the low. Do not fail to give this most wonderful cure a careful examination, and avail yourselves of the only safe and easy remedy that was ever discovered by any mortal. It is a duty you owe to yourselves and humanity that you help this car of progress along. When you have this great Truth in your house you are safe from the greatest scourge that ever afflicted the human family. Do not stand back, but avail yourselves at once of this great safe guard. (Howe 1880, 1)

The text is fashioned as an advertisement, and has a peculiarly colloquial tone to it. Indeed, it sounds like a sales pitch for a miracle cure (except that this is more than a cure: it is a route to empowerment) like the ones which were routinely sold on the streets at the time. The imperatives, and the sense of urgency, come up again and again in the text:

- (8) Now ladies take right hold of this great redemption of your sex. No more going to physicians for such troubles. A great sense of delicacy planted in the female breast prevents her getting help when it would do her the most good, and she often waits until she is a confirmed invalid. Now give her the means to help herself; this will make her self reliant. (Howe 1880, 4)

Howe's incitement to self-determination carefully treads a middle way between female autonomy and a need to preserve women's natural modesty; in other words, female doctors are needed to teach fellow sufferers how to treat typically feminine ailments because their "delicacy" prevents them from speaking openly to their male doctors. Being self-reliant, therefore, is not so much a goal as a necessity.

The positions outlined above are all in line—though with varying emphases—with conventional Victorian views on women—delicate beings which rose through their virtue to a dignity that men had been reluctant to acknowledge in earlier times. Around mid-century, however, more radical views had started to emerge and influence the way in which women approached medicine (see Clevenger 1987, 14). A few passages in the self-help books investigated bear traces of an evolution in the role of women in

society which had been going on for some time. In this respect, Melendy is the most outspoken. Included in her manual is a presumably fictitious letter by a lady who is quite clearly presented by the author as a shining example of modernity. The anonymous writer is in all likelihood a thin disguise for the author. Among her declarations is the following:

- (9) I am decidedly strong on the Woman's Rights question, and do not believe women should be obliged to bring unwelcome children into the world. I believe it to be the right of every woman to bear only the number of children she desires, and also in her right to the best conditions for producing the best children. Man will yield when he must, therefore it devolves on woman to take the lead in this new and most important movement. It is not my intention to say anything derogatory to masculinity; had my sex been indulged through the ages as the male sex has been, the result would probably have been the same. (Melendy 1893, 26-27; allegedly quoting from a letter)

The passage insists on the right of women to have their say in what would be defined nowadays as family planning, taking on an active role in decisions concerning their reproductive rights (not without a sarcastic blow at men's ability to exercise control over themselves). More in general, women are strongly encouraged to join the Women Rights movement. Under these circumstances, their right to access the medical profession can hardly be questioned. Moreover, by addressing issues related to reproductive health in such open terms, the author demonstrates strong social awareness accompanied by the willingness to engage in discussions involving potential delicate topics. As Skinner points out, this type of writing testifies to nineteenth century women's active contribution to "shaping the scientific and social discourse surrounding 'delicate' subjects" (Skinner 2007, 103).

In these texts, the construction of the writers' ethos relies on their ability to build a rapport with other women by virtue of their shared experience of the female condition; at the same time, they contribute to changing conventional images of the female subject, placing themselves (and often co-opting their patients) at the forefront of a rising wave of female emancipation through self-education.

3.2 "The day has arrived when the people 'see not through a glass darkened' but in the light": Medical knowledge as freedom

All the self-help medical books considered in this study contain explicit references to conventional medicine, from which they invariably seek to

distance themselves. The rejection of conventional medicine in favour of experience-based medical practice is a common trait in self-help manuals of the time, where *experience*, as opposed to *theory*, seems to be a cultural keyword (see Garzone & Catenaccio 2019). In the manuals considered here, however, the rejection of conventional approaches to medicine seems to be even more outspoken. Nowhere is this more visible than in Mott's pamphlet, whose opening betrays a violent aversion for traditional medicine. After a fairly tame start, where the author states that her book has not been written "for the eye of the physician, because its tone is contrary to regular partice" (Mott 1834: 1), Mott goes on to deplore the amount of time that is wasted on pointless study before a young man can call himself a doctor:

- (10) The study of Medicine has grown more and more intricate. [...] It has become so crowded with chemical preparations, and new discoveries, that the best part of one's life is gone e'er we have got through the Theory of Physic. Young men, now-a-days, have to study languages until half their lives are gone; and they nearly spend the remainder in experiments on patients, to ascertain the truth of what they have read. They begin to practice when they ought to be able to leave off! [...] Every thing differing from the old school is termed quackery? What is quackery then, but improvement? [...] The truth is, practice alone can make perfect. (Mott 1834, 5-6)

The topic of quackery—a common charge levelled at non-conventional doctors, and at women especially—also comes up in Watson's volume. Her manual is based on the botanical principles of the Thompsonian system, and is preceded by a sizeable section featuring a number of letters by an authoritative physician defending Thompson's theories. The testimony of Benjamin Waterhouse, a reputable doctor writing in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal*, is used to establish the credentials of the founder of the botanical movement. The letters build the character of a man who "unit[es] theory to practice" and "acquire[s] his knowledge [...] by experiment", publishing "the result of his experience, labor and thought to the world for it to judge of them and of him" (Watson 1868, 13). "This man", says the author of the letter, "is no 'Quack'":

- (11) He narrates his medical discoveries, gives an account of his system of practice, together with his manner of curing disease, upon a plan confessedly new; to which he adds the principles upon which his new system is founded. He who does this is no Charlatan, but by uniting theory to practice, merits attention. (from a letter by Benjamin Waterhouse originally published in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* and quoted in Watson 1868, 13)

Watson, through the words of Benjamin Waterhouse, also celebrates the liberating effect of Samuel Thompson's approach. In particular, Thompson's popularizing attitude is praised as an eminently democratic attempt at lifting people out of their ignorance.

The importance of education—and especially medical education—for self-determination is reiterated again and again the books. Mott, with her customary straightforwardness, goes so far as to compare the effects of emancipation from medical authority to those of the Reformation, which she characterizes exclusively in terms of independence from papal authority:

- (12) The day has arrived when the people “see not through a glass darkened,” but in the light, and laugh in the Pope's face, and become their own ambassadors to Heaven. That delusion has passed away; but when the doctor visits a patient there is still that same credulity, the anxious relative watches the very countenance, each lineament, the dropping of the eye-brow, or a shake of the head, is enough to paralyze the infatuated by-stander; and in order to give the effect, the doctor walks off without telling the cause of sickness, or the complaint, (and probably without knowing) leaving all “in suspense most wretched.” Why not let the prescriptions be in legible English? No, they will answer, it would not have the desired effect, if the patient knew what it was; or perhaps he would not take it! “Give such physic to the dogs, I'll none of it.” (Mott 1834, 6-7)

Mott, however, is quite unique in her outright denigration of traditional medicine. Her fellow female physicians are generally less aggressive, and shun such downright criticism. Melendy, for instance, claims that she does “not wish to combat physicians on any theory, or any established methods of treatment which add to the welfare of mankind”, but calls on “all progressive and practical thinkers of any school” to contribute to easing the pains of labour with “knowledge [...] derived from experience, and not from undigested, undefined theories” (Melendy 1893, 3). When women are provided with this practical knowledge, she argues, they will be empowered to face the pains of labour with greater self-awareness and control:

- (13) The patient must possess perfect control of herself, realizing that it is natural to bear children. She must not become frightened, and thus nervous and helpless as so many women do, as the result of hearing of the terrible experiences of others. If there have been sad experiences in the past, their day is over, and a new and happy era for the mother-woman has dawned. (Melendy 1893, 13)

Occasionally, one gets a glimpse of a more cautious attitude. For instance, Watson joins her colleagues in claiming to want to make her book “a plain, practical work, free from medical terms, and easily to be understood”, based on “knowledge acquired from several years’ experience in the practice of medicine”. She begs leave, however “to quote many recent observations and discoveries in the treatment of disease” (Watson 1868: vi). That she should feel the need to explain and justify her reliance on second-hand experience is nonetheless significant: she fears of falling in the same trap as those physicians who will dispense their advice based on purely theoretical knowledge. To offset this risk, she produces a manual filled with descriptions of cases she (or other doctors) successfully treated, consistently placing observation and experience ahead of theory and speculation.

4. Conclusions

The female physicians investigated in this brief study are unanimous in vindicating their right to exercise the medical profession. They do so on the basis of their experience of female ailments, which makes them uniquely positioned to understand the plight of fellow sufferers, who, in turn, are more likely to describe their symptoms without embarrassment to a female physician. But they also insist on their intellectual capabilities, which are equal to those of men. The medical expertise they boast is based on their experience. They reject conventional medicine, unless it is based on evidence. They are also open to new medical approaches, which they defend with evidence-based arguments. They go a long way—albeit with remarkable differences among them—to explain their approaches and positions, providing extensive examples and descriptions of symptoms and treatments.

They also invariably recognize, in terms which are more or less explicit depending on the author, the gatekeeping exercised by male medical doctors on their professions, and forcefully oppose it. Their aversion to conventional medicine is also an aversion to a male-dominated profession which, with rare exceptions (quoted in one of the books) barred women from entering the field.

But the dominant trait of the introductions to all five manuals is their overwhelming sense of empowerment. Their authoresses forcefully defend their right to exercise their chosen profession, but also call upon women to become independent and self-reliant by acquiring medical knowledge. Making medicine “simple”—a word they all use—is in fact a way of empowering people in general, and women in particular, both in their personal lives and in society. While the books have different degrees of

engagement with the issue of women's rights, they all share the same view that knowledge is indeed power, and that women are not only capable of, but also eminently suited to, medical practice.

This chapter has offered a very preliminary overview of the five manuals selected for analysis. Despite its limitations, I hope it has shown how much there is to gain from an in-depth study of "lesser" writers. Mrs Mott may not have been the most educated of physicians, and she confesses in her book to having been drawn to the profession of fortune-teller before deciding to become a physician. And yet her writings—like those of her fellow authoresses—are a veritable goldmine of evidence not only of nineteenth century medical knowledge amongst women, but of changing attitudes towards the female conditions, where empowerment and self-reliance were starting to gain currency and visibility.

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CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

THE COMBINING FORM *MULTI-* IN ENGLISH COMPOUNDS

VIRGINIA PULCINI

1. Introduction: neo-classical compounds

The phenomenon of compounding with neo-classical combining forms (Bauer 1998; Bauer and Huddleston 2002) is a peculiar area of English word-formation for several reasons. To begin with, although English is a Germanic language, borrowing from Latin and Greek has been a productive source of lexical enrichment since its origins. Lexical borrowing from classical languages increased in the periods of greater growth of vocabulary, i.e. in the Early Modern English period (Görlach 1991; Hogg and Denison 2006), in the 17th century, with the development of specialized discourse (Gotti 2005), during the 19th century industrial revolution, and in the post-modern societies of the 20th and 21st centuries (Minkova and Stockwell 2009).

The classical element in English also represents an important genetic link with other European languages, having contributed to the creation of a large stock of common and similar vocabulary in various specialized fields (Pulcini and Milani 2017). Among the hundreds of examples that could be quoted, there are terms naming the different areas of science (from Greek *-λογία* ‘the name of science’), like *astrology*, *geology*, *zoology*, respectively the sciences of celestial objects (*astro-* from Latin *astro-*, Greek *ἀστρο-*), of the earth (*geo-* from classical Latin *geo-* and ancient Greek *γῆω-* ‘earth’) and of animals (Latin *zoo-*, ultimately a borrowing from Greek *ζῷον* ‘animal’), which are the same as or similar to equivalent terms in many European languages: in Italian, *astrologia*, *geologia* and *zoologia*, in German *Astrologie*, *Geologie*, *Zoologie*, and in Russian *астрология*, *геология* and *зоология*.

Another significant aspect is that combining forms (CFs) are considered linguistically different from affixes, although the distinction between the

two types of lexical items may be fuzzy. Prčić (2005) explains that, while prefixes can only be attached to free-standing bases, initial CFs can be attached to both free-standing bases and other final CFs. For example, whereas the prefix *re-* can combine with the free base *play* to form the word *replay*, the initial CF *geo-* can be attached to both the free base *chemistry* to form the word *geochemistry* and to the final CF *-ology* to form the term *geology*. Bauer defines neo-classical compounds as an unusual type because they are “words formed in the modern European languages from elements of the classical languages, in such a way that there is no native root involved” (1988, 248). Bauer (1983; 1998) further explains that these compounds are extremely productive in English, and are also used as bases for derivatives (e.g. *holograph* → *holographic*).

There are other types of neo-classical compounds in which only one of the components is a CF, and the other is a free base (common English words), like *astrophysics*, *geodynamics* and *zootechnics*. In turn, this pattern has produced an extremely rich stock of compounds and derivatives, typically denoting something in a specialized domain (Bauer and Huddleston 2002).

Semantically, CFs are more word-like and in many cases they can be used as independent words, e.g. *mini*, *maxi*, *video*, *photo*. In modern times, CFs have been productive not only in the development of specialized terminology but also in the creation of general vocabulary, as will be shown in the section §4 (Timeline) with reference to the lexical element *multi-*. Most CFs have Latin and Greek etymologies, but their modern use has often moved away from their original meanings;¹ for this reason both the CFs and the compounds formed with them are referred to as ‘neo-classical’.

In this paper, we will observe the morphological and semantic features of terms containing the element *multi-*, primarily in its function as CF in compounds. The choice of this particular item is motivated by the fact that, among the CFs indicating numerical quantity, it is particularly productive. *Multi-* is also semantically interesting, being in competition with other components expressing large quantities such as *poly-* and *many-*. A few of the terms containing *multi-* are direct borrowings from Latin (*multiplex*); many are neo-classical compounds composed of the CF *multi-* attached to an English base (*multilevel*, *multipack*) or parasynthetic compounds characterised by the presence of prefixes and suffixes attached to a lexical base (Müller *et al.* 2015), as in the case of the term *multi-faceted*. In the following sections, the morpho-syntactic and semantic profile of the

¹ For example, the CF *tele-* from Greek *τηλε-* ‘afar, far off’ is the etymon of *telephone* and *television*, which in turn have generated *teleplay*, *telegenic* (from *television*) and *telemarketing* and *telesales* (from *telephone*).

compounds with *multi-* will be illustrated on the basis of the recorded entries and sub-entries of the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED). Refining our search by using the timeline and subject categories, we will illustrate the historical development of the compounds with *multi-* and the specialized fields in which *multi-* words have been more productive in time.

2. *Multi-* words in the OED

Our analysis started with a search for the word form <*multi*> in the OED, obtaining 10 headwords. As we can see in the list below, the results from *multi*, n.¹ to *multi*, n.⁸ and *multi*, adj.¹ denote shortened forms of longer words or compounds; all of them are placed in a medium frequency band between 4 and 5 (out of 8)² and are dated in the second half of the 20th century; some are colloquial or regional:

1. *multi*, n.¹ *colloq.* < multimillionaire (1950);
2. *multi*, n.² and adj.² *Bridge* an opening bid of two diamonds (1972);
3. *multi*, n.³ *Sc. colloq.* A multi-storey block of flats (1973);
4. *multi*, n.⁴ *colloq.* < multinational n. (1976);
5. *multi*, n.⁵ < multivitamin n. (1984);
6. *multi*, n.⁶ < multihull n. (1984)
7. *multi*, n.⁷ *N. Am.* A building designed to house several families (1986);
8. *multi*, n.⁸ < multiplex n. (1970);
9. *multi*, adj.¹ < multicoloured adj. (1970);
10. *multi*, *comb. form*

The use of *multi* as an independent word confirms its status as a CF rather than a prefix, a feature that is considered to be a distinctive characteristic of these lexical items (see section 1).

Regarding the OED headword ‘*multi-*, *comb. form*’, its first attestation dates back to 1647. This entry contains over 200 sub-entries of compounds containing this CF. Furthermore, a separate search of *multi** generated a high number of independent headwords (494 items), some of which can be traced back to earlier French and Latin etymons containing *multi-* (e.g. *multiply*, *multitude*), which have been included anyway because of their semantic closeness.³ The following analysis is based on the c700 items, mostly

² The OED assigns a frequency score to non-obsolete words on the basis of bands running from 1 (low frequency) to 8 (high frequency). <https://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/>.

³ Beside the c200 compounds listed as sub-entries of ‘*multi-* *comb. form*’, a large number of terms containing the CF *multi-* have an independent entry in the OED.

compounds, retrieved from the OED both as sub-entries of the CF *multi-* and as independent headwords containing *multi-* as one of the component bases or roots.

3. Semantic and morpho-syntactic profile of compounds with *multi-*

According to the OED, the etymon of *multi-* is Latin *multus*, with the sense of ‘more than one, several, many’. *Multi-* belongs to the class of prefixes and CFs that quantify the meaning of the base words, similarly to the items *uni-* (‘one’) in *unilateral*, *di-* and *bi-* (‘two’) in *digraph* and *bifocal*, *tri-* (‘three’) in *triangle*, *semi-* (‘half’) in *semi-detached*, and so on. Forms with *multi-* may exist in parallel with similar patterns expressing quantity, such as in the sequence *nulliplex*, *simplex*, *diplex*, *duplex*, *triplex*, *octuplex*, *quadplex*, *quadruplex*, *sextuplex*, and *multiplex*.

A few words with *multi-* are direct Latin loanwords like *multiplex* (*multi-* *comb. form* + *-plex suffix*), *multicipital* (*multi-* + *-cipital* [from Latin *biceps* *-cipitis*, comp. of *bi-* ‘two’ and *caput* *-pitis* ‘head’]), *multiplicator* and *multifarious*. Other forms are formed with *multi-* and a Latin-derived word, though integrated in English and expressing a modern meaning, like *multilocus*, *multi-axis*, *multidigit* (Latin *digitus*), *multidisc* (Latin *discus*), *multilens* and so on. In fact, most of the head elements of the compounds with *multi-* are of classical or Romance origin, as this is the etymology of most scientific and technical terms and more than half of the general English lexicon.

Given the diverse historical input into the lexical fabric of English, several near-synonyms are available to express the same value. In our case, the Germanic word *many* is paired with the Latin prefix *multi-* and the Greek prefix *poly-*, generating synonymic pairs such as *polycentric/multicentric* or *many-coloured/multi-coloured* (Bauer and Huddleston 2002, 1720). In the OED the CF prefix *poly-* appears to be even more productive than its *multi-* counterpart (742 entries against 494), while compounds with *many* are far less numerous (54 entries). A cursory comparison between the two wordlists of *many** and *poly** words shows a few synonymic pairs, like *multicellular/polycellular*, *multicentral/polycentral*, *multidimensional/polydimensional*, *multiparous/polyparous*, etc. Most compounds, however, do not match; moreover, a corpus-based check shows that, even in the presence of

The search done using the element *multi** allowed us to retrieve a much higher number of compounds with the CF *multi-* and, in addition, also words containing the element ‘multi’ (e.g. *multitude*) with no CF function.

synonyms in English, one form prevails over the other, like, for example, the word *multi-ethnic*, which is far more frequent than *polyethnic*.⁴ Thus, *multi-* and *poly-* display a noticeable overlap, except for the specialized use of *poly-* in the terminology of Chemistry (see sense 2. of the entry for *poly-* in the OED).

The compounds with *multi-* may have nouns, adjectives or verbs as the right-hand head element, although they mostly function as adjectives and, to a lesser extent, as nouns. For example, the compound *multibuy* functions as a n., meaning ‘A discount offered on the purchase of two or more items together when compared to the price of the same items bought separately’ and as an adj. with the same meaning, as in ‘multibuy promotion’ or ‘multibuy offer’. This is an exocentric compound, having its core meaning outside the elements that compose it, in the sense that a *multibuy* is not a multiple purchase, but a discount on a multiple purchase. The same can be said for the word *multigrade*, which can function both as n. and adj. to denote, depending on the different specialized fields, either photographic paper (in Photography), a solution of an equation (in Mathematics), a relation (in Logic) or engine oil.

The adjective function is thus the most common one among the compounds with *multi-*, including those of an endocentric type, with a right-hand element which is semantically prominent, as in *multimedia* ‘involving a variety of communicative media’, *multilevel* ‘operating on several levels’ and *multinational* ‘involving several or many countries or nationalities’.

According to the OED, *multi-* is typically found in formations that involve multiple affixation or both compounding and affixation, a feature that is referred to as parasynthesis. Parasynthetic compounds are characterized by a root, a prefix or initial CF and one or more suffixes, as in *multibranch*, made up of *multi* (comb. form) + *branch* (root)+*ed* (suffix). Müller *et al.* (2015, 532-533) explain that “*Parasynthetic compounding* can be broadly defined as a lexical process that consists in the blend of two lexical bases—that form a compound that does not exist independently—with a derivational suffix”, although this category of compounds is quite heterogeneous, according to scholars.⁵ With reference to the example *multibranch*, we may observe that its semantic motivation is to denote the quality of ‘having many branches (in various senses)’, bypassing the

⁴ In the British National corpus *multi-ethnic* is found 45 times (plus 4 as *multiethnic*), whereas only 1 concordance is found for *poly-ethnic* (none for *polyethnic*).

⁵ The complex phenomenon of parasynthesis in word-formation in Romance and Germanic languages was inherited from Latin. In English we may notice its close relation to synthetic compounds, as of the types *blue-eyed* and *truck driver* (Müller *et al.* 2015).

hypothetical existence of **multibranch*. See two senses of *multibranch* in examples (1) and (2):

- (1) The lofty and multi-branched genealogical tree. (1862 *Temple Bar* 6 266)
- (2) California's multi-branched state university. (1964 *Economist* 12 Dec. 1251/1)

An interesting type of adjective with *multi-* contains participial forms, as in *multioccupied*, *multistratified*, *multivalued*, which can be linked back to the respective verbs (occupy v., stratify v., value v.) and often express passive meaning. For example, *multioccupied* refers to a building 'occupied by more than one family', as in (3):

- (3) Improvement grants are not available for multi-occupied houses. (1967 *Economist* 14 Oct. 177/1)

A non-passive meaning, instead, can be observed in adjectives denoting a quality or characteristic of the referent, as *multicoloured*, meaning 'having many colours'.

According to the OED, the participial suffix -ed¹ attached to verbs must be differentiated from the suffix -ed² attached to nouns: in the latter, the resulting adjectives indicate the possession of the thing denoted by the head noun, e.g. *multi-engined*, meaning 'having more than two engines' or *multiwindowed*, meaning 'having many windows', and similarly *multibladed*, *multicelled*, *multi-cylindered*, *multihulled*, *multimiked*, etc. See, for example, the general (4) and specialized (5) uses of *multiwindowed*:

- (4) A powdery white road led to a long white complex of multiwindowed buildings, half a kilometer away. (1970 A. McCaffrey *Ship who Sang* ii. 31)
- (5) New programs include..the U.S. Constitution for DOS with multiwindowed interface. (1994 *CompuServe Mag.* Mar. 56/1)

In other cases, participial adjectives coexist with their equivalent nouns, like the terms *multivolumed* adj./*multivolume* n., *multifoiled* adj./*multifoil* n., which can equally function as adjectives. The multiple noun/adjective function can also be played by items with the pattern multi+verb+ing such as *multi-addressing*, *multicasting*, *multicoating*, *multiprocessing* and *multitasking*.

In specialized terminology, another productive pattern is that of adjectives ending in -ate, often coexisting with the deverbal ending -ated, as

in the terms *multiciliate/multiciliated* ‘having many cilia’ (Zoology) and *multiperforate/multiperforated* (Botany and Anatomy) ‘having several perforations’. See examples (6) and (7):

- (6) The spermatozooids too, are different in the two groups, being uniformly bi-ciliate in the liverworts, and multi-ciliate in the ferns. (1891 *Bull. Torrey Bot. Club* 18 80)
- (7) In multiciliated species [of Bacteria]. (1901 *Brit. Med. Jrnl.* 12 Jan. (Epitome) 8/3)

4. Timeline

Table 18.1 shows the increase of *multi-* words across the centuries, which is evidently noteworthy from the second half of the 19th century. The figures indicate that 60% of the total number of entries and sub-entries featuring in the OED Timeline are 20th century words, while 25% belong to the 19th century. This means that the productivity of the compounds containing the CF *multi-* has rapidly increased since the second half of the 19th century, doubling its productivity in the 20th century.

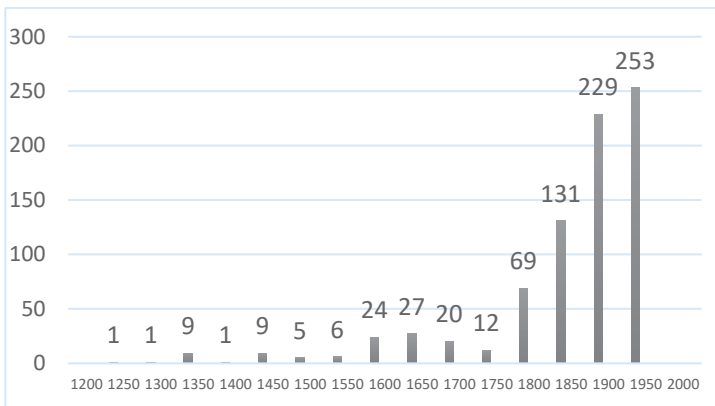


Table 18.1: Number of lemmas with *multi-* in the OED across the centuries.

Although the first use of *multi-* as a CF in English is attested in 1647, in the previous centuries a handful of words containing the element <*multi*> had already been imported, the oldest being the word *multiply*, a borrowing from French *multeplier* in the early 12th century. The verb *multiply* carried both the transitive meaning of ‘to increase in number or in quantity’ (8), and the

intransitive meaning of ‘to be increased’ (9), but from the 14th century the mathematical sense of ‘to find the product of’ developed (10), giving rise to subsequent arithmetic terminology like *multiplex to* (also of), *multiple of*, *multiplication* and *multiplying*.

- (8) Swete wordes multiplien and encessen freendes. (c1390 CHAUCER *Melibeus* 2930)
- (9) Evelez on erpe..grewen And multyplyed monyfolde (c1400 *Cleanness* (1920) 278)
- (10) Sixe & twelue y-multiplyed [L *multiplicata*] makeþ two and seenty. (a1398 J. TREVISA tr. Bartholomaeus Anglicus *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (BL Add.) f. 329)

According to the OED, the earliest English words containing *multi-* were borrowed from Anglo-Norman and French into Middle English. Beside the already discussed verb *multiply*, we find the noun *multitude* (partly from French, partly from Latin), meaning ‘A very large number, a great crowd (*of* people or things)’ (11 and 12).

- (11) Þe grete multitude..stood bifore þe throne, þat noman ne miȝth noumbre. (c1350 *Apocalypse St. John: A Version* (Harl. 874) (1961) 57 (MED))
- (12) A multitude of actions done by a multitude of men. (1651 T. HOBBS *Leviathan* I. ii. 50)

The earliest English borrowings directly from Latin were not very numerous and include the already quoted *multiplex* adj., *multiformity* n. from Latin *multiformitas* (frequency band 3) (13), and *multifarious* adj. (frequency band 4) from post-classical Latin *multifarius* (14). The frequency band indicates that these words are still current and moderately frequent nowadays.

- (13) Contention hath been mooued..touching an vniformitie of Methode in Multiformitie of Matter. (1605 BACON *Of Aduancem. Learning* II. sig. Qq4)
- (14) This Idea is not free from the intanglement of multifarious contradictions in the conception thereof. (1655 H. MORE *Antidote against Atheism* (ed. 2) App. v. 323)

On the other end of the timeline, among the newest entries with *multi-* in the OED there are *multiregionalist* n. (Physical Anthropology) dated 1990

(15), *multiculti* *adj.* and *n. slang* (chiefly U.S.) (16), though less frequent than the verb *multitask* (dated 1986; frequency band 3) in Computing and in its figurative use (17) and of the clipped forms *multi*, n.⁵ (*multivitamin*), *multi*, n.⁶ (*multihulled*) and *multi*, n.⁷ (*multi-family house*) (frequency band 4).

(15) The multiregionalists have long claimed that the best evidence for their theory lies in Australia, which is generally thought to have become inhabited around 50,000 years ago. (1994 *Discover* Sept. 89/2)

(16) These kids were either emblems of the multi-culti melting pot or racist creeps. (1995 *Sight & Sound* Nov. 19/3)

(17) Your brain allows you to multitask—you can prepare dinner while talking on the telephone. (2008 C. GROSS *Beginning C# 2008* xiii. 359)

5. Specialized domains

In this section, a comparison is made between the OED entries containing the CF *multi-* in the 19th century and in the 20th century, in order to identify the specialized domains in which the CF *multi-* has been productive. The search was run by means of the advanced search options of the OED, by selecting the time periods 1800-1899 and 1900-1999. Then the lemmas in each time period were grouped in different domain fields (Table 2). This search is limited to the number and type of field labels indicated for each century. The reason is that matching the number and type of specialized fields to the number of results (shown in Table 1) is very complex and apparently inconclusive. This is due to the fact the hyphenated and one-word forms (such as *multi-angular* and *multiangular*) may be recorded as separate headwords. Moreover, items may display multiple meanings, including a general and several specialized ones: for example, the word *multipolar* has a general sense of ‘having more than two poles’ and five different specialized meanings: ‘of a nerve cell: having several or many processes’ in Anatomy, ‘of electrical machinery: having more than one pair of magnetic poles in the system of field magnets’ in Electrical Engineering, ‘having or involving more than two spindle poles’ in Cell Biology, ‘consisting of or divided into more than two opposed or competing alliances [...]’ in Politics.

The first interesting observation that can be made by looking at the number of field labels recorded in the 19th and in the 20th centuries (Table 2) is that the highest number belongs to the field of Sciences in the 19th century (68.3%) and to the fields of Sciences (31.6%) and Technology (30.8%) in the 20th century. While in the 19th century the field of

Technology is negligible compared to Sciences, in the 20th century the formation of new technological terms equals the input of new scientific vocabulary. The other recorded fields include a limited number of items.⁶

Time span	No. of field labels	Sciences		Technology		Total %
1800-1899	101	68.3%	69	6.9%	7	75.2
1900-1999	224	31.6%	71	30.8%	69	62.4

Table 18.2. Number of labels in Science and Technology in the 19th and 20th centuries.

Looking more closely at the scientific lemmas attested in the 19th century, we can further refine the area of Sciences into the sub-fields of Life Sciences (Zoology, Botany, Biology), Medicine, Mathematics and Physical Sciences (Physics, Chemistry), in frequency order. Some examples include the terms *multilobed* ‘having or consisting of several or many lobes’ (Biology and Medicine), *multiserial* ‘arranged in several or many series or rows’ (Zoology and Botany), *multivalent* ‘(of a holomorphic function) having the same value for more than one value of its argument’ (Mathematics), illustrated in (18), (19) and (20):

(18) Cells..bi-, tri-, or multi-lobed. (1882–4 M. C. COOKE *Brit. Fresh-water Algae* I. 202)

(19) In the Pycnodonts the teeth are multiserial. (1872 H. A. NICHOLSON *Man. Palaeontol.* 325)

(20) Multivalent and univalent involutory correspondences in a plane determined by a net of curves of nth order. (1891 *Amer. Jrnal. Math.* 14 39 (heading))

Moving on to 20th-century terminology, the data show an overall reduction in the percentage of words related to the fields of Science and Technology.

⁶ 19th century: Arts (5), Religion and Belief (3), Manufacturing and Industry (3), Crafts and Trades (2), Economics and Commerce (2), Language (2), Military (2), Politics (2), Sport and Leisure (2), Agriculture and Horticulture (1), Transport (1).
20th century: Arts (10), Transport (10), Politics (10), Economics and Commerce (9), Military (9), Crafts and Trades (8), Sport and Leisure (7), Education (6), Manufacturing and Industry (3), Social Sciences (3), History (2), Language (2), Philosophy (2), Agriculture and Horticulture (2), Religion and Belief (1).

This may have been counterbalanced by an increase of words in general use, but this hypothesis could be ascertained only through a manual check of each single dictionary headword. In the field of Life Science, terms of Medicine and Biology are numerous, and the areas of Physical Sciences, Chemistry and Geology are the most productive ones. It is no surprise, however, that the 20th century witnessed a marked growth of Technology and related terminology, especially in Computing (*multiprocessing* ‘processing by a number of processors sharing a common memory and common peripherals’), Photography (*multiexposure* ‘a negative or positive image obtained from taking two or (usually) more superimposed photographs on the same section of film’) and Telecommunications (*multi-address* ‘capable of delivering to multiple addresses simultaneously’), illustrated in examples (21), (22) and (23).

- (21) Rather than slow time-sharing micros or expensive networked PC's more and more companies are choosing multi-processing to meet their multi-user requirements. (1985 *Pract. Computing* May 12/2 (*adv.*))
- (22) Harry spent hours in his garage studio shooting himself in three different poses using the multi-exposure facility on his Nikon FM2. (1991 *Photo Answers* Mar. 55)
- (23) [A] range of telex services for ship-to-shore messages, including Store-and-Forward delivery, Direct-Dialing with dialogue option, Multi-Address Delivery and TextFax. (1995 *Offshore* Oct. 105)

6. Conclusions

Among the lexical items that indicate numerical quantity, this study has chosen the CF *multi-*, a Latin borrowing which has been productive since the 17th century to form compounds—mainly adjectives—expressing ‘a high number of’ or ‘a large amount of’ with reference to the attached lexical base. The linguistic opposition between ‘one and many’ and the expression of different quantities appear to be universal needs in human communication, thus demanding appropriate expressive means. To indicate numerical quantity, Latin and Greek have supplied a vast array of compositional elements, including the Latin *multi-* and the Greek *poly-*, in competition with one another, as it were. Neo-classical affixes and combining forms represent an invaluable resource for English word-formation and remind us of the long-standing genetic links between European languages, especially as far as scientific and technical vocabularies are concerned.

English morphology is also equipped with a dynamic and flexible word-formation system, and compounding has been one of the most productive ways of extending its lexicon. Synthetic and parasynthetic compounding, a word-formation process inherited from Latin, allows the language to create compact and semantically rich lexical items, a property which is key to the primary function of adjectives, i.e. to the description of qualities or properties.

The semantics of *multi-* has remained unchanged throughout the centuries with respect to its Latin etymon *multus* and has been an excellent linguistic resource for naming and classifying features and properties in specialized terminologies. As shown by the entries recorded by the OED, compounds with the CF *multi-* numerically tripled in the 19th century with respect to the past, and further increased fivefold in the 20th century. The analysis conducted on the field areas listed in the OED has shown that the notable rise of 19th century *multi-* terms encompasses a range of scientific areas, including Life Sciences (Zoology, Botany, Biology), Medicine, Mathematics, and Physical Sciences (Physics, Chemistry). In the 20th century, the field labels indicate that the number of new specialized terms are equally distributed between Sciences–Medicine, Biology, Chemistry and Geology, and Technology–Computing, Photography and Telecommunications. The data illustrated in this paper for the CF *multi-* confirm the frequent recourse of specialist terminology to classical languages, as already pointed out by Gotti (2005), to produce monoreferential and transparent words. The productivity of CFs from Latin and Greek also shows how apparently ‘dead’ languages still have a fundamental role in the formation of present-day scientific and technical vocabulary.

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PART FIVE
MISCELLANEOUS

CHAPTER NINETEEN

THE CHALLENGES OF TRANSLATING ITALIAN REGIONALISMS AND DIALECTS: FROM NOVELS TO TV SERIES

LUISANNA FODDE

1. Introduction

Enriching the language of their literary products is one of the fundamental tasks of novelists, and the lexicon is certainly the field in which they concentrate on the most. By creating neologisms or delving into their family and local dialects, they are able to manipulate their national language, transforming it into something magical.

Crede che la lingua sarda sia bellissima [...]. Per quanto riguarda la varietà che amo di più e che so parlare, il cagliaritano, mi dispiace che si perda perché è idioma straordinariamente ricco, adatto all'insulto, all'invettiva, al racconto buffo, ed è anche la fonte di quell'italiano bislacco parlato a Cagliari, mescolando parole, costrutti linguistici. Questa è una ricchezza, ogni volta che più lingue producono mescolanza e contaminazione, c'è arricchimento [...]. Crede che uno dei compiti dello scrittore sia arricchire la lingua italiana [...] Crede che questo sia il contributo che ogni etnia regionale dovrebbe portare. Alcuni scrittori sono stati grandissimi nel valorizzare le parlate locali.¹(Atzeni, in Sulis 1994, 37)

¹ I think that the Sardinian language is beautiful [...]. With regards to the variety I most love and can speak, *Cagliaritano*—Cagliari's dialect—I feel sorry it is disappearing because it is a particularly rich idiom, suited to insult, invective, storytelling, funny stories, but also the source of that quirky Italian spoken in Cagliari, mixing words and language constructs. There is such a richness every time languages produce contamination and mishmash, there is enrichment [...]. I think that one of the writer's tasks is to enrich the Italian language [...]. I think this is the contribution that every regional ethnic group should bring. Some writers have been very skilled at adding value to local speech [...] (author's translation).

My intention in this chapter is to examine some of the challenges faced in the translation of Italian regionalisms and dialects. Firstly, in particular, I shall consider, how and to what extent Italian dialects and regionalisms are introduced, and the reason behind such choices made by some authors. For this contribution I have chosen to illustrate the case of two Italian authors in particular: the Sardinian Sergio Atzeni and the Sicilian Andrea Camilleri. Even though in a distinctive way, not only do these two authors make use of their regional dialect, but they also introduce a very specific mixed idiolect—Camilleri’s case, has become extreme—to represent and emphasise their characters’ identity. I will attempt to exemplify how such regionalisms and dialects have been translated into English, and how the whole translation process has been tackled by their translators. Lastly, section 3 will go a step further, and present the passage from the novel to TV series and its subtitling. I will consider the BBC version of the Montalbano series aired in the UK between 2012 and 2013. This part will present some of the linguistic and stylistic constraints occurring during the transfer from written page to audio-visual mode.

2. Translating Italian varieties into English

Regionalisms, neologisms and culture-bound lexis, all add value to the Italian language. Authors who decide to use them in their texts make precise choices in adopting such writing styles: by welcoming the various identities belonging to a nation, to a land, they are giving voice to the local, the unique, the ethnic, the different.

A novel may expose the reader to a series of language varieties which are diatopically marked, along with the idiosyncratic code-mixing of the standard with the local language or dialect. Moreover, many of these choices are in turn used by the author to identify specific characters, and give them a characteristic, distinguishing trait. The characters’ voices and words become their own descriptions.

Because of this, the translator has the huge responsibility of respecting what seems to be untranslatable:

Eravamo d’accordo che la traduzione non deve andare da una lingua pura a un’altra lingua pura, ma organizzare l’appetito delle lingue tra loro nell’ossigeno impetuoso del linguaggio. Eravamo d’accordo che una traduzione non abbia più timore dell’intraducibile, ma sciam a dar conto di tutti i possibili intraducibili. Ed eravamo d’accordo che una traduzione onori innanzitutto l’irriducibile opacità di ogni testo letterario; che, in questo

mondo che ha finalmente la possibilità di risvegliarsi, il traduttore divenga il pastore della molteplicità. (Chamoiseau 2015, 2)²

The above quotation seems to express an extreme scenario. In many cases, the translator may be forced to reduce or delete some dialect expressions to favour comprehension. When that happens, the target language is standardized, the diatopic nature of the novel blurred, and the passage from one language to another normalized. However, translators are well aware of the problems that the use of regionalisms and dialects, or the mixed style chosen by some authors pose. To solve these problems, translators attempt different solutions. They may force the target language with the imposition of slang forms or with the literary translations of idioms, to give the reader a sense of estrangement.

In their task of translating dialects and culture-bound language, the choice of strategies to be adopted is influenced by various factors. For example, the closeness between the source and the target culture is an important element in the discernment of what to include or not, as well as the presence of intertexts, i.e. concepts existing in both cultures (Pedersen 2005). Another strategy which may be considered feasible and practical, is that of translating a dialect by choosing another one typical of the target language. As we will see later, this strategy has been used by Camilleri's English translator, Stephen Santarelli, with contrasting results.

The choice of using examples from Atzeni's and Camilleri's literary production to describe the challenges of translating regionalisms and dialects is exactly this: both authors, who indeed differ in many other respects, seem to view literature as the "nation of language"³, where words are manipulated to enhance communication. In both these authors' work such a manipulation becomes their distinguishing feature. *Camillerese* is now the common, welcomed, and internationally accepted denomination of Andrea Camilleri's language and narrative style. Sergio Atzeni's insertion of the Sardinian dialect, mixed with a precise, extreme use of the Italian language, and of rare but ad-hoc neologisms, has contributed to establishing him as one of Sardinia's greatest authors of all times.

² « Nous étions d'accord pour qu'une traduction ne craigne plus l'intraduisible, mais qu'elle devienne comptable, et essaimeuse, de tous les intraduisibles possibles. Et nous étions d'accord pour qu'une traduction honore avant tout l'opacité irréductible de tout texte littéraire, pour que, dans ce monde qui a enfin une chance de s'éveiller à lui même, le traducteur devienne le berger de la Diversité». (Ibid. page 1)

³ "Il paese della lingua" (Atzeni in Sulis 1994, 39).

2.1. Sergio Atzeni's *Bakunin's Son*

Sergio Atzeni's novel *Il figlio di Bakunin* (1991) was published in English in 1996 with the title *Bakunin's Son*. The New York publisher Italica Press entrusted its translation to John Rugman.

As Elena Sanna explains in her article devoted to Atzeni's translated text, the English version of the novel confirms the prevalence of the orality mode, and respects the author's style of creating a voice for each individual character through specific and peculiar language choices (2018, 265). To do this, Rugman chooses first of all the colloquial forms typical of the standard target language, contractions such as *wanna*, *gonna*, *lotta*, together with *'em*, instead of the plural personal pronoun. From a syntactic point of view, the spoken mode and feel is also given by verb deletion, clause juxtaposition, right dislocation and anacoluthon:

(1) *Era una notte calda, non si vedeva né luna né stelle [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 59)

It was a warm night, but cloudy, no moon nor stars [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 36)

(2) *Ho avuto diciassette figli. La prima, quella con la faccia di Ottavio, è morta a sette anni. Di congestione, era al fiume col padre e gli amici del padre, si è tuffata dopo mangiato. Non l'ho pianto [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 40)

I had seventeen children. The first was a girl, same face as Ottavio. She died at the age of seven, drowned in the river. She was with her father and his friends, dove in too soon after eating, I didn't cry [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 23)

(3) *Andava a Carbonia, il bambino, partiva in bicicletta il lunedì mattina prima che faceva luce, tornava il sabato dopo il tramonto, in bicicletta [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 32)

He went to Carbonia, the boy, he'd leave on his bicycle before dawn Monday morning and return on his bike Saturday after sundown. [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 16)

(4) *Nell'aula c'era molto freddo [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 44)

And the cold, the courtroom was like ice [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 71)

Rugman also adopts the strategy of leaving many words in Italian, mostly allocative forms, such as *donna*, *duce*, *signor*, among others, reversing loan words into his target text, so that the reader is immediately made aware of the provenance of the source text.

At times, on the contrary the translator prefers to be more explicit as in the case of the Italian noun *corna* used in the figurative sense in example 5:

(5) *E oggi in paese gli contano le corna [...].* (Atzeni, 1991, 17)
 And today the village can't keep track of how many times his wife cheated on him [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, page?)

With regards to word play, which Atzeni employs mainly in the form of rhyming or alternating couplets, the translator chooses to normalize the target text by simply translating the content of those expressions:

(6) *Chi usa in cucina olio d'olive Cappelluti Arturo gusta buon cibo e mai avrà cimuro [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 24)
 Use Cappelluti in the kitchen and you'll never suffer from distemper [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 58)

A few regionalisms are imported as loans:

(7) *Is panadas gli piacevano ai Saba, e io le sapevo fare come si deve, sono nata a Assemini, e se c'è posto di panadas quello è Assemini, la prima cosa che ho annusato venendo al mondo sono panadas [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 19)
 The Sabas sure liked my panadas though, and I knew how to make 'em the way they're supposed to be made — I was born in Assemini, and the first smell that greeted me as I came into this world was panadas [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 6)

Here we can also notice how Rugman chooses to disregard the typical representations of non-standard Italian, like the post-positioning of the verb (*la prima cosa che... sono panadas*) and the right dislocation of the proper noun (*Is panadas gli piacevano ai Saba*), which marks Atzeni's emphasis for the spoken and the colloquial.

As for other typically Sardinian expressions (*sciollori*, *bruscia*), the speakers' natural code-switching style is plainly standardized (author's emphasis):

(8) *Dolores Murtas non ha mai maledetto nessuno, non è bruscia, ma li guardavo e mi dicevo: la loro fortuna andrà in cenere [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 20)
 Dolores Murtas never maligned anybody—I'm no witch—but I saw what went on in that house and said to myself, their luck's gonna finish in ashes someday [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 7)

(9) *Gli ubriachi dicono sciollori da ubriachi, questo si sa, ma Antoni Saba parlava sul serio, davvero avrebbe sfamato Bakunin e gli avrebbe acceso i tizzoni [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 21)
 Drunkards talk nothing but foolishness, okay, but Antoni Saba was serious. He would have taken care of Bakunin, would have wined and dined him,

and he really would have lit the kindling for him [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 7)

All in all, we are in the presence of a rather respectful translation, especially in the attempt at recognizing the spoken tone of the novel and the presence of a corality of voices, where each character is discernible by his/her peculiarity. However, while Atzeni makes profuse use of the dialect, Rugman does not seem to acknowledge the presence of the Sardinian element.

However, as Elena Sanna points out, Rugman's liability to blame does not lie in his neglect of Atzeni's dialect. The major translation problem lies in his misunderstanding of the source texts, which leads him to make mistakes and thus compromise the meaning of the entire novel (Sanna 2018, 281).

Among the many errors she details, I have chosen to report two, which I consider very significant (author's emphasis):

(10) *Io invece ci ho perduto, perché quando lui lavorava a Bacu Abis io stavo in casa di mio padre, con madre e sorelle [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 33)

On the other hand, I lost out. While he was with the army in Africa, I stayed at my father's house in the country, with my mother and father and two sister [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 17)

Bacu Abis is a small community in the province of Carbonia, Sardinia. Rugman translates it with Africa. As Sanna presupposes, the translator might have mistakenly related this place to Baku, a city in West Africa Ghana. However, the same place is mentioned a couple of lines earlier in the same chapter, and the toponym is left as in the original text (Sanna 2018, 281).

The second error refers to one of the many examples where Atzeni exploits the language polysemicity in a word play contrastingly involving the term *pelle* in the same sentence, used first as an adverbial, *per la pelle*, and then as an idiomatic verb phrase, *fare la pelle a qualcuno*, to kill someone:

(11) *Come no, mi ricordo benissimo, l'amicizia fra il prete e Bakunin? Ne parlavano tutti. Amici per la pelle, ché ognuno dei due volentieri gliel'avrebbe fatta all'altro, la pelle [...].* (Atzeni 1991, 29)

What do you mean of course I remember the friendship between the priest and Bakunin. Everybody talked about it. They were best of friends. The one would've risked his neck to save the other [...]. (Atzeni/Rugman 1996, 14)

Here the wordplay is totally lost and the meaning distorted: the two men here appear to be friends instead of foes ready to kill one another.

These errors are too noticeable not to compromise the translator's credibility, despite the good work Rugman did in rendering the tone and feel of the novel.

2.2 The English translation of *Camillerese*

I studied when Sicilians use the dialect and when the national language. The dialect is always confidential, a non-institutional relationship, intimate, a friendly atmosphere. The use of the Italian language creates an immediate officialness, a distance. Italian is used to make law, to suggest intimidation, power, distance, emphasis. (Camilleri, in Bailey 2006, 1)

This is how Andrea Camilleri explains the reason behind his language choices. However, we can convincingly affirm that such an explanation is too simplistic and fails to account for the complexity of what has now been named as *Camillerese*, his mixed language rich in phonetic, semantic and morpho-syntactic idiosyncracies.

Andrea Camilleri's literary phenomenon has emerged in the last ten years, making him the most popular and successful author in Italy. Before then "he was a virtually unknown septuagenarian who had written a handful of historical novels" (Bailey 2006). In 1994, he invented Inspector Salvo Montalbano for his novel *La forma dell'acqua* (*The Shape of Water*), and although his intention has never been to write many books based on this character, his success made him change his mind, and the Montalbano series continue to be published at a relentless rate.

The reason for the delayed affirmation of Camilleri's work lies exactly in this hybrid written Italian, the encounter between language and dialect which gives rise to this independent code. When one starts reading his novels, in fact, he/she cannot help feeling a little estranged by the author's Sicilian expressions, whole indiscernible phrases, mixed with other more common Italian dialectal lexis and fine words. But such a feeling only lasts for the span of one novel, then we get used to this mixed language and are enthralled by the rhythm, the humor, the irony and of course by the plot of each novel and long for reading the next one.

Camillerese is indeed a variety at all discourse levels, transferring the diamesic dimension of the spoken word onto the written page. Camilleri's novels are certainly characterized by elaborated forms of dialectalization investing in particular on the semantic level. Depending on the context, we can encounter a word under several forms, moving from the Sicilian dialect (*travagghiare*), to the Italianized dialect (*travagliare*), the dialectalized Italian (*lavorà*) and the pure Italian form (*lavorare*). On this basis, the novels have been defined as 'multilingual' since they include sociolect,

dialect, idiolect, slang and jargon, together with standard Italian (Consiglio 2008). In the course of a twenty-year span, since the appearance of the first Montalbano novel, Camilleri's style and writing have progressively evolved, with a definite increase of the typical *Camillerese* lexicon, and greater recourse to phonological and morphological expedients, all confirming the diatopic nature of his works. Here are some examples of such expedients taken from the most recent Montalbano novels:

Si susì adascio, raggiungi ad *Adelina* 'n *cucina* [Si sedette adagio, raggiunse Adelina in cucina]
 Pronto è 'u caffè, dottori. [E' pronto il caffè, dottore]
 (Camilleri, *La caccia al tesoro*, 2010, 156)

Terroristi o patrioti, il contrabbanno d'armi sempre reato è, 'ntirvinni Fazio. [Terroristi o patrioti, il contrabando d'armi è sempre reato, intervenne Fazio]
D'accordo. Ma Sposito non sapi se si tratta di terroristi o di patrioti straneri, ammetterai che la cosa è diversa assà. Perciò ci vai coi piedi di chiummo. [D'accordo, Ma Sposito non sa se si tratta di terroristi o di patrioti stranieri, ammetterai che la cosa è assai diversa. Perciò ci vai con i piedi di piombo.]
 (A. Camilleri, *Una lama di luce*, 2012, 133).

In these passages, we can also notice the propositional accusative (*raggiungi ad Adelina*), the post-positioning of the verb (*Pronto è u caffè; Sempre reato è*) and of the adverb (*diversa assà*), typical syntactic features of some Italian regional dialects.

However, Camilleri's language, *Camillerese*, also comprises other features, such as loans from different varieties of Italian. Examples include the bureaucratic Italian used by Vigata's Police Commissioner and by the several lawyers Montalbano meets during his investigations. But also, at the opposite side of the dialect spectrum is the popular language displayed by Catarella, Montalbano's desk sergeant "who answers the switchboard at the police station and mishears almost everything he is told" (Bailey 2006). Catarella's dialect is based on popular Italian, both written and oral. For him the standard language is only passive knowledge learnt in school that he mixes with police bureaucratic jargon, or sport and business slang, giving rise to hilarious incongruities having a very comic effect (Cerrato 2012, 92).

As we noted in our illustration of Atzeni's language, Andrea Camilleri's characters are also presented by their own words, reflecting their character and attitudes, so that the author's description only appears in the background. Here again, the writer's language is functional to the plot, and becomes one of the investigative tools exploited by Inspector Montalbano

to solve his cases. As Elena Sanna points out, “the presence of several language varieties in Montalbano’s novels is not only aimed at the simple representation of contemporary Sicily but accompanies the reader in the understanding of both characters and plot”.⁴

Such a lengthy description of *Camillerese* was certainly called for in order to understand the difficult task encountered by Stephen Sartarelli, Andrea Camilleri’s American translator. The challenges he encountered were many and hard. Although he is familiar with other well-known Sicilian authors, like Leonardo Sciascia and Luigi Pirandello, both admired by Camilleri, the language of the Montalbano novels represents an even harder step in the translator’s job, on the basis of the linguistic peculiarities we have pointed out above. Moreover, because Sartarelli is still Camilleri’s only translator, he has been able to follow, to his own advantage, the gradual development of writer’s language.

In fact, although Montalbano’s first episode, *La forma dell’acqua* presents very few dialect examples and standard Italian is dominant, we already encounter terms that are representative of Camilleri’s lexicon – *taliare, spiare, astutare, addrumare, gana*– which will become familiar to the reader and will recur consistently throughout his production. In Sartarelli’s English rendition however, they appear in their English standard form.⁵ Such a normalization process becomes even greater with the translation, or omission, of expressions that have now been regarded as uniquely Camillerian. *Essere imparpigliato* is translated with the standard and normal verb *to freeze*. This conservative approach was confirmed by Sartarelli himself during a recent roundtable at Cagliari University where he also admitted that, at first, he rarely dared to add slang terms to a very standard rendition of the source text.⁶

As occurred in the translation of Atzeni’s *Il figlio di Bakunin*, the perception of the geographical collocation of the novel is simply given by the borrowing of Italian words such as *signora, ragioniere, dottore, corso*, etc., or by culinary terminology, so dear to the author.

⁴ E. Sanna “The English Translation of *Il Cane di Terracotta*”, oral presentation at the Conference: *Camilleri. The Mediterranean: at the Crossroads of Paths and Tales*, Beirut 29-30 October 2018.

⁵ *Taliare*, depending on the context becomes to look, to glance or to stare, giving a specific connotation to the generic term in the original dialect.

⁶ S. Sartarelli “Oral Communication” Round Table. III Seminario sull’Opera di Andrea Camilleri, Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 2014.

However, in the course of the almost twenty-year span of the Montalbano saga, as the author's dialectal and distinctive renditions increase, so do the translator's attempts to replicate such complexity. On the one hand, Sartarelli's style becomes more daring and elegant, transforming Camilleri's *Sicilianità* (Sicilian character) into a mixture of English standard, bureaucratese, and slang. In fact, he seems to abandon that invisibility many translators aim at, at times forcing the target language, not only with recourse to slang terms, but also introducing newly coined words. The example of Camilleri's popular expression, *santiare* (Sicilian for the Italian *bestemmiare*) is very indicative: Sartarelli's choice "to curse the saints" has become so successful that it is now frequently quoted by various critics (Sartarelli 2018, 141-149).

Other examples of such deviation from the translator's role, in order to render Camilleri's eclectic language style, include his decision to translate the author's idioms literally. The intent, here, is double: on the one hand, Sartarelli leads his readers to understand the general meaning of the expression being translated, on the other, he intentionally keeps them estranged from the text, aware that they are in the presence of a different style, belonging to a foreign world. Thus, *una noia mortale* becomes "a lethal bore", and *essere l'ultima ruota del carro* is translated as "to be the smallest wheel of the cart". Both expressions are hardly ever found in the English or American lexicon.

As Elena Sanna points out, the meaning of some words and expressions becomes accessible not only thanks to the context in which they appear, but also because Camilleri makes profuse use of glosses, both at the textual level, but also and more interestingly, at the inter-dialogical one. She gives the example of the word *lippo* in the novel *La caccia al tesoro* (*Treasure Hunt*):⁷

al sciauro d'alge e di lippo, 'na speci di muschio verdi, profumatissimo, che cummigliava il bagnasciuga dello scoglio e che brulicava di minuscoli armaluzzi marini" [...]. (Camilleri 2010, 69).

relishing the smell of seaweed and lippo, the aromatic green moss that covered the waterline and teemed with tiny sea animals. (Camilleri/Sartarelli 2015, 65)

⁷ E. Sanna "Il camillerese e altre peculiarità semantiche nella traduzione inglese dei romanzi di Montalbano", oral presentation at the Conference: *Camilleri. The Mediterranean: at the Crossroads of Paths and Tales*, Malaga, 2017.

Treasure Hunt is the 16th novel in the Inspector Montalbano series, published in English in 2015, and one of the latest to be translated. As stated above, the parallelism between the increasingly more complex Camillerese and Sartarelli's translation choices in this respect is clear. The translator's lexicon yet again forces standardized written English in order to reflect Camilleri's dialect elements: the dialectal adjective *strammato* becomes "flabbergasted"; the phrasal verb *spardare intere giornate* is rendered as "idle away whole days".

This parallel evolution is also present in other features of Montalbano's style and language. For example, the bureaucratic Italian, which Camilleri exploits mainly for the comic effect it has on some characters he wants to ridicule, is also kept in the English version, especially at the semantic level, whereas in the original version the bureaucratese is maintained also at the level of circumlocutions.

Stephen Sartarelli has done a brilliant job in respecting the tone, the versatility, and lastly the evolution of Camillerese, in what he himself recognizes as an almost impossible task. "How could one ever render a proper equivalent of this linguistic stew in English? The answer is very simple: one can't" (2009, 1).

3. From novels to TV series: The subtitling of Inspector Montalbano

As the Italian audience know very well, Andrea Camilleri's fame was given a great boost by the TV series based on Inspector Montalbano's episodes, which were first aired in 1999 by RAI, the Italian public broadcasting service.

Thanks to its outstanding actors, intelligent director and effective script adaptation (aided by Camilleri's keen intervention), the series soon became one of RAI's best fictional products in terms of share and popularity.

In the meantime, the novels were translated into about 20 languages and published in many countries, and the TV series broadcast abroad. The series starring Inspector Montalbano (or Detective Montalbano, to use the American title) were produced both in the US and in the UK, with their own subtitled versions.⁸ For the present chapter, I have decided to use the BBC subtitles, as I managed to interview the team of the BBC Drama Acquisition

⁸ MHz Worldview (Cf. <http://www.mhznetworks.org/about/mhz-dc>). See also Dore 2017, 43-44).

Department in 2013 during a seminar held in Cagliari on the translation of Andrea Camilleri's work.⁹

All episodes were shown on BBC 4, the channel devoted to foreign language production and documentaries. From the information gathered, Inspector Montalbano proved very popular with this channel's audiences. It received a high appreciation index and quickly developed a loyal following. The audience profile for this channel is older-skewed.¹⁰

Subtitling is a complex and debated translation mode which has received a lot of attention recently from both the general and academic world, even in Spain, Italy and France which are countries that are traditionally more attached to dubbing (Taylor 2000; Pedersen 2005; Díaz Cintas and Remael 2007; De Meo 2010; Kapsaskis and Artegiani 2016).

Technically speaking dubbing has to respect the constant pressure of 2 lines per subtitle, of 35 characters each. Subtitle length depends on the reading speed of the supposed audience, conventionally being of 2 lines every 6 seconds, although recent research has been calling for a change in this strict imposition (Katan 2014). In some ways, subtitling means designing a written text which is 'added' and becomes part of a multi-modal message co-existing with the socio-cultural and pragmatic elements of the original (De Meo 2010, 21). Subtitles are often regarded as an additional translation of the original text which is audible—and sometimes partly understood—by the TV public. Consequently, the target underlined text is vulnerable and its authors need to operate a certain amount of morphological and phonological intervention to make it more adjacent and close to the source text. At the same time, subtitles need to reassure the audience in the presence of foreign voices which are most of the time indiscernible: therefore, what is essential must not be omitted (Diaz Cintas & Remael 2007, 185).

In consideration of this, subtitling the Inspector Montalbano TV series represents another great challenge on the part of its operators and translators. The strategies to be adopted and the factors influencing the translator's choices are more or less the same as we illustrated for the printed novels, with the additional difficulty of the restricted space and the need to operate changes in consideration of the spoken dialogue. Consequently, words should be exploited for their power and flexibility while meaning is

⁹ Il Seminario sull'opera di Andrea Camilleri, Università degli Studi di Cagliari, 4 febbraio-1 marzo 2014.

<http://www.vigata.org/laurea/programmaseminarioca2014.shtml>.

¹⁰ Interview conducted via email on July 16th, 2013 with Ruth Neugebarer, Head of Drama Acquisition, Simona Brinkmann, BBC's Programme Executive for Inspector Montalbano, and Sue Deeks, Head of Programme Acquisitions.

transferred and the culture of reference is respected in both the linguistic and extra-linguistic context (Taylor 2000, 153).

In the original RAI TV production we have a marked presence of the local culture and of socio-political references, with a certain emphasis on the local accent and non-standard Italian, the very essence of the TV series' authenticity. These elements have become the main reason for its success. The Sicilian character (or *sicilianità*) shapes Montalbano's identity in both novels and TV series and makes its narrative authentic (Kapsaskis and Artegiani 2016, 86-87).

In comparison with the novel, however, in the original Italian TV series we witness a marked trend to domestication and stereotypization of both languages and characters, with the elimination or partial elimination of the dialect. This is to make it easier to elaborate, both linguistically and culturally.¹¹

The series takes great advantage of the beauty of the places, of the charm of the actors, of Luca Zingaretti's (the televised Inspector Montalbano) younger age and physical prowess compared with the novel's protagonist. We also detect a marked presence of foreignization to keep and grasp those cultural, linguistic, textual and pragmatic elements, indicating the difference between the two products (the source—the Italian novel—and the target text—the Italian TV program). Yet, the two registers, the standard Italian and the dialect, are kept in a continuous exchange of position and prominence.

The English TV subtitles, instead, reach an extreme: *Camillerese* becomes 'normalized' to help in the understanding of the series—the main objective of the BBC venture; the most colourful expressions, Montalbano's dialects and Catarella's malapropisms are reduced to a great extent. Moreover, it seems clear that a certain knowledge of the Italian language is necessary to grasp the humor present in the subtitles (Dore 2017, 49).

According to our BBC sources:

Catarella's malapropisms were generally translated in those cases where: a) a suitable English equivalent was available, b) the subtitle could be worded in a concise-enough way to fit the timing and c) it felt relevant to do so, even if, say, slightly at the expense of 'b', in which case a compromise or solution would be sought. In other cases, such as for example the frequent banter scenes involving Montalbano and Augello, non-standard expressions were occasionally translated into English language forms that might be more colloquial than we would generally use in BBC subtitles. Where this wasn't

¹¹ We refer her to L. Venuti's (1995) depiction of both strategies, i.e. domestication and foreignization, seen as ideological choices,

possible, however, more standard English forms were used for the purpose of conveying the content of the dialogue (over its style) as clearly as possible.¹²

For example, in the episode *The Snack Thief*, one of the most successful ones even in the English version, one of the key moments, the interrogation of the Lapecora widow, is characterized by the deletion of her Sicilian and dialectal expressions in favour of a standard Italian, which does not suit this beautiful, dark-haired widow in black attire—a typical representative of Sicilianity in the public imagination. Yet, the actress's performance, her voice, the music accompanying the interrogation, and the dramatic rendering of the whole scene, compensate the translated subtitles devoid of dialectal expressions. As in this particular case, in the subtitling of the series, authenticity is mostly retained with and by extra-linguistic factors. The target text is just a means to reach the audience and accompany them in the successful interpretation of the spoken dialogue.

4. Conclusion

In this chapter we have tried to present three different versions of translation forms, to show how Italian dialects, regionalisms and in general culture-bound language are rendered in English. To this purpose the works of two fine contemporary Italian authors, from Italy's biggest islands have been chosen as examples of a challenging task: the Sardinian Sergio Atzeni and the Sicilian Andrea Camilleri. Both authors, in different ways, have successfully brought to light their own personal rendition of the local dialect, each with different results but with a common goal: the manipulation of language to enhance communication and portray their world vision. The analysis of their English translations has shown some failings but also some successful attempts confirming that it is indeed quite possible to render the feeling and echoes of the local element in the English language. Unlike the translation process of dialect fiction, the transfer of such complexity into English subtitles appears to be something different. In the case of the Inspector Montalbano series subtitled in English, the target text works to support a well-credited TV production. The authenticity of the single stories, character, voices and local elements are given by extra-linguistic features.

¹² Interview with Ruth Neugebarer, see note 10.

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CHAPTER TWENTY

JOHN BAPTIST PORTA AND HIS *NATURAL MAGICK*

GABRIELLA DI MARTINO

1. Introduction

Giambattista Della Porta (1531-1615), the encyclopaedic Sixteenth-century genius who lived in Naples at the time of the Scientific Revolution and Reformation, through his works provides interesting insights about the intellectual scene in XVI century Europe. The Medieval ideas about the nature of the world at his time were disputed, due to the many new scientific instruments such as telescopes and microscopes. He wrote extensively on a wide range of subjects such as meteorology, optics, and astronomy. *Magiae Naturalis*, his first work, was published in 1558 in four books, later enlarged to twenty books collected into one volume in 1589 and re-issued, in at least five more Latin editions, during the next decade and in translations into Italian, French, Dutch, Spanish and even into Arabic.

The purpose of this contribution is to compare, from the linguistic point of view, some excerpts from the Italian version *Della Magia Naturale*, published in Naples in 1611, and the English version in 1658 as *Natural Magick*. A pragmatic comparison between the two versions will allow us to identify and to examine the strategies used by the English translator. Given the complexity and richness of Della Porta's prose, the present chapter describes how the text has been translated and/or transposed linguistically, conceptually and culturally regarding specific issues. In addition, it aims to verify whether in the translating process into English, a century later, some relevant elements are lost and/or gained as a result of specific linguistic choices.

2. A Neapolitan genius of science

Born in Vico Equense near Naples in 1535 (where he died in 1615) Giambattista Della Porta was educated at home by private tutors and by his father who was in the service of the Emperor Charles V. He soon started to devote great attention to the study of natural and physical science. His diverse and extensive writings cover different literary genres, ranging from treatises in Latin to stage plays. He is the author of fourteen prose comedies and two dramatic tragedies written in Italian, some of which even seem to have influenced Shakespeare. At this time the boundary between science and magic was not clearly established and Della Porta was considered a magician. An interest in the subject of magic and magical practices is certainly evident in Shakespeare's drama over the entire course of his literary production. Prospero, the magic-scientist in *The Tempest*, modelled on the image of a Renaissance Magus, may well have been inspired by Giambattista Della Porta (Clubb 2002) or by John Dee (1527-1608) the well known Welsh mathematician, astronomer, astrologer, occult philosopher, advisor to Queen Elizabeth I, who apparently was in contact with our Neapolitan philosopher.

From all accounts, Della Porta was a prodigy. He may have written the first four books of *Magiae Naturalis* when he was 15 years old. After travelling widely across Europe, he started a private museum of natural science, full of specimens collected during his travels, which became an imitated prototype. Now famous across all over Europe, Della Porta dared to defy the inquisitional ban and under the pseudonym Giovanni De Rosa published *De Humana Physiognomonia libri IIII* (1586) which influenced the Swiss Eighteenth-century scientist Johann Kaspar Lavater as well as the Nineteenth-century criminologist Cesare Lombroso. In later life, Della Porta collected rare specimens and grew exotic plants. His pseudoscientific work *Phytognomonia*, published in 1588, and soon translated into English, lists plants according to their geographical location. The first observations of fungal spores are recorded in this work, making the author a pioneer of mycology.

By 1560, well before the Academy of the Lynxes and the Royal Society of London, Giambattista Della Porta founded the *Accademia Secretorum Naturae*, the first society dedicated to science (then banned by Madrid Index of Prohibited Books due to Della Porta's naturalistic approach to witchcraft in 1580), meant to uncover the "secrets of nature" while Academies in the previous centuries, the XV and early XVI century, were mainly concerned with literature and general culture. Della Porta Academy became the model for the *Accademia dei Lincei* which appeared in Rome in 1603 and counted

Galileo as its most illustrious member (in 1610 an autonomous branch was established in Naples and Giambattista Della Porta was appointed Director) and which eventually inspired the prestigious Royal Society established in London later, in 1660.

Della Porta wrote about whatever subject was debated at his time. His book on meteorology was the first in which evidence-based observations were expressed on this subject; his research into optics gave the world the camera obscura, and possibly the telescope; in chemistry he seems to have been the first to show how to reduce metallic oxides. He did much to change natural philosophy from alchemy to a real science. He could be considered as the forerunner of applied science even if in Italy, in the latter half of Sixteenth-century, science still encountered serious difficulties in being recognized as a domain of knowledge even after the Renaissance had weakened the old beliefs. He was working a generation before Galileo and Bacon, a half century before Kepler and Descartes, and a full century before Newton.

John Baptist Porta, as his name was translated into English, became one of the most famous and popular figures in the intellectual life of the second half of the Sixteenth century and is still considered among the many rather unorthodox philosophers of that period. Philosophy in his time included a very wide range of topics like cosmology, meteorology, physics, biology, human psychology, moral philosophy and politics.

3. *Natural Magick*

A large part of Della Porta's philosophical speculation is contained in the two versions of his *Magiae Naturalis* (1558, 1589). His purpose was to produce wonders (*mirabilia*) considering natural magic as a body of knowledge acquired through a meticulous inspection of nature which could provide to the magician (*magus*) some skills and tools which would enable him to manipulate this nature. In the first book, chapter iii, of *Magiae Naturalis*, Della Porta states that: "Quoniam ipsam Magiam activam; & naturalis Philosophiae portionem describimus [...]" i.e., "Seeing Magick, as seen before, is a practical part of Natural Philosophy [...]" (*Natural Magick* 1658, bk.1, ch.iii). Magic is the most noble part of philosophy for our author. In *Magiae Naturalis* he indicates what "magic" meant at his time: "I think magic is nothing less than a survey of the whole course of nature" (bk.1, ch. ii). The term they used in that century to refer to a 'scientist' dealing with natural philosophy was a magus, someone whose duty was to have an accurate knowledge of natural phenomenology and of natural objects (animals, herbs, stones). A magus had to deal with singular and rare

phenomena and exercise power over the natural world. Della Porta defines also the “magus” as a sort of craftsman, the servant or minister of nature who must be talented, rich, educated, and hard-working (bk.1, ch. ii). In a crucial passage he writes that “Nature herself—the great female magician—creates all her wonders out of delight in her own shows” (bk.1, ch. ix).

The book had a great resonance, appearing in sixteen different Latin editions over one hundred years, and in diverse countries. It was translated and published several times almost immediately from the original Latin into Italian by the author himself under the pseudonym of Giovanni De Rosa and into the main European languages: French (1565), and Dutch (1566). Even in Latin, however, the work was accessible to all European scholars when it was written. In 1583 the book ended up on the Madrid Index of Prohibited Books due to Della Porta’s naturalistic approach to witchcraft. The second version in 1589, enlarged to twenty books was purged of an infamous recipe for witch’s unguent. The anonymous translation from Latin into English, titled *Natural Magick*, printed in London in 1658 and considered here, is the final compendium of his life’s work, completed when he was fifty years old. In the *Preface* to the reader he writes:

If this work made by me in my youth, when I was hardly fifteen years old, was so generally received and with so great applause, that it was forthwith translated into many Languages, as Italian, French, Spanish, Arabic; and passed through the hands of incomparable men: I hope that now coming forth from me that am fifty years old, it shall be more dearly entertained (*Preface*).

Natural Magick contains many passages of particular interest in the history of science. It is a work on popular science, cosmology, astrology, geology, optics, plant products, medicines, poisons, cooking, gunpowders, ciphers etc. Included are books on transmutation of the metals, chemical changes, distillation, artificial gems, the magnet and its properties; known remedies for a wide variety of ailments, mathematics, and how to improve your memory; fires, and cosmetics used by women. Only religious topics are very cautiously avoided. Della Porta’s *Magia* contains long chapters on the production of monsters in the vegetable as well as animal worlds. Magical lamps are designed to distort our perceptions, including lenses, telescope and camera obscura (bk.2, ch. xxvi). The book contains numerous prescriptions for drugs, including his witches’ unguent (bk.8, ch. ii) which in fact gives mere hallucinations caused by belladonna, a material substance with magic powers, but non-demonic properties. Domestic material regarding preservation of food and bottling are supplied together with methods on making bread, on ripening fruits, how to have fruits and flowers

at all times of the year and on the different ways to incubate eggs without a hen. Della Porta's book gives a huge amount of recipes for the "magic" of soaps, cosmetics, hair dyes, and various means of getting rid of pimples, wrinkles, spots and so on. It also offers medical recipes, suggestions on how to fasten teeth (bk.8, ch. v), and gives advice on methods of contraception and "how to make a man out of his senses for a day" (bk.8, ch. ii).

The book was a bestseller throughout Europe and widely cited. The subtitle to the English translation recommends the text as a demonstration of the "Riches and Delight of the Natural Science".

4. The Language of Science

At the time of Galileo the language of science was Latin, the most widespread language amongst educated people all over Europe so that writing in Latin allowed works to be understood beyond national borders. Side by side with Latin, Galileo often used Italian, specifically toscano in his works. He wrote technical works with practical applications and wanted potential users to be able to read them directly. Scientific texts, for him, are not supposed to contain abstract or philosophical concepts. As a matter of fact he did not use the literary language preferring the everyday language, and common terms as clear and synthetic as possible.¹ He neologized for instance the word *cannocchiale* from *cannone* = tube and *occhiale* = spectacles, two common words. According to Galileo "experiments must be clear, examples certain and reasonable (sound), observations sharp (punctual), demonstrations necessary and conclusions natural, necessary and everlasting".²

The Scientific Revolution was not a homogeneous process that affected the whole of Europe in the same way. Nevertheless, the two languages, Italian and English, have some similarities in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-century history. Both languages were considered no longer sufficient to report the experimental scientific findings, so they adopt new specialised lexis and new forms of communication. English "led to its gradual amelioration [...]. British scientists made great efforts to increase the

¹ Galileo did not use "le parole più pure, ma le più pronte; non esclusivamente quelle consacrate dalla classicità e confermate dall'uso letterario di questa lingua" (Spongano 1949, 102).

² "Le esperienze devono essere chiare, gli esempi sensati e certi, l'osservazione puntuale, le dimostrazioni necessarie, le conclusioni naturali, necessarie ed eterne". Galileo Galilei's saying was: "parlare oscuramente lo sa fare ognuno, ma chiaro pochissimi" (Migliorini 1948, 156).

number of specialized terms and to improve the exactness of their meanings” (Gotti 2008, 153-69).

Often style and language represented the borderline between the experimental philosophers and those of the old tradition. In England the new scientific movement together with the Puritan movement began to censure the old rhetorical and traditional style, predominant in the first half of the Seventeenth century, characterized by long, intricate sentences, full of balance, involutions and suspensions. A style was judged “good” on the basis of a writer’s ability to use figurative language. There was a need to simplify the language which was at a turning point. Rhetorical prose was considered inadequate for the diffusion and transmission of scientific knowledge. On the contrary the everyday language and a plainer, more natural style was the Puritan ideal, very well expressed by Richard Baxter: “Matter is first to be regarded as being of more Concernment than the Manner” (Baxter 1665, 358). John Bunyan chose “to be plain and simple, and lay down the thing as it was” (Bunyan 1666, 6). For Bacon the idols of the Market Place originated in language. After Bacon the next powerful voice in opposition to rhetorical prose was Hobbes. In his *Leviathan* (1651), he condemned the use of rhetorical devices and his style of writing clear, precise and free from ambiguities “consisting less in words and more in things [...] sounded the death knell of ornate style” (Howell 1946, 134). The scientific movement received a great impulse with the foundation of the Royal Society for which “the greatest learning is to be seen in the greatest plainness” (Wilkins 1646, 72) and the phrase “must be plain and natural [...] obscurity in the discourse is an argument of ignorance in the minde” (Wilkins 1646, 128-129).

A good example of the new way of writing and of the attempt to reduce a rhetorically marked style is given by the writings of Joseph Glanvill (1636-1680) who wrote his first book *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* (1661) in accordance with the rhetorical style to which he was accustomed, full of digressions, metaphors, insertions, parenthetical expressions etc. This represented the obstacle for his joining the Royal Society so he had to reduce *The Vanity of Dogmatizing* changing the title to *Sceptis Scientifica* (1665) and he was accepted as a fellow. “Verbosities—he writes—emasculate the understanding; and render it slight and frivolous” (S.116). A number of linguistic changes are introduced in *Sceptis*: long paragraphs are divided into short ones, long sentences are shortened or broken up into two or more, the sentences are simpler and clearer and personal observations tend to disappear. Assertive statements are preferred to rhetorical questions, latinisms and exotic terms are replaced by plain and more usual words. In 1676, Glanvill revised again the work mentioned in *Essays*, where he

condensed even more, in a few pages, the whole contents of the previous works. Instances of vocabulary simplification concern terms such as “aqueous crystal” (V.47), “coelestial lights” (V.7), “aetherial coal” (V.78) which are translated into positive words: “ice” (E.11), “star” (E.3), and “sun” (E.20). “Upper globe” (V.31) becomes “heavens” (E.7), “bodily distempers” becomes “diseases”, “midnight compositions” (V.32) “dreams” (E.7). Finally sentences like “If after a decoction of herbs in Winter-night, we expose the liquor to the frigid air; we may observe in the morning under a crust of ice, the perfect appearance both in figure, and colour, of the Plants that were taken from it” (V. 46-7) in the *Essays* become: “[...] after a decoction of Herbs in a frosty Night, the shape of the Plants will appear under the Ice in the Morning” (E.11) where “frosty night” is certainly more scientific than “winter night” (Di Martino 1998, 130).

5. *Della Magia Naturale versus Natural Magick*

All languages can express the same ideas but in different ways. The translation of any text is possible even if there are different codifications that are historically conditioned. Not all speech communities are at the same stage of evolution. Translation, apart from linguistic issues, concerns above all social and cultural aspects which may differ between source language and target language “difference between cultures may cause more severe complications for the translator than do differences in language structure” (Nida 1964,130). Translation in the scientific field has always been considered a precious instrument of intellectual and cultural change.

In line with the empirical scientific method of the time, according to which phenomena could only be known through investigation, experience and experiments, all reports in Della Porta’s text are reduced to the pragmatic formula “how to make, how to do”. The examples given here are taken from the 9th Book of *Magia Naturale/Natural Magick*, titled “How to adorn women, and make them beautiful” which in Italian reads: “Il quale insegna i belletti delle donne”. In Italian the accent is on the products for women and it sounds more neutral. The effects of the products are not explicit, in that we are not informed about the results of the teaching. In the English title, instead, the process is the aspect which is more emphasised. The operation is to adorn and the result is absolutely certain, the message is explicit: “to make women beautiful”.

Proemio. Perché il ragionamento de’ belletti delle donne segue il trattato della Medicina, così dopo haver trattato di quella, ragioneremo degli ornamenti delle donne, dalla testa infino a’ piedi, e n’insegneremo molti. Ma accioche non paia ad alcuno vanità trasporre in questi libri quelle cose, che

appartengono a' belletti delle donne, desiderarei, che considerassero, che noi non habbiamo scritto questi segreti, che i giovani per questo attendessero à i vani, e dishonesti piaceri, ma, che Iddio autor dell'universo, ha dato alla natura delle cose, che tutte in sé avessero perpetuità, creò il maschio, e la femina, accioche con feconda generatione non avesse giamai a mancar la specie, e che il maschio fusse chiamato all'atto della generatione, allettato da questa bellezza, e creò la donna molle, delicata, e bella, accioche allettato da questa, quasi costretto fusse sollecitato. Noi dunque, accioche la moglie piacesse al suo marito, né offesi dalla loro bruttezza andassero ad infestare, e macchiare gli altrui letti, habbiamo avuto pensiero di provvedere alle donne, come con il ruffianesimo della bellezza, e allettamento de' colori, se fussero negre, ruvide, macchiate, e brutte, e si vergognassero della loro bruttezza, diventassero bianche, lisce, e bionde, e bellissime. Noi habbiamo raccolte alcune cose scritte da i scritti degli antichi delle migliori, che ci parevano, l'habbiamo sperimentate, e le buone l'habbiamo portate qui, ma assai sono migliori quelle della nostra inventione, e de' ritrovati de' più moderni, che anchora non sono state stampate, aggiongeremo all'ultimo, e prime cominceremo da' capelli (*Proemio* bk. 9).

The Proeme. Since next to the art of Physick, follows the art of adorning ourselves, we shall set down the art of painting, and how to beautify women from head to foot, in many experiments. Yet, lest any man should think it superfluous, to interpose those things that belong to the ornaments of women, I would have them consider, that I did not write these things for to give occasion to augment luxury, and to make people voluptuous. But when God, the author of all things, would have the natures of all things to continue, he created male and female that by fruitful procreation, they might never want children. And to make man in love with his wife, he made her soft, delicate and fair, to entice man to embrace her. We therefore, that women might be pleasing to their husbands, and that their husbands might not be offended at their deformities, and turn into other women's chambers, have taught women, how, by the art of decking themselves and painting, if they be ashamed of their foul and swart complexions, that may make themselves fair and beautiful. Something that seemed best to me in the writings of the Ancients, I have tried, and set down here. But those that are the best, which I and others have of late invented, and were never before in print, I shall set down last. And first I shall begin with the hair (*The Proeme* bk.9).

As we can see by comparing the two texts, many are the differences in lexical and semantic terms, starting from the the very first sentence. “Il ragionamento de' belletti delle donne” in English is translated as “the art of adorning ourselves”. Both words, “ragionamento” and “trattato” are considered “art”. “Il trattato della Medicina” is transformed in “the art of Physick”. Interesting is the inclusive “ourselves” instead of the word “donne”. The “ornamenti delle donne” sounds much more neutral than “to

beautify women”. The English version refers to “many experiments” in the field.

In the *Proemio* the author refers to young people who may abandon themselves to “vani, e dishonesti piaceri” while in the English *Proeme* the translator refers to “things for to give occasion to augment luxury, and to make people voluptuous” which sounds much more touchable, concrete, but in the transposition the “dishonesti piaceri” are suppressed. “Luxury” does not correspond to “lust”. This is possibly due to cultural reasons. “La specie” becomes more explicit, “children”. In the case of the utterance “che il maschio fusse chiamato all’atto della generatione, allettato da questa bellezza”, the English sentence gets to the heart of the matter “make man in love with his wife”. The end of the sentence is likewise synthetic and to the point: “to entice man to embrace her”, while the Italian is more evasive. The Italian “bruttezza” becomes “deformities”. “Infestare, e macchiare gli altrui letti” is simply turned into “other women’s chambers”. As we see, all the moral implications codified by the terms ‘macchiare’ and ‘infestare’ are lost. They are so explicit, so unequivocally expressed in Italian. Women have always been, and still are, culprit of man’s foul deeds! “Habbiamo avuto pensiero di provvedere alle donne” is simply rendered as “have taught women”. In the case of “Il ruffianesimo della bellezza, e allettamento de’ colori” the implication of a creeping, sycophantic behaviour disappears and vanishes into “by the art of decking themselves and painting”. Although the Italian version is much more wordy “se fussero negre, ruvide, macchiate, e brutte, e si vergognassero della loro bruttezza, diventassero bianche, liscie, bionde, e bellissime”, both cultures and both languages consider an ugly appearance shameful “if they be ashamed of their foul and swart complexions, that may make themselves fair and beautiful”. The best remedies “assai sono migliori quelle della nostra inventione, e de’ ritrovati de’ più moderni, che anchora non sono state stampate”, are the ones “which I and others have of late invented, and were never before in print”. The reference in both versions is to the innovative, unpublished invention. The mention to the experimentation, “habbiamo sperimentato” and “I have tried”, is interesting and corresponds to the attitude of the century.

The title of the first chapter is “Come i capelli possano diventar biondi”, “How the hair may be dyed yellow, or gold color”. In the translation the adjective “biondi” is widened. Later in the text is also defined “bright yellow”. The Italian “possano diventar” is more generic than “may be dyed”. “Prima insegnaremo ornar i capelli” in English “First, I will show you how to adorn the hair”. The choice of the English verb is more respectful for the reader than the Italian “insegnaremo” which sounds more patronizing. “Ma prima, che si tingano, bisogna far una preparatione de’

capelli la quale insegnaremo” corresponds to the English “but before you dye them, preparing of the hair must be used”, here the passive, the typical form of scientific writings, is preferred. “Stimiamo, che li capelli siano il maggior ornamento di tutto il corpo humano” is translated “For women hold the hair to be the greatest ornament of the body”. “Women”, the subject in English, does not appear in Italian where the subject is the inclusive “noi”. The use of personal pronouns is quite interesting, the first plural prevails in Italian, in English the first singular:

Noi habbiamo raccolte alcune cose scritte da i scritti degli antichi delle migliori, che ci parevano, l’habbiamo sperimentate, e le buone l’habbiamo portate qui, ma assai sono migliori quelle della nostra invention [...] aggongeremo all’ultimo, e prima cominceremo da’ capelli (*Proemio* bk.9).

And the English translation:

Something that seemed best to me in the writings of the Ancients, I have tried, and set down here. But those that are the best, which I and others have of late invented, and were never before in print, I shall set down last. And first I shall begin with the hair (*The Proeme* bk.9).

In the English version there is no use of similes or metaphores: “Quanto più biondi sono splendenti, e che buttino raggi come l’oro” is simply: “the more beautiful, the more yellow, shining and radiant it is” (bk.9, ch.1). “Eppoi la faccia” becomes “and next the countenance” which sounds more elegant, less physical. “Let it wet all the night” is more precise than the Italian “e dalla sera stia così infino alla mattina” and “Twenty hours” is certainly more scientific than “per un giorno e una notte” (bk.9, ch.1).

In the thirty chapters of *The Ninth Book of Natural Magick* a lot of topics are discussed. The ix chapter deals with “Come si facci la faccia bianca”, “How to make the face white”. The author refers to his previous work *Fitognomica*, where he taught how a face might be made white, polished and silver colored with white clear silver, colored herbs, shellfish, and stones. Here some examples are provided. The starting argument is that “simples that are white, make the face white”. “Simples” is used as a substantive. “The Lilly is a complete white color. The bulbous tops of it, like Onions boiled in water, or the Distilled water of them, will make the faces of maids white, if they wash them therewith, morning and evening.” The Italian sentence has been split in two: “Il giglio è di una bianchezza immacolata, onde i suoi bulbi, che son come cipollette, decotti nell’acqua, over l’acqua stillata di quelle se ne bagnerai la faccia la mattina, e la sera, e massime delle vergini, diverrà bianca”. Other suggestions are the “elsine

cissampelos”, the English “withywind” whose flowers “aumenta meravigliosamente la bianchezza della faccia”, “will wonderfully make the face whole”, sound, in good condition. “Withywind”, now dialectical, is an alteration from “withy” which in Florio’s *New World of Words* (1611) is defined “tractable, yeelding, plyable”. The decoction of ivory as well makes your face like ivory. Among the possible remedies, melanthium is listed “Melanthium makes the face beautiful” in Italian the face treated with it becomes “pura”. But it shows its excellencies only if it is prepared as indicated:

Pestalo e col setaccio cavane la parte più sottile, poi cava il succo da’ limoni, e di quello bagna la farina di melanthio per un giorno naturale cavala fuori, e lascia seccare, poi pesta un ovo con la sua scorza, meschia e di nuovo seccalo all’ombra, e di nuovo falla passar per setaccio, e la mattina quando la donna s’alza dal letto, posta quella farina in una tela di lino bianca, un poco rara, bagnala con acqua, over con sputo, e con quella pezza di lino, frega la faccia, acciò quel latte, che ne vien fuori, e non la farina, tocchi la faccia (bk.9, ch.ix).

Pound it, and sift out the finest of it, take the juice of Lemon, and let the meal of Gith lie wet in it twentyfour hours. Take it out, and let it dry. Then break an Egg with the shell, and mingle it with it. Then dry it in the shade. Let her put this into a white Linen Clout, that is not too fine, and wet it with water or Spittle. And let her rub her face with the Clout, that the moisture alone, and not the meal, may come on the face. You will have, your face white (bk.9, ch. ix).

The long paragraph in Italian is split into seven sentences in the English version. “Gith” is a word of unknown origin, it is a name for plants of the *Nigella* genus and is a more specific, scientific term. The time expression “un giorno naturale” is certainly less scientific than the one used in the English text “twentyfour hours”. The “tela di lino bianca” is better specified in “Linen Clout, that is not too fine”, where the information about the colour seems to be irrelevant, the term “clout” originally meant a “lump, piece of stuff” and from an early period the word has been applied especially to a patch or a piece of cloth.

And more recipes with more ingredients to reach the same results are then offered. However, it is interesting to point out that the suggestions in the Italian version are referred to women “quando la donna andrà a dormire”, while in English, strangely enough, they are addressed to an impersonal “you”.

When you go to bed, take some of the water in the palm of your hand, and wash your face. And so let it dry in, that it may not stick to the Linen. In the morning, wash it off with Fountain water, and you shall find your face clear and white (bk.9, ch. ix).

The “face clear and white” translates the “faccia assai bianca e risplendente”.

The following chapters give indications on "How women shall make their faces very clean to receive the color" (ch. x). "How the face may be made very soft" (ch. xi). "How to Dissolve Talk for to beautify women" (ch. xii). In the xiii chapter “Come si facci il liquor del talco per i belletti delle donne” three methods are indicated. Here is one of them:

Piglia le lumache, e lasciale allo scoperto per tre giorni, accioche si moiano di fame, e divenghino magre per la fame, e si purghino bene, poi torrai la calamita argentea, overo talco ridotto in sottilissima polvere, e meschia col bianco d'ovo, e farai come un'unguento, di quello ongi un vaso di creta, e ponivi dentro le lumache, perché si mangeranno quel talco, come se l'havranno mangiato tutto, e l'habbino digesto, e buttato fuori gli escrementi, all'hora pista le lumache, con tutte le sue scorze, e postele in storta con leggiero fuoco, cavane l'acqua, che l'humor che n'uscirà, val molto a conciliar alla faccia un color di vero argento (bk.9, ch. xiii).

Put Snails in an earthen vessel, in the open air, that they may be kept hungry three days, and pine for want of meat, and be Purged. Then take a silver Loadstone, or Talk, most finely powdered, mingle it with the white of an Egg, and make an Ointment. Anoint the earthen vessel with it, and put the Snails into it, for they will eat up all the Talk. When they have eaten all, and voided their Excrements, Bruise the Snails with their shells. And putting them into a Retort, draw out their moisture with a gentle fire. The Humor that drops forth, will exceedingly adorn the face (bk.9, ch. xiii).

The six sentences of the English version, which correspond to the single long Italian sentence, are undoubtedly more accurate. The first tells us where exactly to put the snails “in an earthen vessel” which is specified only later in the Italian version, and “in the open air” which certainly gives a better indication than “allo scoperto”. The specification “with their shells” is also more accurate than the Italian “con tutte le sue scorze”. In other passages we find instead instances of simplification: “an egg” is different from “bianco d'uovo” and the expression “When they have eaten all” is more synthetic than “si mangeranno quel talco, come se l'avranno mangiato tutto”. Either “retort” or “storta” are specific tools in chemistry. Also the conclusion in Italian: “val molto a conciliar alla faccia un color di vero

argento” is much more accurate than the one we find in the English text “the Humor [...] will exceedingly adorn the face”.

The prescription book goes on with ch.xvi “The best Soaps for women” which make “the face white, clear, ruddy and soft”. The face can also be made “rose-colored”, or “pale face purple-colored”. “You can even colour the body with distilled strawberries” (ch. xvii).

The last excerpt analysed here is from chapter xxv and deals with “Rimedi da pulir i denti” and starts as follows:

Fra le cose, ch'abbelliscono le donne, sono assai famose le polveri per pulir i denti, perche non si può veder cosa peggiore della donna, quando ridono, ò parlano, mostrar i denti scabrosi, rubiginosi, ò macchiati (bk.9, ch.xxv).

Interesting enough in the English translation, produced years later and in a different culture, the term “dentifrices” appears in the title. As a matter of fact the word is registered in OED in 1558. “Dentifrices” —the text reads— “are used among things to beautify women. For there is nothing held more ugly then for a woman to laugh or speak, and thereby to show their rugged, rusty, and spotted teeth” (bk.9, ch.xxv). The magic remedies suggested are Shells of Purples, Trumpets burnt, Arabian-Stone, Pumex-Stone, crumbs of Barley, red Coral, Cuttle Bone, Harts Horn, Cochinele. Interesting the reference to Pliny and to Ovid whose verses: “Per la pigritia non venghino macchie, Che la mattina si lavin con acque”, are translated: “That teeth may not grow black forborn, With fountain-water wash them every morn” (bk.9, ch.xxv).

6. Conclusions

In form, of course, *Magiae Naturalis* does not differ from the many so-called *Books of Secrets* published and readily available at the time. These writings were very popular in the Sixteenth century and throughout the Seventeenth century. Most of the recipes in natural magical treatises were not reliable in practice, but for the baroque culture in which they flourished, this may not have mattered much. In this scenario, Della Porta’s publication represents an example of the scientific art setting down in logical and orderly fashion with critical examination and comparison of all that was known in various domains. It contributed to make the workings of the natural magical and natural philosophical topics accessible to people, particularly women. It was written and translated, one century later, in a language rigorously understandable to everyone namely, “Artizans, Countrymen, and Merchants”.

From a linguistic comparison of the two versions of *Magiae Naturalis*—Italian and English—we can infer that the Italian version is still rather redundant, rhetorically articulated, containing generalizations, while the English translation tends to favour conciseness, parataxis, referential precision, rhetorical and textual simplification, all requirements that are in line with the style of the scientific writing favoured by the Royal Society. Della Porta can be seen as a forerunner of the Galileo's approach to writing about science, and of that of the founders of the Royal Society and the other makers of the Scientific Revolution.

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CHAPTER TWENTY-ONE

CONVEYING ALTERITY AND RACISM

JOHN DOUTHWAITE

1. Introduction

Doris Lessing's first novel, *The Grass is Singing* (1950), may be viewed as a social and psychological investigation into the effects of racism, and in particular of racism in an imperialist situation, and more specifically still, into the factors of class, gender and ethnicity in an imperialist setting in a country where apartheid reigns. Although the novel is set in Southern Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), it also references South Africa. Nor should it be forgotten that although Rhodesia did not officially institutionalise an apartheid regime, the dynamics of race relations in the two countries are comparable.

Mary, the main character in the novel, is a poor, white female of low intelligence and limited culture, a classic social context breeding racism in a society where ethnic, class and gender barriers are strong historically, socio-economically, culturally, and in some cases legally. She is a town girl, of poor origins, with a violent father. In order to escape the family she goes to work in town and lives by herself. The years go by and she finds herself unmarried. Social pressure forces her into marriage. Being ingenuous, she hastily weds the first man she meets under the illusion they are in love. Dick¹ is a poor farmer. He takes her to live on his remote farm. She is totally unprepared for marriage and highly unsuited to being a poor farmer's wife. Given her physical isolation, limited culture and low intelligence, she has no inner resources to fall back on and local society offers her nothing. Hence

¹ The names may be taken as symbolic. Mary has a biblical referent—purity, lack of sexual relations betokens the novel's Mary being inexperienced and not consuming the marriage after the wedding. Dick recalls the idiomatic expression 'any Tom, Dick or Harry' meaning anyone, which is precisely what Mary has done—married anyone, i.e. no specific identity/personality. This also betokens her own lack of personality. One may, of course, hypothesise further implications.

loneliness besets her. In her marriage she has also unconsciously re-created her parents' disastrous marriage. These two major factors drive her to mental unbalance. As a white brought up in that society, she is racist and treats her servants badly, actually whipping one of them, Moses. Due to her loneliness she is later attracted to Moses and is seen in taboo intimate behaviour with him, thus breaking all the rules of that type of society. The native later kills her and her husband goes mad.

The aim of this chapter is to carry out a stylistic analysis of one particularly significant paragraph of the novel where Mary's psyche is investigated, highlighting the weakness of her personality, which together with her social identity lead her to the racist behaviour she engages in and her subsequent death.

Particularly important are the techniques Lessing employs to unveil Mary's psychological states, since this task is approached principally from within the character's mind, thereby highlighting the contradictions within her own consciousness which she creates herself in a vain attempt to escape her subordinate status as poor white female, thereby demonstrating that she is the victim of that kind of society. Psychological introspection, or rather the belated lack of realistic psychological introspection on the part of the main character, is continually offset by the voice of the narrator, which underscores the contradictions in the character's proclaimed stance. Through such an analysis, Lessing demonstrates the enormous damage done to individuals by the kind of social system examined.

2. The analysis

Text

[1] In the afternoons, these days she always slept. [2] She slept for hours and hours: it was a way to make time pass quickly. [3] At one o'clock she lay down, and it was after four when she woke. [4] But Dick would not be home for two hours yet, so she lay half-clothed on the bed, drugged with sleep, her mouth dry and her head aching. [5] It was during those two hours of half-consciousness that she allowed herself to dream about that beautiful lost time when she worked in an office and lived as she pleased, before "people made her get married". [6] That was how she put it to herself. [7] And she began to think, during those grey wastes of time, how it would be when Dick at last made some money and they could go and live in town again; although she knew, in her moments of honesty, that he would never make money. [8] Then came the thought that there was nothing to prevent her running away and going back to her old life; here the memory of her friends checked her: what would they say, breaking up a marriage like that? [9] The conventionality of her ethics, which had nothing to do with her real life, was restored by the thought of those friends, and the memory of their judgments

on other people. [10] It hurt her, the thought of facing them again, with her record of failure; for she was still, at bottom, haunted by a feeling of inadequacy, because "she was not like that". [11] That phrase had stuck in her mind all these years, and still rankled. [12] But her desire to escape her misery had become so insupportable, that she pushed out of her mind the idea of her friends. [13] She thought, now, of nothing but getting away, of becoming again what she had been. [14] But then, there was such a gulf between what she now was, and that shy, aloof, yet adaptable girl with the crowds of acquaintances. [15] She was conscious of that gulf, but not as unredeemable alteration in herself. [16] She felt, rather, as if she had been lifted from the part fitted to her, in a play she understood, and made suddenly to act one unfamiliar to her. [17] It was a feeling of being out of character that chilled her, not knowledge that she had changed. [18] The soil, the black labourers, always so close to their lives but also so cut off, Dick in his farm clothes with his hands stained with oil— these things did not belong to her, they were not real. [19] It was monstrous that they should have been imposed upon her.

At a first reading several recurrent linguistic features stand out: a) the intermingling of formal and informal language; b) the disjointed nature of the sentences achieved through the continual interruption of the sentence structure (in part a consequence of the following feature, in part a concomitant), c) the reiterated use of punctuation (reminding me of James Joyce), d) the use of more than one mode of presenting thought and speech in the same sentence and a frequent change in speech and thought presentation (STP) mode (Semino and Short 2004) from one sentence to another, e) the massive use of temporal expressions, denoting an obsession with time, f) the predominance of semantic fields pertaining to psychological and emotional states and personality traits, g) numerous negative value judgements, h) the frequent deployment of parallelism in syntactic structure, graphology and semantic fields.

The general picture obtained from this linguistic overview is that of a fractured world, one which is psychologically problematic. Stated differently, linguistic structure mimics reality. We now move to a close reading to demonstrate how the interplay of these mechanisms produces meaning.

Despite its brevity, the first sentence, (S1) exhibits numerous instances of foregrounding (Douthwaite 2000).

(1) In the afternoons, these days, she always slept.

S1 conveys five concepts, three of which may, broadly speaking, be classified as temporal, ("In the afternoons", "these days", "always"). The remaining two concepts are conveyed, not by chance, by the only two

grammatically obligatory constituents in the sentence (subject “she” and lexical verb “slept”). In this case, it is the optional constituents that signal the important information, and not the obligatory constituents, as is ‘standard’. This hypothesis is bolstered by the fact that it is not a chance phenomenon that thematic and end focus positions in the sentence are ‘occupied’ by a temporal expression and by a lexical verb informing how time was spent, time being, as we shall see, of paramount importance in this passage. That such patterning is indeed deliberate may be demonstrated quite simply by comparing the original to three possible synthetic alternatives (a greater use of commas would increase the range of possibilities):

- (1a) These days she always slept in the afternoons.
- (1b) In the afternoons, she always slept these days.
- (1c) These days, in the afternoons she always slept.

Explaining the differences between the four versions would require inordinate space, involving factors such as Given-New and sequencing (Halliday 1985). Hence my objective in this case is limited to showing that the solution Lessing opts for is ‘deviant’ compared to the most ‘normal’, ‘standard’ or unmarked version, which is embodied by 1a. Deviancy, syntagmatic order (“these days” constituting an ‘independent’ phrase, namely a phrase upshifted to the level of clause) and graphology (the use of the commas to construct the verbless clause and render it perceptually prominent by dint of its brevity and grammatical abnormality) confirm the interpretation offered above.

The question remaining to be answered is why employ so many devices to highlight time and sleep. The answer is that the ideational content is as deviant as the linguistic structures which serve to underscore its deviancy: ‘normal’ people do not sleep in the afternoons. Naturally, such heavy foregrounding is intended to draw the reader’s attention to such abnormal behaviour and make her interrogate herself as to the possible cause of such irregularity.

Deviation does not end here. S1 appears to be written in narrative mode (to be more specific, by an omniscient, extradiegetic narrator). This interpretation may be instantly queried by noting the use of the proximal deictic “these” in *lieu* of the standard ‘those’ in a sentence which is written in the past tense. Furthermore, given the features enumerated above, the style appears to be more akin to that of informal conversation than to formal, detached written language. As we shall see shortly, the issue is more complex than it first appears.

(2) She slept for hours and hours: it was a way to make time pass quickly.

Foregrounding is again prominent in S2. First, unusual punctuation also characterises S2, this time through the presence of a colon. This creates the implicature that the two clauses are pragmatically linked by a cause-effect relationship. Indeed, the sentence could be ‘normalised’ quite simply by replacing the colon with a conjunction such as ‘because’. Second, the style again seems conversational: a) the repetition in “hours and hours”, b) the informality of the lexis (“hours and hours”, “way”) and of the syntactic structure of the second clause (“it was ...”), c) the pragmatic relationship established by the colon seems to make the sentence a ‘dialogue’, question and answer almost. These features again challenge the seemingly obvious hypothesis that S2 is written in N mode. Third, time is again stressed: it is the concept expressed by the first clause in the sentence (first being a signal of conveying important information), it is redundant because it repeats the concept expounded in S1, thereby violating the Gricean quantity maxim (Grice 1989), as can be shown by reducing the two sentences to one: ‘In the afternoons, these days, she slept for hours to make time pass quickly’. (Position and quantity thus appear to provide contradictory messages!) Repetition and the extension of the second clause of S2 achieve two purposes: i) mimicry— drawing out the sentence by increasing the number of words employed mimics the experiencing of a lengthy period of time passing (exploiting Grice’s quantity maxim); ii) it serves to underscore the abnormality and importance of the character’s behavior. Indeed, it introduces the theme of unconsciousness as a state which helps avoid reality by avoiding thought. Fourth, parallelism in the form of conceptual repetition and the graphological fragmentation of the sentence again draw the reader’s attention to the similar function played by both sentences. Fragmentation also performs the function of making the sentence dialogic (the question and answer format hypothesised above). Parallelism and redundancy are also at work on the ideational plane: “always” underscoring time in S1 is reiterated in S2 by the phrase “hours and hours” and by the expression “make time pass quickly”. Fifth, especially significant is the deployment of the lexical verb “make”, for it suggests an agent deliberately and consciously performing that action—or inaction, or form of evasion from reality. Sixth, the majority of the linguistic features identified above together with agency suggest that this is not extradiegetic narration but narration focalized through the character. Finally, to move to the heart of the matter, abnormality may be identified in the fact that Mary needs to “make time pass quickly”. The origin of this need we will see constitutes the key to the passage.

(3) At one o'clock she lay down, and it was after four when she woke.

Parallelism is again at work in S3: a) graphological division of the sentence into two by means of a comma, deviant because the comma follows the coordinating conjunction “and”, thereby creating a textual or pragmatic contradiction between the use of the comma (dividing) and the use of the conjunction (uniting). The use of the comma may be seen as creating a ‘lengthening’ effect by slowing down the text (orally as well as visually) though the ‘break’ created by the comma and by making the sentence appear to convey two distinct ideas instead of one (see item “2b” below). Linguistic structure mimics meaning; b) redundancy, for 1) time is reiterated, and 2) Gricean quantity is again exploited through verbosity. The basic concept could have been conveyed in less than half the number of words Lessing deploys: ‘She slept from one o’clock till four’; c) the style is again informal; d) the sentence appears to be narration, but the style again makes this affirmation a shade puzzling; e) the sentence is fragmented. Fragmentation performs two functions. The first is local: it helps draw out the sentence time wise by inserting a pause created by the comma. Second it performs the global function of signaling a deranged personality; f) the overall pragmatic function of the sentence is again to underscore the importance of time. This hypothesis is reinforced by the exploitation of Gricean relevance as well as Gricean quantity (the former mentioned above), for one can explain the presence of relatively specific time and its occupying the ‘strong’ informational positions in the two clauses (hence parallelism again) by the desire to underscore time, the implicature being that spending over three hours of the afternoon in bed is indeed unusual.

(4) But Dick would not be home for two hours yet, so she lay half-clothed on the bed, drugged with sleep, her mouth dry and her head aching.

The obsession with time continues. Since the standard function of contrastive “But”, especially when in sentence-initial position, is to announce a change, then the reader might well be induced to think that the expression in S3 “after four when she woke” proclaiming that ‘sleeping’ is over is actually conveying the concept that the problem that such sleeping was meant to solve, namely making time pass, has been efficaciously resolved. Far from it. The continuation reveals that Mary wakes up before her husband arrives home from work, leaving her problem of what to do with herself unsolved! Worse still. If we add the time spent in semi-consciousness to that spent in unconsciousness we reach a total of five hours of ‘wasted’ time (to anticipate “those grey wastes of time”—S7).

This induction, together with the need to make time pass quickly (S2), leads to the further implicature that she is lonely, which in turn leads to the induction that she has few internal resources—being at home on her own is a problem. (Indeed, the early pages of the novel minutely describe her desperate engagement in household activities “to make time pass”.)

What should further be noted is that this situation does not constitute a problem for the other females in that area (farmers’ wives, far from town). Difference is introduced in this paragraph with great subtlety. For this is not simply a question of being a white female subjugated to a white husband, but also a question of Mary (hence a specific person) not conforming to the behavioural norms of her class (white wife) for she fails to mix with her like.

The most significant linguistic feature of S4 is that it starts in Free Indirect Thought (FIT) mode. The forward movement test demonstrates this amply: ‘But Dick won’t be home for two hours yet’. The deployment of FIT mode has two crucial interpretative consequences.

The first is a high level effect, i.e. one which concerns the entire paragraph. It was noted above that SS1-3 exhibited a conversational style, informal language, unusual punctuation, proximal deictic markers in a passage related in the past, repetition, features more akin to speech/thought than writing, thereby challenging the immediately obvious hypothesis that the sentences were written by an extradiegetic narrator. Initial FIT mode in S4 thus enables the original hypothesis to be modified into a ‘conservative’ interpretation of N mode focalized through the heroine (or anti-heroine) or the more ‘radical’ hypothesis that this is a hybrid form between N and FIT. In favour of the latter interpretation we can again muster the forward-shifting test, as in ‘I sleep for hours and hours: it’s a way of making time pass quickly’. This again brings out the dialogic nature of the sentences, as if Mary is explaining the situation to herself and/or to an audience. Whichever option is preferred, the result is that right from the beginning of the extract we are not in the presence of pure extradiegetic narration, but of two narrating actants—narrator and character, who alternate with each other or, at times, ‘speak’ contemporaneously. This brings us to the second point.

The use of FIT places us directly inside the character’s mind, experiencing what she experiences. This is important precisely because of the nature of Mary’s experience. While the locutionary force of the first clause in S4 is that of predicting, the illocutionary forces performed are those of lamenting and expressing frustration/anger. The clause may be explicated as follows: ‘Damn it, that husband of mine won’t be home for another two hours and I’ve got to stay here all on my own and I don’t know how on earth to pass

the time of day'. Note how the final word in the first clause of S4 (i.e. in informationally-strong end focus position)—“yet”—does not simply reiterate the concept of time and all that time stands for in this novel, but how it forcefully expresses Mary’s strong emotional state. The very same illocutionary forces of conveying frustration and anger are also conveyed by the adjective “another”, further proof that this clause constitutes Mary’s thought.

The second part of the sentence, starting with “so”, turns to N mode. This might seem surprising, given the high emotional pitch reached through the deployment of FIT in the first clause. Furthermore, I would contend, this is pure narration, not focalized through the character. First of all, following the comma, doing its usual divisive work, there appears an explicit discourse marker, “so”, where in S2 no such marker was employed, leaving the cause-effect relationship implicit there, where here the pragmatic relationship is explicitly stated, making the language a shade more formal. Second, “half-clothed” does not seem to constitute information that the (or any) character would consciously or semi-consciously entertain in her/his mind, even less would there be any reason why she should communicate such information to an addressee (if the clause is dialogic). The narrator, instead, has every reason for making the reader aware of such a fact, for it conveys the idea of a disheveled, careless person, dominated by depression, an idea which other information in the sentence bolsters (“drugged”). Third, this interpretation is reinforced by the fact that the adverbial function of that second clause is realized four times, each time by a negative value judgement: i) “half-clothed on the bed”, ii) “drugged with sleep”, iii) and iv) “her mouth dry and her head aching”. The second adverbial function is realised by a metaphor, “drugged with sleep”, which again suggests unnaturalness, as is sleep/unconsciousness induced by drugs, and drugs themselves connote unnaturalness, deviancy, a problematic situation. Finally, the third adverbial exhibits multiple realisation i) her mouth dry ii) her head aching. This, too, is multifunctional. On the one hand, it strengthens the drug metaphor through referencing two physical reactions to drug abuse. On the other hand, it lengthens the sentence, since the adverbial structure may be seen as realising the abstract form $a + b + c1 + c2$. Again quantity is exploited to draw out the sentence and mimic the experience. On a concrete level, the overall picture obtained is that of a person incapacitated. Finally, the intransitive lexical verb “lay” underscores inactivity, which together with “half-clothed” and “drugged” suggests lack of control and lack of will-power.

One should also notice that the description is external, objective, cold. This is eminently fitting to contrasting the character’s own hot (albeit

jaundiced) cognition of her situation in the first part of the sentence with the narrator's cold cognition of that situation in the second part of the sentence, denoting an attitude on the part of the narrator of distance, of non-commiseration, of criticism. Stated differently, the narrator is not neutral. Thus, S4 clearly establishes that there are two voices, two world-views in this extract. This is crucial in order to be able to interpret the text, as becomes transparent in dealing with the next sentence.

(5) It was during those two hours of half-consciousness // that she allowed herself to dream about // that beautiful lost time when she worked in an office and lived as she pleased, before // "people made her get married".

S5 may be viewed as consisting of four 'sections' (indicated by the double lines above). The first section constitutes the superordinate clause.

Significantly, the sentence is a cleft sentence, hence the subject is a dummy subject, i.e. a unit which bears no information, the 'real' subject being realized by the following three sections.

The first information-laden unit—"those two hours"—in the superordinate clause again conveys the concept of time. Significantly it employs a distal deictic marker "those", in contrast to the proximal marker employed in S1. Furthermore, the postmodifier "of half-consciousness" is a cold, external description of Mary's state, akin to the style of and conveying the same type of attitude as that in the second part of S4. Furthermore, it is information which a character is unlikely to convey. Indeed, one may legitimately suspect that Mary is not fully aware of what is happening to her. The first part of S5 may thus be classified as pure N.

In addition, by definition, the postmodifier bears information which is less important than the head (Douthwaite 2000). But in this case, the concept it carries is actually of paramount importance. Hence, the syntactic structure 'hides' the import of the information, thereby mimicking the protagonist hiding reality from herself. This interpretation is bolstered by the fact that the syntactic structure—the cleft sentence—formally highlights the constituent immediately following the verb, "those two hours", time yet again.

The second section at first appears to be Narrative Report of Thought Act, (NRTA) since it appears to be the narrator's summary of what happened in Mary's head ("allowed herself to dream"). However, the use of the lexical verb "allowed" (violating Grice's manner maxim, sub-maxim of clarity and implying some form of negativity through the breaking of a norm), connected, as it is, to the dependent lexical verb "to dream", is perplexing or estranging since dreaming is natural, even positive, within

limits. The employment of “allowed” thus alerts the reader that something abnormal is again going on, as the rest of the sentence immediately clarifies.

If the remaining part of the sentence immediately enlightens the reader, then she can justifiably ask why the author should wish to warn her of the abnormality. If, however, one eliminates the lexical verb and normalizes to ‘she dreamt about that beautiful lost time’, then without such prior warning as is afforded by “allowed”, then the reader risks taking the assertion that follows or, more precisely, the positive value judgement expressed about Mary’s past life that follows, at its face value, namely that Mary had indeed “lost” a “beautiful time” when she was happy working in an office in town before marrying Dick.

Now previous co-text (prior to the extract under analysis) has amply clarified that Mary did, in one sense, have a good time working in the city before she got married. But it has also clearly demonstrated that Mary’s happiness was based on infantile aspirations which did not fit in with the social goals favoured by society for a white female, nor did it lead her to stable, enduring human relationships: Mary was alone. This conflict between reality and Mary’s view of that reality was brought to Mary’s attention (consciousness) when she inadvertently overheard people whom she thought were her friends harshly criticizing her for her non-conformity. This caused her unhappiness and forced her into a rash and disastrous marriage without any idea of what she was doing.

Hence, self-awareness and a reality principle are two components crucial for human survival that Mary lacks. This entails questioning her reliability as a source of information. We may now return to the analysis of the unusual use of “allowed” in S5.

This lexical verb indicates that Mary is going through a conflict, between regret for the past and the attempt to make do with her unhappy marriage and life on a farm. The verb also bears the implication of transgression, for she is allowing herself to do something she knows she should not do—think about the past—because in part it prevents total commitment to the present and future, and second it actually detracts from that present/future. In other words, dreaming about the past has the ultimate consequence of heightening the pain of the present.

The lexical verb “dream” is also highly significant, since it implies that deep down Mary knows full well that the ‘reality’ she has constructed of her past can never be again, though she refuses consciously to entertain the interpretation that it never was real, since this would necessarily lead to a painful rejection of her entire life and the elimination of the hope of a viable alternative to her present life style. Half-conscious dreaming constitutes

another method of raising the question of the reliability of one's thoughts and memories.

Given that this specific instance of NRTA actually reveals the conflicts within Mary's psyche, it brings us very close to Mary's inner life, as happens with the use of FIT, almost as if the focaliser were Mary and not the narrator reporting or summarizing a thought act. However, the detached, clinical nature of the observation means that the narrator's voice is indeed dominant in a sentence which is therefore characterized by the presence of two voices, that of the anti-heroine who practices self-deceit and that of the narrator who reveals that practice to the reader.

The third part of S5 is Mary's thought reported in FIT, as the forward-shifting test demonstrates: "that beautiful lost time when I worked in an office and lived as I pleased, before". The move into FIT trenchantly distances the conceptual content of this unit from that of the preceding two units. The function of distancing is to make transparent the dividing line between reality (the first two parts) and illusion (i.e. self-delusion), (the third part). The expression "beautiful lost time" is almost rhapsodic in its praise, while "lived as she pleased" is an important cry for liberty, which can only be understood when it is recalled that Mary went to work in town to escape from a poverty-stricken childhood and a violent father. Hence, in addition to representing Mary's deluded state, the third part of the sentence is in FIT in order to convey the intensity of the character's emotional condition, inviting the reader to consider it within the overall framework of Mary's story so that the inevitability of her future decisions— and the consequent tragedy—become unescapable.

The final part of S5 constitutes FIT or Free Indirect Speech (FIS) embedded in the preceding FIT, as the forward-shift test again bears out: "people made me get married". This mode of presentation is strange, as may be demonstrated by normalising the text by removing the inverted commas: 'that beautiful lost time when she worked in an office and lived as she pleased, before people made her get married'. This would remove the embedding and would consequently be the product of one voice. By changing STP mode and embedding the second clause in the first, a change in voice is operated. Since the superordinate clause has been established to be Mary's voice, then the only option remaining is that the second (embedded) clause constitutes the narrator's voice overriding Mary's voice. This unusual STP move may be hypothesised as performing a dual function. First, the words are Mary's own, second they concurrently represent the narrator quoting Mary. Stated differently, the form is hybrid, demonstrating that the dual voice is still at work, with Mary providing her version of reality and the narrator simultaneously casting doubt over it.

(6) That was how she put it to herself.

S6 confirms the previous hypothesis regarding the dual voice. The STP mode of S6 is unquestionably N. The ideational content makes it impossible for the voice to be that of the character herself, since were this to be so, then form and content would contradict each other and the utterance would consequently violate Grice's relevance maxim, since Mary cannot admit she is wrong if she is unaware, or refuses to be aware, of that fact. Functionally, the narrator is again casting doubt over the authenticity of Mary's interpretation.

(7) a) And she began to think, // during those grey wastes of time, // how it would be when Dick at last made some money and they could go and live in town again;

b) although she knew, // in her moments of honesty, // that he would never make money.

S7 is realised by a main clause and a subordinate clause (sections 'a' and 'b'). The two clauses exhibit a parallel structure: three parts in which the superordinate clause (respectively main clause and subordinate clause) is interrupted by a verbless clause (a prepositional phrase rankshifted up to the level of clause performing the literal function of indicating time) (part underlined). Parallelism is achieved by right dislocation of the temporal verbless clause, as normalising the two clauses demonstrates:

(7c) a) And during those grey wastes of time she began to think how it would be when Dick at last made some money and they could go and live in town again;

b) although in her moments of honesty she knew that he would never make money.

Both sections begin with a mental activity ("think" and "knew"), making both the sections Internal Narration (NI). However, the central part of both sections constitutes an evaluative comment on Mary's thoughts, the language is stylistically different—more formal, descriptive, metaphorical ("grey wastes of time")—in contrast to the reporting of inner thoughts referring to concrete facts (making money) in the two superordinate clauses. Furthermore, "in her moments of honesty" parallels the phrase "two hours of half consciousness" (S3) which is in N mode. Hence the two central parts of each section appear to be the narrator's commentary on the mental content of the superordinate clauses.

The two sections form a contrast, introduced by “although”. The first embodies Mary’s illusions, the second reality. Within each section, the central part constitutes the narrator’s analysis and evaluation of the character’s thought. Thus, in the first part the narrator is identifying the cause of Mary’s illusions and consequent desire to escape reality through the powerful metaphor “grey wastes of time” (critics have pointed out Lessing references to T.S. Eliot’s “The Wasteland”) rather than its literal temporal function, while the second employs the temporal expression to indicate the fleetingness of her moments of truth, to underscore both the deep need for escape and the constant duality of her mental condition—rejecting the truth alternating with admitting the truth. In this, Mary is akin to Eveline in James Joyce’s eponymous story in *Dubliners* (1914), not to mention Hamlet’s indecision and hesitancy.

- (8) a) Then came the thought that there was nothing to prevent her running away and going back to her old life;
 b) here the memory of her friends checked her: what would they say, breaking up a marriage like that?

S8 is divided into two main parts, the semi-colon constituting the borderline between the two sections. Like S7, S8 is unusual with regard to STP. Again the sentence begins as if it were narration: “Then came”, only to reveal that it is again reported thought (“Then came the thought” being conceptually equatable with ‘Then she thought’).

The synthetic version brings to light the fact that the original employs inversion, since the subject follows the predicator. Time again occupies thematic position.

Given the nature of “Then came”, the remaining part of the clause (“there was nothing ... her old life”) is pure IT.

However, the fact that STP mode is ‘masked’ by deploying an indirect expression which hides both real subject and real predicator creates the sensation of being in the character’s mind much more than does a pure IT form. As we shall see, this sensation is increased by the use of “here” in section two and by the use of FIT in the final clause, as well as by the deployment of the metaphor “came”, conveying the flow of thought through the mind.

Next comes a semi-colon, again performing a divisive function. The first part (“here the memory of her friends checked her”) is NRTA. The colon signals the onset of FIT (“what will my friends say, breaking up a marriage like that?”). In other words, the narrator summarises Mary’s reaction, then Mary herself provides the words from which the summary was induced.

Note, however, that the author could readily have opted to maintain the same presentational mode in both clauses, as in:

(8a) the memory of her friends objecting that marriages should not be broken up in that way checked her.

Hence the selection to change STP mode throughout the sentence must be accounted for. Furthermore, the conversational tone of the original should be noted (e.g. I modified conversational “like that” into distant, formal, reported language ‘in that way’). Another oddity to be noted with regard to the sphere of formality is proximal, hence conversational, “here” in the first part of the section which is formally in NRTA mode.

Four major effects may be identified. First, change in STP mode and copious punctuation again produce the impression of fragmentation, reflecting Mary’s personality. Second, the semi-colon and temporal (!) deictic “here” create a pause, lengthening text time, underscoring the change of mind. The same effect is obtained in the FIT part of the clause, which actually consists of two clauses, as can be shown by the synthetic alternative which would be standard in English:

(8b) what would they say about breaking up a marriage like that?

This latter point is an extremely subtle one. The first “What would they say” constitutes the main clause. Significantly, the second part has deleted the preposition ‘about’ thereby hiding the fact that that second part realises the complement function, thus showing that even the first part is ungrammatical. Two main effects may be identified. First, it confirms FIT, hence the fact that we are following Mary’s thoughts as they occur. The second reason for such a lack of grammaticality is that written in the form Lessing has selected, it appears to present two distinct ideas and not one, which standard version 8b would present. Furthermore, the first part contains the information which is syntactically signaled as most important, by dint of preceding the complement and because it is realized by a main clause (while the ‘second idea’ is realized by the complement of the prepositional phrase). Stated differently, Lessing is showing that Mary is totally dominated by her reference group and their norms of conduct. She has no ideas and will of her own. “Breaking up the marriage” is simply the specific reason which on this occasion prevents her from acting. Were she to have another desire which went against group ethics or norms, the result would be identical.

This hypothesis is efficaciously borne out by the exploitation of the quantity maxim (saying less than she means) and the manner maxim (a rhetorical question). For by thinking “what would they say, breaking up a

marriage like that”, what she actually means is: ‘if I were to return to town after abandoning my husband like that all my friends would criticize me and ostracise me, and what would I do then? I would be in an even worse situation that I am now!’

Furthermore, the deployment of “the memory of her friends checked her” refers back to the entire episode of her overhearing her friends criticising her, which led her to the rash decision of marriage. This constitutes a further instantiation of Lessing’s exploitation of Gricean quantity. Saying far less than she means focusses the reader’s attention on “memory” and “checked” again powerfully demonstrating Mary’s subjugation to social norms and her lack of a sense of security and strength of character. (Note, importantly, the childishness and lack of responsibility implied by the selection of the lexical verb “running away”). Another subtle point is that through the use of N mode Lessing is actually taking us into Mary’s mind precisely by providing little information.

In not admitting the full truth to herself, Mary’s thought processes again resemble those of Joyce’s Eveline to a significant degree.

The third effect of alternating STP modes within the sentence, together with ‘hiding’ the STP mode of the first clause of the sentence, is to make the reader experience Mary’s thoughts and emotions.

Finally, and crucially, the continual change in STP mode, as well as the ‘false starts’ in both S7 and S8 again indicate two voices at work—Mary, who hesitates, and the narrator, who criticizes.

Having established the themes and main linguistic techniques employed by Lessing, the analysis will now proceed by providing a limited number of major points.

- (9) The conventionality of her ethics, which had nothing to do with her real life, was restored by the thought of those friends, and the memory of their judgments on other people.

S9 is in almost pure N mode, i.e. with, relatively speaking, little trace of the character’s voice. In it, the narrator provides confirmation of the interpretation offered of S8. Note the contrast between reality and Mary’s version thereof, the fragmentation of the sentence indicating the fragmented personality, the repetition of “memory” from the previous sentence, with the addition of “judgement”, bringing further water to the mill of Mary’s weakness, incapacity and lack of independence.

One interesting point is the deployment of “other”. Although the clause “the memory of their judgments on other people” is in N mode, the narrator is conveying Mary’s thought processes. Thus Mary’s reference to “other” people is not to be taken exclusively on a literal plane, but also as an indirect

reference to herself. In this way the pain others cause Mary and the way this acts as internal social control is powerfully underscored, precisely through hiding the fact that Mary is actually talking about herself more than about others.

A second hint of Mary's voice is signalled by the use of the lexical verb "restored" which has positive connotations. Such positivity can only be Mary's, since the narrator/author is attempting to show how 'conventionality' actually contributes to Mary's destruction. Hence the dual voice is at work here.

Critical narratorial attitude is conveyed by, for instance, a) formal style, thus distancing narrator from the character and her informal style, b) irony through lexical selections such as "restored" and "memory", with their positive connotations, employed when illustrating a negative character trait.

- (10) a) It hurt her, the thought of facing them again, with her record of failure;
 b) for she was still, at bottom, haunted by a feeling of inadequacy, because "she was not like that".

S10 manifests parallelism. First, with S5. Although S10 does not deploy a cleft sentence as does S5, it does delay the appearance of the subject by employing the dummy subject "it", as in a cleft construction. Thus, the second and third clauses (a verbless clause since it is realized by a single noun phrase: "the thought of facing them again" and a prepositional phrase "with her record of failure") constitute the 'real' subject of the lexical verb "hurt", as the synthetic alternative demonstrates: 'The thought of facing them again with her record of failure hurt her'. The effects this construction produces are: i) presenting three independent ideas instead of one, as in the synthetic version, i.e. increasing the importance to be attached to each piece of information; ii) laying great stress on the emotion "hurt", since it is the only information-bearing phrase in the first clause ("it" being a dummy subject and "her" constituting Given information); iii) by dint of being the only New information in its clause and by preceding the other two clauses, which, instead, contain several pieces of (important) information, the emotion is staged as the most important information in the sentence. In this way Mary's subalternity to society is underscored yet again: avoidance of pain acts as control over her behavior inducing her to avoid certain types of action.

The second instance of parallelism lies in the extreme segmentation of the sentence, first into two parts, each of which is further subdivided into three and four parts respectively. One blatant anomaly is the use of the semicolon, since STP mode remains constant (in one sense) across the two

sections, a point dealt with immediately below. In structure, S10 is very similar to S7 and S8.

Third, the multiple use of STP in the same sentence. The first clause in section ‘a’ is presented as N. This is immediately belied by “the thought” in the second clause of section ‘a’, which reveals that section ‘a’ is actually NRTA. This again represents the trick of showing that something is only to immediately show that it is in fact something else.

The second clause of section ‘b’ again begins in N (“for she was still”), only to turn into NI when the clause is continued subsequent to the interruption represented by the prepositional phrase “at bottom”, for the clause relates Mary’s emotional and psychological state (“haunted by a feeling of inadequacy”). Another change takes place with the onset of the final clause and the use of the inverted commas, paralleling the final clause in S5, since the inverted commas represent an embedded form which constitutes both the character and the narrator’s voices, performing exactly the same function: “because ‘she was not like that’”—the character stating *x* and the narrator denying that state of affairs.

Lexis is significant. “Facing” implies a negative value judgement, conjuring up the naughty pupil on the carpet before the headmistress, “record” also implies a bureaucratic situation such as the scholastic one or a sporting one, and is combined with “failure”, another negative value judgment. “Haunted” again takes us into the realms of the non-reality, of semi-consciousness, and denotes a negative emotional and psychological state, with connotations of wrong-doing and feelings of guilt. “Still” and “haunted” both imply and emphasise continuity over time, as well as suggesting that Mary is constantly torturing herself over her weaknesses.

The entire sentence underscores Mary’s “inadequacy” and her being loath to admit the fact by erroneously claiming “she was not like that”.

(11) That phrase had stuck in her mind all these years, and still rankled.

Both clauses may be classified as NI, since “had stuck in her mind” is synonymous with ‘remembered’. Time is again in end focus “all these years”—and deictic “these” is again proximal, suggesting words that are the character’s rather than the narrator’s. The metaphor “stuck in her mind” with its overtones of force and violence underscores the enduring quality of Mary’s suffering as well as implicitly contradicting Mary’s ‘rosy’ view of her own past. The comma is again divisive, so should not, in theory, exist since it is followed by the coordinating conjunction “and”. Given preceding co-text, the second clause is almost redundant (violating Gricean quantity), since if the phrase had “stuck in her mind all these years”, then it “rankled” could be considered implicit, or at best, a mere extension of the previous

concept. The adverb “still” again underscores the temporal element. The linguistic devices employed in S11 thus underline the emotional intensity of the negative experience and exploit Gricean quantity to ‘drag out’ the experience.

(12) But her desire to escape her misery had become so insupportable, that she pushed out of her mind the idea of her friends.

Linguistically, S12 is typical of the style of the extract. For instance, it is divided into two parts by a comma which is syntactically unnecessary, thus again performing a divisive effect which is in contrast with the unitary nature of the conceptual content (cause-effect). The clash between graphology, on the one hand, and syntax and semantics, on the other hand, again mirror Mary’s fragmented character.

S12 constitutes a watershed in the extract. This is announced immediately by the contrastive conjunction “but” occupying sentence-initial position. This conjunction introduces Mary irrationally swinging from a negative position to a positive stance in exactly the same fashion as Eveline in Joyce’s eponymous short story—irrationally because nothing has changed to offer her solid grounds for revising her worldview. Her “desire to escape” is so strong that she hides from reality, as does Eveline.

The contrast is further underlined by semantic field: the metaphor “pushed” parallels the metaphor “stuck” in the preceding sentence with its matching overtones of force and violence: Mary must make some effort to mask reality, since this is firmly entrenched (“stuck”) in her mind. The implied contrast is enhanced, in S12, by the foregrounding operation of left dislocation, since the prepositional phrase “out of her mind” has been moved out of its ‘standard’ position at sentence-end and to the centre of the clause in order to juxtapose it to the lexical verb, thus forming a perfect parallel with S11:

(S11) stuck in her mind
 (S12) pushed out of her mind

with S11 conveying staticity (inaction) and S12 action, i.e. opposites.

Lexis is again significant, because of the contextual implications it gives rise to, making us experience Mary subconsciously reliving the past. The lexeme “desire” takes us into the world of mental and emotional strife (since her desire conflicts with reality), and the negative value judgements expressed by “escape”, “misery” and “insupportable” transport us back to Mary’s painful infancy from which she had escaped by going to work in town and to which she has returned through her disastrous marriage. And it

is these subconscious musings that lead Mary into the final stage of the extract, where she opts for ‘rebellion’.

At this point, Mary, unlike Eveline, has taken her decision and the remaining part of the text consists of a series of thoughts in which she plays up her self-delusions in an act of self-persuasion since she has no wish to accept the life she is living.

(13) She thought, now, of nothing but getting away, of becoming again what she had been. (14) But then, there was such a gulf between what she now was, and that shy, aloof, yet adaptable girl with the crowds of acquaintances. (15) She was conscious of that gulf, but not as unredeemable alteration in herself. (16) She felt, rather, as if she had been lifted from the part fitted to her, in a play she understood, and made suddenly to act one unfamiliar to her.

The self-deception Mary is practising in these sentences emerges starkly through the continued use of the linguistic devices analysed so far.

S13 is in NRTA mode and conveys a sense of poignancy, for Mary is totally incapable of understanding the simple fact that for human beings there can be no total ‘restoration’ of the past. Even less can she understand that her past is a myth. To do so would, in any case, lead to madness, as it does in her husband’s case.

Such emotional intensity as is exhibited by S13 is not normally produced by deploying NRTA mode. Again deviant deixis (“now”) together with fragmentation make the two prepositional phrases appear to be ‘independent’ of subject and verb in the graphologically detached clause in sentence-initial position and consequently make them appear to be in FIT mode. This constitutes yet another of the major functions of (syntactic) fragmentation in this extract—to make entities appear to be different from what they actually are, hence performing the function of mimicking Mary’s psyche. And of course, FIT mode is an excellent vehicle for conveying intensity of emotion.

Similarly, no-one believes Mary’s affirmation in S14 (written in FIT mode) that she was an “adaptable girl with crowds of acquaintances”. Again, we have proof of the lack of a reality principle, since “shy” and “aloof” stand in stark logical contrast to “adaptable” and “with the crowds of acquaintances”. With regard to reality one should note the hyperbole of the expression “crowd”, exaggeration indicating that Mary is desperately trying to convince herself that her view is right. Again, all this is pure myth, not to say total derangement. Consequently, STP mode again makes the reader sympathetically share Mary’s experience and thus not condemn her, but the type of society that produces her.

S15 is in NI mode. The language is more formal. S15 thus constitutes the narrator intervening in a more objective, distant manner. Irony again makes its presence felt through formal lexis such as “unredeemable alteration”.

S16 returns to Mary’s voice. Although it, too, is in NI mode (“she felt”), the language is informal, the emotion conveyed by the illocutionary force of complaint and the metaphors identify S16 as clearly Mary’s thoughts and feelings which the reader experiences. In this way the fact that she shifts the blame onto others (“she had been lifted ... and made ...”) represents Mary condemning herself with her own hands (rather than narratorial intervention), making the reader ever more convinced that Mary is unbalanced.

(17) It was a feeling of being out of character that chilled her, not knowledge that she had changed.

S17 is also in NI, but returns under greater narratorial control: more formal language, a sense of distance, a critical tone.

(18) The soil, the black labourers, always so close to their lives but also so cut off, Dick in his farm clothes with his hands stained with oil - these things did not belong to her, they were not real. [19] It was monstrous that they should have been imposed upon her.

SS18-19 constitute the end and a fitting apex to the extract. They are highly emotional, a desperate cry to heaven, but one which is divorced from reality, as Lessing’s standard linguistic devices forcefully convey: ungrammatical, informal conversational language, fragmentation, negative value judgments, verbosity (S18) communicating strong emotion and the seriousness of the situation, fragmentation, deploying FIT to signal the climax, in the same manner as James Joyce (see Douthwaite 2007)

The climax itself is efficaciously conveyed by another instantiation of the cleft sentence, highlighting the concept of monstrosity: “It was monstrous that ...”

Lessing has clearly demonstrated on a logical, argumentative plane that the monstrosity is, in the first instance, Mary’s deranged mind. But she has also and equally clearly shown that, in the ultimate analysis, what is monstrous is the society that produced that culture, that mind. And the linguistic techniques Lessing deploys have mimicked Mary’s mind and have made the reader live through Mary’s suffering, leading to comprehension and understanding of the character, as well as criticism of the society that produces such phenomena. Through the contrapuntal use of the narrative voice, the unreality of Mary’s thoughts is forcefully brought to

the reader's attention, underscoring Mary's psychological suffering, thus helping to make the reader sympathise with the victim and consequently place the blame where it really lies.

Note on foregrounding

Cognitive psychology has demonstrated that habituation in perception and comprehension is a normal phenomenon in human life. Habituation routinizes life, it dulls the senses and the critical faculties. One way of combating habituation is to experience an entity in a novel fashion so that our attention is arrested, and our automatic mode of processing together with the standard response we produce to the familiar stimulus is impeded, slowed down, surprised even. This obliges us to examine the entity more closely and from a new perspective. As a result we are challenged to place a new interpretation on reality.

Impeding normal processing by showing the world in an unusual, unexpected or abnormal manner is termed defamiliarisation. Thus defamiliarisation may be achieved by subverting the rules governing perception and behaviour. The linguistic technique employed in subverting the world in this manner is termed foregrounding. (Douthwaite 2000, 178; also quoted in Leech 2008, 4).

The technique is realised quite simply by breaking the rules governing the code and its use, thus surprising the reader into asking herself why the rule has been broken, thereby constraining a novel, non-literal interpretation.

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