A Life in Style

In Honour of Donna R. Miller

edited by **ANTONELLA LUPORINI, MARINA MANFREDI, MONICA TURCI, JANE HELEN JOHNSON, SABRINA FUSARI, CINZIA BEVITORI**

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Introduction

Editing a book in honour of your mentor is a daunting task. You are partial to your mentor both as a person and as a scholar, so you are at risk of losing the objectivity that should characterise an editor's role. It is also very much a labour of love, because your motivations for editing such a book are quite unlikely to be connected with your publishing requirements as an academic, and more related to your desire to foster the legacy that your mentor has left. A Festschrift, unlike other edited volumes, has to stress how much the editors have learned from their mentor, and how they feel their mentor's work has been fundamental not only to the editors, personally and scientifically, but also to the whole community of scholars in their field.

It is an especially daunting task if your mentor's research interests are wide-ranging, as this creates the need to harmonise your authors' contributions not only to create a coherent whole, but also to reflect the nature and scope of your mentor's expertise and to be captivating and appealing to them. After all, a Festschrift is a present to your mentor, something you give them as a token of your appreciation, admiration, affection and gratitude, to show them that their work goes on and that the seeds of knowledge, passion and inspiration they have sown still bloom. It is of the utmost importance that your mentor will like their Festschrift. You write it for them, to honour and celebrate their work and their academic life.

In the title of our book, however, the word "life" extends beyond academic – the title was chosen last year in Bertinoro, during a major international conference some of us were organising at the University of Bologna Residential Centre (CeUB). Incidentally, the CeUB was also the location of what was perhaps the most important international conference Donna Miller organised during her career, the 23rd European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference and Workshop (ESFLCW 2012), so a place that is very dear to her. While discussing our plans for this book, it occurred to us that the word "style" was perhaps the most important keyword we all associated with Donna. Still, this association is not only academic as, for

the whole time we worked together, it extended to so many other aspects of Donna's attitude and behaviour in everyday life, when the office doors closed. We could have chosen a set of more clearly linguistic or grammatical keywords, perhaps a few terms more exclusively pertaining to Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) she strongly advocates, but "life in style" just had it all – a solid connection not only with Donna's systemic functional studies, especially with Hasan's perspective she highly values and deeply investigates, but also with Donna R. Miller as a person (and we are keeping the "R" here not by chance, but because Donna is "fond" of her "R", and does not like it when editors or conference organisers forget to add it to her name). Donna is not only academically interested in style – she has style.

We hope this book is the same: connected with style from a linguistic perspective – although the topics we cover actually range well beyond style, to embrace a variety of systemic functional topics, reflecting the diversity of Donna's interests throughout her career – and endowed with style from the point of view of the choice and quality of chapters. The authors include Donna's international friends and colleagues, as well as mentees and former students. A selection had to be made to accommodate the limited number of chapters we had at our disposal, but many more people than the contributors have expressed their desire to celebrate Donna's work, as shown in the *Tabula Gratulatoria* that opens the volume.

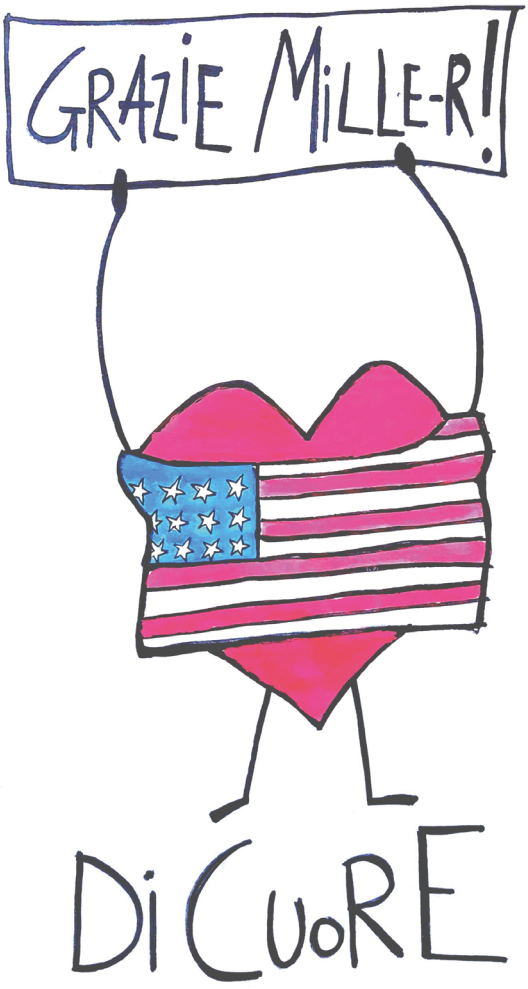
The book is divided into four Sections, centred around or interfacing with different aspects of SFL from various perspectives Donna has used in her own studies: "Verbal art", with contributions by David Banks, Alexanne Don, Maria Freddi, Gerard O'Grady and Rebekah Wegener; "SFL and discourse analysis at the interface", whose contributors are Tom Bartlett, Cinzia Bevitori, Anne McCabe, Mick O'Donnell, Cinzia Spinzi and Nicoletta Vasta; "Teaching and translation", with chapters by Sabrina Fusari, Jane Helen Johnson and Enrico Monti; finally, "SFL across languages, registers, and modes", contributed by Gail Forey, Joy Cranham and Benjamin Van Praag, Sheena F. Gardner and Gordon Tucker.

Purely for editing reasons, systems, metafunctions and categories have not been capitalised – we thought we would stress this, knowing how rigorous Donna is, also in the application of terminological conventions!

To conclude this brief introduction, and before we leave the floor to our authors, we would like to address you directly, Donna. We would like to apologise for taking such a long time (five years after your retirement!) to publish this book. You know, of course, how hard we have to work to follow in your footsteps in academic life – and academic life keeps changing, with

more and more institutional and administrative responsibilities. For this reason, each of us had to make a decision on how to invest their time: some of us also contributed a chapter, others focused more on editorial work. We wanted to edit a book to the best of our possibilities – not a Festschrift like any other, but one that would truly honour your work. A Festschrift with style is the gift that we hope we have been able to give you back.

Antonella Luporini, Marina Manfredi, Monica Turci,
Jane Helen Johnson, Sabrina Fusari, Cinzia Bevitori



A present to Prof. Miller from her students, which she still affectionately keeps in her office.

Tabula gratulatoria

Colleagues from the University of Bologna and other Universities in Italy:

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Verbal art

section 1

Frustrated syntax in a poem by J.H. Prynne

David Banks

1. Introduction

There are some poets who attain a relative celebrity. In the course of the twentieth century, one might think of T.S. Eliot, Ted Hughes, or Seamus Heaney. Some poets are highly appreciated by other poets, but this appreciation does not extend beyond this restricted community. Basil Bunting might be thought of as one such. In recent years J.H. Prynne would seem to have achieved this status. He was born in 1936, and was a lecturer and librarian at Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge. There is now a vast literature on Prynne's poetry, including Reeve and Kerridge (1995), and the recently published Luna (2023)[1]. He is generally recognised to be a "difficult" poet. Gross, for example mentions a "refusal to make sense" (1996, p. 20). Potts (2004) calls it "hermetic, baffling, difficult of access"[2]. Punter (2002) confesses that he has as much difficulty in reading Prynne's poetry as he did 40 years earlier, and goes on to suggest that all one can do "is to attempt to prop up bits of the collapsing landscape, to seek form in the very process of things melting away" (Punter 2002, p. 125). Watson (2001) remarks "He refuses to restrict himself to any known discourse. Functional communication would suggest submission to an oppressive system"[3], and Wheale says this poetry requires a "fight from line to line in search of cohesion" (1999, p. 77).

Luna (2023, p. 1) sums up antagonism to Prynne's poetry in the following terms.

> The idea that Prynne's poetry eschews readers – either in favour of a small group of sycophants and self-appointed cognoscenti or altogether, through

1. An extensive list, as well as a complete bibliography of Prynne's own work can be found at https://prynnebibliography.org.
2. https://www.theguardian.com/books/2004/apr/10/featuresreviews.guardianreview30.
3. https://www.militantesthetix.co.uk/opticsyn/mad.htm.

> a wilfully obscure linguistic hermeticism – has become an established feature of his reception to such a degree that acknowledgement of its influence is now an equally established feature of defences, explanations, and critical exegeses of his work. The charge that Prynne writes poetry the "purpose" of which is "to be difficult", and thereby to arrogantly refuse, evade, or simply be incapable of reading interpretation, has taken on, over the last twenty years, a tone of antagonism markedly more aggressive than the English literary establishment's run-of-the-mill antipathy towards complex forms of literary experimentation.

Prynne himself seems to condone the idea that meaning, in the ordinary sense, is not what his poetry is about (2010, p. 132).

> For features in an analysis to be significant or signifying does not transfer into a requirement that they be meaningful, that is, semantically productive in a discoverable way... in my own case I am rather frequently accused of having more or less altogether taken leave of discernable sense. In fact I believe this accusation to be more or less true, and not to be alarmingly so, because what for so long has seemed the arduous royal road into the domain of poetry ("what does it mean?") seems less and less an unavoidably necessary precondition for successful reading.

Some suggest that this lack of cohesion implies treating the text as if it were an abstract painting or piece or music. This is the case of Watson (2001), who says "We have to approach Prynne as we would an abstract or conceptual painting, or a piece of music" (Note 3), and Potts (2004) also says "It feels more like a painting or a piece of music, or perhaps a sculpture" (Note 2).

Personally, I have found reading Prynne's work to be fascinating and tantalising. Fascinating because a meaning seems to be there, without one's being able to say quite what that meaning is; tantalising because it seems to continue to float just beyond one's reach. A few years ago I analysed Prynne's poem "The Stony Heart of her" from his collection *Her Weasels Wise Returning* (Prynne 1994). My analysis was written up and published in both an English version (Banks 2008) and a French version (Banks 2011). I concluded "it is precisely this inability to paraphrase, to transpose the poem into another formulation that constitutes an essential part of its meaning. Like the art object, its meaning is itself, exactly as it is, no more, no less" (Banks 2008, p. 18).

In the present paper, I would like to look at a recent poem by J.H. Prynne to see if, almost 30 years later, his work (or at least this poem) bears the same characteristics as the one I looked at earlier. The text I have chosen comes from *At Raucous Purposeful*, a booklet of ten texts of one to two and a half pages long. There seems to be some doubt as to the nature of these texts, variously called "prose", "prose poems" (Spence 2022)[4], or a ten poem sequence (Dixon 2022)[5]. The ten texts are numbered, but otherwise do not have titles. I shall attempt to analyse the first of these. This is printed in ten four-line stanzas. Alternate stanzas are heavily indented, but without a line break between them. Dixon wonders whether they are "just random word-lists" (Note 5), and Spence also insists on this notion: "It's effectively a series of endless lists" (Note 4).

The theoretical background to my analysis is that of Systemic Functional Linguistics (Halliday 2014, Banks 2019). I hope that it fits into the notion of "verbal art", a term frequently associated with Ruqaiya Hasan, who used it at least as early as 1985 (Hasan 1989), and which has been taken up by many others, including notably Donna Miller (e.g., Miller 2019, Miller, Luporini 2018a, Miller, Turci (eds.) 2007). In Hasan's approach to verbal art, which has come to be known as Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics (Miller 2019), foregrounding, or the patterning of patterns, plays an essential role: "The concept basic to foregrounding is that of contrast; and as applied to a text, the contrast is a contrast to the norms of that text" (Hasan 1989, p. 94). However, perhaps more significant is the way in which foregrounding is said to be linked to second order meanings, or theme, which relate to the way in which the text is interpreted.

> Theme is the deepest level of meaning in verbal art: meanings which concern the human condition [...]. But this deepest meaning is not declared to the reader directly by the author. Rather it is inferred on the basis of the foregrounded patterns of relations [...]. I have referred to this level of foregrounding as symbolic articulation [...]. Symbolic articulation is brought about by patterns of the author's language selection. (Hasan 2007, pp. 23-24)

4. https://www.littermagazine.com/2022/04/review-luke-kennard-and-jh-prynne.html.
5. https://tearsinthefence.com/2022/07/19/at-raucous-purposeful-by-j-h-prynne-broken-sleep-books/.

2. An attempted analysis

At first reading, this poem seems even more obscure than "The Stony Heart of her". Can a Systemic Functional approach make anything of it? Since the clause is the basic structure in an SFL approach, I shall look at the "author's language selection" (Hasan 2007, p. 24). I shall attempt to see if there is anything like a normal clause structure in the segments of the poem. I take it that the verb is the node of clausal structure, and so I would expect a clause to be built around a verb. I shall take each of the four-line stanzas in turn. The first runs as follows:

> They did know, almost already boasting resilient first coat blood
> narcotic bloated orchid, cost double punctual hazel sipped posture
> lanolin intrepid pangolin; grateful violin maiden overcast for thirst
> work thicket junket marzipan bandit bayonet fit ransom interferon.

This stanza ends with a full-stop, and has two commas and a semi-colon, giving it four potential subsections. The first of these, "They did know", is the only obvious subject-predicator sequence, and contains the only obvious conjugated verb, in the whole poem. However, the subject is a pronoun, and we have no way of knowing who the pronoun refers to. Moreover, the operator "did" implies that the addressee (the reader) is thought to believe the opposite, that they did not know. This suggests that there should be some prior co-text, but there is none. The second segment, "almost already boasting resilient first coat blood narcotic bloated orchid", has a non-finite verb form, "boasting", a verbal process, of which the potential speaker could be the initial "They". As a verbal process one would expect the verbiage to follow, but the verbiage of "boast" would normally have the form of a clause or prepositional phrase. What we have looks more like two noun groups, "resilient first coat blood", and "narcotic bloated orchid". Since these follow on directly from one another, one wonders whether the first is intended to modify the second. The third segment has a similar structure, with "posture" and "pangolin" as heads. In the final segment, "overcast for thirst", with the past participle "overcast", seems to function as a qualifier of "maiden". The final line is made up of terms which are all potentially nouns. There are no adjectival forms. Several have the same form as verbs, "work", "fit", "ransom", but if any of these were to be taken as verbs, none of the nouns, since they are all singular, are potential subjects. We are left in a noun-verb limbo.

The second stanza runs as follows:

> Canopy campanula optical bundle sortal in gruel
> tribal moated oaten scrutiny, invisible mandarin
> tamarisk physic indicative adhesive hostile figwort
> cortisone only; trombonist carbon arquebus best.

There are no obvious predicators in this stanza. The text is broken by a comma and a semi-colon, but there is no punctuation mark at the end (in fact, only the first and last stanzas have a full-stop at the end). In the first segment, "optical", "tribal", "moated" and "oaten" are adjectival in form. It seems reasonable to suppose that "scrutiny" functions as head, modified by the three adjectives that precede it. The prepositional phrase "in gruel" might function as a qualifier, suggesting that "sortal" is head, with the four words that precede it functioning as nominal modifiers. The second segment also has a number of adjectival forms: "invisible", "indicative", "adhesive", "hostile". The last three of these are followed by two nouns, either of which might be head, and the segment ends curiously with the adverb "only". The group of three adjectives is preceded by the noun "physic", which presumably is head, modified by an adjective and two nominal modifiers. The final segment has three nouns of which the last must be the head, with the others being modifiers. The head is followed by the superlative adjective "best", leaving the reader hanging, in expectation of further text which is not there. It is easy to see why Dixon (2022) and Spence (2022) talk about lists. The absence of verbs and the predominance of nominal and adjectival forms lead the reader to attempt to construe the text in terms of nominal groups. This is something that is common to a number of the stanzas.

The third stanza has a number of potential verbs.

> Pontoon lunation within discretion, dungaree jamboree ilk planked
> duck-board mallard wake. Escape, blight, aggravate infarct gossip
> bishop individuation; nourish lavish forestry until bold untold adze
> pledge resonant gigantic, redox waxen conspection eagerly nearly.

The potential verbs are "escape, blight, aggravate", "gossip" and "nourish", and perhaps "pledge". Three of these, "escape", "blight" and "gossip", can also function as nouns, but since "escape, blight, aggravate" seems to form a group, one is tempted to treat this as a sequence of three verbs. However, none of these has an obvious subject, and this gives them the

feel of imperatives. The text is broken by two commas, a full-stop and a semi-colon giving five segments. The first segment has a prepositional phrase, "within discretion", which presumably functions as qualifier of "lunation", itself modified by "pontoon". The second segment seems to be made up entirely of nouns, with the exception of the adjectival form "planked", so the final noun, "wake" (if it is indeed a noun) functions as head. The third segment follows a full-stop, and begins with the three-verb group. These are material processes so the group which follows, made up of four nouns, is the potential goal, with the final noun, "individuation", as head. The fourth segment also begins with a verb, again a material process, so the following noun group, "lavish forestry" is the goal. This is followed by the conjunction, "until", which one would expect to introduce a temporal clause. If this is so, then "pledge" must be taken as the predicator, with "bold untold adze" as subject, functioning perhaps as sayer, if "pledge" is to be taken as verbal process. However, in complement position we find only a two-adjective sequence, frustrating the expectation of a noun group. In the final segment, "redox waxen conspection" seems to form a noun group with "conspection" as head, but this is followed incongruously by two adverbs.

The fourth stanza has a single semi-colon, and the second segment has three potential verbs: "transfix", "amuse" and "annoy".

> Oxen millstream oven wavelet medium stewpots
> guillemot raucous purposeful; disported remote
> lip gurney transfix pitchfork runner rancid amuse
> cruise partner carboy annoyance at once annoy.

The first segment has no verbs. It ends with two adjectival forms, "raucous purposeful", which may qualify the preceding noun, "guillemot". The word "medium" is also adjectival and perhaps modifies "stewpots". All other words are nominal in form, but if this is to be taken as a noun group then "guillemot" seems to be the best candidate for head. In the second segment we have the two verb forms mentioned above. However, if these verbs are to be understood as conjugated, we would expect a plural subject, but all of the potential candidates are singular. The noun which precedes "transfix" is "gurney", but if this is to be taken as subject, we must imagine some sort of telegraphese to account for the absence of a singular ending to the verb. The group of two nouns and an adjective, which follow in complement position, "pitchfork runner rancid", might also be seen as being in subject

position vis-à-vis "amuse", but again the verb lacks a singular ending. The verb "amuse" is also followed by a four-noun sequence, "cruise partner carboy annoyance". Since "amuse" would normally require an animate complement, "partner" would seem to be the best candidate for head. This would leave "carboy annoyance" as possible subject of "annoy".

The fifth stanza is another which has no obvious verbs, although "blemish" and "profile" are ambiguous candidates.

> Forever sliver parsnip medallion foreign walltiger blemish anguish
> unfinished cadenza, hospice fissured mushroom in ohm crimson
> bantam donation blood profile guileful liberal conversant ordained
> trappings. Indignant runabout contested fraught cracked outlook.

It has one comma and one full-stop. The first segment begins with a circumstance in the form of a temporal adverb. The following sequence has two adjectival forms, "foreign" and "unfinished". If "blemish" is taken to function as predicator, then presumably "walltiger" is head of the subject, and "cadenza" of the complement. In the second segment, the only possible, though doubtful, candidate for verbal status is "profile". The sequence which precedes this includes one adjective, "fissured", and a prepositional phrase introduced by "in", though how much of the text which follows should be included in the prepositional phrase is difficult to decide. The final segment has no verb, and at least four of the six words are adjectival, "indignant", "contested", "fraught" and "cracked". So this looks like a nominal group with "outlook" as head.

The sixth stanza has three verbs, "choose", "scoff" and "guzzle". There are a number of other words which are ambiguous in form, "brim", "coin", "muddle" and "mean".

> Brim to bream impulse ample brainwaves cousin
> craze choose goose under gander, down primer
> coin muddle plum duff scoff guzzle lizard amok
> mean time neap tide; hazardous seedlings typical.

There is one comma and one semi-colon in the stanza. If "choose" is taken as the verb of the first segment, the only plural noun that precedes it is "brainwaves", so this is presumably the head of the subject, and its complement will be "goose", qualified by "under gander". The second segment has a two-verb sequence "scoff guzzle", where, at least on one possible meaning

of "scoff", these two verbs have similar meanings. The segment begins with a prepositional phrase introduced by "down", but here again, it is difficult to know where the phrase ends, though "duff" is in subject position. In what follows there is an adverb, "amok", and if "mean" is not a verb then it is adjectival. If all of this is the complement, "tide" would seem to be the head. The final segment has only three words, a noun preceded and followed by an adjective.

The seventh stanza runs as follows:

> Deem dale dial dent rendition, safety surety grate to angle on trial
> fumble mangle tribal entanglement succulent, iceplant pantomime
> penitent in want failed criminal easement fuel rods evident snow-
> line; own frame seeming skim sealion at scallion akimbo frail trio.

This stanza is divided into four segments by two commas and a semi-colon. The first segment begins with what looks like an imperative verb. Since this verb, "deem", expresses a mental process, the complement that follows must be functioning as phenomenon, with "rendition" as head. In the second segment there is another two-verb sequence, "fumble mangle". The head of the subject seems to be "grate", which is followed by "to angle", which could be a prepositional phrase or an infinitive verb, but in either case qualifying "grate". The two-verb sequence is followed by a three-word sequence made up of a noun, "entanglement", which is presumably head of the complement, and two adjectives which modify and qualify it. The third segment contains the verbal form "failed". If this is taken as a past tense verb (rather than simply a past participle), then the head of the subject seems to be "penitent", which is followed by the qualifying prepositional phrase "in want". "Want" can obviously also function as a verb, but coming immediately after a preposition, the prepositional phrase reading seems appropriate. The sequence which follows the verb has six words, two of which are adjectives. The head would seem to be "snowline". The final segment has the apparent verb "skim", and a non-finite form "seeming". The head of the subject could be "frame", and that of the complement "sealion", since this is followed by a prepositional phrase.

The eighth stanza has rather more verbs than the others. It has two commas and one semi-colon.

> Fall confine or minatory laundry, aumbry at sundry
> soapwort cougar; now tell bilk radium internment

avail coil python western call unhelped by any wind,
pit-a-pat placate inflated for need create outward.

The first segment has the verb "confine", preceded by "fall", which could be nominal or verbal. The verb "confine" is followed by the conjunction "or", leading us to expect another verb, but instead we have an adjective-noun sequence. The second segment has no verb, but simply the noun "aumbry" followed by a propositional phrase. The third segment has two verbs, "tell" and "avail", with "bilk" and "call" which can function either as nouns or verbs. None of the verbs has a potential subject. The final segment has two verbs, "placate" and "create", neither of which has a potential subject, and the latter follows the preposition "for", though "need create outward" hardly constitutes a prepositional completive. The word "need" could be noun, auxiliary or main verb.

The potential verbs in the ninth stanza are "redeem", "bring" and "watch". The stanza ends with a full-stop, and otherwise has one full-stop, three commas and a semi-colon.

Cleat latch curate auscultated. Fright fragile freight train vine, some
yours or mine too vain, redeem attended mended soonest divested
darling or daring; opine opium orpine bring to mind reclined gaining
such watch nuthatch, acrobatic darting head-down fawn stitchwort.

The first segment, ending in a full-stop, does not have a verb, but only three nouns followed by a past participle. The second segment again has no verb, but four nominal forms and one adjectival form. This is followed by a segment, perhaps a qualifier which includes a determiner, possessive adjectives and an adjective, "some yours or mine too vain". The next segment starts with the verb "redeem". This verb normally requires a nominal complement, but the only potential noun in the seven-word sequence which follows is "darling", and this is coordinated with the adjective "daring". The fifth segment has three verbs, "opine", "bring" and "watch", perhaps imperatives. The verb "opine" usually expresses a verbal or a mental process, but the two nouns which follow do not seem to function either as verbiage or as phenomenon. The verb "bring" here occurs in the sequence "bring to mind", which could also be a mental process, but again the sequence which follows, "reclined gaining such", can hardly be a phenomenon. "Watch" does have a nominal complement as one might expect, and the beginning of the next sequence, "acrobatic darting head-down", could be taken as a qualifier of

the word, "nuthatch". This is however followed by a further adjective-noun sequence.

The final stanza has only one potential verb, "listen" (with "blight" and "rock" as ambiguous candidates), and no punctuation other than a full-stop at the end.

> Patchwork tourmaline lest gangrene imbued duet
> meat-filled pigeon ocean stew front crew adieux
> stonecrop pottery claypit misfits blight extrusion
> speckled wooden spoon pontiff rock fact at listen.

The final verb, "listen", occurs after a preposition. The preceding text is made up mainly of nouns, interspersed with a number of adjectival forms, mainly past participles, "imbued", "meat-filled", "speckled" and "wooden".

3. Conclusion

The reader who has followed me this far, will have realised long ago that my attempt to find a clausal structure has been frustrated at every step. The verbs which occur, with the exceptions of "did know", and perhaps "failed", do so only in their base form, and are never conjugated. It is virtually impossible to find adequate subjects or complements. It is true that I have skirted round numerous other possibilities, but it is unlikely that they would have been more fruitful than those I have outlined. The text is extremely dense, made up mainly of content words, with a very low percentage of grammatical words. In a text of 316 words, there is only 1 determiner, 4 conjunctions and 17 prepositions. It is easy to understand why some commentators talk about lists (Dixon 2022, Spence 2022). Since the attempt to find something approaching clausal structure seems to be fruitless, one must conclude that this is not what the poem is intended to be. Those who suggest that it is more like an abstract art work (Watson 2001, Potts 2004) are perhaps correct. If we are to construe this in terms of Hasan's Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics model, then what is foregrounded seems to be the negative foregrounding of the absence of anything approaching "normal" clausal structure. What this might mean, in terms of symbolic articulation, can only be, I think, a matter of conjecture. One suggestion would be the breakdown in genuine human communication in a world of ubiquitous electronic contact. This would be typified by the cliché-ridden image of

two people facing each other across a café table, each of them engrossed in their mobile phone screens.

But am I barking up the wrong tree? If the syntactic route leads to a dead-end, perhaps we need to look for a completely different road, a phonological approach for example. Basil Bunting insisted on the importance of sound in poetry. While denying having said that it was the only significant element, he claimed that it was the essential aspect of poetry. In a 1975 interview, he said: "I've never said that poetry consists *only* of sound. I said again and again that the *essential* thing is the sound. Without the sound, there isn't any poetry. But having established it and kept it clear that the sound is the essential, the main thing, you can add all sorts of stuff if you want to" (Mottram 1978, p. 5, italics original). And Prynne himself has underlined the importance of sound in poetry (Prynne 2010). I note that in the first segment (one and a half lines) of the first stanza of Prynne's poem there is a concentration of the vowel /əʊ/ – "know" – "almost" – "boasting" – "coat" – "bloated". The consonant /b/ also reoccurs: "boasting" – "blood" – "bloated". I also note the adjacent words "almost" – "already", with the same initial syllable. Another possible angle is suggested by Luna's (2023) analysis of some of Prynne's poems of the 1980s. Luna places emphasis on his use of collage and the embedding of the poems in the political and economic context of the time. Perhaps something similar is going on here, although while in the 1980s Prynne's poetry still had a semblance, or at least fragments of clausal structure, that has virtually disappeared here. However, going down either of these roads would require other separate, and probably quite different, papers[6].

6. Just as this piece was going to press, Bloodaxe Books published a 752-page volume of Prynne's recent work: *Poems 2016-2024*, Bloodaxe Books, Hexham.

Australian attitudes
Appraisal in three literary pieces

Alexanne Don

In this paper, I present a summarised version of findings taken from a wider study focused on icons of Australia in three representative "lyrical" pieces (two poems and one song), originally analysed using both transitivity and appraisal. The texts were chosen to demonstrate the use of attitude analysis in providing a basis for stylistic comparison of these types of work and their rhetorical effects. In particular, a focus on targets of evaluation in these texts can reveal how cultural "icons" represent and reproduce cultural values. An attitude analysis of the texts examined the sequencing and types of evaluative resources identified as a basis for comparison. Originally the targets associated with attitudes were tracked through the pieces, as well as the frequency of instances counted, and a graphical representation of this comparison is presented below (cf. *Appendix 2* below for links to tabulated and highlighted analyses on personal website[1]). These features of the texts were noted to differ for each of the pieces, and thus the study was useful in demonstrating how appraisal analysis can provide another means of discussing and accounting for the rhetorical effects, or "symbolic articulation" (Hasan 1989) of such pieces. What became apparent in comparing the pieces was not the distribution of attitudes *per se*, but the evaluation of certain targets of attitude as a means for looking at the ways in which icons of Australian identity were presented as favoured or disfavoured by the authors, and by this means highlighting the ways that the authors addressed their implied audiences.

Analysis of these texts was originally the topic of seminars I taught in Professor Donna Miller's course held at the University of Bologna in 2009. Since then, versions of this analysis have been presented at a variety of international seminars and conferences, but to date no other version of this particular work has been published. Space precludes a discussion of every aspect of the analysis, versions of which have been the subject of conference and workshop presentations since I first presented a study in progress of

1. https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/austicons/.

these texts. The approach to this kind of analysis was originally inspired by the early work of Ruqaiya Hasan, most notably her 1985 *Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art*, and influenced by Miller's later applications of Hasan's SSS (Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics, e.g., 2019).

While appraisal analysis to date has been used to investigate the evaluative resources and interpersonal aspects of a number of different text-types and genres – such as newspaper rhetoric (e.g., White 1998, White, Thomson 2008), academic discourse (e.g., Hood 2006, 2010) and email interaction (e.g., Don 2007, 2016), in recent years, it has been turned also to the study of literature and literary pieces, and again, research in this area is exemplified in a number of articles by Miller (2007a, 2019, Miller, Luporini 2018a) whose work has influenced my own later approaches to the analysis of literary works, including what I present here. The appraisal framework comprises a set of grammatical-semantic categories which provide the analyst with a means of highlighting linguistic patterns within the texts, and so enable statements to be made regarding such things as the evaluative stance of the writer towards his/her audience, the sequencing of evaluative terms of whatever type within the development of a text's argument, or the comparison of corpora based on evaluative or attitudinal features – to offer a number of examples.

For this study, the three pieces[2] were chosen for their similarity of topic, i.e., the themes of Australian values, but also for their difference in treatment of the topic, and for their representation of the eras in which they were originally penned. What becomes clear is that certain icons of Australiana are referenced in each of the pieces, while at the same time, the pieces highlight contrasts in stance towards such icons. Of interest to this researcher is the repudiation of some ideas and values seen as typically Australian, which forms part of the ideologies in the pieces – what Hasan (2020) refers to as their theme and linked to their contextual features – both their material situation settings (mss) and their relevant contexts (rc). Each text is a lyrical piece, and the first, *My Country*, by Dorothea McKellar, written in 1906, is one of Australia's most familiar poems. Its familiarity is such that it is able to be successfully parodied by local comedians even today, and is something most Australians of my generation (so-called "baby-boomers") have at least heard at various times during our schooling. The second stanza of the poem has almost become a "bonding icon" of Australian identity, what Tann (2013) calls "Oracle", so prevalent is this piece in the culture.

2. Available at https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Three-pieces-of-Australian-identity2-1-1.pdf.

This first poem relies on a comparison of the Australian landscape and climate with that of Europe, a place from which most of Australia's white population can trace their ancestry. At the time this poem was written such ancestry was not so distant for many of its intended audience members, who were likely to still see the UK and Europe as their spiritual and cultural "home". Despite Federation and independence from England in 1900, many Australians of that era would typically make the long ocean voyage back to Britain should they have the time and resources. For this reason, it might be said that the poem adopts a somewhat brazen stance towards its readership – it acknowledges the harshness of Australia, but frames these acknowledgements with high values of positive affect, exemplified by the first line of the second stanza and most well-known line, "I *love* a sunburnt country"[3]. It also repudiates the landscape familiar in the British Isles, and so risks alienating those readers to whom such a landscape represents comfort and identity.

The second piece, by A.D. Hope, was written somewhat later in the century and published in 1972, after a period in which two world wars had intervened. Its topic would appear to be more straightforward, as it is titled simply *Australia*. However, the ultimate target of the attitude in this piece is not so much the Australian landscape, as it is in McKellar's piece, but its inhabitants of European ancestry. This is despite the reference to landscape again as a means of making evaluation of those inhabitants. In contrast to the McKellar piece in which she does not retire from claiming responsibility for the arguments regarding her positive regard for the Australian landscape, Hope does not appear as responsible subject at all, except in the closing phase of the piece where he identifies with unnamed others: "some like me". And in contrast to McKellar's piece, positive affect is almost absent in Hope's piece: apart from two explicit instances, it only occurs via the betokening of an attitude via association and intertextual reference which affords such attitudes (cf. Don 2016 for discussion of intertextual associations). Furthermore, with this piece there is no risk that readers may be alienated – it's almost certain. The only concession offered the audience requires that they also admire the spare state of mind which Hope alludes to. His stance then, is not so much innocently "brazen", as disdainful, and an attitude analysis helps to make clear the means by which this impression is justified regarding the writer's orientation to his audience.

3. Here and in the following discussion, italics were added to the examples by the author for analytical emphasis.

The third piece is not only chronologically later than the other two, but is also of a different genre – the lyrics of a pop song. It was released in 1987, with the title *The Dead Heart* – what I interpret to be an intentional triple entendre. The expression is often used in Australia to refer to the geographical centre of the country, a vast desert. It may also make – perhaps unintentional – reference to the publication of the same name by geologist J.W. Gregory published in 1906. In the context of this song, it is also an ironic statement making reference to another metaphor associated with the word "heart" – the spirit or essence of a place, person, or thing. In this case, it is the refrain "the dead heart lives here" at the end of the song which implies the irony for listeners. The target of this piece is once again the European inhabitants of Australia, but also appropriates the voices of the indigenous inhabitants in order to underline the contrast between white and black inhabitants. In this piece, there is no single subject to take responsibility, rather the statements are made by an exclusive and vast "we". This voice is also disdainful, rejecting with a series of negations what white people do and think, at the same time rejecting their view of Australia's heart as "dead". Ironically, perhaps, this stance towards the Europeans/white inhabitants closely reproduces the repudiation of European attitudes towards Australia's landscape implied in the McKellar piece: the difference is significant, however, in that for the Aboriginal voice, the landform is made almost co-terminous with the spirit or heart of their ancestry, while for McKellar, the landforms are still represented as the objects of affect.

This chapter introduces some of the ways in which values accumulate around specific entities and artefacts over periods of time, in and around valued texts, and how appraisal analysis can reveal some of the common valued and disdained targets of evaluation as "icons" of particular cultures. Below, I make use of an excerpt from an analysis of attitude, demonstrating how patterns and/or groupings of values in particular textual artefacts can be seen as highlighting the values and entities being associated in any one text – or collection of related texts. Here, I am claiming that literary works, as valued texts, invite response through these groupings of values and associations.

Since transcriptions of the pieces in full would take too much space, readers are invited to read the pieces (Note 2), as well as extended tabulated analysis online[4]. The discussion begins with a short attitude analysis of

4. Available at https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Australian-Attitudes5btrans-1.pdf and https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/attitudes-processes.pdf.

the first two stanzas of the McKellar piece (Tables 1 and 2). Those elements of the text which help invoke either a positive or negative reading of the targets have been italicised in the "Text" column, while more explicitly evaluative items have not been highlighted. It's clear from the first couple of stanzas, that inscribed affect is a feature of this poem.

This is followed by some observations on the way attitudes are both invoked and made explicitly, if through metaphor, in the Hope piece, after which a short discussion of the Hirst/Moginie lyrics of the song also focusses on how negative attitudes are invoked using negation and association.

In this opening stanza both positive and negative Affect towards a particular type of landscape is contrasted: the addressees and the writer have different responses to this target. Here, the acknowledged positive affect is non-authorial, that is, the affect is attributed to others, addressed directly ("running in your veins"), towards a target realised by landscape features associated with Europe. This positive affect towards the "grey-blue distance and soft, dim skies" is then repudiated by the writer, who goes on to describe her own responses to the landscape and climate of Australia – what her European addressees presumably find unattractive in turn.

Table 1. *Attitude analysis of the first stanza of the McKellar piece.*

Text	**Triggers**	**Target**	**Attitude**
1. The love of field and coppice, Of green and shaded Lanes, Of ordered woods and gardens, Is running in your veins;	"love"	"field and coppice" "green and shaded lanes" "ordered woods and gardens"	+ affect [attributed]
Strong love of grey-blue distance, Brown streams and soft, dim skies –	"Strong love"	"grey-blue distance" "brown streams" "soft, dim skies"	+ affect [attributed]
I know *but cannot share it*,	"but cannot share it" [counter + disclaim]	"the love of field and coppice", etc.	- affect
My love is otherwise.	"love"	"otherwise" (i.e., different than -)	+ affect

Table 2. *Attitude analysis of the second stanza of the McKellar piece.*

Text	Trigger	Target	Attitude
2. I love *a sunburnt* country,	"sunburnt"	"country"	- appreen evoked
	"love"	"a sunburnt country" "a land of sweeping plains" "ragged mountain ranges" "drought and flooding rains"	+ affect [scopes "attributed" neg appreciation of what follows]
A land of *sweeping* plains,	"sweeping"	"plains"	+ appreen evoked
Of *ragged* mountain ranges,	"ragged"	"mountain ranges"	-/+ appreen
Of *drought and flooding rains*,	"flooding"	"rains"	- appreen
	"drought and flooding rains" [contrast: extremes]	[land's climate]	- appreen
I love her *far* horizons, I love her *jewel* sea,	"far" "jewel"	"her horizons" "her sea"	+ appreen provoked
	"love"	"her far horizons" "her jewel sea"	+ affect
Her beauty and her terror –	"beauty"	"her"	+ appreen
	"terror"	"her"	- affect - appreen
The wide brown land *for me.*	"for me"	"the wide brown land"	+ affect provoked

In this second stanza, positive affect frames all of the negatively and positively appreciated aspects and extremes of "the country" while the mental process "love" is repeated as a mantra. This means that, even when the harshness of the climate and landscape might normally provoke negative emotions – "drought and flooding rains" – the writer frames these potential

negative aspects of the target with high value affect: happiness. The stanza also represents the land as one of extremes and high contrasts ("her beauty and her terror"), paralleling the contrast in emotional reactions that Europeans and the writer herself might experience.

In the following, third stanza, the attitude values are all positive appreciation, apart from what could be seen as one transitional negative appreciation ("tragic ring-barked forests") linking those negatives from the previous stanza. The description of landforms again uses contrasts and colours to evaluate the target as positively appreciated – "*wide brown* land", "*jewel* sea" (stanza 2), "*stark white*", "*sapphire-misted*", "*hot gold* hush", "*green* tangle", "*crimson* soil" (stanza 3) – with the upgraded affect carried over from the previous stanza.

The first three stanzas of this poem then, use the resources of both (positive and negative) affect, and (positive and negative) appreciation to call on addressees as either fellow Australians, or "all you who have not loved her" in the final stanza (6). In passing we note that in this piece – as in the Hope poem – Australia as target is personified as feminine. Instances of affect are ascribed to either the audience or to the writer in response to landscape and climate, while instances of appreciation describe the landscapes and climate of Australia as contrasted with the green of Europe. In general, under appraisal, resources of appreciation are used to label those elements of any text which apply attitudinal values to objects, artefacts, and products of human behaviour – as distinct from Affect which refers to the emotional responses of a conscious participant, or something imbued with consciousness. The evaluation in this piece is ordered as alternating negative and positive emotions and appreciations of the landscape and climate, somewhat like an argument which concedes the audience's attitude before making a rebuttal with counter-attitude.

The high value affect is then reprised in the final stanza (6) of the piece with the metaphor of the "heart". In these stanzas, while the affect is invoked rather than inscribed at clause level, the positive affect is obviously activated in context: "Core of *my heart*, my country!" (stanza 5). The use of the "heart" metaphor is also extended to an instance of negative affect – "when sick at *heart* around us, we see the cattle die" (stanza 4) – followed by the use of an evaluatively ambiguous "heart" metaphor: "an opal-*hearted* country", again, in the final stanza (6), as theme.

The metaphor "opal-hearted" cannot be accidental here – the ambiguity of what stones sometimes represent, e.g., coldness, hardness, lifelessness, teamed with what hearts often signify as necessary and central to life, en-

hances the contrasts evident in the rest of the piece. Furthermore, opals themselves are many-coloured and changeable with the light, thus it seems to reprise McKellar's description of the country which uses the device of contrasting colours. The reader is left wondering whether the opal-hearted is referencing the attitude of the country itself – likely activated given the following line: "a wilful lavish land" – or whether it is meant to refer to the middle or heart of the country, the land itself, which is multi-coloured. At the same time, the appearance of this metaphor in the final stanza (6) acts to mark a transition in the stance in the poem, which changes to address readers. In addition, of course, the metaphor of heart can also refer to the centre, and this reference is activated in the lyrics and title of the Hirst/Moginie lyrics as the third piece discussed below. But first, let's proceed chronologically to see what 60 years does to patriotism.

In A.D. Hope's *Australia*, despite the topic being ostensibly the same as the McKellar piece, the actual targets of appraisal demonstrate stylistically the contrast in stance and attitude. In contrast to the McKellar piece, the landscape is portrayed as passive rather than active (despite the association of material process and "landscape" actors[5]). A contrast also is drawn between what white commentators "say" about the country and what the country actually consists of: Hope rejects the implicit relationship drawn between the inhabitants and the country/landscape itself in the oft-heard comment at that time that "Australia is a young country". This relies on the differences in connotation between the lexical items "country", "land", and "nation", and this is also a factor in the different perspectives in each of the three pieces – which each make reference to landforms and inhabitants in metonymic ways. In the first two stanzas of the piece[6], the targets of the negative attitude are relentlessly associated with the white inhabitants of Australia, and this is explicitly linked in the final stanza to "Europeans".

The negative evaluative prosody of the piece is underscored when the landscape is cast as an active participant in a material clause – as the McKellar piece also does – but here the semantic value of the verbs is less "neutral", and more negatively evaluative: while McKellar uses such verbs as "deck", "gather", "pays", and "thickens", Hope's landscape "darkens", "drown", "floods", and "drains". So that, although these are all material processes in

5. Cf. the tabulated transitivity analysis available at https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Australian-Attitudes5btrans-1.pdf.

6. Cf. the tabulated appraisal analysis available at https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/attitudes-processes.pdf.

active clauses, they do not imply directed activity in the context of the poem. The exception here, "drains", is used at a transitional point in the piece, where the actor of the clause is not the landscape itself, but Australia's "five teeming cities", used here as a synecdoche for the inhabitants of the cities. It is from this point on that the actual inhabitants are more directly the target of the poem's negative appraisal, and the passivity of the land is further enhanced.

For example, the first stanzas operate to set up a series of contrasts via counter: contrast: say/lie, young/old, appearance/real. All of the targets of the first stanza make clear what is being evaluated, despite it not being explicitly mentioned in the text itself, instead relying on the title of the piece. Instead, it uses metonymy, metaphor and co-reference to evaluate the target, variously referred to as "nation", "country", "land" – as well as possessions: "her hills", "her five teeming cities", and the metaphor of "a woman". The writer also distances himself from implied others ("they") who "call her a young country", and it is this continual repudiation of what other Australians say and do, at the same time as making reference to ideas that would be familiar to these same others which acts to imply the writer's overall attitude towards his fellow countrymen.

In the 3 stanzas (3-5) which follow (cf. the tabulated analysis in Note 6), the writer's disgust with its target, Australia, becomes less about the artefact and its landforms – and hence the use of appreciation for evaluation – and more obviously and specifically directed at its inhabitants: "her monotonous tribes". Lest we mistake the wording to imply the original inhabitants, the real target is activated by the following lines which refer to places in which the "ultimate men arrive". These *ubermensch* then boast, not that they "live", but that they "survive", continuing once more, the series of contrasts which forms part of the patterning of the piece. Here we have negative judgement being invoked with the use of irony – ultimate men who boast about mere survival, and the evocation of negative judgement of these men ("a type"), through irony again by reference to Australia as "the dying earth". And once again we note that the device of contrast of "live"/"dying" is employed.

Stanza 5 makes the separation of the land and its disparaged inhabitants explicit. References to "her" as a country, and then as cities, now focus on Australia as a political construct responsible for its exploitation: "a vast parasite robber state", and if the target "state" is not obvious enough to distinguish the land from its white inhabitants as the ultimate target – and thus the focus of negative judgement rather than appreciation – the

judgement is activated explicitly in the following lines: "where second hand Europeans pullulate timidly on alien shores".

The final phase (stanzas 6-7; cf. again Note 6) changes orientation entirely, signalled by the opening word: "Yet", and with the writer emerging to use personal affect to frame his attitude towards the land and thought itself. The target widens to encompass occidental thought in general, and to separate addressees into groups who affiliate with him – "some like me" *vs.* those he has repudiated. This stanza is framed by reference to "home" and the two instances of affect: "gladly", followed by "hoping", which frames a hypothetical-real construction: if prophets still come from "the desert" – another icon of Australia, the so-called "Dead Heart" – then a "spirit" might "escape" European thought. The target "Europeans" is now explicitly named, and linked with invoked negative appreciation: "learned doubt", and "chatter of cultured apes", which in turn invokes negative judgement of Europeans – since it is they in turn who are attributed with calling this "chatter" as "civilization" "over there".

I now turn briefly to the lyrics of the Midnight Oil song *The Dead Heart* (1987). Many of this band's original lyrics were directed at ideological topics, what could be termed "protest songs". At the same time, because the lyrics depend on the channel/medium for conveying some of its message, they cannot be stylistically compared to the previous two pieces to the same degree. However, given that the topic (Australia) is the same and that in each piece, tropes to do with landscape, heart, and spirit are introduced, the analysis of this piece is warranted as a comparison in terms of stance – i.e., the ways that the implied speaker sets up positions of (dis)alignment with the targets of the piece and thus with projected readers – and use of evaluative prosody and transitivity patterns to convey this stance.

As observed above, the speaker appears as a collective "we" with the addressees and their practices rejected in repeated declarations: "We don't serve your country, don't serve your king, don't know your custom, don't speak your tongue". There is no need for the ultimate targets, those possessors of country, king, custom and tongue to be named, as the intertextual referents here are obvious. Notable is the use of the word "king", implying an era before the lyrics were written, once more pointing to the time in which *The Dead Heart of Australia* (Gregory 1906) was written, an era of exploration, celebration of European heroism, and relentless oppression of the original inhabitants. The line which follows, "White man came took everyone", pins down the negative attitude towards these actors, naming them in a direct material clause (cf. the tabulated transitivity analysis, Note 5).

Once more the lexical item "heart" is deployed in this piece, standing for spirit, something inaccessible to "white man", something that "cannot be stolen". These repeated rejections of white actions are here again verbalised in a denial, which together build to invoke a negative stance towards their addressees, at the same time framing the voice as one of passive resistance, whose material processes – "carry in our hearts" and "follow" – are not actually dynamic in Hasan's (1989) sense. This is underlined by irony in the line, "We will listen, we will understand". Throughout the piece attitudes are therefore generally invoked (cf. the full tabulated attitude analysis, Note 6), through both negation and experiential description, e.g., "Mining companies, Pastoral companies, Uranium companies [...] Got more right than people".

All these observations are summarised in the following graphical representations (Figures 1-3) of each of the three pieces in terms of the proportion of types/instances of each kind of attitude, directed at their main targets – with each piece devoting a proportion of their evaluations toward the land itself – whether as a material object, an actor in the clause, or as a metaphor. It should be noted that, since each piece is of a different word length, actual numbers of instances vary, but the comparison should be seen as a comparison of orientation towards types of targets. The final Figure 4 compares the pieces in terms of the ratio of invoked attitudes identified, something which can imply close contact with some of the readers.

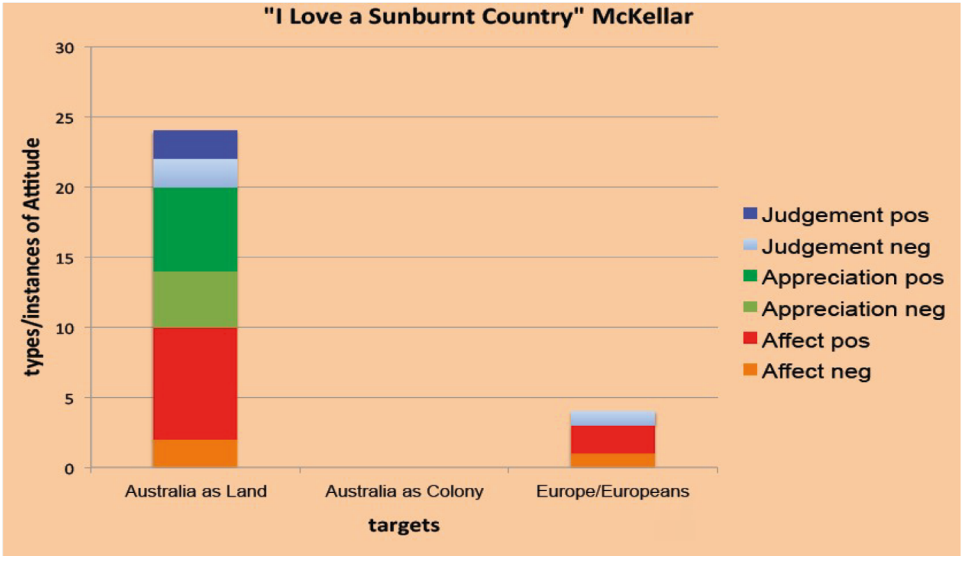

Figure 1. *Attitudes and targets in "My Country".*

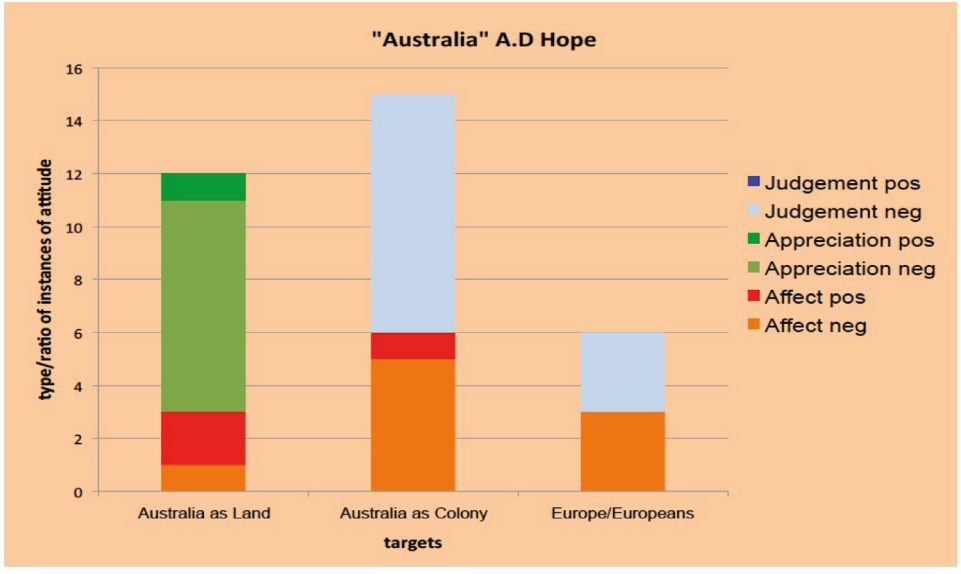

Figure 2. *Attitudes and targets in "Australia".*

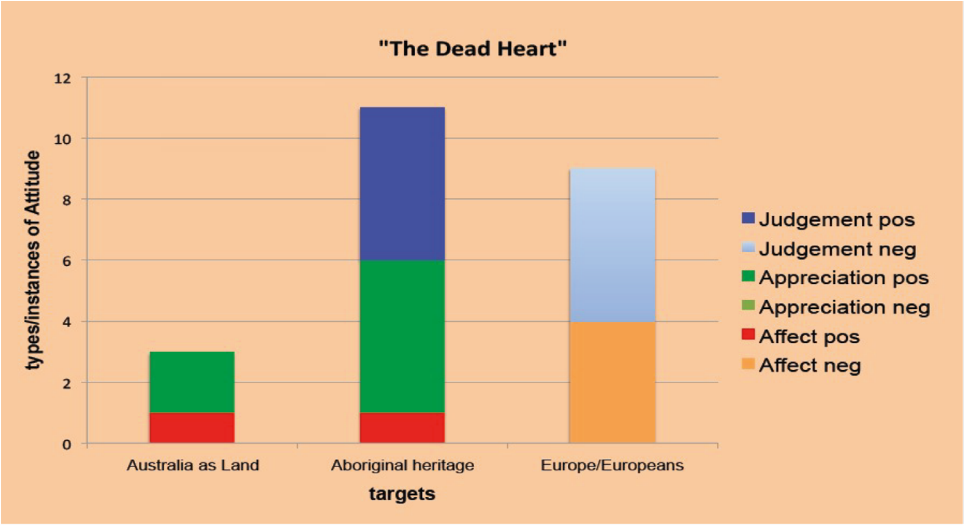

Figure 3. *Attitudes and targets in "The Dead Heart".*

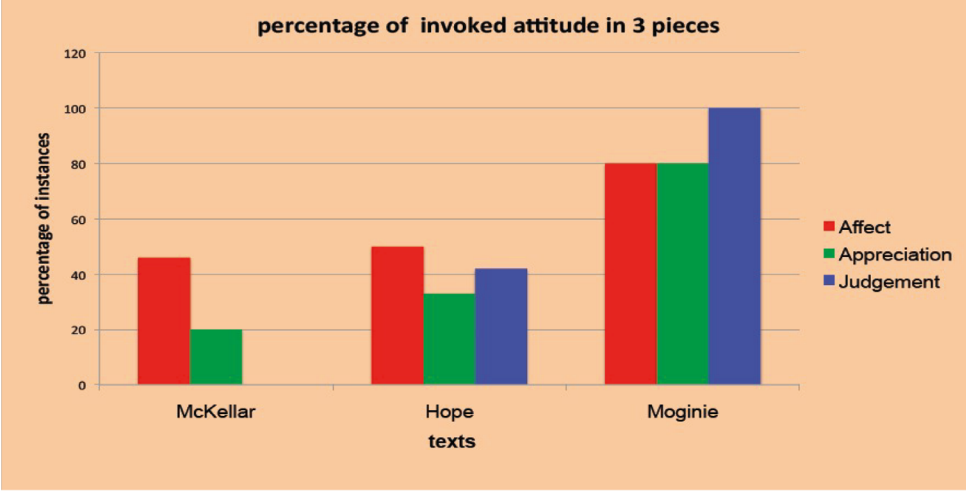

Figure 4. *Invoked attitudes in three pieces.*

Appendix 1: works analysed

MacKellar D. (1908, written 1906), *My Country*.

Hope A.D. (1972), *Australia*.

Midnight Oil (Hirst, Moginie, *et al.*) (1986), *The Dead Heart*.

Appendix 2: full URLs for accompanying documents

Three pieces discussed in the chapter can be read here:

- https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/04/Three-pieces-of-Australian-identity2-1-1.pdf.

Three pieces and their basic analysis are documented in each of the following linked files.

- Highlighted segments indicating transitivity: https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/Australian-Attitudes5btrans-1.pdf.
- Highlighted segments indicating attitude: https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/02/Australian-Attitudes6aAttColour.pdf.
- Tabulated attitude segments: https://languageofevaluation.info/MediaAndFashion/wp-content/uploads/2024/01/attitudes-processes.pdf.

Language in and through literature
An applied SFL perspective

Maria Freddi

1. Introduction

I want to start this tribute to Professor Donna R. Miller's work by referring to the foundations of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), namely Halliday's *Language as Social Semiotic*, where we read "One can hardly take literature seriously without taking language seriously; but language here is being looked at from a special point of view", and "literature is made of language" and cannot be "treated as if it was something insulated from and even opposed to language" (1978, pp. 11-12). This statement, significantly occurring at the beginning of his theory of language, introduces the argument that separating literature from language contradicts a holistic view of language comprising several other human endeavours, while an educational linguistics needs to include literary language or the "more 'cultural' applications – the most important of which is in the appreciation of literature" (Halliday 2007, p. 28). However, it also says that the use of language in literature is "special".

Literature as a "special register" is the lesson taken up by Hasan in *Linguistics, Language and Verbal Art*, where she argues that what is special about the literary text is its symbolic value and the deeper meanings encoded which distinguish it from non-literary forms of communication. In her extensive analysis of literature, or "verbal art", a wording she borrows from Russian semioticians and Prague school linguists, notably Mukařovský and Jakobson (e.g., Jakobson 1985), she shows how all language choices made in a literature text aim at a general hypothesis or "theme", defined as "the deepest level of meaning [...] what the text is about when dissociated from the particularities of that text" (Hasan 1989, p. 97). In a social semiotic understanding of how language functions, literature is one variety of language, it is language as art, it cannot, therefore, be artificially separated from language and kept outside the concerns of linguistic studies. The distinction has been overemphasised in university degree programmes in Modern Languages and Literatures for the sake of simplifying a specialisation that

should be apparent to the student who will choose whether to specialise in linguistic or literary studies, but the educational linguist Halliday and Hasan are thinking of should not cultivate it if they want their pupils "to be able to talk in accurate and revealing terms about the language of prose and verse texts" (Halliday 2007, p. 32).

I believe this is what Professor Miller had in mind when she established the English Language Studies Programme at the then Faculty of Modern Languages and Literatures of the University of Bologna in the early 2000s and started offering a course that was both firmly rooted in SFL and Hasan's notion of verbal art and drawing from the British tradition of stylistics. Her aim was to develop knowledge "of" and "about" the language in learners of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) while promoting the aesthetic appreciation of literature.

In the Spring term of 2004, after I had been teaching English grammar from an SFL perspective to undergraduate students for three years, using literary as well as non-literary text samples to illustrate the theory, I joined Donna's course for Master's students of Language, Society and Communication in the audience. The reading list consisted of Hasan's 1989 book, Michael Toolan's *Language in Literature. An Introduction to Stylistics* (1996) and some SFL-oriented studies dealing with a specific author, e.g., Nørgaard's 2003 study of James Joyce. The objective was to develop mastery of the analytical tools therein proposed to read and analyse poems. The journey I took together with the students, from the poems analysis of speech and thought representation, modality and attitude, cohesion, processes and participants to Hasan's two levels of semiosis and universal theme in literature texts was a fascinating one that prompted some interdisciplinary collaboration with colleagues from the literature division, among which a couple of Master's theses supervisions, whose aim was the analysis of language "in" literature (I recall one in particular on dualism, ethics and aesthetics in *The Picture of Dorian Gray*). It also encouraged me to incorporate literature text samples into the pedagogical grammar I published in 2006, a simplified version of SFL for the EFL learner (Freddi 2006).

Much of Donna's research has been devoted to the study of the linguistic features of literature both as evidence for "systematic combination of choices which might point to universal themes and higher symbolic values" (Miller 2017a, p. 514) and as contributing positively towards the aesthetic appreciation of literature (cf. Miller 2019, 2021, Miller, Monti 2014, Miller, Luporini 2018b). With this paper I dwell in this tradition of language-in-literature studies and SFL educational applications championed by Professor

Miller and show how the literature text can be used to teach language in a way that is context-based, helps learners develop language awareness and promotes the cultural appreciation of literature. My perspective, therefore, is one of language "in" and "through" literature and is thought of as especially suitable for students of Modern Languages and Literatures. It is understood as meeting the educational needs of students majoring in English language or English literature and more broadly responding to the educational calls of applied SFL.

In the next sections the theoretical underpinnings derived from Miller (2021) are briefly reiterated and some examples are given to illustrate the method adopted. Although the illustration is limited to a few examples, the approach could be extended to other literature texts and language features, e.g., one could use song lyrics to illustrate thematic structure, British and American novels to illustrate dialect variation, children literature to exemplify lexical cohesion, and so on and so forth.

2. Description and narration

In the chapter on "educational stylistics" of her 2021 book *Verbal Art and Systemic Functional Linguistics*, Miller discusses her experience of teaching the language "in" literature during a series of workshops delivered to third year undergraduates of Modern Languages and Literatures at the University of Bologna. Two major claims are substantiated by the data analysis in the chapter: first, she shows how the linguistic study of literary texts can bring about a broader reflective process on language meaning-making potential in the students when actively engaged in the stylistic analysis of selected poems. Second, she makes the stratification of language and the moving across strata, which is inherent in a systemic functional theorisation of language, key to her pedagogical approach to verbal art, as summarised by the following quote: "The text is always [...] viewed as a [...] window onto the semiotic system of language itself, of which it is a concrete instantiation, [...]. Workshop analysis is from below, moving from text to semantics and context along the cline of stratification" (Miller 2021, p. 71). It is this movement across strata of language, from lexicogrammar to situation to culture, that I try to illustrate here, using the literature text as the ideal locus of language development.

The examples in this section serve the multiple purpose of exemplifying discourse functions and writing styles, such as the descriptive and narra-

tive functions, and the linguistic features that are most often associated with them, by moving recursively between grammatical, semantic and situational analysis. To distinguish between description and narration as two "patterns" of literature, one can take verb tenses together with the types of lexical verbs, the prepositional phrases that occur in combination with the lexical verbs and move onto the next stratum of semantic configurations into processes, participants and circumstances to learn something about the language most typical of descriptive and narrative writings, while at the same time introducing students to a captivating read.

2.1. *Description*

The passage in (1) from *To Kill a Mocking Bird* offers a compelling example of descriptive writing. The very concept of descriptive writing and what is meant by descriptions (herein contrasted with narrative writing and narration) can be presented to students with a bottom-up analysis, choosing simple grammatical categories, i.e., word classes, and their combinations, as the entry point into the style of the novel.

The excerpt features a series of verbs, mainly but not exclusively "be", followed by a modified noun phrase that contains descriptive adjectives, or epithets, functioning as attributes ("was an old town", "was a tired old town", "was hotter then", but also "turned to red slop", "were like teacakes with frostings of sweat and sweet talcum"). One can notice that similar sequences are typical of relational attributive (and circumstantial) processes, whose meaning is to establish a link between a person or thing, i.e., the carrier participant that is being described ("Maycomb", "the streets", "grass", "the courthouse", "men's collars", "ladies"...) and its characteristics, the nominal strings in the attributes (e.g., "a tired old town"). Even "grew" and "sagged", with their metaphorical meaning, function as a relational process type. All exemplify the language usually associated with descriptions, namely stative verbs of the relational attributive and circumstantial process type and contribute to a grammatical and semantic pattern where the adjectival, descriptive tendency is prevalent.

The analysis of descriptions in fiction can continue by zooming in on the role of prepositional phrases (PPs) with a locative function, circumstances of place-location, also often appearing in descriptive texts together with relational processes. Examples of this are "on the sidewalks", "in the square", "in the sweltering shade of the live oaks on the square". PPs of place-location are often found in descriptive texts, descriptions having to do with

location of things and people in space. With their presence and the associated lexical choices, they reinforce the same semiotic pattern, construing the backdrop to the fictional situation portrayed by the novel, a landscape of heat, lethargy, and idleness. The same excerpt lends itself to an even more granular analysis of the lexicogrammar, for example if we take the PP "with frostings of sweat and sweet talcum" that functions as embedded qualifier. The embedded structure can be shown to display further descriptive language with vivid imagery of the women's frocks, likened to rather revolting teacakes whose decorations are a mixture of sweat and talcum powder.

The analysis can therefore move back and forth across strata of language highlighting different degrees of delicacy in terms of grammar and vocabulary (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, Bartlett 2021a). Seen from above, the passage serves the purpose of illustrating the process of "instantiation" whereby the text is created through systemic selections made locally (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 594). In the case under analysis, the descriptive pattern is created by the relational attributive clause with its structural realisations. Seen from below, the type of transitivity configuration and its semantics all contribute to an intense description of the place and sleepy atmosphere of the setting in the context of fictional writing.

1. Maycomb was an old town, but it was a tired old town when I first knew it. In rainy weather the streets turned to red slop; grass grew on the sidewalks, the courthouse sagged in the square. Somehow, it was hotter then: a black dog suffered on a summer's day; bony mules hitched to Hoover carts flicked flies in the sweltering shade of the live oaks on the square. Men's stiff collars wilted by nine in the morning. Ladies bathed before noon, after their three-o'clock naps, and by nightfall were like soft teacakes with frostings of sweat and sweet talcum.

A further analytical step could be taken reaching up intertextually to other descriptions in American literature that take place in the southern states of the U.S. One author comes to mind with his compelling descriptions of the southern United States, Cormac McCarthy in *The Road*, although here cold, rain, and snow rather than heat and mugginess are the prevailing lexical features of the descriptions ("The day was brief, hardly a day at all. By dark the rain had ceased [...]. The faintly lit hatchway lay in the dark of the yard like a grave yawning at judgment day in some old apocalyptic painting"). The incipit of *The Road* also has something of the descrip-

tive style of Harper Lee's writing, even though McCarthy's prose differs significantly. Thanks to the reiterated ellipses of the relational process verb ("Nights dark beyond darkness and the days more gray each one than what had gone before. Like the onset of some cold glaucoma dimming away the world"), the author achieves a rugged musical effect that is certainly absent from *To Kill a Mocking Bird* and more typical of poetry than prose. However, by showing the connections between the two passages in terms of language and overall descriptive function, the language teacher can stimulate in the learners the identification of the "patterning of patterns" and the kind of reflection, or "reasoned analysis of a literary work" that Miller derives from Hasan's social-semiotic approach to verbal art (Hasan 2011, cited in Miller 2021, p. 61).

2.2. *Narration*

The incipit of *To Kill a Mocking Bird* can be used to exemplify another dominant discourse function in fiction, namely narration or narrative writing, as in excerpt (2). Narration has to do with locating and sequencing events in time, as is apparent in the fronting of the temporal clauses framing the actions temporally ("When he was", "When it healed", "When enough years had gone by"). The passage shows how the flow of events is organised temporally, "construed as a series of episodes" (as worded by Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, pp. 428-429). The preference in narratives is for dynamic verbs of the material process type (e.g., "got his arm broken" meaning "broke") and for the past tense. Narratives are agent-dominated texts, but they are also temporally structured.

2. When he was nearly thirteen my brother Jem got his arm badly broken at the elbow. When it healed, and Jem's fears of never being able to play football were assuaged, he was seldom self-conscious about his injury. [...] When enough years had gone by to enable us to look back on them, we sometimes discussed the events leading to this accident.

Another excerpt, (3), illustrates clines of narration-description although the contrast between the two discourse functions seems less clear-cut here.

3. We lived on the main residential street in town – Atticus, Jem and I, plus Calpurnia our cook. Jem and I found our father satisfactory: he played with us, read to us, and treated us with courteous detachment.

The semantic pattern construed by the verbs is that of past actions, processes of doing ("lived", "played", "read", "treated") combined with actors and goals ("we", "Atticus", "Jem and I", "Calpurnia our cook", "he", "us") and accompaniment and beneficiary roles ("with us", "to us"), the participants in the events recounted and the main characters of the story. The semiosis seems to fulfil the very purpose of storytelling, namely the narration of events set in time which occurred to the characters. However, time referencing is here limited to the past tense and not expressed via circumstantial elements of time-location which tend to typify narrative writing. These do not appear in (3) where instead PPs tend to encode participant-like roles (cf. Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 348) such as accompaniment ("with us"), beneficiary/recipient ("to us"), and manner ("with courteous detachment"). Atticus is depicted as doing things together with, for his children and as polite and respectful of his household. The narrative sequence borders on the descriptive and becomes characterisation, i.e., the description of the (fictional) situational context and characters' psychological condition, which creates the setting to the disruptive events narrated later on in the novel. Through the description, the father figure's actions acquire the plasticity and visibility of narrated events that is typical of writing for the screen, where a lot can be conveyed by the actions shown and which dialogue can help make more explicit. This discussion takes me onto the next point of language semiosis and narrative orientation.

3. Narrative orientation, telling and showing

Example (4) is the incipit of *The Dwarves of Death*, an entertaining story by the contemporary British novelist Jonathan Coe. Here the analysis is focused on first and second person subject (and object) pronouns and personal deixis as part of exophoric reference, i.e., references to interactants outside the text (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 606). The same method is used as in the previous analyses, exemplifying the constant moving across strata, from lexicogrammar through semantics to context recursively.

4. I find it hard to describe what happened. It was late in the afternoon, on a far from typical London Saturday. Winter was mild that year, I remember, and although by 4.30 it was already good and dark, it wasn't cold. Besides, Chester had the heater on. It was broken, and you either had it on

> full blast or not at all. The rush of hot air was making me sleepy. I don't know if you know that feeling, when you're in a car – and it doesn't have to be a particularly comfortable car or anything – but you're drowsy, and perhaps you're not looking forward to the moment of arrival, and you feel oddly settled and happy. You feel as though you could sit there in that passenger seat forever. It's a form of living for the present, I suppose. I wasn't very good at living for the present in those days: cars and trains were about the only places I could do it.

Several features can be noticed. First, the accompanying verbs are all of the mental and relational process type, having to do with sensing (e.g., the cognitive "remember", "know", "suppose") and being (e.g., "be" used to construe feelings and emotions). Second, there is roughly the same number of occurrences of first and second person pronouns with "you" outnumbering "I/me" and creating a dynamic between speech roles, speaker as narrator and addressee, that shifts the focus on the reader, thus engaging readers directly in the narration. This lexicogrammatical pattern serves to introduce the young protagonist and narrator of the story as someone who is somewhat at sea, overwhelmed by an overall sense of frustration (apparent from the lexical chain of the attributes "sleepy", "drowsy", "oddly settled and happy") and bound to be unsettled by some extraordinary events (indeed he will witness a murder).

The first person narrator and the involvement of the reader into the experiences narrated lends itself to the discussion of another system of grammar and semantic potential, namely speech and thought representation, or the ways of reporting speech and thought and the alternation between narrator's orientation and character's orientation (Toolan 1996, 2016). The excerpt can be used to introduce the difference between reported and direct (quoted) speech and thought and the grammatical system of projection as well as intermediate forms between quoting and reporting that are very common in literature, namely free direct speech/thought and free indirect speech/thought (the latter explained in Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, pp. 528-532). In excerpt (4) there appears this mixture of quoting and reporting and the free combinations of features of both when, for example, we look at the narrator's comments "I remember" and "I suppose", the latter being closer to a direct than a reported thought and realising a modal meaning of subjective explicit probability while retaining its projecting function (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 688). The same blend of features applies to "I don't know if you know that feeling, when you're…" where the pronoun

"you" directly addressing the reader in the projecting clause is mixed with the grammar of an indirect question.

In sum, the passage exemplifies a narrative orientation that gets the reader closer to the characters and switches from a reported recount to a verbatim mental projection of what the character-narrator has experienced. This could take the discussion further to distinguish different realisations of forms of narration such as the "interior monologue" and the "stream-of-consciousness" associated with Modernist literature (cf. Canani *et al*. 2017, pp. 146-151). Once again, by starting from below, i.e., from the lexicogrammatical features, the analysis reaches the more abstract qualities of literature (Miller 2021).

4. Modality and the interactive game

Finally, one last example, (5), is given to illustrate principles of language as interaction and modal assessment (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, pp. 183-186). This is the incipit of the 1908 novel by E.M. Forster *A Room with a View* and the focus is on the dialogue. Starting from the lexicogrammar, the analysis can aim at the semantics of modal meanings construed in exchanges and the various types of speech acts, exemplified in the dialogue between Lucy and her cousin.

5. PART ONE
   Chapter I: The Bertolini
   'The Signora had no business to do it,' said Miss Bartlett, 'no business at all. She promised us south rooms with a view close together, instead of which here are north rooms, looking into a courtyard, and a long way apart. Oh, Lucy!'
   'And a Cockney, besides!' said Lucy, who had been further saddened by the Signora's unexpected accent. 'It might be London.' [...] 'Charlotte, don't you feel, too, that we might be in London? I can hardly believe that all kinds of other things are just outside. I suppose it is one's being so tired.'
   'This meat has surely been used for soup,' said Miss Bartlett, laying down her fork.
   'I wanted so to see the Arno. The rooms the Signora promised us in her letter would have looked over the Arno. The Signora had no business to do it at all. Oh, it is a shame!'

> 'Any nook does for me,' Miss Bartlett continued; 'but it does seem hard that you shouldn't have a view.'
> Lucy felt that she had been selfish. 'Charlotte, you mustn't spoil me: of course, you must look over the Arno, too. I meant that. The first vacant room in the front –' 'You must have it,' said Miss Bartlett, part of whose travelling expenses were paid by Lucy's mother – a piece of generosity to which she made many a tactful allusion.
> 'No, no. You must have it.'
> 'I insist on it. Your mother would never forgive me, Lucy.'
> 'She would never forgive me.'
> The ladies' voices grew animated, and – if the sad truth be owned – a little peevish. They were tired, and under the guise of unselfishness they wrangled. Some of their neighbours interchanged glances, and one of them – one of the ill-bred people whom one does meet abroad – leant forward over the table and actually intruded into their argument. He said:
> 'I have a view, I have a view.'

The sequence of modal verbs and associated grammatical subjects in the dialogues express, first, Lucy's disappointment with the Englishness of the Pensione Bertolini ("it might", "we might"), then, the polite bickering over the room and her cousin Charlotte's willingness to give her a room with a view, with modulation of the obligation kind ("you shouldn't", "you mustn't", "you must", "you must", "you must"...). The firmness of her offer, or rather command, is marked by the verbal process "insist" and by more modal verbs and adverbs combined with a speech act of forgiveness ("Your mother would never forgive me, she would never forgive me"). The forms of obligation (second person subject with modal verb "must") make the distinction between command and offer ambiguous and are dictated by features of the situation such as politeness and the social distance between the interactants.

The expression "had no business to do it" (reiterated three times by Charlotte) means "had no right to do it" and can be considered a quasi-modal expression equivalent to "shouldn't have done it" to make a complaint. The complaint is triggered by another speech act, a promise, which, by remaining unfulfilled, can only cause the two ladies' frustration and complaint ("promised us" repeated twice). The modal adverb "surely", expressing objective probability and reinforcing an indirect speech act of complaining, and the subjective probability of "I suppose" attached

to the statement "it is one's being so tired" contribute to the depiction of the characters and sarcasm of the exchange. Other elements of the exchange contribute to the interactive game, e.g., the vocatives "Charlotte" and "Lucy" and the exclamations "Oh Lucy!", "Oh, it is a shame!", which are minor speech acts and thus part of the language of interaction, "verbal gestures of the speaker addressed to no one in particular, although they may, of course, call for empathy on the part of the addressee" (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 196).

The negotiation in the dialogue is interrupted by the intrusion of Mr Emerson ("I have a view, I have a view") which corresponds to a turn in the events narrated. Altogether, the modal meanings and interaction at the beginning of the novel help establish the backdrop to the plot, one in which a contrast is built between Lucy's emancipation and the morals of middle-upper-class English society. This contrast and its development throughout the book could take the discussion into the concepts of "significant textual location", "foregrounding" and "symbolic articulation" typical of the semiotic system of verbal art (cf. Miller 2021, pp. 74-75).

5. Conclusion

In this paper I paid homage to one of the lessons that stayed with me of the work done by Professor Donna R. Miller at the University of Bologna during my five years there, and that is the possible synergy of language and literature in the context of EFL teaching and learning. Bridging the gap between language and literature to facilitate language development, an SFL-inspired approach to literature brings to the fore the notion of the literature text as one special register of language, where the various functions performed by the writer's lexicogrammatical choices serve a higher symbolic purpose, have artistic value and contribute to conveying some universal theme, whatever this might be (social inequality, pain, search for happiness, individual emancipation, love relations, crime and punishment, etc.). This approach looks at lexicogrammatical traces of the text theme to grasp its deeper meanings and universal significance.

With her analyses of appraisal, symbolic articulation and foregrounding in various literature texts, Donna has been digging into these symbolic meanings showing how a rigorous linguistic analysis can help the reader in their exploration and experience of the text and can help the language learner develop the necessary language awareness to fully appreciate litera-

ture. The list of topics that could be introduced in the EFL classroom could be expanded to include several others (e.g., Atticus's description in (3) could be analysed for the inscribing of appraisal-judgment, the reference to Cockney in (5) could stimulate discussion on cultural diversity and dialect variation and perception) to capture the highest layer of meaning-making, the context of culture. However, following in the paths Donna has traced, I have tried to show that the SFL model of language semiosis intertwining the global dimensions of context and meaning potential and the local dimensions of lexicogrammar captures well the higher order semiosis of literature texts that are meant to convey universal values. In turn, literature text provides a means of approaching language learning in a holistic way by drawing together grammar, vocabulary, usage and culture, it responds to the SFL emphasis on meaning embedded in and not separable from situational and cultural context, promotes higher level literacy and ultimately crosses disciplinary boundaries and knowledge divisions, thus has enhanced educational value.

To conclude, I use once again Halliday's words on the role of literature and storytelling in education to stress the power of imagination activated by literature "In the imaginative or innovative context they [the parent and the child] are together exploring some realm of experience, perhaps through stories or imaginative literature of one kind or another" (Halliday 2007, p. 87). If the literature-language pair works for parent-child education, it will also work for adult EFL learners, hopefully triggering imagination and bringing about innovation.

Appendix: literary sources

Coe J. (1990), *The Dwarves of Death*, Fourth Estate, London.

Forster E.M. (1908), *A Room with a View*, Arnold, London.

Lee H. (1982), *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Warner Books, New York.

McCarthy C. (2006), *The Road*, Vintage, New York.

Hector's death

A Systemic Socio-Semantic analysis of Alice Oswald's "Memorial"

Gerard O'Grady

1. Introduction

Unlike much mainstream stylistics (e.g., Stockwell 2002, Simpson 2014, and Burke, Evers 2014), Donna Miller following Halliday (1973) and especially Hasan (1985) argues that the language of verbal art is not simply a distinct register identified by the presence or absence of various textual features such as alliteration, metaphor, assonance, rhyme etc. Many of these "literary features" are encountered in other forms of language, for example advertisements. Nor though is verbal art simply another form of ordinary language. The designation "art" implies specialness. Both Hasan's and Miller's thinking have been influenced by Jan Mukařovský whose notion of foregrounding provides a key entry point into the analysis of a piece of verbal art as something special. For Hasan and Miller the analysis of a piece of verbal art consists of first-order meanings based on the patterning of the lexicogrammar and higher order symbolic meanings which arise from the patterns foregrounded (Miller, Turci 2007). Unlike other forms of language the lexicogrammatical choices are not selected by the context but form the verbalisation which realises the symbolic articulation of the text.

An analyst first examines the lexicogrammatical patterns and only then is he/she able to investigate the symbolic meanings highlighted by the foregrounded lexicogrammatical patterns. These second-order patterns which Hasan calls the theme are not revealed directly to the reader but rather inferred from the foregrounding of patterns (Hasan 2007, p. 23). The symbolic articulation of the theme articulates deep issues relating to human social existence. It is this that renders verbal art special. Miller (2021, p. 24) notes that it is the presence of a theme that allows us to identify a text as verbal art.

In this paper I will examine the final section of an 84-page poem, *Memorial* by Alice Oswald (Oswald 2011). *Memorial* is a retelling of the *Iliad*,

but one that condenses the action by memorialising the names and deaths of over 200 characters in the Greek Trojan war. The last to die was Hector, the Trojan hero, and the extract (*ibid.*, pp. 71-72) I will focus on describes his death. The extract comprises 25 lines and is presented below. In order to illustrate the foregrounded patterns which realise the symbolic articulation of the extract, I first conducted a grammatical analysis of the poem inspired by Hasan's (1985) analysis of the Les Murray poem *The Widower in the Country*. Then in order to fully explicate Miller's model of *Systemic Socio-Semantic Stylistics* (SSSM) I adopted her argument for the inclusion of Jacobson's principle of parallelism (Miller 2021, Chapter 3).

1. And HECTOR[1] died like everyone else
2. He was in charge of the Trojans
3. But a spear found out the little patch of white
4. Between his collarbone and his throat
5. Just exactly where a man's soul sits
6. Waiting for the mouth to open
7. He always knew it would happen
8. He who was so boastful and anxious
9. And used to nip home deafened by weapons
10. To stand in full armour in the doorway
11. Like a man rushing in leaving his motorbike running
12. All women loved him
13. His wife was Andromache
14. One day he looked at her quietly
15. He said I know what will happen
16. And an image stared at him of himself dead
17. And her in Argos weaving for some foreign woman
18. He blinked and went back to work
19. Hector loved Andromache
20. But in the end he let her face slide from his mind
21. He came back to her sightless
22. Strengthless expressionless
23. Asking only to be washed and burned
24. And his body wrapped in soft cloths
25. And returned to the ground

1. Original capitals.

2. The analysis of the lexicogrammar

In this section I will examine Oswald's lexicogrammatical choices starting with tense before moving onto looking at reference. Next I will examine theme followed by voice and conclude by looking at clause process types. At the end of this section I will summarise the overall patterning of lexicogrammatical choices.

The extract is situated in the past with time expressed by the selection of the past simple tense in all ranking clauses. The events are described as completed. Any deviations will thus be foregrounded. In line 5 Oswald in the subordinate clause "just exactly where a man's soul sits" chooses the present simple "sits" rather than the past simple "sat". By so doing she draws our attention to the humanity of Hector: he has a soul just as we do. His life is as precious as any other. In line 15 there is a double projection with a mental projection embedded within a verbal one. The verbal projection "said" situates the act of saying in the past. But Oswald situates the mental projection in the non-past. The projecting clause is in the present simple with the projected clause expressing high probability of the likelihood of an event that has not occurred at the time of speaking. The effect is to align us as readers with the immediacy of Hector's thoughts: his view of the likelihood of what will happen in his future which is our past. And we of course know that Hector's fate was to be killed by Achilles' spear.

Hector is referred to on 16 occasions in the extract. On 2 occasions the proper noun Hector is chosen. The first reference introduces Hector as a new character in the poem, but the second reference (line 19) serves to focus attention on him as an individual. On 11 occasions a third person pronoun – "he", "him", "himself" – is chosen. On 2 occasions there is a meronymic reference to "his collarbone and his throat" (line 4) and "his body" (line 24). By reducing Hector to his corporal parts, Oswald foregrounds his materiality and mortality. In the mental projection (line 15) the first person pronoun "I" is chosen. This choice results in rendering Hector immediate to us. He is not a stranger but rather an intimate whose private knowledge is available to us. To summarise, Oswald employs reference to foreground lines 4, 15, 19, and 24.

The extract comprises 19 non-rankshifted clauses and, as Table 1 indicates, the theme is primarily unmarked and it is Hector. Of the 17 unmarked themes, 12 refer to Hector and thus form the background of the poem. As can be seen of the Hector themes 3 stand out. Namely the first person pronoun "I" in line 15, and the reference to Hector in lines 24 and 25 as no more

than an inert body without agency. The theme "And his body" orientates the reader towards a representation of an event where Hector's remains are ritually handled as a ceremonial object and not as a person[2]. The remaining five topical themes form three groups. The first is "a spear" and "it", which is an anaphoric reference to death. These themes draw attention to the cause of Hector's demise and to its inevitability. The theme "an image" orientates the reader to Hector's passivity when confronted by his future. He, perhaps duty bound, accepts his fate and does not attempt to escape the image that confronts him. The final two foregrounded unmarked themes are "All women" and "His wife". These themes orient the reader to Hector not as a warrior but rather as a man engaging with non-violent domestic matters. The two foregrounded marked themes signal transitions in the text. The first, "One day", orients the reader to the very day when Hector is confronted by his fate and chooses not to oppose it. The second, "But in the end" orients to his passivity in letting go what he loves, namely Andromache.

To summarise Oswald's choice of theme, we can see that her choices result in the foregrounding of lines 3, 12-16, 18-20, and 24-25.

The following paragraphs examine the transitivity patterns in the extract in order to see how Oswald construed what was going on in the poem. Table 2 summarises the clause process types line by line.[3]

Thirty-two verb processes were identified in the extract. Passive voice occurred only in non-ranking clauses. Of those, 4 are found in lines 23 to 25 at the very end of the extract in a sequence of material process clauses. Oswald's lexicogrammatical choices foreground the transformation of Hector from a sentient living being into an inert body to be handled and manipulated by others. These non-ranking clauses are additionally highly marked in that the poet elides the participants; we as readers are forced to infer the identity of the actor and insert the identity of the goal, Hector's corpse. This results in our attention being drawn to Hector's fate and the foregrounding of lines 23 to 25.

There are 16 ranking clauses: defined either as an independent clause e.g., a paratactic clause such as 11.1 (line 18) or 13α (line 21), or as a projecting clause such as 9.1 (line 15)[4]. Material process types are the most prevalent

2. Readers familiar with the *Iliad* will know that prior to being returned to the Trojans, Hector's corpse was stripped of his armour, dragged behind Achilles' chariot around the walls of Troy and subsequently desecrated by other Greek soldiers. This all happened despite Hector's dying plea that his body be respected. The body was only returned to the Trojans after the pleading of Hector's father Priam. On its return it can have been no more than a lump of bloody meat.

3. Table 2 and other supplementary files are available at https://osf.io/5tg98/.

4. Cf. Table 3 available at the URL provided above.

Table 1. *Theme in the extract.*

Theme	**Unmarked**	**Marked**
Number	17	2
Realisation	Hector – (Hector 2, He 6, I 1, His Body 2) A spear 1 It 1 All women 1 His Wife 1 An image 1	One day But in the end

with 6 occurrences. On 5 occasions Hector is actor while in the other occurrence he is the second participant functioning as goal (line 3). There are three mental process clauses, two of which construe the inner workings of Hector's mind as a thinker (line 7) and as an emoter (line 19). The other (line 12) construes Hector as a phenomenon desired by "all women". Oswald's writing is ambiguous as to whether the "love" is romantic (*eros*) or affectionate (*agape*). But in either case Hector is construed as a person of value to others. There are three relational processes which function to identify Hector's role (line 2), evaluate his character (line 8) and identify Andromache (line 13). In the context of the poem the use of relational processes does not function to foreground deviations but rather to identify roles and construe the paradoxical nature of Hector's character. The sole verbal process clause (line 15) both verbalises Hector's knowledge of his impending and unavoidable fate and construes Andromache as the recipient of this unwelcome news. There are three behavioural process clauses. The first (line 1) construes Hector's death as a natural and inevitable occurrence. Such a construal obscures the violent nature of his death and Achilles' agency. The second (line 18) construes an important transition in the narrative. Hector has informed his beloved Andromache of his fate and seen a premonition of her unfortunate destiny, but nonetheless he "blinks" and erases his mind prior to "returning to work"[5]. His work of course is killing. Oswald's lexicogrammatical choice simultaneously construes Hector's involuntary rapid gesture of opening and closing his eyes, and his mental act of cognition

5. I have coded "blink" as an involuntary behavioural process rather than as a deliberate action as in my reading of the poem the action signifies a blend of material and mental processes (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 301).

involved in resigning himself to his fate. The remaining behavioural process clause (line 16) is unusual in that the behaver is not a conscious and animate being but rather "an image". The nominal phrase "an image" signifies an artificial representation of something else; in this case a depiction of Hector's lifeless body. Oswald's choice construes Hector's precognitive future self as the behaver and Hector himself as the location of the behavioural process.

Turning to the remaining 16 processes found in the non-ranking clauses we can see that 14 of them are material processes. These processes form the pattern upon which any deviation occurs. There is one mental process clause (line 15) which construes Hector's estimation of what awaits him. The verbal process (line 23) is foregrounded both by the choice of process and more importantly by the fact that Hector as sayer on his return to Andromache – the receiver of his talk – is dead. Summing up Oswald's transitivity choices result in the foregrounding of lines 1, 3, 7, 12, 19, 15, 16, 18, 23.

As can be seen when the lexicogrammatical patternings are examined *in toto*, Oswald's lexicogrammatical choices foregrounded elements throughout the extract. Yet, it is not the case that the entire extract is composed of deviant language, it is rather that out of the five lexicogrammatical systems I have investigated there is at least one instance of a foregrounded choice found in every line.

3. Hasanian theme

As noted earlier the deep meaning of the poem or Hasanian theme is not revealed directly by the lexicogrammatical choices but rather inferred from the foregrounding of patterns. However, Halliday (2002 [1982]) and especially Hasan (1985) note that what is significant is patterning which is consistent. In Hasan's words: "There are two aspects to this consistency: the stability of its semantic direction, and the stability of its textual location" (*ibid.*, p. 95). We will start with the later of these concepts. Within the extract there are three locations which are textually significant. The first is the opening which shifts the focus of the poem onto Hector who was the last to die. Here the foregrounded patterns symbolically articulate that in the inner world of the poem Hector's death was inevitable. He was predestined to be speared, and the identity of his unnamed killer is of no consequence. We, of course, know that Achilles killed Hector, but Oswald's lexicogrammatical choices imply a text internal world where such knowledge is su-

perfluous[6]. The marked theme "One day" (line 14) orientates the reader to a specific day where the lexicogrammatical patterning construes Hector as knowing and accepting his and Andromache's fate. The use of the personal pronoun "I" coupled with the non-past tense predicator "know" and the modal "will" represent Hector as tragic by construing him at a moment when the possibility of him avoiding death existed. But yet the behavioural process "blinked" signals Hector's acceptance of his destiny to end up dead and to lose Andromache. The second marked theme "But in the end" orientates the reader to Hector's own end. The use of passive voice with elided actor construes a depersonalised ritual signalling the culmination of Hector's fate.

Within the extract there is a consistency of patterning towards a construal of Hector's death as expected. His tragedy was that he was keenly aware of what awaited him but he did not have the volition to change it. He is construed as a man whose work is war and one who knows what that entails; one who waits for his precognition to actualise and for him to be transformed into an object handled by others in a ritualistic fashion. As a work of art the extract contains a theme which Hasan (1985, p. 95) notes is the highest level of abstraction and one "which can be viewed as a hypothesis about some aspect of social life". In other words, it speaks of our reality. War consumes those who engage in it. Warriors have little choice but to accept their fate and all they can ask for is that their sacrifice be honoured. They will gain no personal glory. We as readers are tasked with recognising the futility of war and perhaps provoked to oppose it.

Hasan (*ibid.*, pp. 102-103) recognises that an individual human's interpretation of any text is distinctive and dependent on a unique life history, and the context in which the text is interpreted. The poem *Memorial* is itself a modern English language response to a classical Greek text, the *Iliad*, itself likely a response to earlier oral poems (Lane Fox 2023). While Oswald's text construes the brutality, randomness, and mercilessness of war but not the glory of the victory, it is quite likely that readers' interpretation of the extract from *Memorial* will be partly formed by their prior familiarisation, if any, with Homer's work. There can be no one single interpretation of the

6. Achilles, the main hero of the *Iliad*, is conspicuously absent from *Memorial*. He is construed on page 36 as "a kidnapper of boys" and alluded to on page 63 as Patroclus' foster brother. On page 69 he is construed as a sayer who rejects Lycaon's plea that he be spared death and on page 70 he is represented as having "killed so many men". Oswald's text internal world does not mention that Patroclus was slain by Hector and that Lycaon, Hector's half-brother, and many other men were killed by Achilles to revenge Patroclus. Neither is there mention of the duel fought beneath the walls of Troy by Hector and Achilles which ended in Hector's death.

extract but neither is the text value-free. Readers access the extract's theme through their individual interpretation of the symbolic articulation verbalised by foregrounded lexicogrammatical patterns.

Miller (2021, Chapter 3) provides a robust and convincing argument for the addition of pervasive parallelism (PP), Jakobson (1966) to SSSM while recognising that the somewhat vague concept needs redefining. She (*ibid.*, pp. 39-41) notes that in SFL terms PP means shifting to the perspective of the syntagm: the reiteration of equivalent elements foregrounds patterns and motivates a consistency of semantic direction. While there are numerous compositional hierarchies where elements can be reiterated I chose in the paragraphs below to focus on the rank of vowel phoneme in the phonological hierarchy. Miller (*ibid.*, pp. 39-40) states that while the repetition of elements in SFL is classified as a structural cohesive device realising textual meanings, it frequently confers more than is needed or in her words, "a notable surplus of cohesive harmony". Thus, and following Martin (1992), as it is textually superfluous it is exploited for other means. And for Miller (2021, p. 41), PP functions like Hasan's foregrounding of lexicogrammatical patterns which enable a reader to infer the theme of a piece of verbal art.

Neither the extract, nor the entire poem rhymes. Yet, there is repetition of vowel phonemes within the extract. In clause complex 3 the diphthong /aʊ/ occurs 3 times and foregrounds Hector's death; there can be no escape from the predestined "spear" and the "mouth" between the collarbone and throat which awaits it. Oswald conveys the violence and brutality of Hector's demise by the repeated patterning of /aʊ/ which Eddington and Nuckolls (2019, p. 6) claim connotes the heavy movement of the spear piercing Hector's flesh. Tentatively we can go further and argue that /aʊ/ as an articulation conveys the pain that Hector felt as he died.

The most commonly found stressed vowel in the extract is the diphthong /əʊ/. In clause complex 3, it patterns to foreground Hector's duality. He is matter and spirit but mortal. His death is the end. In clause complex 5 /əʊ/ occurs 3 times and foregrounds Hector as a man with too little time. His visits home are fleeting and only temporary respites from the battle outside. Oswald depicts him as "boastful" but the repetition of /əʊ/ connotes the possibility that his boasting masks his own knowledge of his impending death. In clause complex 9 the diphthong /əʊ/ occurs as a result of Oswald's choice of non-past tense. Its unexpected occurrence – cf. discussion of tense above – denotes Hector as knowing his and Andromache's fate. In clause complex 5, line 11, the words "rushing" and "running" are an example of PP which further conveys the limited time available to Hector, and con-

notes that he is trapped by the speed of events. The diphthong /aɪ/ is found throughout the poem and textually it links "died", "white", "wife" and "slide". This connotes a man who could not avoid the spear. It was predestined to find the gap in between his armour and helmet. He was a man who was on his way to death, and who had to abandon and forget the woman he loved.

In clause complex 13 the repetition of the unstressed suffix "-less" depicts Hector as transformed by death into an object without perception, volition and action. The vowel /æ/ is repeated in the same clause complex and it conveys the inevitability of Hector's death and his final fate as an object of a funeral rite[7]. To conclude this section we have seen that the pervasive parallel patterning of the vowels connotes an inner text world where Hector's death is unavoidable and fated. He is trapped by circumstances and duty and that is his tragedy. PP supports the foregrounding of lexicogrammatical choices in establishing the constraints which enable a reader to interpret the extract's theme: namely to paraphrase the gospel of Matthew: "that those who live by the sword die by the sword"[8].

4. Conclusion

To conclude, the analysis has illustrated the robustness of SSSM in articulating the theme of an extract from the poem *Memorial*. We have further seen that Miller's (2021) proposal to incorporate PP is a sound one. Detailed analysis of the lexicogrammatical choices and the persuasive patterning of vowel phonemes revealed what was special about the extract namely that it spoke of a deep issue of human existence: the tragedy and folly of war. Or to repeat the earlier paraphrase of St Matthew: "that those who live by the sword die by the sword".

7. Outside of the internal text world, readers who are familiar with the *Iliad* will no doubt mark the irony that Andromache was made aware of Hector's death as she was drawing his bath.

8. Oswald herself in the introduction to *Memorial* describes her poem as "an oral cemetery" (p. 2).

Combining the lab with the crowd
Experimentation and verbal art

Rebekah Wegener

1. Introduction

Of all the many ways that we as humans interact with texts on a daily basis, the silent reading of literary texts (of whatever nature) is a form of interaction that is largely considered an individual and private activity, making the study of reading for pleasure one of the more difficult interactions to study experimentally. As Hasan (2007, p. 17) argues, "there is the basic assumption that evaluation is a subjective phenomenon; not far behind is also an assumption that whatever is subjective inheres in the individual", but as individuals we share a lot in common with each other and this is reflected in our evaluation of verbal art. Indeed, the observation of individuals reading texts reveals a complex interplay of individual, textual and contextual features that reveal more about what we share as humans than what sets us apart. Different aspects of the text – the setting in which it is read, the weather, and the current mood of the reader amongst many other aspects – all influence the way a reader reacts to a text emotionally or attitudinally. Although they are complex interactions, these regularities make it possible to predict some aspects of individual evaluations.

This reaction of a reader to a text can be observed on many levels, ranging from spoken expressions to physiological measures, facial micro-gestures, reader posture and behaviour (audio-visual and eye-tracking). But we can also use self-report and direct questioning to access affectual and attitudinal information about reactions to literary text reading, for example structured interviews, reader annotation, and survey. These very different means for getting responses from readers can be brought together with analysis of the stimulus texts from both literature and linguistics, to provide insight into the textual triggers for reader-expressed affect and attitude. Though these features are often associated with emotion, emotion is a very difficult concept to define and an even more difficult one to measure. Many of the features

such as facial micro-gestures, behaviour and voice quality are more properly associated with attitude and this is the focus of the current work as it more closely aligns with the evaluation of verbal art that we see in reader reactions.

In making the argument that the experimental study of reader reactions through imagery needs to move beyond word-based stimuli alone, Hsu *et al.* (2015) argue that a reader's reaction to a text is far more than just a reaction to the lexical items, but must include reaction to the grammatical arrangements in the text and to the complex context of the author, text and reader. To capture this complexity, Wegener (2011), Wegener *et al.* (2017), and Wegener *et al.* (2018), model the reading process as a series of interacting contexts, a model that sits cleanly within Hasan's (1985) model of symbolic articulation and Miller's (2010, 2012 and 2013) expanded framework. However, while data of this nature is very informative, capturing this level of data complexity limits the scale of any study to the relatively small number of individuals that can be studied in the lab, reducing our ability to generalise our findings or verify results statistically.

In this chapter, I discuss a number of different methods for extending small-scale, lab-based experimental data that is very rich with large-scale, but relatively poor-quality, crowdsourced data. In a small pilot study, I combine lab-based data that includes reader reactions (audio-visual and eye-tracking) with reader annotations (textual) and reader interviews (audio-visual and eye-tracking) with large-scale crowdsourced data. This process involves aligning time-aligned data with text-aligned data. Once aligned, we can use this to identify and extract data from the GoodReads database to find portions of the texts that systematically trigger identifiable responses in the readers. I also introduce other means of creating crowdsourced data for literary experiments that can be integrated into the classroom or into public outreach events. Together, these methods enable us to combine richer lab-based data with poorer-quality, but much more prevalent crowdsourced data, allowing us to see both the personal and the shared nature of reading verbal art.

2. Models for exploring verbal art

Throughout her career, Miller has provided a means of modelling literature at a theoretical level, allowing us to explore what it is that makes literature special and different from other forms of text as we see for example in Miller (2010, 2012, 2013).

Hasan (2007, p. 23), in arguing for the necessity of a specific model for working with verbal art, explains that "in a non-literature variety, it is relatively easy to demonstrate the realisational connections from features of the social context in which an instance is embedded, right through to wordings: certain patterns of language – their meaning and grammar – can be shown to be activated by certain features of the variety's relevant social context". It is perhaps stretching a point to call the demonstration of this relationship "easy" as Wegener and Fontaine (2023) argue. However, the examination of verbal art clearly demonstrates the increased complexity of the context-language relationship, demanding the development of models specific to verbal art.

As discussed in Wegener *et al.* (2017) and Wegener, Lothmann (2018), these models are crucial for experimentation, but they are also essential for the establishment of datasets for verbal art research. In Wegener *et al.* (2017), we demonstrate how these models are used in data collection and in the structuring of the databases for storing the subsequent datasets.

Miller not only provides excellent theoretical models for examining the relationship between literature and linguistics, but she has also provided models for teaching stylistics (Miller, Luporini 2018a), including reporting on class activities and discussions and working with literary corpora (Miller, Luporini, 2020). In the section below I want to draw on this work to outline class activities that present excellent teaching environments for students, but that can also be extended to experimental domains for research.

3. The lab and the crowd – experimenting with verbal art

In studying verbal art, there are a number of different ways that we can combine the lab and the crowd to provide useful information for better understanding how readers react to different forms of verbal art. The lab is crucial for accessing certain forms of information, as we see in Hsu *et al.* (2015), certain forms of research can only be done in the lab, and this is research that is essential to proving key relationships. However, the lab is not a natural environment for reading and it is unlikely to produce natural responses from readers. It also produces very little data as each experiment takes a long time to run. But if we can combine the low-volume, but high-quality data of the lab with the high-volume, but relatively low-quality data of the crowd, we can explore questions about reading verbal art that we would never otherwise be able to explore.

3.1. *Social reading platforms and the social networking of reading*

The advent of social reading platforms such as GoodReads provides a wealth of insights into the shared and co-constructed evaluation of verbal art in the digital literary sphere as we see in Reichl *et al.* (2021), but they also deliver an opportunity to extend the findings from lab-based research in a way that would not otherwise be possible. By combining insights from the crowdsourced data on social reading platforms, we can test patterns from the lab at scale. To test this approach, I have taken the results from lab-based studies conducted at RWTH Aachen University and combined them with data from GoodReads.

In the lab-based study, our non-random sample was recruited from our student population and participation was entirely voluntary and unpaid. All participants were informed about the goals of the study both verbally and in writing and signed written consent and data release forms. All participants had normal or corrected to normal vision, had German as a first language, were enrolled in English language and literature studies, and had C2 English language competence. The 30 participants ranged in age 20-32, 6 self-identified as male, 24 as female on a non-binary scale, and all spoke two or more languages.

Participants were recorded in the English Linguistics eye-tracking lab at RWTH Aachen University using a Tobii TX300 eye-tracker. Data collected included: eye-tracking (including sound and video of the reader), audio recording with Audacity using an unobtrusive desktop microphone, and reader annotations of the stimulus texts post-reading. The audio recording was used during the entire experiment and captured both acoustic signals during reading (breathing, laughter, gasps etc.) and the spoken interview records. The spoken interviews were later transcribed. After an introduction that included a calibration phase, participants were then shown the first text and instructed to read the text silently to themselves at their own pace. After each text, participants were asked a number of semi-structured interview questions. Participants then completed a demographic form and annotated the three texts that they just read for "amusement", "memorability", and "difficulty". The whole process took approximately 1 hour in total for each individual participant, with all participants being tested sequentially.

This experiment was run on two separate occasions: the first had excerpts selected from *The Hobbit* by J.R.R. Tolkien, *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone* by J.K. Rowling, and *Alice in Wonderland* by Lewis Carroll as stimulus texts, while the second had excerpts from *The Hobbit*, *Northern Lights: His*

dark materials by Philip Pullman, and *Mort* by Terry Pratchett as stimulus texts. Thus, we have 30 readings for *The Hobbit*, and 16 or 14 readings for all the other texts. All stimulus texts were approximately 2000 words in length and cover the first introduction to a fantasy world taken from the opening of each text. They were displayed in Arial 12 pt font with 1.5 spacing and 1.5cm margins on a double page spread. The texts ran over 4 screens and the reader moved through the text by hitting the right or left arrow on the keyboard. This lab-based experiment is discussed in more detail in Wegener *et al.* (2017) and Wegener, Lothmann (2018).

Because there are more annotations for *The Hobbit*, that is what is focused on in the comparison set out below. As we see in Figure 1, there are strong parallels between the fantasy texts with similar transition styles; *Mort* and *Hobbit*. The strong vertical alignments that we see in Figure 1 are represented below in text form in Figure 2. The section of the excerpt that is represented by the strong vertical alignment is the first shift into dialogue in *The Hobbit* and where Gandalf and Bilbo meet. As this is a particularly popular book, it is an excellent candidate for making annotation comparisons with GoodReads.

In addition to providing rich information about the author, the editions of the books and background information about the writing and reception, social reading platforms such as GoodReads also provide excellent data on the bits of text that readers find amusing, memorable, likeable etc. This data can be combined with the data from the lab-based experiments to see how robust the patterns that we see in lab results are likely to be at scale. While this is relatively easy to do on a case-by-case basis using manual search techniques and can even be a useful classroom activity for students, using manual alignment is far too time-consuming for anything larger than a single excerpt or two. The greatest challenge for this approach to combining the lab with the crowd is solving the data alignment problem with a digital tool.

Even with these limitations we start to see some patterns emerging that can be useful for future research. For example, from the lab experiments it is clear that certain readers are more expressive than others and this seems to be connected to annotation behaviour. Readers that are more expressive vocally and visually, make significantly more annotations both for memorability and amusement. If this relationship is stable and bi-directional, it would seem to suggest that those who participate on social reading platforms may self-select as highly expressive readers. This implies that the data pool is biased to a certain type of reader, but no more so than using undergraduate students. It is just a different type of sample bias and it might

represent a good recruiting site for finding highly expressive readers for lab-based studies.

When we combine the lab findings with the GoodReads data we see that readers are very consistent in finding narration more memorable and dialogue more amusing. So much so that the very first instance of dialogue between Gandalf and Bilbo is the most heavily annotated for amusement than any other sample in our set.

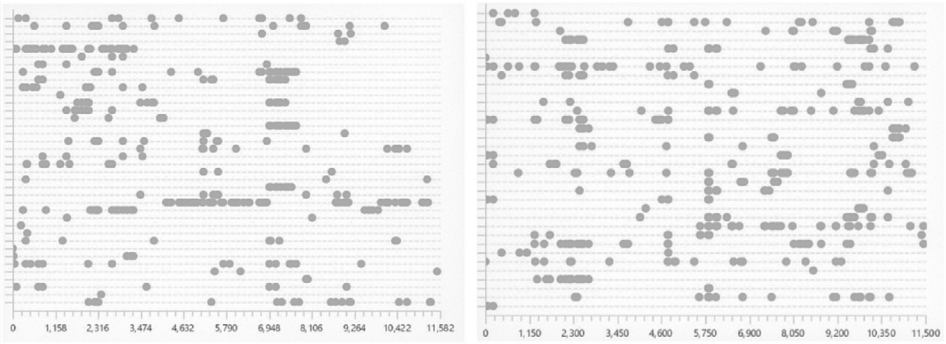

Figure 1. *From Wegener* et al. *(2017) showing reader annotations for* Mort *on the left and* The Hobbit *on the right. Each dot indicates an annotation by a reader. The x axis shows cell-based progression through the text and on the y axis each line indicates an individual reader.*

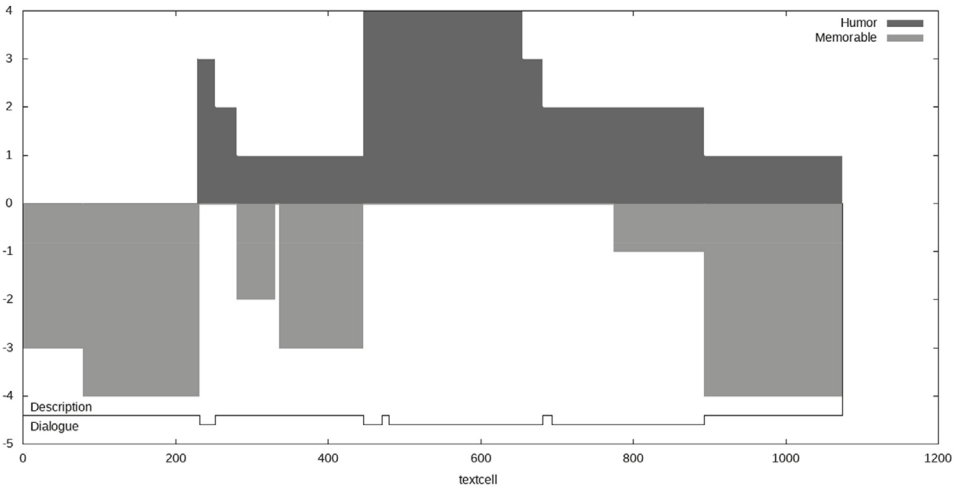

Figure 2. *Annotation locations for humour and memorability on a text excerpt from* The Hobbit. *The excerpt is the first meeting of Gandalf and Bilbo and includes dialogue and description. The sections of the text with more annotations (value 4 for humour or -4 for memorability) have over a million annotations when combined with GoodReads data.*

We also see that readers show a strong preference for areas with grammatical repetition and balance for amusement and with description for memorability.

3.2. *The classroom as a laboratory*

While it is not as controlled an environment as the lab setting, the classroom can also provide a valuable means for collecting data at the same time as it gives students an opportunity to learn about experimentation, data collection, data protection and research ethics.

As a part of my class on opinion and emotion in text for undergraduate students we conduct a short experiment in class at the end of semester where students read four poems. As each class has at least 20 students each semester, the accumulated readings of the poems very quickly increase. These poems have been selected from a corpus of Australian and Canadian poetry that was compiled at RWTH Aachen University. From this larger corpus, I have selected a set of poems from both countries that focus on the seasons as a central theme. Four poems (two from each country) can be selected that either match or clash with the season that the students reading the poems are currently in when reading.

Australian and Canadian poetry was selected not only because it fits within the post-colonial literature theme within the Department, but also because the two countries share many things in common. However, while Canada and Australia have many similarities, they are in different hemispheres with very different seasonal experiences and environments. While undergraduate students in Germany or Austria are unlikely to have visited either Australia or Canada (this is something that is captured on the reader demographics), they are much more likely to be familiar with imagery from Canada than from Australia. This allows us to explore the impact of culture and experience on reactions to verbal art.

The reading experiment is designed to fit within a class time frame, including time for introductory materials and set up and for discussion after the experiment. The poems in the stimulus set are relatively short and can all be read within 5 minutes in total. The experiment includes a short reader demographic survey, a readability and comprehension score, and a likeability and relatability score for each poem. In addition to this, the students are asked to annotate each poem for things that make them smile, things they find difficult to understand, and things that they find sad. After completing the tasks, the students go for a short walk on the roof of our building

and then come back to the classroom after which they are asked to write down any lines that they remember from the four poems without looking at the poems again. If the experiment is conducted at the start of the semester, this memorability test can be done again at the end of the semester to track longer-term memorability.

However, the classroom is not the only space where this can be conducted. As part of their coursework for the class, the students take another set of four poems from the seasons corpus and replicate the experiment with their own participants. This vastly extends the number of people that can be covered in a short space of time and, although it is lower-quality data, it provides a very clear insight into the sorts of patterns that we can look for with better-quality data from a more controlled environment. Because the poems are on rotation, the students can compare their findings to each other and to previous classes that looked at those poems. In some classes we are also able to team up with students in Australia so that the class can run their experiments on students in Australia.

What we find from this sort of experimentation is that there is a large degree of consistency and predictability, not in what individuals will like or dislike, but in what the class will like and dislike, what they will remember and what they will relate to for each poem. Regardless of whether individuals like or dislike the Australian poems, they are always rated lower than the Canadian poems in each class whether in Germany or Austria. By comparison, when we have had small samples of Australian participants, they have rated all poems higher on average and all Australian participants have rated the Australian poems higher than the Canadian poems and higher than the German and Austrian participants. Over the course of running this experiment, we have had a few American and Canadian students take part and they are consistent with the German and Austrian students in their ratings.

What is always surprising to the students with this study is the memorability, although it is highly predictable and easily explained. Regardless of whether they like or dislike the poem, all students remember lines from the poems that are connected to sensory experience in some way. For example, from all of the poems, the lines that are remembered the most, both in short term memorability and longer term (3-month break) are the following:

> the air smells of tomato-vines, and the hoarse rasping tendrils of pumpkin
> He stands there, lost in a green confusion, smelling the smoke of somebody's rubbish Burning,
> hearing vaguely the clatter of a dish in a sink that could be his,

all from the poem *Homo Suburbiensis* by Bruce Dawe, which, even though this is one of the lowest-ranked poems for the German and Austrian participants, is the most dense with sensory terms. Language that evokes sensory experience is more readily recalled and is more likely to trigger an affective response. The other two most consistently recalled lines are also from an Australian poem that is ranked quite low by the non-Australian readers – *A flowering Eucalypt in Autumn* by Les Murray. These are:

> like a sneeze in a redhaired nostril
> parrot gang with green pocketknife wings.

The interesting aspect here is that these are both annotated as amusing and are recalled for different reasons by the Australian and non-Australian readers. The non-Australian readers recall these lines because they are strange and funny, while the Australian readers recall them because they are very relatable and funny.

These experiments offer a way for students to experience the shared and non-shared aspects of reader evaluation with poetry, but they also provide insight into the role that culture and social experience play in our reading of verbal art.

3.3. *Experimentation as public outreach*

Like the classroom, public outreach events and open days offer an excellent opportunity to collect many diverse responses to verbal art. Unlike the classroom, a public event such as an open day or science fair is likely to have a much wider age range and a more diverse cross section of the general population. Previously, we have used events such as the Hildesheim University *Mittsommernacht* Festival (cf. Figure 3) to collect large samples of people engaging in conversation with a voice assistant. The downside of collecting research data in these situations is the difficulty in getting informed consent and the increased likelihood that you will be working with minors, who require special forms of informed consent and data protection. While this can be problematic for the reuse of this data, it can also be an opportunity to use more diverse consent models such as living labs and opt-in models.

Until recently, the quality and reliability of field-based eye-tracking tools were not sufficient to enable eye-tracking to be conducted in the field, particularly at events where the devices are likely to get some rough treat-

ment. However, recent developments in this area have made it possible to do field-based eye-tracking, including for large events. Our multimodality lab in Salzburg has just purchased a set of eye-tracking glasses that would enable us to run demonstrations at public outreach events. We will be running such a demonstration at the upcoming *Mittsommernacht* Festival where we can display poetry and short stories using different typefaces and layout designs. This would enable us to both demonstrate how eye-trackers work and to also collect data on reading and multimodality using verbal art as a stimulus.

Together with media informatics students at Hildesheim University, we are working on building mixed media displays that can show participants at the festival how their own reactions to verbal art compares to others' in real time. This would give us the opportunity to show the relationship between the individual and the group and make blending the lab with the crowd not just a way to conduct research, but also a way to communicate and share research.

Figure 3. *Public outreach events such as the Hildesheim University* Mittsommernacht *are an excellent opportunity to engage in a form of citizen science, explain concepts, and collect useful data. Images are the author's own.*

4. The lab and the crowd: the personal and the shared

Hasan (2007, p. 25) makes the point that "the challenge for the creator of verbal art is [...] striking a chord in the reader across substantial distances in time and space, even though the roots of theme lie in the artist's own social existence". If they are successful, they bridge the gap between the individual and the group.

When we look at a text as evidence, we are considering it as part of an argument. The text forms part of a body of evidence for claims about the semiotic behaviour of an individual or group, the nature of a group of texts or text-types, the nature of a language or the linguistic system, or more broadly about the social system, be it a point in history, a point in individual development, or shifts within the text itself (beginning, middle, end etc.).

When we look at individuals reading texts, we are looking at the complex interplay of contextual features and this means it is necessary to capture contextual metadata about all of these different aspects of text, author, and reader. But it is also necessary to see the different processes that are at play when we conduct research of this nature. Research is by no means neutral and as researchers, when conducting research, we are ourselves part of a social process that has its own contextual parameters.

To capture at least some of this complexity, it is necessary to combine different approaches that together can give us some insight into how readers react to different forms of verbal art. This approach can show us what is unique about individual readers, but more importantly, it can show us what is shared. Not through the concept of an "ideal reader" or through an "authoritative voice", but through highlighting our shared humanity in response to "these universal themes of human existence bracketed between being and not being" (Hasan 2011, p. xvi).

As Hasan (2007, p. 15) puts it, "if the academic discipline is to have any sense, and dignity, rather than being aimed at the imitation or reproduction of the teacher's, or authoritative literary critic's, reactions to and extrinsic evaluations of literature, as it most commonly is, it should be about enabling the student, across cultural distance, to 'speak the author's language'".

SFL and discourse analysis at the interface

section 2

Tackling "post-truth" culture through inclusion and diversity

Building on Gramsci and Halliday

Tom Bartlett

Foreword

I have been a friend and colleague of Donna Miller's for nearly twenty years and, during that time, we have presented – and partied – at many of the same conferences, and collaborated on a number of projects. One such event was when, in February 2019, I was invited to the University of Bologna to present a plenary talk at the DIVE-IN (Diversity and Inclusion) Conference and, to make full use of my stay, Donna arranged for me to give talks not only within her Department, but also at the Fondazione Gramsci di Bologna. This event remains one of the absolute highlights of my academic career.

The following paper, which I am delighted to contribute to this Festschrift in honour of Donna, is a slightly updated version of the paper I sent to the Fondazione in advance of my talk, and which was translated into Italian by Gabriele Lazzari, a student at the University of Bologna at the time[1].

My first encounter with the ideas of Gramsci was in a bar in Edinburgh called Sandy Bell's, which is famous for the traditional Celtic music that is played there. In this bar I met both my wife and the Director of the School of Scottish Studies at the University of Edinburgh, Hamish Henderson. Hamish would be in Bell's many afternoons drinking Isle of Jura whisky and talking about music, folklore – and politics. For Hamish was not only one of the most celebrated folklore collectors in Scotland, he was also a political orator and activist. He served as a Captain in the British Army in Italy in the Second World War, where he was attached to the Partisans and, on his

1. Gabriele's translation is available at https://drive.google.com/file/d/1WC33pR-KLerkupAbm3xP-fOroH_VkNsMZ/view.

return in 1950, he was expelled for speaking on behalf of the Partisans for Peace. Hamish was sent the first edition of *Lettere dal Carcere* in 1947 and was the first to translate the letters into English (Gramsci 1988).

In his own poetry, and particularly his songs, Hamish often expressed socialist ideals in the Scots vernacular. His best-known song is the *Freedom Come All Ye*, which closes with this verse:

So come all ye at hame wi' Freedom,
Never heed whit the hoodies croak for doom.
In your hoose a' the bairns o' Adam
Can find breid, barley-bree and painted room.
When MacLean meets wi's freens in Springburn
A' the roses and geans will turn tae bloom,
And a black boy frae yont Nyanga
Dings the fell gallows o' the burghers doon.

In standard English this would be:

So come all you who are at home with freedom
Don't pay attention to the crows who foretell disaster
In your house all the children of Adam
Will find bread, whisky and painted room.
When MacLean[2] meets with his friends in Springburn[3]
All the roses and cherry blossom will come out in bloom
And a black boy from distant Nyanga
Will knock down the vile barracks of the bourgeoisie.
(My rewording in Standard English)

Hamish's mix of politics and folklore has clear resonances with Gramsci, his political hero:

> The spirit of folklore studies should be changed, as well as deepened and extended. Folklore must not be considered an eccentricity, an oddity or a picturesque element, but as something which is very serious and which is to be taken seriously. Only in this way will the teaching of folklore be more

2. A Scottish schoolteacher and revolutionary socialist of the Red Clydeside era.
3. Working class area of Glasgow.

> efficient and really bring about the birth of a new culture among the broad popular masses, so that the separation between modern culture and popular culture of folklore will disappear. (Gramsci, Quaderno 27, Section 1, in Forgacs, Nowell-Smith 1985, p. 191)

This ideal, shared by Henderson and Gramsci, of using the vernacular to popularise socialist principles resonates with the theme of the current paper, which I would like to dedicate to Hamish Henderson, or Captain Comrade as he was mischievously called by his friend and fellow socialist, the Gaelic poet Sorley MacLean, in this, the centenary of his birth[4].

I will return to this theme towards the end of this paper when I touch on the concept of "post-truth" and possible responses from linguistic theory, another avenue of Gramsci's thought. In the following section, I follow Gramsci's desire to "apply the critical methods of historical materialism" to linguistics (Gramsci 1982, p. 612) and in particular the following central ideas: "In language too there is no parthenogenesis, language producing other language. Innovations occur through the interference of different cultures, and this happens in very different ways" (Gramsci 1975, p. 739);

> every speaking being has a personal language of his (or her) own, that is his own particular way of thinking and feeling. Culture, at its various levels, unifies in a series of strata, to the extent that they come into contact with each other, a greater or lesser number of individuals who understand each other's mode of expression in differing degrees, etc. It is these historico-social distinctions and differences which are reflected in common language. (*Ibid.*, p. 1330)

This aspect of Gramsci's work takes us to the linguistics of Michael Halliday, which is a materialist theory in two interrelated ways. Firstly, for Halliday, meaning-making is behaviour, and language is a means of behaving. In this way linguistic structures are functional structures and the language system, rather than being a set of rules, is a resource for different behaviours according to a speaker's needs as motivated by the context. Halliday therefore talks of the language system as a meaning potential, from which it follows that it is also a behavioural potential. This point is summed up by Halliday's (1978, p. 4) well-known aphorism that "language is as it is because of the functions it has evolved to serve in people's lives".

4. For an interesting potted biography, cf. http://ourhistory-hayes.blogspot.com/2010/12/.

For Halliday, the functions of language fall into three main categories, corresponding to relatively discrete sections of the grammar (or lexicogrammar, as Halliday sees words and structures at the same level of abstraction). He calls these three areas the ideational, the interpersonal and the textual metafunctions.

The ideational metafunction is concerned with our representation of our experiences, our contact with the external or embodied world, and the logical connections between these. Halliday suggests that across languages the lexicogrammar distinguishes material, relational and mental processes, with English also having developed specific lexicogrammatical reactances for verbal, behavioural and existential processes.

The interpersonal metafunction concerns the way we use language to express ourselves as individuals and to orient towards our fellow speakers. Lexicogrammatical categories such as mood, modality and evaluation are interpersonal functions, structures that allow us to ask questions, give commands and take stances.

The textual metafunction refers to the way in which speakers create coherent and intelligible stretches of text when conveying ideational and interpersonal meaning and includes functions such as salience marking (through intonational prominence) and the signalling of continuity and change as texts develop beyond the clause.

Within the textual metafunction we also have deixis, the lexicogrammatical resources for signalling the relationship between different elements with the text and between textual referents and the material context. Within this category I would include tense, as temporal deixis. In this way a text can be situated with respect to the deictic centre of the speaker, while the combination of textual resources allows for speakers to orient their talk to different spatiotemporal frames or, following Bakhtin (1981), to invoke "chronotopes" of different scales.

The three metafunctions operate simultaneously, and at all times, across a text. However, while they are relatively independent and can be combined in different ways, in practice their combination is generally routinised into registers, configurations of ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings that correspond, in holistic fashion, to the contextual features of field of activity, interpersonal relations between the speakers and the role and material substance of the text within the activity.

The second way in which Halliday's theory of language is material is in that linguistic resources are unequally distributed across society as a function of each group's relation to the division of labour and the sociali-

sation of individuals within these groups. Gramsci, as we saw above, also made the point that ways of speaking are unevenly distributed according to class distinctions, and added to this, in his criticism of Gentile's educational reforms, that the failure to teach working-class and peasant children standard Italian "ensured that only children from educationally advantaged backgrounds, already culturally homogenised with the school system, would do well", so strengthening and reproducing class divisions (Forgacs, Nowell-Smith 1985, p. 166). This is very similar to the point made in Hallidayan linguistics, drawing on the works of the sociologist Basil Bernstein:

> In Bernstein's view there exists a logical relationship between the principles of power and control, as expressed in forms of the division of labour in society which leads to an "invidious" distribution of social resources due to unequal power relations in society; this, in turn, gives rise to social classes, as an expression of these relations. At the semiotic level this socio-political structure is realised as varieties of dominating and dominated codes which regulate forms of communication between and within the social classes. (Hasan *et al.* 2007, p. 700)

We can illustrate this phenomenon at two different levels. Cloran and Hasan recorded the interactions of mothers and children across a range of social classes (defined in terms of the level of autonomy within the workplace) and found a correlation between the degree of contextualisation of joint interactions in the home and autonomy in the workplace. From here Bernstein discusses how children for low-autonomy backgrounds struggle in the early years of school when they come into contact with the middle-class coding orientations that dominate there.

The important point here, for both Gramsci and Halliday, is that, if we take language as a behavioural resource, then linguistic stratification of this sort is more than difference in the accidentals of language, such as lexis or accent, with some varieties afforded more prestige than others; it amounts to a difference in behavioural possibilities for different sectors of society and the valorisation of specific behaviours (not just their outward forms) over others. A point of difference between the two would be that while Gramsci was concerned with dialectal differences amounting at times to mutual unintelligibility at the most basic level, for Halliday these differences are of a different order to surface differences in dialects and occur between different coding orientations that on the surface appear to be mutually intelligible.

At this point, then, I should add my usual corollary to Halliday's dictum about language evolving to satisfy interactional needs and make the converse claim that social interaction has evolved the way it has because of the linguistic tools at its disposal.

From an evolutionary, or phylogenetic perspective, it is not valid to posit the existence of functions before forms, as if nature had a teleological purpose. Functions arise out of structural potential and mutations in contextual niches. In terms of socialisation, or the ontogenetic perspective, we can interpret this in terms of individual subjects learning to fulfil certain social functions through the acquisition of the specific linguistic repertoires, or behavioural codes, to which they are exposed.

The relationship between codes, registers and language systems in the Hallidayan model is captured in Figure 1.

In brief, this schema tries to capture several key ideas: 1. that, in terms of instantiation, we have a single system that can be narrowed down in performance to specific codes, which are comprised of various registers which are abstractions across the performance of individual texts; and 2. that, in terms of stratification, the behavioural options within a culture are realised through the semantic options in the language system which are, in turn, realised through lexicogrammatical forms and ultimately in sounds.

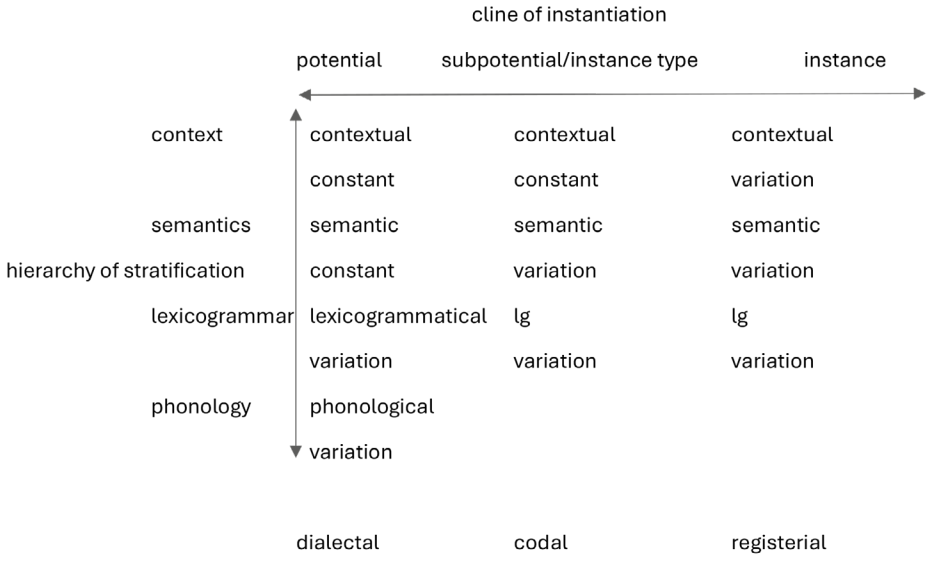

Figure 1. *The relationship between codes, registers and language systems in the Hallidayan model.*

A difficult point to grasp, but an essential one at this point, is that this is a topological hierarchy and not a typological hierarchy. In other words, registers are not discrete systems; rather, the relationship between them is one of overlaps and probabilities, with no superordinate defining element shared across them, as with Wittgenstein's analogy of family resemblances rather than an irreducible essence linking the different senses of a word. In this sense, then, the context of culture that is said to unite these registers is itself an "imaginary" (cf. Anderson 1983).

Gramsci viewed language in a hierarchical sense as well, with standard Italian as the most culturally advanced form of the language which had succeeded in imposing itself as the norm through influence rather than force. It was, indeed, Gramsci's understanding of the spread of the standard language through influence rather than coercion that was the basis for his conception of "hegemony" as the normalisation of existing power imbalances through the works of the intelligentsia and state apparatuses and the strategic assimilation of aspects of opposing ideologies when this naturalised ideology was under threat. In this way Gramsci saw the most successful route for the "organic intellectual" to have an influence on society (as opposed to the moribund practices of the middle class intellectual elites) was through the adoption of the standard language and access to the intellectual fora that shaped everyday ideological practices – a process that could be sped up through the normative teaching of Italian. Again, this idea is echoed in Halliday, via Bernstein (2000, p. 12), who claims that access to the dominant code for the non-elite allows for the weakening of that framework through subversive messages that are nonetheless framed according to dominant norms and hence legitimated.

This is not the place to delve into Gramsci's conceptualisation of hegemony beyond pointing to the foundational nature of his thinking in demonstrating, firstly, that control is discursively constructed and, secondly, that, while it is the State that holds power as the historical unity of the ruling classes, "the fundamental historic unity, concretely, results from the organic relations between State or political society and civil society" (Gramsci 1971, p. 52). The extent to which this reconceptualisation of power breaks with the primacy of the economic in Marxist theory is much debated but, for the neo-Gramscian Discourse Theory of Laclau and Mouffe, the break is substantial in that Gramsci's notion of the integral state shows that Marxism is capable of accounting for the ethico-political and, in doing so, Gramsci expands the concept of the political beyond the economic into all walks of life and means of group identification (Mouffe 1981, p. 177, in Torfing 1999).

For the discourse theorists, then, who advocate the primacy of the political, the pursuit of hegemony involves the creation of chains of equivalence between seemingly disparate groups, couched in terms of their opposition to an antagonistic grouping, a "constitutive other", as the very means by which the opposed group is identified. The formation of a populist alliance of multimillionaires and the dispossessed poor against a perceived political elite presents itself here as an all-too accessible example.

In later formulations of Discourse Theory, Mouffe (1981) recognises the multiple means of group identification in late modernity – sexual orientation, class, the environment, etc. – and the problems this creates for forming coherent chains of equivalence. In response she advocates Radical Democracy as a form of "agonism", in which opponents are seen as friendly adversaries rather than as enemies, and points of disagreement are regarded as catalysts to innovation rather than as dead ends. Within this approach the constitutive other is elevated to a higher level of abstraction as those who will not enter into such radical democratic and agonistic politics but prefer to adhere to millenarian and fixed ideologies. Such an approach therefore necessitates a rearticulation of identities away from singular "allegiance [...] to a certain place or a certain property" (Torfing 1999, p. 255) and towards multiple, pluralistic and supralocal identities.

In this way we see a conception of unity not in terms of a superordinate hierarchy, but of a linking together of chains of family resemblance – as with Halliday and Hasan's formulation of registerial variation, but with the imaginary concept of a single culture holding them together now dissolved as the theoretical possibility of a diverse yet ultimately hermetically-sealed culture becomes untenable in this age of supranationalism and superdiversity.

Such an approach has been taken up in linguistics via the concept of scales, which was developed in human geography. In basic terms, scales theory states that the activity of small units such as villages is qualitatively different from that of larger units such as towns, while the nature of interaction between them is different again. In other words, a village is not a microcosm of a city, which is not a microcosm of a country. According to this logic, as taken into linguistics, different discourses have different scopes of legitimacy – some operating only locally, while others are effective nationally or even at the global scale. To put it another way, discourses operate to centring institutions of different scales and, following Durkheim, each of these institutions brings with it attendant norms and values.

In early linguistic work on scales, with a concern for migration, imbalances of power and the ability of migrants to make themselves understood

supralocally, much was made of the concept of upscaling, or reformulating ideas in a way that made them legitimate beyond local boundaries, and it was often assumed that this process correlated in a very direct way with the scope of reference of the texts (or chronotope, to return to Bakhtin's term), such that more generalised texts carried more weight than more heavily contextualised texts (there are resonances here with the contextualised language found in Cloran and Hasan's studies). More recently, however, work (including my own) has challenged this notion to suggest that on occasions it is the more localised code that will carry legitimacy (Bartlett 2012) and that it is, therefore, necessary not to upscale local talk but to downscale global talk – in other words to value and make use of the "local particularism" (Gramsci, Quaderno 29, Section 2, in Forgacs, Nowell-Smith 1985, p. 182) that Gramsci sought to overcome through the assimilation of the organic intellectual into the hegemonic bloc.

So, what of the title of my paper and the concept of "post-truth"?

This is a term that originated in the scientific and expert community to refer to the fact that the populace and/or voters no longer respect the evidence of science but base their identification practices and voting patterns on emotions and what Gramsci might call folkloric conceptions of the world. For me, however, this is only one side of the story, and one which covers over a dual responsibility of scientists and their failure to fulfil these in the post-truth environment.

Firstly, there is a pressing need for scientists to make their messages understood by the populace, and by "understanding" I mean both "comprehension and empathy". This means putting their messages across in codes appropriate to different scales of operation and the concerns of those who inhabit these scales of activity. And in line with Halliday's conception of register, this means attending to the ideational, interpersonal and textual behaviours of the social group in question as they are realised through the language they use.

And secondly, scientists and experts need to understand local discourses as coherent systems in their own right. This is not to reduce science to folklore, but to understand how local systems operate and cohere and how global actions are refracted at lower scales. And, as a by-product, the scientists themselves may be able to assimilate some aspects of local knowledge into their own systems and according to their own coding orientations.

In other words, without denying the truth of science, there are multiple ways in which this can be refracted and hence understood as it impacts on different systems and at different scales. And, as with the concept of radical

democracy, there is no one-size-fits-all supralocal imaginary to which we can all adhere, but a kaleidoscope of interlocking discourses that between them, and according to different logics, create consent without coercion. There is a need then for a constant process of upscaling and downscaling, as communities and voters try to explain at a broad level of abstraction their own needs as they operate within their local systems, and as scientists try to bring their grand conceptions down to life-size and make them both relevant and answerable to local concerns. A materialist theory of language as functionally oriented and as socially distributed, and hence responsive to context in different ways, provides one necessary tool in this endeavour.

Ways of meaning, ways of acting

Exploring identity and intersubjective positioning in TED Talks on climate change[1]

Cinzia Bevitori

> In itself the power of language is simply a potential; its semiotic energy requires the ideological spur of the speaker to be activated; the active principle is always the socially positioned speaker.
>
> (Hasan 2003, p. 447)

> Any step towards the truth (as linguists strive to define it) is a step away from anything that is computationally straightforward.
>
> (Kilgarriff 1977, p. 144)

1. Introduction

This chapter examines some linguistic and discursive resources of intersubjective positioning and identity in a specialised corpus of TED Talks on climate change. It combines corpus methods and techniques with the theoretical and analytical tools of Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and the appraisal system, concerned with how evaluative language is employed by speakers/writers to align readers along shared values and attitudes (Martin, White 2005). This represents one of Miller's well-established research areas, strategically and synergically bringing together different, apparently incompatible, theoretical and methodological strands, which has been largely inspirational for a younger generation of scholars striving to cross boundaries in their work. However, as Miller has brilliantly shown in her many valuable contributions to the field, crossing methodological, as well as theoretical, boundaries means constantly facing inevitable "hurdles" (Miller 2016a). These have been reflexively addressed by Miller throughout her scholarly career; indeed, our shared task in assessing the strengths and

1. An earlier version of this paper was presented at the 29th ESFL Conference, University of Leira (Portugal), 3-5 July 2019.

shortcomings of corpus-assisted meaning analysis to a variety of registers (Miller *et al*. 2014, Bayley, Bevitori 2016, Bartlett 2021b) has long served as a challenging and vital guiding principle to advance our research goals.

In this exceptionally small-scale investigation, I build on my longstanding interest in media representation(s) of climate change and evaluative stance to look into language resources acting to construe affiliation and attitudinal alignment with the "putative" addressee (White 2021). The article provides an exploratory case study that examines a purpose-built, specialised corpus of TED Talks on the issue of climate change. While previous work on this area of inquiry has mostly focused on some rhetorical and linguistic features concerning science popularisation (e.g., Caliendo 2012, Sugimoto *et al*. 2013, Scotto Di Carlo 2014), I argue that the dissemination of scientific knowledge by experts to the lay public in this specific context not only depends on registerial features of the genre but is also shaped by the intersubjective/dialogistic role played by the speaker in aligning and affiliating with communities (Drasoevan, Tagg 2015, Don 2019).

The aim of the paper is thus to investigate how TED speakers negotiate meaning with their audience as regards the topic at issue, how language resources contribute to that negotiation, what kind of identity is enacted, and for what purpose(s).

The paper is organised as follows. Section 2 will briefly introduce TED talks in terms of register. Section 3 describes the corpus, as well as the methodological and theoretical framework. Section 4 reports some selected findings and Section 5 briefly concludes.

2. TED Talks as a "displaced" register and "affinity" space

TED (an acronym standing for *Technology, Entertainment, Design*) talks are socially-contextualised discourses aimed at "spread[ing] ideas"[2] and knowledge by inspiring, or better "enlightening", a wide audience in a supportive environment. While the talks are first delivered as live events, they are also recorded and disseminated to online audiences through the TED website, and eventually through other social platforms. Although not explicitly intended to create "echo chambers", the recontextualisation and remedia-

2. It is beyond the scope of this paper to review the notion of register (i.e., recurrent configurations of linguistic choices across the three metafunctions) – a key concept within SFL theory (e.g., Halliday 1978); for a discussion of hybridity in a variety of registers from an SFL perspective, cf. Miller, Bayley (eds.) (2016).

tion of knowledge in this digital environment (Bevitori, Russo 2023) contribute to aligning and affiliating with online communities and their existing preferences and beliefs. Similarly to academic lectures (cf. Johnson, this volume), TED speakers convey judgement, express attitudes, and guide the audience towards preferred interpretations and world views.

Yet, despite some similarities, their purpose is different. While lectures aim to educate, the talks aim to share ideas and engage the audience, thus "breach[ing] typical 'scientist-mediator-audience' triangularization" (Scotto di Carlo 2014, p. 6). Although speakers establish themselves and the audience as members of a particular community, this is not a disciplinary one, but one of "affinity" – shared interests, values, and common goals. Indeed, the talks may be regarded as a multimodal and multiliteracy affinity space (Gee 2004), triggering active participation and engagement on the ted-com platform through "community-building functionalities" (Drasoevan, Tagg 2015, p. 1).

While their educational and "infotainment" communicative purpose is seemingly one of the main goals as defined by rules and regulations published on the TED platform[3], the talks may be more aptly defined as a "performance" that "'participates' in several genres and continuously 'reconstitutes' them" (Threadgold 1989, quoted in Isaac 2016, p. 133). Hence, as a "hybrid" and "permeable" (Hasan 2016, Matthiessen, Teruya 2016) register at the crossroads between professional and educational discourses, with an "entertaining" slant, they can be regarded as an instance of "displaced" registers (Hasan 2015, in Lukin 2018, p. 113), i.e., registers in which the addressee is unknown, mass and virtual. Moreover, they show features of registerial "indeterminacy" (Matthiessen, Teruya 2016); i.e., a mixture of registers, blending and blurring ways to engage the audience by recreating a personal, and I would claim, political narrative, which is not dissimilar from that of political advertising (Duranti 2006, Silverstein 2011).

3. Corpus, methods and theoretical framework

For the purpose of this study, the analysis will focus on a small, yet highly specialised corpus (CC-TED corpus) containing 14 transcribed talks on the topic of climate change, amounting to approximately 35,000 running words. Most of the speeches included in the corpus are among those delivered at TED events in the period 2008-2018, and purposefully selected

3. Cf. https://www.ted.com/participate/organize-a-local-tedx-event/before-you-start/tedx-rules.

by TED Educators to "illuminate the nature and scale of current-day climate science, policy and ethics"[4]. Methodologically and theoretically, this paper combines quantitative and qualitative dimensions of investigation in a "symbiotic and synergistic relationship" (Halliday 2006, p. 293, Miller 2016a, p. 211). On the quantitative/qualitative paradigm, as Halliday (2005, p. 76, cf. also Bevitori 2014, p. 607) crucially posits:

> Qualitatively, there will be certain key discourses which carry special value, either intrinsically, because they somehow distil the semiotic essence of their moment in space-time, or extrinsically because they played a critical part in the ongoing material events [...]. Quantitatively, on the other hand, dominant semiotic motifs emerge more or less gradually over time; to access and evaluate these one needs a corpus of contextualized discourses that can be examined and interpreted as a whole.

As in much corpus-assisted research, the specialised corpus is used as an "echo-chamber" (Thompson, Hunston 2006, p. 13, Miller *et al*. 2014, Miller 2016a) to focus on "circumscribed, apparently preferred, and so, perhaps, 'probabilistic' patterns of actualized meaning potential" (Miller, Johnson 2009a, pp. 39-40, cf. also Halliday 1990, 1993), bearing in mind benefits and constraints (Miller *et al*. 2014), and with the proviso that although some "manifestations of meaning are measurable, measurability is not an essential property of meaning" (Halliday 2013 [2005], p. 197).

4. Findings and discussion

Due to space constraints, the analysis will focus on some select lexical choices and pronominal choices to shed some light on the speakers' identity in the construction of their intersubjective positioning.

4.1. *Sensing: "knowing" and "seeing"*

Let me begin with a passage from the incipit of a TED talk by the very influential climate scientist, James Hansen, given at one main TED event a few years ago[5]:

4. https://www.ted.com/read/ted-studies/environmental-studies.

5. Throughout this chapter, italics were added by the author to emphasise key elements in the examples and related discussion.

1. What do *I know that would cause me, a reticent, Midwestern scientist, to get myself* arrested in front of the White House protesting? And what would you do if *you knew* what *I know*? Let's start with how I got to this point. (J. Hansen, *Why I must speak about the climate*, 2012)

To begin with, the why-question in the title, followed by the use of first person and modal expressing meanings of obligation/necessity ("Why I must"), acts to position the addressee to accept an explanation/justification of the urgency to deal with the topic at issue. Similarly, the "entertaining" function of the expository question – "What" – acting as a key strategy of dialogic involvement, functions to achieve solidarity by bringing the audience closer to the speaker's concerns. More interestingly, through strategies of repetition and parallelism of the senser+process of cognition ("I know"), the speaker construes himself as involved in this conscious processing. At the same time, though, the verbal phrase realises meanings of epistemic modality, through which the speaker construes a credible and reliable authorial stance. This is also reinforced by the adjective "reticent" ("*reticent,* Midwestern scientist"), as a token value of inscribed judgement: social esteem.

Though not the focus of this study, the multimodal ensemble of the event showing the scientist being arrested by the police on the wide screen behind him acts to reinforce the credibility and reliability of the speaker[6]. Visual and linguistic modes jointly perform a main referential strategy providing evidence and acting as a testimonial in distinct ways. By sharing his personal and political story, the climate scientist not only rhetorically enacts the double social role of the expert and storyteller but he also manages to establish trustworthiness at different levels.

The passage provides many insights for detecting stance and intersubjectivity for paths worth exploring further. In light of this, and very succinctly, in the spirit of corpus-assisted meaning analysis, a cursory look at occurrences of the mental Process of cognition *know* reveals that mental processes are the most frequent type in the corpus (Figure 1).

The item "know" appears among the top 20 words in the wordlist and is the second-ranked most frequent mental process with a relative frequency of 0.17 per thousand tokens, only preceded by "think" (r.f. 0.18). Moreover, a cursory look at the top ten collocates (Table 1) shows that "know" tends

6. At the time the head of NASA Institute, Hansen was one of the over 500 people peacefully protesting against the harvesting of fossil fuels at the White House in August 2011.

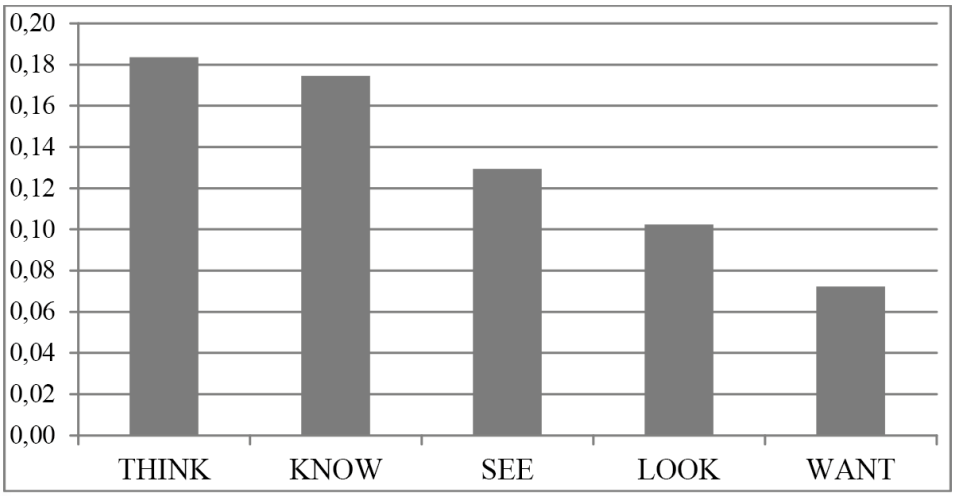

Figure 1. *Top 30 mental processes in the corpus (relative frequency per thousand of words).*

to be co-selected in patterns of negative polarity, personal pronouns "you", "we" and "I", and the auxiliary "Do"[7].

As Table 1 shows, the item "n't" as a marker of engagement (contracting: denial) emerges as a strong collocate of the word "know", functioning as a key rhetorical device. Alongside other resources, this is typically found in the interrogative mood, negative polarity, which coupled with the first person pronoun plural, "we", construe the audience as axiologically aligned to accept that knowledge.

Extract 2 illustrates this:

> 2. But *don't we already know* what we need to know about greenhouse gases? Why do we need to study this anymore? *Don't we already know* how they affect temperatures? *Don't we already know* the consequences of a changing climate on our settled civilization? (L. Hotz, *Inside an Antarctic time machine*, 2010)

Patterns of co-selection are indicative of typical strategies exploited by TED speakers in aligning the audience by raising awareness of the climate crisis and fostering communal ways of acting (Table 2).

7. The capitalised word indicates the first word in the sentence; in the case of "Do", this is suggestive of the interrogative mood.

Table 1. *Top 10 word collocates of "know" in TED-CC corpus.*

	Freq	**T-score**	**MI**
n't	15	3.815	6.084
You	9	2.972	6.762
do	13	3.516	5.342
you	14	3.633	5.117
Do	3	1.718	6.969
already	3	1.702	5.862
We	6	2.353	4.669
I	11	3.129	4.147
as	6	2.325	4.303
we	17	3.852	3.928
if	3	1.635	4.161

Table 2. *Sample of concordances of "know".*

science. The fact is that we simply don't	know	when the warming that we create will be ut
hey affect temperatures? Don't we already	know	the consequences of a changing climate on
d to study this anymore? Don't we already	know	how they affect temperatures? Don't we alr
But don't we already know what we need to	know	about greenhouse gases? Why do we need to
he eyes turned to me. (Laughter) I didn't	know	what to say. Kleiner's second law is, "The
consumer behavior because consumers don't	know	how much this stuff costs. Do you know? Do
nerated to drive here or fly here? I don't	know,	and I should. Those of us who care about
out cutting emissions. But we don't really	know	how quickly we have to cut them. There's a
e moral hazard problem, and I don't really	know	how we can best avoid the moral hazard. I
e enough, what are we going to do? I don't	know.	Everyone here cares about changing the wo
t of their scrutiny. But don't we already	know	what we need to know about greenhouse gase
house gases are rising too. What we don't	know	is the exact, precise, immediate impact of

It should be noted that the interpersonal conditional clause [*irrealis*] of the "if" + "knew" in both the incipit and extract 3 is another recurrent structural pattern:

3. *Do you know? Do you know* how much CO_2 you generated to drive here or fly here?
I don't know, and I should. Those of us who care about all this would act better *if we knew* what the real costs were. But as long as we pretend

> that CO2 is free, as long as these uses are nearly invisible, how can we expect change? (J. Doerr, *Salvation (and profit) in Greentech*, 2007)

If mental processes of cognition are a very frequent resource through which the speaker negotiates his/her expert identity, the mental process of perception, "see" is the third most frequently occurring mental process in our material with a relative frequency of 0.13 per thousand tokens. Extract 4, for example, shows that through processes of perceptive sensing ("see" but also "touch", "hear", "feel"), the speaker positions the audience to sense the reality of climate change here and now:

4. Ice has another meaning. Ice is the canary in the global coal mine. It's the place where *we can see* and touch and hear and feel climate change in action. (J. Balog, *Time-lapse proof of extreme ice loss,* 2009)

While the scientific evidence of the climate crisis is frequently perceived as abstract, and somehow distant, which is why it is often posited as one of the difficulties in raising interest and concern (Gustafson *et al.* 2020), by making changes visible to the audience through his personal story, the speaker acts to make the phenomenon more concrete. By so doing, he acts to recreate a context in which the spatial environment becomes an active element that shapes the narrative and remoulds the nature of social interactions between speaker and addressees and their affective bonds.

In the following section, the construal of speaker and addressee identity will be examined though a brief investigation of pronouns.

4.2. *Tracking identity through keywords: pronominal choices*

As a heuristic tool measuring the statistical salience of words in comparison to larger, multigeneric or domain-specific corpora, the analysis of keywords may be relevant for this study as it can provide a different way into the data. Technically, keywords are words occurring more frequently than in a general reference corpus. Here I make use of three different reference corpora available in Sketch Engine (Kilgarriff 2014): the multigeneric British National Corpus (BNC), the register-specific British Academic Spoken English (BASE), and a larger reference corpus of TED transcripts (Table 3). The use of different reference corpora provides different angles, orienting the analysis in empirical terms and facilitating the interpretation of data across different contexts.

Table 3. *Top 15 keywords across corpora.*

	TED-CC vs. BNC			TED-CC vs. BASE			TED-CC vs. TED		
	Term	**Score**	**Freq**	**Term**	**Score**	**Freq**	**Term**	**Score**	**Freq**
1	climate	4.89	155	I	5.1	337	climate	4.51	155
2	we	4.86	734	climate	4.85	155	ice	2.81	81
3	our	3.12	181	ice	3.05	81	emission	2.67	68
4	change	3.11	152	our	2.9	181	change	2.59	152
5	ice	3	81	emission	2.7	68	energy	2.29	77
6	world	2.87	116	energy	2.67	77	CO_2	2.09	42
7	energy	2.72	77	change	2.62	152	planet	2.03	62
8	emission	2.71	68	us	2.56	60	earth	1.84	40
9	planet	2.56	62	year	2.54	161	global	1.75	43
10	percent	2.37	55	planet	2.52	62	atmosphere	1.71	31
11	this	2.18	384	me	2.48	57	warming	1.69	29
12	about	2.16	187	percent	2.42	55	year	1.69	161
13	year	2.13	161	world	2.33	116	temperature	1.66	30
14	CO_2	2.09	42	CO_2	2.09	42	greenhouse	1.64	26
15	global	2.06	43	earth	2.04	40	gas	1.63	30

A cursory analysis shows that terms related to climate change, or its "aboutness", are consistent across the three corpora (e.g., "emissions", "energy", "CO_2", "planet", "Earth", "temperatures"). Yet, pronominal choice and self-positioning strategies are revealing in terms of interpersonal functionalities, or intersubjective stance, within this domain of analysis.

While the first person plural "we" emerges as a top keyword in our corpus as compared to the BNC, the first person pronoun singular "I" is ranked first when compared to BASE. This finding was somehow unexpected as some previous research has highlighted the use of first person pronouns as a powerful device to establish identity and authority in academic/educational settings (e.g., Hyland, Jiang 2017). Hence, what it suggests is a more personalised intersubjective, authorial voice in TED talks compared to academic lectures.

However, on close inspections, our data reveal that the first person pronoun tends to co-occur with expanding/contracting resources through patterns of denial/counter-expectancy ("I am not"/"but") in over 30% of all instances:

5. Now *I'm not* a scientist, *but* I was accompanying a remarkable scientific team from the University of South Florida who have been tracking the travels of BP's oil in the Gulf of Mexico. (N. Klein, *Addicted to Risk*, 2010)

6. Now, *I am not* an explorer. *I'm not* an environmentalist. *I'm actually* just a survivor, and these photographs that I'm showing you here are dangerous. They are the ice melt of the South and North Poles. And ladies and gentlemen, we need to listen to what these places are telling us. (R. Swan, *Let's save the last pristine continent*, 2014)

As discussed in previous work (cf. Bayley, Bevitori 2016, p. 241), this is a powerful feature of persuasive discourse, typically occurring in institutional and political settings. In the extracts above, by disclaiming his/her expert, authoritative voice/identity, the speaker acts to build empathy and engage with the audience, inviting them to an emotional response. It is more than simple facts and data. It is more about aligning and affiliating the audience in communal distinct ways.

5. Conclusion

The study has highlighted preferred ways through which TED speakers construct their intersubjective stance within this specialised domain of analysis. Unlike academic lectures, where the focus is on rhetorical strategies typically used to help students acquire and practice discipline-specific literacy, and unlike infotainment, where the entertaining live performance incorporates (political) information, their inherent registerial hybridity, alongside mechanisms of dialogistic engagement, point to a multifarious, complex dynamics through which meanings are negotiated. By enacting a multiplicity of roles and addressing a multiplicity of audiences, the talks provide an exceptionally persuasive platform to engage people in social and political change processes.

Appendix: CC-TED corpus

Speaker	**Title**
Lee Hotz	Inside an Antarctic time machine
James Balog	Time-lapse proof of extreme ice loss
James Hansen	Why I must speak out about climate change
Alan Gore	New thinking on the climate crisis
Vicki Arroyo	Let's prepare for our new climate
Naomi Klein	Addicted to Risk
Johan Rockstrom	Let the environment guide our development
Mary Robinson	Why Climate Change is a threat to human rights
David Keith	A critical look at geoengineering against climate change
Alice Bow-Larkin	Climate change is happening. Here's how we adapt
Nicolas Stern	The state of the climate – and what we might do about it
Rachel Pike	The science behind a climate headline
John Doerr	Salvation (and profit) in Greentech
Robert Swan	Let's save the last pristine continent

Persuasion by any means? That depends

Rhetorical insights into public oratory by Donna Rose Miller

Anne McCabe

1. Introduction

It is delightful to have the opportunity to celebrate Donna Rose Miller's work in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL). Donna's contributions to SFL have fully embraced the notion that grammar, according to Michael Halliday, is "no less than a theory of human experience, as well as a principle for social action" (Miller 2004a, p. 272). In this sense, I would like to highlight her sustained work as an elected official on the board of the European Systemic Functional Linguistic Association (ESFLA), a role which she has held since 2012, the year she was also Conference Convenor for the 23rd European Systemic Functional Linguistics Conference and Workshop (ESFLCW), held in Bertinoro, Italy. As anyone who has organised a conference knows, the dedication required is immense, and exemplifies Donna's commitment to bringing people together in celebration of language and its role in constructing all facets of human experience and relationships. I have also had the pleasure of working with Donna on the ESFLA board since 2015; Donna always has wise contributions to make experientially on any issue that arises related to the Association, and never fails to bring in the interpersonal with heartfelt support for others, in their personal, academic and professional lives. I first met Donna at an ESFLC, in Glasgow, 2000. I was very new to SFL, and Donna was highly welcoming. We were two fellow Americans, living, studying and working abroad, she in Italy and me in Spain. We both also had a strong interest in rhetoric, intrigued by the affordances offered through SFL analysis, and her presentation (Miller 2000) opened my eyes to the possibilities. Thus, the appeal of Donna's research in this area is both personal as well as scholarly. As I now turn to writing about her scholarly work, I will follow the academic convention of referring to her by last name.

2. SFL and rhetoric

This chapter focuses on Donna Rose Miller's research using SFL tools, as conceived by its main architect, Michael Halliday, and extended by others, such as Jim Martin and Christian Matthiessen. Halliday (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014) theorised that language serves three overall functions, or metafunctions: the "ideational", the ability for language to express our experience in the world, whether real or imagined; the "interpersonal", the ability for language to allow us to establish and maintain relationships with others as well as to express our opinions on propositions; and the "textual", which allows us to use language to order the first two metafunctions into coherent texts. A further theoretical concept, "register", captures the metafunctional nature of text in context. That is, texts bring together three contextual variables: field (what the text is about), tenor (the relationship between interactants) and mode (the channel of communication). Miller uses SFL tools rooted in these concepts to carry out rhetorical analysis of public oratory. Perhaps the most famous definition of rhetoric is Aristotle's "the faculty of observing in any given case the available means of persuasion". Indeed, Miller's research makes clear the affordances of using SFL to connect language choice to audience and context. SFL is a linguistic theory which has surprisingly been scarce in rhetorical studies in general, surprisingly precisely because it is a theory of language choice in context. Cockcroft and Cockcroft (2015) include SFL in their introductory textbook on rhetoric, explaining that Halliday's reworking of ideas about language choice provides crucial and generous theoretical support for the modern persuader, who needs to maintain a balance between audience, context and purpose "[and thus] his theory of the three language metafunctions [...] is essential to our linking of new linguistic theory with older rhetoric" (*ibid.*, p. 43).

Thus, Miller's in-depth and extensive body of research is a vital addition to the growing and solid applications of SFL (cf. Humphrey 2013, Chen, Zhang 2024) to augment more traditional understandings of rhetoric based on Aristotle and other rhetorical scholars from across the ages, such as Perelman (Miller 2002a) and Toulmin (Miller 2002a, 2004a, 2004b).

There are several SFL concepts that Miller uses to delve deeply into how rhetors achieve their purposes in a variety of legal and political contexts, displaying the strengths of SFL as a linguistic theory for analysing discourse in context. As an example, Miller and Turci (2006) analyse the

Reverend Martin Luther King Jr.'s uses of the node word "free*" in a corpus of his speeches and sermons, drawing on Martin's (2004) notion of Positive Discourse Analysis, to explore the ways in which King uses language "to inspire social change through creating the solidarity and empathy of the hearer" (Miller, Turci 2006, p. 402). Not only does Miller's work add to rhetorical understandings of how texts work, but also it pushes boundaries within SFL itself, adding to theoretical understandings of register and of the interpersonal function of language, thus demonstrating the much-needed work of moving "from theory to practice – and back again"[1].

Furthermore, over the course of her significant body of research, Miller has fine-tuned a methodological approach that goes beyond frequency counts in large corpora and into meaningful analyses of rhetorical positionings. Her approach involves assembling a corpus of texts within a given register or set of registers, indeed, often comparing two different registers, such as the just-mentioned study on MLK's sermons and political speeches. She then trawls through the data, searching for lemmas of certain key terms or of grammatical patterns which construct set phrases, according to the data in question (e.g., "free*" in MLK's sermons and speeches (*ibid.*), or "it is * time to/for/that" in a corpus of debates about the Iraq War in the U.S. House of Representatives (Miller, Johnson 2014), which allows for providing quantitative results in terms of frequency. However, Miller couples this quantitative approach with a qualitative one, by manually analysing, for example, the evaluative meanings in the clauses/phrases in which the key terms are used, using Martin and White's (2005) appraisal framework. She invariably includes mention of the interpretive nature of qualitative analysis, which will always draw at least to some extent on the analyst's own reader position vis-à-vis the text under scrutiny. She terms this kind of quantitative plus interpretive analysis "ticklish trawling" (Miller 2000, cf. Miller 2016a, on the methodology applied to verbal art). Thus, Miller reminds analysts that we need to "be aware, and beware, of – and, of course, declare" (Miller 2007b, p. 178) our own biases.

The next section goes on to explain the specific SFL-based tools that Miller uses in applying that methodology: mainly the appraisal framework, with mentions of transitivity, mood and modality.

1. I quote here part of the title of Miller (2007b).

3. SFL-based analytical tools

3.1. *The appraisal framework*

Miller's articles on political discourse draw mainly on the appraisal framework (Martin, White 2005), a model of linguistic resources situated within the interpersonal metafunction of language. The appraisal framework consists of three main systems, attitude, engagement, and graduation. Attitude consists of three subsystems: first, affect, or the expression of emotion; secondly, judgement, or evaluation of people's behaviour; and finally, appreciation, or evaluation of things, events and phenomena. The system of graduation refers to the linguistic resources available to amplify or reduce the strength of attitudinal meanings. And, finally, engagement accounts for the linguistic resources used to indicate alignment with propositions as well as "the range of voices in play" (Martin 2019, p. 360) in a text. In this system, there are two main categories of utterances: monoglossic and heteroglossic. Monoglossic utterances are encoded as unmodalised positive declarative clauses, which "construct the speaker as having the status and moral authority not only to assert and assess, but to do so in a way which chooses not to recognize, and so to suppress, alternative viewpoints. They are essentially non-negotiable" (Miller, Johnson 2014, p. 353) Heteroglossic utterances are those utterances which suggest that there could be other interpretations of the proposition, i.e., they allude to alternative voices. These can be divided into two overall types: those which "expand", or open up space for dialogue, through linguistic resources such as modal verbs and modal adjuncts (e.g., "perhaps") which constitute the subsystem "entertain", and acknowledgement of other voices (through quoting or paraphrasing), which form the subsystem "attribute"; and those which "contract", through further subsystems such as "proclaim", "through which the textual voice represents the proposition as a reliable, grounded, valid one" (Miller 2004b, p. 45), and "disclaim", "through which it positions itself as being at odds with some contrasting position" (*ibid.*).

The purpose of the appraisal framework is to provide understandings of "wordings in and by which speakers negotiate and 'naturalize' subjective, and ultimately ideological, positions" (Miller 2002a, p. 120), and thus, Miller argues, it is a model which contributes "to a better understanding of the interplay of interpersonal meanings within the area of conflict, but also within that of affiliation, with reference, that is, to the dominant or alternative

world views towards which speaker stance can be seen to be empathetically oriented" (*ibid.*).

Miller (2007b, p. 164) further explains that these three systems, attitude, graduation and engagement, work together to simultaneously construct evaluative positions in texts. Miller's applications of the appraisal framework to a variety of texts clearly demonstrate its immense potential for revealing rhetorical tactics that speakers employ, beyond those that are traditionally studied by students of rhetoric, such as appeals of ethos, pathos and logos, as well as devices such as metaphor. Indeed, Martin and White state that these "attitudinal evaluations are of interest not only because they reveal the speaker's/writer's feelings and values but also because their expression can be related to the speaker's/writer's status or authority as construed by the text, and because they operate rhetorically to construct relations of alignment and rapport between the writer/ speaker and actual or potential respondents" (Martin, White 2005, p. 2).

3.2. *Transitivity*

The system of transitivity refers to the clause as a "configuration of a process, participants involved in it and any attendant circumstances" (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 212). Processes are typically construed through verbs, which can be divided into several types, such as material (or "doing" processes) and relational (or "being/having" processes). Participants are typically realised as nouns, and different participant types carry out different process types (for example, Actors typically carry out material processes, and Carriers are characterised through relational processes). Finally, circumstances indicate particulars of the context, such as time, place or manner. The system of transitivity is seen as aligned with the ideational metafunction of language; however, Miller demonstrates ways in which it intertwines with the interpersonal metafunction to create rhetorical positionings, as shall be seen.

3.3. *Mood, polarity and modality/modulation*

While transitivity is aligned with the ideational metafunction, the systems of mood, polarity and modality/modalisation align with the interpersonal. Mood refers to the system (in English) of choice between interrogative, imperative and declarative clauses, which establishes, in essence, a relationship between interlocutors (whether one is asking or demanding something

from someone, or simply informing them). Polarity indicates the rhetor's take on a proposition in terms of "yes" or "no", while the systems of modality/modalisation indicate degrees in between those poles in terms of probability/usuality, in the former, and obligation/readiness in the latter (Martin, White 2005). These interpersonal systems of meaning align with the different appraisal systems; for example, as we have seen, the positive unmodalised declarative constructs monoglossia, while a modalised utterance can construct an "entertain" meaning.

4. SFL-tools applied in Donna Miller's research

As mentioned, part of Miller's research has been devoted to the application of the appraisal framework to public oratory. For example, Miller (2002a) provides an SFL-based analysis of a U.S. Supreme Court decision related to the 2000 presidential election between George W. Bush and Al Gore, rooting her analysis of this decision in a wider consideration of judicial discourse, noting a distinction between an institutional tenor, or a "rhetoric of constraint" (*ibid.*, p. 122) and an individual tenor, or a "rhetoric of persuasion". In the first, the judge is constructed as the institutional authority who upholds the law, while in the second, the judge is a "socially-positioned-person" (*ibid.*) whose authority derives from understandings of the need to interpret the law according to the current social context. Miller (*ibid.*) carries out an appraisal analysis of the majority and dissenting opinions of the Supreme Court justices, focusing on the language used around several important lexical items used in the slip opinion: the lexeme "standard*", the keyword "remedy", and the notion of irreparable harm. She skilfully shows the predominance of explicit judgement (with a focus on social esteem, or the ethics/propriety of human behaviour) and of appreciation, both of which are often intensified through graduation. These meanings are in numerous cases vocalised through monoglossic utterances as categorical assertions. In the case of those that are heteroglossic, they are far more likely to serve to contract the dialogic space through epistemic modality indicating speaker "certainty", creating an implicit subjective orientation of "[– challengeable]" (*ibid.*, p. 126), which would seem to align with an institutional tenor. Other utterances are clearly heteroglossic, and thus "[+ challengeable]"; for example, when Justice Stevens introduces a dissenting view with the word "Admittedly" (*ibid.*), this creates an individual tenor. Miller's analysis demonstrates that the rhetorical style of these political figures very

much depends on their goals in each moment of the unfolding texts, choices which are within the linguistic means available in judicial discourse.

Miller has further applied the appraisal framework to a corpus of British parliamentary debates about the European Union from 1992 to 1999. Findings from her analysis show that the various appraisal systems were used extensively, both explicitly (which she reports on in Miller 1999, Miller 2002b), and implicitly, in the context of the node word "sovereignty" (as reported on in Miller 2007b). The focus on invoked appraisal led her to realise that, for example, implicit evaluation can be construed through mood choices, such as the use of the imperative. Additionally, certain transitivity patterns "emerged as typical ways of implicitly evaluating 'sovereignty'" (*ibid.*, p. 169), for example, its construal as "goods" participating in material processes, such as "*our sovereignty being taken away from us*" (*ibid.*, italics original), which implicitly appreciates sovereignty as a positive entity. Miller (2007b) further notes the construction of graduation through the use of parallel grammatical structures; for example, a string of negative adjectives, such as "*the most immature, irresponsible, disgraceful and misleading address*" (*ibid.*, p. 173, italics and underlining original) serves to amplify the negative evaluation of the address. Thus, she argues for not just semantically parallel but also structurally parallel units to be considered as part of graduation when they are used "to intensify evaluation, to hammer the evaluative message further home" (*ibid.*, p. 172). Miller (*ibid.*) also analysed a subcorpus of 2003 U.S. House of Representatives debates on the Iraqi conflict, to further explore the typology of appraisal resources that emerged from the British parliamentary debate analysis. This second analysis allowed Miller to corroborate the typological additions to the appraisal framework that emerged from the British analysis, including mood choices, as well as the use of certain transitivity patterns and parallel structures, for invoking evaluative meanings.

In Miller (2007b), the analysis of the U.S. Iraqi war debate corpus was also used to test Lakoff's (2002, p. 11) dichotomy of conservative Republicans as having a "Strict Father Mentality" and liberal Democrats one of "Nurturant Parent". Miller and Johnson (2009a) provide an in-depth analysis from that same debate from the U.S. House of Representatives, providing evidence for a more nuanced understanding of how Republicans and Democrats use appraisal resources within the context of the node words "protect*" and "puni*" than Lakoff's dichotomy suggests. As is habitual in Miller's studies, the register of the text is clearly delineated, in terms of its contextual variables: the field as one of "institutionally legitimated alignment and/or

alienation among elected representatives" (*ibid.*, p. 45), in this case on the war in Iraq; the tenor connects high-status speakers to their constituents through alignment with party positions, and the mode oscillates between more prepared written-like interventions and more spoken ones. The text type is clearly deliberative and argumentative, and Miller and Johnson suggest that the contextual variable of "deliberate dispute" (*ibid.*, p. 70) leads to the engagement resource of "disclaim: denial" as the typical choice in parliamentary/congressional debates. They also found a higher percentage of heteroglossic utterances than would seem warranted by the authoritative speaker roles of the participants, which Miller and Johnson attribute to the "congressional 'etiquette' of 'false' deference to adversaries" (*ibid.*), evidenced by the use of irony in the debates. At the same time, they found some differences in what the debaters on different sides of the political divide wanted to protect and punish:

> Democrats tend to eschew **puni** and aim *to protect*, and would do so in the interests of the "common good", but that "common" is invariably "local" and so almost, indeed, "self-interested": they would look after their own. Republicans undoubtedly engage more with the semantic field of **puni**, but not simply to side with it. And they too would *protect*, but righteously and globally, and oftentimes by means of punishing. (*Ibid.*, p. 71, italics original)

Miller and Johnson (2013) further explore the Congressional Iraq War debate corpus, also comparing their findings with the U.K. House of Commons findings; in addition, they further test the "register-idiosyncrasy" (*ibid.*, p. 440) of their corpus by comparing it with several other corpora including, for example, the spoken corpora of both the Corpus of Contemporary American English and British National Corpus, in terms of quantitative frequency counts of the grammatical pattern "we > must". Their findings show that the pattern was indeed more frequent in the parliamentary debates on both sides of the Atlantic than in the other corpora; furthermore, differences along party and gender lines were found, where Democrat women use the pattern almost twice as much as their male counterparts. The pattern "we > must", in interpersonal terms, construes the appraisal subsystem of engagement as "proclaim" in its positive form and "disclaim" in its negative form. In the ideational realm, it can project different transitivity structures, and Miller and Johnson again find differences along party lines, where female democrats had higher counts of material clauses with humanistic values, such as "we must invest in the teachers of

Afghanistan" and "we must reach out to others" (*ibid.*, p. 447). In Miller, Johnson (2014), the authors use the same corpus to trace the use of the pattern "it is * time to/for/that", finding similar results in terms of its greater frequency in the congressional debate register, as well as differences along gender lines, in this case through the call for humanitarian "doings" construed by projected transitivity structures. Another interesting finding is what they term a "rhetoric of anti-rhetoric" (*ibid.*, p. 354; cf. Miller 1996), or a call for action by female democrats through the disparaging of additional talk, as in "*it is time* to do more than ask tough questions. *It is time* to do more than talk about the troops" (Miller, Johnson 2014, p. 358, italics original). The findings from Miller and Johnson's 2013 and 2014 papers on congressional/parliamentary debate "substantiate predilections for certain ways of meaning/saying both in terms of individual and social subjectivity (repertoire/reservoir) and in terms of party and sex, although these categories are permeable, i.e., not mutually exclusive" (*ibid.*, p. 360). That is, the debates establish a register-idiosyncratic pool of language that sets them off from other registers and text types.

In addition to register, another important focus of Miller's rhetorical work is context, both co-text and the wider cultural-historical context in which political discourse takes place. For example, Miller (2004a) focuses on the system of judgement, from the appraisal framework, as it is construed in the context of the node word "truth" in the 1998 President Clinton impeachment debate in the U.S. House of Representatives. Miller delineates its field, tenor and mode register variables, including within the mode variable a mention of the rhetorical aim, which is, like the Iraq War debate, deliberative and argumentative. She grounds her discussion of the term "truth" in its weighty significance in the minds of U.S. citizens, through the oft-told legend of the U.S. inaugural President George Washington admitting that he cut down a cherry tree at the age of six because, as the legend has it, he could never tell a lie. This backdrop is key in analysing how the Representatives attempt to align others through their use of linguistic judgement resources, as "judgement, as a system of attitudinal positioning, is by definition shaped by the particular cultural paradigm in which it is operating, dominant, alternative or oppositional as it may be. People's judgements will always be shaped by the beliefs, values, assumptions, expectations, etc., etc., that they are semiotically positioned to hold. (*ibid.*, pp. 285-286).

The analysis of the judgement resources revealed that, while the pro-impeachment Representatives use strong classification and framing of "the

truth", the anti-impeachment Representatives tend to "to loosen the boundaries and argue for distinctions" (*ibid.*, p. 295). She further backs up this distinction by explaining different meanings of "truth", which, while constrained by the context of the debate, even so range "from: a [+ ambiguous] transcendent idea, to what would philosophically be an analytic truth, to (much more rarely however) what Toulmin (1958) calls a substantial, field-specific truth" (*ibid.*, pp. 294-295). Thus, the representatives drew on culturally specific understandings of truth in ways designed to align their positionings for/against impeachment.

Miller (2004b) uses the system of engagement to analyse U.S. President George W. Bush's 2002 speech to the UN, "a rhetorical positioning of the global community vis-à-vis US policy on Saddam Hussein's Iraq" (*ibid.*, p. 39). She provides the contextual configuration of the text in terms of its field (dealing with Saddam's lack of compliance with the UN Security Council resolutions), mode (a speech) and tenor (including Bush's valued institutional status as President). Miller's results showed a predominance of both monoglossic and contracting heteroglossic resources in the speech. The expanding resources (through attributing words or thoughts to others) largely resemble contracting resources, as either Bush fully endorses the source (e.g., the U.N.) or distances himself from a source construed as clearly unreliable (e.g., Saddam/Iraq); i.e., the use of attribution of words and thoughts to others is not neutral. Thus, the engagement resources in Bush's speech "despite extensive tactical use of consensus-presuming strategies, ultimately construe an alterity-rejecting position" (*ibid.*, p. 60). She argues that Bush's speech thus illustrates the rhetoric of "chosen-nation [...] which is currently enacting the struggle for US hegemony of meaning-making practices in the current post-9/11 global crisis context" (*ibid.*).

5. Beyond rhetoric: building and extending SFL theory

Miller was using the appraisal model while it was still being developed, and thus, her application of the appraisal framework, beyond uncovering rhetorical positioning, further aimed "to continue the development of a typology of resources for evaluation" (2007b, p. 174). As evidenced in the account of her work in this chapter, she highlights the role of mood in the construction of evaluation in texts, such as the use of imperative "let us" (*ibid.*, p. 168) in parliamentary debates. She further demonstrates the contribution of ideational construals to evaluative meanings; that is the

use of certain transitivity patterns in a text that provide the backdrop for the construal of implicit evaluative meanings (*ibid.*, p. 169; cf. also Miller, Johnson 2013), providing evidence for Martin's (2000) notion of coupling of ideational and interpersonal meaning. Furthermore, Miller (2007b) argues for the role of grammar in construing evaluation. For example, while Martin and White (2005) had included repetition in their design of graduation within the appraisal framework, Miller argued for linguistic constructions such as a series of negative adjectives as equally turning up the volume of a negative appreciation, "intensifying any evaluative meanings construed and, at the same time, most likely having some role in shaping how audiences respond to those meanings" (Miller 2007b, p. 173). This kind of "grammatical parallelism" (attributed to Jakobson 1960) is "typical in political rhetoric [...] a common 'token', or 'flagger', of attitude [...] linked to [...] the contextual variable of 'deliberate dispute'" (Miller, Johnson 2009a, p. 56).

Miller's work also is key in deepening understandings of register, continuing an agenda of elucidating what we "'can mean' through the options available to us in a given context of situation" (McCabe 2021, p. 21) within SFL, an agenda that can be traced back to J.R. Firth. Firth called for a "sociological linguistics" that would tackle "the very difficult problem of describing and classifying typical contexts of situation within the context of culture, and secondly of describing and classifying types of linguistic function in such contexts of situation" (Firth 1935, p. 65). Miller brings into these understandings the notion of intertextuality, rooting its definition firmly in SFL's stratal view of language: "ways of saying (lexicogrammar) realize meanings (semantic metafunctions), which are determined by specific social situations (contexts), these levels combining to construe particular functional varieties of texts (registers), which also establish meaning relationships across a 'set' of texts to which they may be said to 'belong' (inter-textuality)" (Miller 2002a, p. 120).

Miller draws on Halliday's definition of register as "the local resetting of the global probabilities of the system" (Halliday 2002 [1996], p. 408), connecting to Matthiessen's point that "each register embodies a kind of constraint on what meanings are likely to be made" (Matthiessen 1993, p. 231). Thus, Miller's work on register idiosyncrasies clearly adds to illustrations of register potential, i.e., which meanings are "at risk in the various cultural domains that constitute a culture" (Matthiessen 2015, p. 1), in Miller's case, the political oratorical domain. Further, and in line with Thompson's (1999) research within the SFL model, Miller pushes the boundaries of relationships between interpersonal, ideational and textual meanings and the

register variables, concluding that "all three components of the context of situation would appear to be working cooperatively to motivate the choice of evaluative linguistic forms in the corpus" (Miller 2004a, p. 274).

Finally, Miller also provides a focus on the context of culture in her work, which aids in interpreting rhetorical force of utterances within a given context of situation, while also providing insights into the relationship between context of situation and context of culture. As she writes, "what I am also and contemporaneously interested in examining in this exceptional debate is the relevancy of the higher-order semiotic plane of 'context of culture' (Malinowski 1935, p. 18), i.e., the cultural history which serves as mainly unconscious ideological background both to the human participants and to the kinds of practices that they are engaging in" (Miller 2004a, p. 276).

Indeed, Miller locates understandings of "truth" in the U.S. context not just within the confines of the Clinton impeachment debate (*ibid.*) but also within a notion of "truth" from the time of the founding of the nation, which has been instilled in Americans through many retellings of the cherry tree never-tell-a-lie story. Indeed, a further aspect of Miller's research is the deep rooting of the texts under analysis within their historical milieu, making for a rich tapestry of the layers of meaning-making available to rhetors, not just in the context of situation, but within the context of culture. Thus, her method of analysis, "ticklish trawling" based on SFL analytical tools, along with in-depth connections to the historical, political and sociological context of the text, is one which provides research agendas for rhetorical scholars the world over with the means to make clear how rhetors use available means in attempting to align their audience through public oratory.

Using automatic *realis* analysis for Critical Discourse Analysis

Mick O'Donnell

1. Introduction

Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) names a fairly broad family of approaches, but in general, these approaches explore "how societal power relations are established and reinforced through language use"[1].

Early applications of CDA typically involved the analyst reading a text, looking for wordings that reflected a given ideological positioning. Later studies moved away from CDA-as-cherry-picking, arguing that individual wording choices may not reliably reflect the ideology of the writer/speaker. On the other hand, a study of systematic patterns of linguistic choice in a discourse can shine light on the underlying ideology of the writer. Fairclough (2010, p. 10) stresses that "It is not just general commentary on discourse, it includes some form of systematic analysis of texts".

Consequently, most recent studies under the CDA banner apply a particular form of linguistic analysis to an entire discourse, or set of discourses, and look for patterns of meaning within the analysis. A typical study might perform transitivity analysis on a discourse, and then explore the range of transitivity roles assigned by the writer to particular participants (or classes of participants). Butt *et al*. (2004) for instance applies this approach to see how "enemies" are construed in discourses of war. Gender studies can also apply the technique, to see whether women in the text are construed differently than the men in terms of being placed in active roles (actor, sayer, sensor) or in passive roles (goal, addressee, phenomenon). And in terms of active roles, are women more likely to lead in material, mental or verbal processes? For instance, cf. Dai (2015).

The point of such studies is that patterns of choices made by a writer/speaker can reflect underlying assumptions about the world. The majority

1. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Critical_discourse_analysis.

of such studies are based on manual annotation of the linguistic patterns. Consequently, CDA studies of this kind are labour-intensive.

In recent years, there has been increasing availability of automatic linguistic annotation of text, at least for some kinds of linguistic description. Unfortunately, what can be done automatically is usually more surface analysis, such as part of speech, and syntactic analysis. For CDA purposes however, typically the more surface the analysis, the less informative it is for ideological profiling.

In recent years, some tools have appeared permitting more semantic-oriented analysis, including for instance, SFL transitivity analysis, and theme Analysis. One such tool is UAM Corpustool (O'Donnell 2009), which allows a user to load in texts of their choosing, and have these texts annotated automatically with several different kinds of linguistic analysis. Note that the more semantic the analysis, the less reliable the analysis. Mistakes are made. For these cases, the software allows the user to post-edit the annotations: change the analysis where the machine got it wrong.

The software also allows the user to complement the automatic analysis with manual annotation of the text for more semantic analyses. For instance, one can have the software automatically annotate the transitivity structure of each clause in the text, and the linguist can then annotate each participant for gender (or other meaningful category), to allow exploration of how the writer/speaker construes the class of participants.

This paper explores the use of automatic annotation for CDA applications, and outlines how these automatic annotations can lead to insights into the meaningful patterns of the writers. While UAM Corpustool provides a range of automatic linguistic analyses, to limit the scope of the study, this paper will focus on a single automatic annotation, in terms of *realis-irrealis*. This type of analysis will be described in Section 3 below.

2. Context of the corpus

This study follows the discourse analytical methodology practiced in Donna Miller's work (e.g., Miller 2004b, 2007b), whereby it is not enough to analyse the discourse patterns in the text in isolation, one needs to relate the discourse patterns to the context of the text. This in part involves relating the linguistic patterns to the context of situation of the discourse being studied, both in terms of the field, tenor and mode of the text, but also in regards to the contextual configuration of the texts (following Hasan's ap-

proach to generic structure). In Miller's (2004b) study, the value of any particular linguistic choice is interpreted in relation to how it is contributing to the function of the text as a whole.

The current study will follow this approach. Here I will set out a brief (informally stated) analysis of the recurrent schematic structure of the texts included in this study.

The corpus consists of speeches by heads-of-state in international contexts, in particular United Nations addresses to the General Assembly, and also speeches by these heads-of-state in international trade talks. These speeches should be seen to address two distinct audiences. The primary intended audience are those present in the physical audience, often fellow heads-of-state, but more often appointed representatives of the countries involved. For this audience, the goal of the head-of-state is to persuade other countries towards a suggested course-of-action (or a complex of such actions).

Regarding the second audience of these speeches, heads-of-state are principally elected, or if not elected, depend on the continuing tolerance of their population. As such, the speeches are crafted not only to persuade other governments, but also to satisfy the home population that the head-of-state is competent at their job, and is pushing issues relevant to the country.

I will assume here that the first goal is the primary shaper of the discourse, and will focus on that in this study. An analysis of the key repeating elements of structure of these texts showed a discourse structure as follows:

1. Establishing a problem:
   - Provide evidence from the past and the present of developing problem;
   - Predict problematic future course of events if no action is taken.
2. Proposing solution to the problem:
   - Propose action that will solve the problem;
   - Predict future course of events if the actions are taken.
3. Persuading other parties to cooperate in the action:
   - Offer own commitment to pursue the action;
   - Request cooperation from other participants.

Those familiar with Swales' work might see the similarity to his "CARS" model of the structure of introductions to research articles (Swales 1990). There are certain similarities between the two contexts, sharing identify-problem/propose-solution, so the overlap in structure is fairly natural.

In line with Miller's approach to discourse analysis, below I will draw upon this schematic model when interpreting patterns of linguistic use.

3. *Realis* and *irrealis*

One form of automatic analysis I have found useful for profiling political discourse classifies processes (typically realised by clauses) as either:

- *Realis*: processes that have happened, or are happening now;
- *Irrealis*: processes that have not happened, and are not occurring now.

Realis clauses can be divided between:

- Completed-processes: processes that have completed by the time of speaking. These processes can be identified in English as those using one of the tenses: simple-past, past-continuous, present-perfect and past-perfect;
- Ongoing-processes: processes that are still ongoing at the time of speaking. These processes use one of the tenses: simple-present, present-continuous or present-perfect-continuous.

Even with these tenses, use of negation, modality or any evidential marking move the process into the *irrealis* category.

According to Bickerton (1975, p. 42), *irrealis* "may be taken as including all states and actions which have not actually occurred, whether these are expressed by future or conditional tenses or by modals". There are a number of reasons for a speaker to introduce a process which has not occurred as of now, including stating one's intended action, predicting the future, stating one's desired outcome, etc. For this study, *irrealis* processes were divided between:

- Negated: the process (past or future) is stated not to have occurred: "it did not happen";
- Predicted: the process is predicted to occur in the future: "it will happen";
- Commitment: the agent of the process commits to performing the action: "I will do it";
- Desire: the utterance is a statement of what someone wants to occur: "I hope it happens";

- Advised: the proposed process is presented as beneficial or necessary to another party: "it should happen";
- Hypothetical: the process is presented speculatively as a possibility, usually to explore consequences of the possibility (e.g., with a conditional clause);
- Ability: the utterance is a statement of the potential action of an entity.

Regarding the question "Did it happen or is it happening now?", in relation to *realis* processes, the answer is yes, and for *irrealis* processes, the answer is "no". There are, however, a set of cases where the answer is more likely to be "maybe". This includes use of probability modals in the past ("It might have happened"). It also includes all claims which depend on the assessment of the validity of the evidence source, and this includes opinion markers: "I think it happened", and external-evidence markers, "Smith claims it happened", "It seems to have happened", etc. I also included here interrogatives, as they (in general) neither assert or deny the reality of the process. These cases will be coded as a separate case of "possibility-*irrealis*".

UAM Corpustool automatically assigns *realis* categories to each clause based on automatic coding of tense-aspect, modality, polarity, projecting clauses, etc. The coding network is shown in Figure 1.

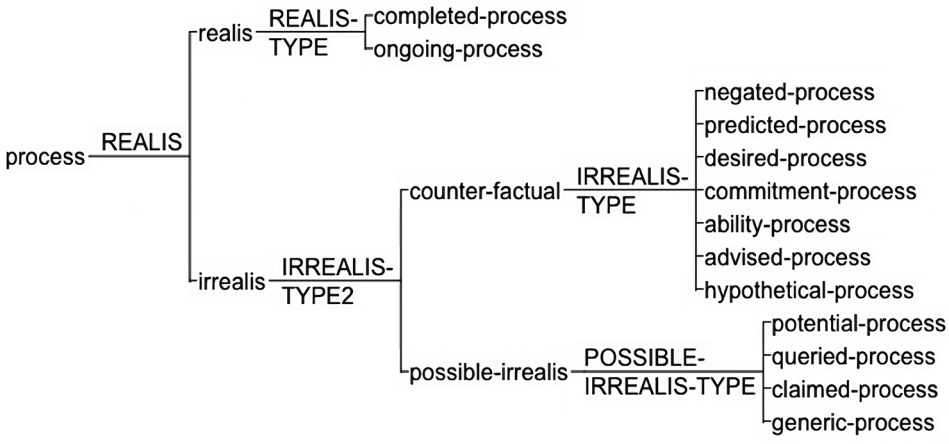

Figure 1. *Network of* realis *types.*

Automatic coding is not perfect, as some tenses are ambiguous, for instance, the simple-present and present-continuous are assumed to be used to express *realis* (ongoing-process) but they can sometimes express *irrealis* (intention or prediction), e.g., "I fly to London tomorrow"; "John is flying to London tomorrow". In general, however, the software is reliable enough that one can establish overall patterns of *realis* use in English, ignoring the occasional miscoding as noise in the data. If the analyst requires more robust coding, the *realis* assignation can be manually checked and changed to what the analyst considers correct.

Clauses with "will" were automatically coded as predicted-process, unless the agent of the process was first person ("I", "we"), in which case they were coded as committed-process. For this study, I checked the instances of predicted-processes for cases where the agent was in fact the country of the speaker (e.g., "China will invest"), in which case they were manually recoded as committed-process.

4. Corpus for the study

This study made use of a small corpus I collected for teaching purposes, consisting of political speeches by heads-of-state from 9 countries around the globe. As stated above, speeches were limited to those primarily addressed to other world leaders or their representatives. As such, the corpus includes United Nation addresses, and addresses in international trade meetings. Where possible, for each head-of-state, two U.N. addresses and one trade address were selected from recent years. In limited cases, an additional speech was added when word count was low for that speaker.

To allow comparability, speeches were collected in English, which in most cases was the language of delivery, but in some cases, where a head-of-state does not speak English (or chose not to), the official English translation of the speech was used. While the translation of texts may have some effect on linguistic patterns, I used translations where I believed it was important to include the head-of-state in the study (e.g., Xi Peng of China and Putin of Russia are extremely important politicians in today's world). I also believe that more semantic analyses discussed in the study would be less affected by translation. However, the translated nature of some of the texts needs to be kept in mind when interpreting linguistic patterns in these texts.

Speeches included were:

- President Abdel Fattah Alsisi of Egypt:
  - Joint Press Conference with Tunisia's President, 2021 (918 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020 (2376 words);
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly, 2021 (2130 words);

- Prime Minister Jacinda Ardern of New Zealand:
  - 4th China Business Summit, 2021 (2060 words);
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly: General Debate Statement, 2021 (2547 words);
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly: SDG Action Zone address, 2021 (672 words);

- President Joe Biden of the United States:
  - Indo-Pacific Economic Framework for Prosperity Launch Event, 2023 (999 words);
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly, 2021, (246 words);
  - 77th Session of UN General Assembly, 2022, (3760 words);

- President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan of Turkey:
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly, 2021 (3457 words);
  - 77th Session of UN General Assembly, 2022 (3368 words);

- President Emmanuel Macron of France:
  - World Economic Forum, 2018 (7852 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (6897 words);
  - 77th Session of UN General Assembly, 2022, (3701 words);

- Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India:
  - G20 Summit, 2022 (420 words);
  - SCO Summit, 2021 (821 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (1649 words);

- President Vladimir Putin of Russia:
  - APEC Summit, 2021 (1192 words);
  - Belt and Road Forum, 2023 (1299 words);
  - 60th Session of UN General Assembly, 2005 (574 words);
  - 70th Session of UN General Assembly, 2015 (2975 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (2366 words);

- President Pedro Sanchez of Spain:
  - Spain-United Arab Emirates Business Meeting, 2022 (2491 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (1325 words);
  - 77th Session of UN General Assembly, 2022, (2941 words);

- Chairman Xi Jinping of China:
  - Global Trade in Services Summit, 2021, (357 words);
  - 21st Meeting of the Council of Heads of State, Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, 2021 (1878 words);
  - 75th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (1853 words);
  - 76th Session of UN General Assembly, 2020, (1525 words).

Overall, the corpus consists of 29 speeches amounting to 61,820 words. In terms of clauses, the analysed unit of this study, counts are shown in Table 1. Note that differences in word or clause counts are not problematic for this study as data is analysed in terms of proportions of use of features, and are never compared in terms of raw counts.

5. Results and discussion

Table 2 shows each head-of-state's frequency of use of *realis* types (as a percentage of all processes). From a quick look at this data, the most obvious result is that Xi of China is by the far the largest user of *irrealis*, with little of his spoken bandwidth given to the past (completed-processes: 10%) and real present (ongoing-processes: 18%); 71% of his uttered clauses are *irrealis*, while the other heads of state range from 40 to 54%.

If we relate these patterns to the generic schema of these international addresses given above, it seems Xi does not focus on establishing the problem, and where he does, he refers to ongoing-processes more than completed-processes. This makes sense for a leader of a country which has successively reinvented itself, first with the Communist revolution of 1949, then with the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s, and recently with the shift to an economic super-power. Within this context, a politician learns not to model predictions of the future on past events.

As for the other heads-of-state, their patterns of use are not that distinct in terms of general *realis* usage, although Macron (54% *irrealis*) and Alsisi (51% *irrealis*) are closer to Xi in ignoring the past, while the other leaders make stronger use of the past, and of *realis* in general.

More can be said on the basis of the particular kinds of *irrealis* the leaders use most strongly. Table 3 presents the percentage use of the different subtypes of *irrealis*.

Table 1. *Word and clause count in the corpus.*

	Alsisi	Ardern	Biden	Erdogan	Macron	Modi	Putin	Sanchez	Xi
Words	5424	5279	7228	6825	18450	2890	8406	6757	561
Clauses	237	369	431	348	1163	188	420	367	369

Table 2. "Realis" *usage of the heads of state (as percentage of overall process type usage).*

	Alsisi	Ardern	Biden	Erdogan	Macron	Modi	Putin	Sanchez	Xi
realis	49%	62%	56%	60%	46%	56%	57%	58%	29%
completed	21%	18%	18%	22%	13%	20%	14%	21%	10%
ongoing	29%	44%	38%	38%	33%	36%	43%	36%	18%
irrealis	51%	38%	44%	40%	54%	44%	43%	42%	71%

Table 3. "Irrealis" *usage of the heads of state (as percentage of all processes).*

	Alsisi	Ardern	Biden	Erdogan	Macron	Modi	Putin	Sanchez	Xi
negated-process	3.9%	0.8%	3.5%	2.9%	5.1%	5.3%	2.1%	1.9%	1.6%
predicted-process	3.4%	4.3%	2.3%	2.6%	4.3%	4.8%	5.2%	4.1%	5.3%
commitment-process	2.6%	3.0%	6.0%	4.3%	4.3%	6.4%	2.4%	3.3%	11.9%
desired-process	6.8%	2.4%	5.8%	8.0%	6.6%	5.3%	9.0%	7.7%	4.0%
advised-process	6.4%	7.0%	4.2%	2.0%	11.3%	2.7%	6.9%	4.1%	32.5%
ability-process	1.7%	3.2%	2.5%	2.6%	4.0%	3.2%	2.1%	0.5%	1.8%
hypothetical-process	0.9%	1.1%	0.9%	0.0%	1.2%	1.1%	0.2%	1.1%	0.5%

Xi stands out here the most, so I will profile him first. Xi makes strong use of two kinds of *irrealis*: advised-process (32.5% of all processes), and commitment-process (11.9%). In both cases, he has the highest use by far of that kind of *irrealis*.

Xi's use of advised-process is essentially obligation modality: "need" and "should". One could build a narrative of this signalling Xi's dictatorial position in a totalitarian state. But in fact, looking at the instances of use, in almost every case, the subject is "we", and is intended as inclusive "we" (obligation of both speaker and audience). Xi uses these obligation modals as a means to propose bilateral responses to the problems he outlines. For instance:

1. We should support each other.
2. We need to deepen international cooperation against the virus.

This is a strategy used by all of the heads of state, as it is one of the core elements they need to provide in their address. However, Xi spends more of his bandwidth proposing solutions to the problems, rather than establishing them.

Xi's high use of commitment-process is similar. Here, the agent of the process is China itself, either "China", or use of exclusive "we". Xi is offering China's commitment to act unilaterally as a move to encourage others to cooperate in solving the problem. For instance:

3. China will extend the Peace and Development Trust Fund between the UN and China by five years.
4. We will deepen anti-Covid cooperation with other developing countries.

Xi also has the highest use of predicted-process, although only marginally more than others, with 5.3% of processes. In terms of the schematic structure of these reports, these are mainly stating foreseen consequences of China's proposed actions, e.g.,

5. This will help countries in need build capacity and improve the lives of their people.

Summing up Xi's patterns of *realis* choices, he is more focused on step 2(a) "Propose action that will solve the problem" (cf. Section 2), which he does through obligation modals with world leaders as agent, and his prime

strategy for persuading cooperation is via offering China's unilateral commitment to these actions. He does not waste much bandwidth convincing people of the problem from past patterns, or predicting consequences if the problem is not addressed.

Macron is the next largest user of *irrealis* processes, accounting for 54% of his processes. Like Xi, his most-used subtype is advised-process (11.3%), of which two thirds are "we must", 18% involve "we need", and the rest involve "should" (but less often with "we" as agent). As with Xi, these represent his manner of proposing a joint course of action for the world leaders to follow.

He is also the largest user of ability-processes, 4% of his processes. A lot of these are actually negative ability, e.g., "The UN cannot remain inactive", and perhaps these could be better interpreted as obligation modality, closer to "should not". These clauses are exhorting other parties to cooperate in the proposed action (step 3 of the schematic structure, Section 2).

The remaining participants are not very dissimilar from each other, spending more than half of their verbal effort on *realis* statements. Some commit more to unilateral action, others commit less, and some exhort more for joint action (obligation modals) while others do this less often.

UAM Corpustool allows the user to position each speaker in terms of distance from other speakers, as shown in Figure 2. The distance between any pair of speakers is measured in terms of the sum of the differences in *realis* and *irrealis* subcategories. Close pairs are then grouped. This graph clearly shows how different Xi is in his speech patterns, and that Macron of all is closest to his patterns. Of the others, most are clustered towards the centre, reflecting similar *realis* practices, although Alsisi of Egypt makes different use of *realis* than the core.

6. Conclusion

This article has argued that automatic linguistic analysis can replace manual annotation for use in CDA studies. Automatic annotation can be more reliable when tackling more surface linguistic concerns, but such analyses are less useful for critical studies. More semantic analyses on the other hand can provide more meaningful profiles of the writers/speakers under analysis. One can accept the lower reliability of these studies (in terms of accuracy of coding), as a trade-off, with the benefit being the low time-cost of performing such studies, avoiding the lengthy process of manual annotation.

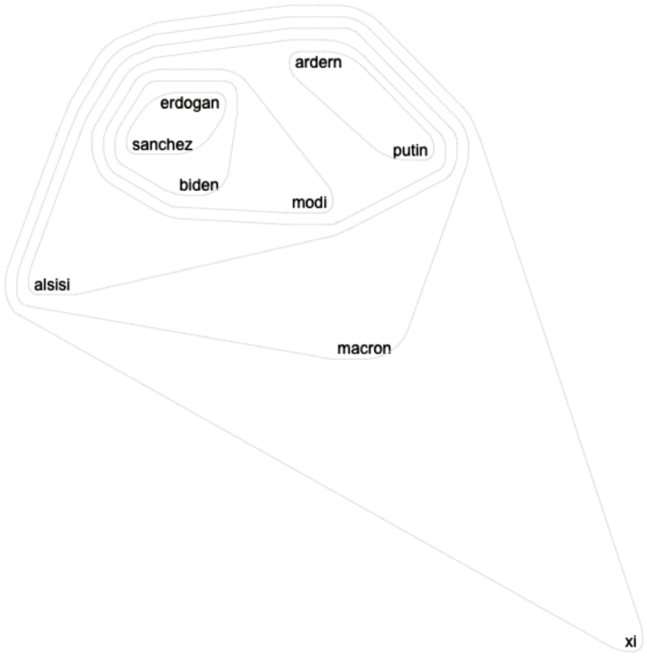

Figure 2. *Clustering of heads-of-state on similarity of* realis *use.*

One can also choose a middle ground, as in this study, of using automatic annotation to provide the initial annotation of the discourse, and then manually revising the annotations to correct the obvious errors in automatic coding. This was done in this study, in particular, identifying processes coded as predicted-processes and changing the coding to commitment-process where the agent of the process was the name of the country of the speaker. Automatic coding with post-editing allows a more robust study without the full cost of manual annotation.

This study has introduced an unexplored kind of semantic analysis for CDA, in terms of the *realis* and *irrealis* nature of each of the processes of the text, and sub-classification of *irrealis* in terms of distinct types, such as predicting, committing, statements of desire, etc. I believe the different degrees of use of these *realis* categories reveal differences in ideology of the speakers.

The chapter has also adopted Donna Miller's general approach to CDA, in that linguistic choices always need to be interpreted relative to the context of the text, whether that context is the intertextual context, the context of situation, or the functional-schematic structuring of the text.

This chapter in particular interpreted *realis* usage in relation to the schematic structure of international addresses. It was found that most of the

heads-of-state spend most of their spoken bandwidth within *realis* (discussing previous events, and the ongoing events and states that now hold), basically as a means of establishing the context of a current problem. They also spend time predicting future consequences if the problem is not addressed. They all spend time on proposing solutions to these problems, and offering their own commitment to pursue the actions that would implement these solutions.

The difference between the politicians is the amount of utterances they allocate to each of these tasks. Here, Xi of China stands out, spending less time than others on *realis*, and far more time on calling for joint action and also committing unilaterally to initiate these actions. China, as they say, puts their money where their mouth is. And, perhaps consequentially, it has been more effective than others in swaying countries to join their developing international trade infrastructure.

In general, I believe that if the patterns of *realis* choices were interpreted without reference to the requirements of the genre, Xi's strong use of obligation modals (advised-process) could have been interpreted negatively. But when seen in relation to the expected structure of the discourse, the fact that these obligation modals nearly all have as agent the collective heads-of-state at the meeting, these advised-processes need to be seen as calls for joint action, which is actually the point of these meetings. Xi's strong use of them should be taken as an indicator that he is doing an effective job. So, interpreting choices in context allows a better interpretation of those choices.

Ideology and identity representation in the British fascist press of the 1930s

Cinzia Spinzi

1. Introduction

According to the American scholar Larry Diamond (2022), the critical future of Western democracies, which are losing faith in their traditional values, is becoming an increasingly common narrative. The result, according to Diamond, is that fertile ground is being created for the rise of populist challengers to liberal democracy.[1] We are thus witnessing a general remodelling of political discourse and a coexistence of the right and the far-right, which makes the study of political ideologies such as populism all the more remarkable. Although the relevant role that the press plays in the success of populist parties has been recognised, research on populist political communication still appears to be limited (Aalberg, de Vreese 2017, p. 4).

This paper aims to investigate patterns of identity construction and ideological discursive practises of far-right parties that can also be found in populist communication. In particular, I will focus on the British fascist communication of the 1930s, best represented by the British Union of Fascists (BUF), founded by Oswald Mosley, to examine its distinctive features and commonalities with continental fascism (Sinatra 2015). The underlying assumption of this study is that British fascism, like other totalitarian nationalist languages, represents a type of populist communication characterised by an antagonistic rhetoric (us *vs.* them) and an exaggerated anti-elitism, i.e., a rejection of the existing system that leads to the exclusion of the out-group (Reinemann *et al.* 2017).

This study finds its *raison d'être* in the fact that individual and collective memories are a tool to shed light on events and dynamics that resurface

1. https://fsi.stanford.edu/news/we-have-entered-new-historic-era-larry-diamond-addresses-future-democracy.

selectively to shape a country's present and are therefore relevant to the discursive construction of national identity.

In order to pursue the stated objectives, this research is set within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (henceforth CDA; Fairclough 1995), which embraces the heuristic view of ideologies as models of social cognition, shared by members belonging to a group and consisting of socio-cultural values organised into identity-relevant ideological schemes. In this context, the Systemic Functional Grammar (henceforth SFG) as developed by Michael Halliday (1995) provides a valuable analytical framework.

2. Ideology and populism

Although ideology has been defined very differently and broadly, a common understanding seems to be that it has the potential to create different worldviews. Modern research has identified two main tendencies of ideology: one considers it to be a misrepresentation of reality (Marxist tradition), the other sees it as part of all thought and action (Van Dijk 2000). We will place our work in the latter tradition, which is informed by both Van Dijk's socio-cognitive approach (2000) and Fairclough's (1995) view that language is socially and historically situated and has a dialectical relationship with other aspects of social life. In other words, ideologies are expressed in discourse and, therefore, their deconstruction leads to an understanding of how discourses themselves are articulated in order to maintain power. Basically, all kinds of discourse are ideologically non-neutral, even those that fit into specialised communication and that are supposedly subjectively free or fully "referential" (cf. Garzone, Sarangi 2007, pp. 22-30). This point can be illustrated by looking at the bulk of research (Poncini 2004 for business discourse; Miller 2002a for political discourse) that aims to explore the way in which the speaker's stance towards the topic under discussion is encoded by examining the linguistic devices that encode opinions and judgements in professional communication.

In this chapter on ideologies and identity, it is important to note that the term populism encompasses a variety of movements, each with its own characteristics and political goals. Populist leaders can differ in their stance on issues such as nationalism, immigration, economic policy and democratic institutions. Due to its adaptability and contextual nature, scholars continue to struggle with the definition of populism (cf. Jones 2019). Academically speaking, the most popular definition is given by Mudde (2004,

p. 543) for whom populism is a "thin-centred ideology" which considers society to be based on an exaggerated antagonism between two groups, "the pure people" and "the corrupt elite" whereas politics is seen as an expression of the general will of the people. However, this general will which is first and foremost a desire for the continuance of one's own life (Mosley, B/33/2/1/4)[2] is a lost truth, a value betrayed since the war by a government that is democratic in name only.

3. Data and methodology

In an attempt to move beyond the empirical approach of early studies of British fascism, Gottlieb and Linehan (2004) adopt a culturally informed perspective and view the BUF as a movement with its own language and symbols of self-representation. Thanks to his strong rhetorical skills and Keynesian vision of the economic state, Mosley chose fascism as the only lifeline for the financial crisis of the time, but fell victim to the narrative of the total conspiracy that the writing itself projected in its practice of association between corrupt politicians, capitalists, the press and Jews on the one hand and the people succumbing in the face of deception by the others on the other hand (cf. Webb 2012). The data for the qualitative analysis come from the BUF's press and, more specifically, 20 articles come from the weekly newspaper *the Blackshirt*, which dated back to 1933, and 20 articles from the weekly newspaper *Action*, which was published from 1936 until 1940 as the paper of Mosley's proto-fascist New Party.

In order to study the discursive practice of identity construction a comprehensive approach of SFG and CDA was employed. If SFG provides the tools to explore the systemic patterns of language use, CDA provides the critical lens necessary to interpret these patterns in the broader context of social power dynamics. The analysis starts with the study of the experiential metafunction, that is how both the outside world and the inner world of consciousness are encoded in the texts. In other words, these meanings primarily refer to how language represents experiences, events and states and are realised through the transitivity system. This system includes participants, processes (i.e., acts, events, feelings, beings) and

2. To make it easier for the reader to recognise the source of the data, the following formulation was chosen: the first letter of the name of the British newspaper (e.g., B for *the Blackshirt* and A for *Action*), immediately followed by the year, month and day and the number of the magazine if more than one issue was published.

circumstances, i.e., peripheral elements that usually appear in the form of adverbs and prepositional phrases. The experiential function is important insofar as the analysis of the participants (primarily the qualitative analysis of the lemma "fascism" and its word forms) and the labels used to categorise them constitute a strategic device employed by the author to express his position vis-à-vis what he is saying. As Matheson notes (2005, p. 24), labelling a person or a group of people or things indicates how members of society understand or judge an individual's actions and allows them to make generalisations. In the construction of a nominal group, epithets are crucial for evaluation while classifiers are crucial for the process of categorisation.

4. Analysis

4.1. *Processes*

On perusal of the articles, the propagandistic character of the newspapers is immediately apparent, resulting from the logical argumentation of cause and effect and the powerful rhetorical devices used in the articles: i.e., emotive language, metaphors and rhetorical questions. The illocutionary force of the language is enriched by the numerous nationalist slogans such as "Britain First"; "Mind Britain's Business!" and the ubiquitous catchy phrase "We Fight for Freedom and for Bread", which exhorts the restoration of democratic values in the fight against the arch-enemy, i.e., poverty. The language of the BUF press, like that of other totalitarian magazines, can be described as "identity-based" because it is constitutive and creative, and has not only an interpretative, but also an evocative and legitimising function (Di Gesù 2015, p. 426).

The transitivity analysis reveals the presence of numerous relational processes of the identifying type that describe fascism as the panacea of all evils and the only movement capable of fighting the enemy, as in the two following examples:

1. The enemy of Fascism is confusion of old-world politics which reduces civilisation to chaos (B/33/6/8/1).
2. The objective of Fascism is the building of a new world order in the majestic image of Fascist peace (B/33/6/8/1).

The larger number of relational processes is motivated by what the writer sees the job of the identity description to be: specifying what fascism encompasses, namely objective virtues such as courage, honesty, love, hope, faith, discipline in contrast to objective vices such as cowardice, dishonesty, selfishness, defeatism and hatred. Without these moral foundations, "ruin and relapse into barbarism awaits the human race" (B/33/5/6/4). But "fascism is also the architect of peace" (B/33/7/11/1); it is the solution to general chaos and economic in particular, a confusion represented by the use of numerous negative lexemes ("collapse", "anarchy", "depression", "confusion", "paralysis", "darkness", "lethargy"). The result is an apocalyptic discourse in which "Fascism is [relational process] the only salvation of nations in the chaos of the modern world" (B/33/7/11/1).

Lexicalisation is the most important domain of ideological expression and persuasion, and thus different labels can be used for the same person or group or social issues depending on the different discourse genres, social and cultural contexts. Interestingly, there are numerous religious allusions in the identity construction of fascism ("rotten apple"; "Grab what you can and the devil take the hindmost"; "salvation"; "Satan"; B/33/7/11/1) to glorify an irreversible situation, that is rotten from within and, therefore, only fascism, as a "clean and wholesome movement", will be able to stop this degeneration. The relational process in "Fascism is the policy of Youth" (B/33/7/11/3) once again has the function of associating fascism with youths representing innovation and the driving force behind the rise of fascism. The rhetoric of the youth, almost a super hero, is certainly not specific to British fascism, but the emphasis on physicality and the glorification of physical exercise is a particular feature represented by the frequent use of the "athlete", a visual expression of physical and mental health and the obsession with physical activity in schools. This physical well-being is epitomised by the leader himself, who is seen as synonymous with an orderly nation that has risen from the ashes of economic chaos and cultural decadence.

The use of material processes has the primary function of identifying fascism as a movement of action, explicitly visible through the repetition of the verbs "build" and "fight" as in "Alone in the Empire Fascism fights [material process] for the interests of the producer as against the foreigner, and for the establishment of a self-contained Empire" (B/33/7/11/3).

The mental processes also fulfil a very specific function, namely that of presenting fascism as philosophically justified. Fascism is an idea, and the basis of this idea is that "RIGHT is right" (original emphasis). The most frequent anaphoric construct is of the perceptual type (e.g., "Fascism sees";

"it intends") that gives fascism a characterisation of extreme philosophical rationality. Among the mental processes found in the analysis, many adopt an incongruent formulation (consideration, conception, interest). These nominalisations construe epistemic statements, i.e., it is assumed that the information provided does not need to be defended or verified.

The peripheral elements of the clause also represent fascism as the only means by which the world can be almost revived ("Only Fascism can advance [mental process] such a policy, because it is [relational process] the only movement which stands for the Empire" B/33/7/10/1). The glorification of "Merry England" and the return to the imperial age, together with the ideology of insularity (cf. Spinzi 2015), constitute the traditional and cultural elements that Mosley uses to give his fascism a purely British characterisation and to legitimise his political action. Although they are considered peripheral elements of the clause, circumstances are exploited by fascist writing to reinforce and instrumentalise fascism. The lemma under investigation is often part of a circumstance of place "Fascism in Britain", deliberately used by the writer to distinguish his own movement from the continental ones.

4.2. *The participants*

Given the prevailing ideological pattern of the in-group *vs.* the out-group that characterises fascist discourse in general (Wodak, Richardson 2013), the principal participant role is "we", evidently including fellow-members and sympathisers of the movement, in order to appeal to young people frustrated by the consequences of war and embittered by the loss of their loved ones. This suasive intention to accompany the reader in the collective re-enactment of past experiences in order to accept the proposed argumentation is visible in pervasive formulations like "we know from experience what this means".

The use of "us" is most evident in the widely used engaging construction "let us" (e.g., "let us be clear"; "let us see what this means"; B/33/3/2) which creates an atmosphere of shared activity and politely involves the addressee in the activity without being intrusive. Through the use of politeness, however, the writer is actually trying to persuade the reader, for it is noticeable that the authoritative tone is never completely absent. This is reflected in the transitivity system, in which the verbs that frequently follow the phrase are of the mental and verbal type, such as "examine", "tell", "analyse". They construct the image of an omniscient writer who seems to take the reader by the hand to convince him of the validity of his assertions. A hierarchy

is thus created that is a source of power and authority and that aims to emphasise the intellectual superiority of the fascist against the non-fascist, as can be read from the first page of *the Blackshirt*, where Mosley, in his attempt to define his newspaper's position on continental fascism, states "This paper will work for the Fascist revolution [...]. Let our position be clear. We seek our ends by legal and institutional means" (B/33/2/1/1).

The potential fascist reader is portrayed as someone who knows nothing but is eager to learn something. This provides the fascist author with a strategic opportunity to demarcate the boundaries of British fascism from continental fascism. *The Blackshirt* magazine's self-definition as a "patriotic working-class newspaper" points to the readers' identification with the working class. The investigation of the data suggests that although the unemployed, proletariat and bourgeoisie are more strongly represented, the fascist writings appeal to a rather heterogeneous target group that sympathised with the BUF for a wide variety of reasons.

4.2.1. The representation of the out-group and victimisation of the in-group

Table 1 clearly shows how fascist writing polarises social actors, including fascists and Britons on the one hand and communists, Bolsheviks, Jews, internationalists, capitalists and the British press on the other[3].

These data show that the labels chosen to categorise the participants refer both to a broad, general and a-historical classification of political parties and to a more specific and circumstantial and thus historically situated meaning of political parties. In this elementary dynamic we find the crucial dialectic of political experience: that between association and dissociation, between unity and disunity, between friends and foes, between integration and conflict.

According to the CDA perspective, language is exploited by speakers/writers to achieve a specific purpose, and the use of precise linguistic expressions has an ideological function, as in the case of the most frequent among the expressions in Table 1, i.e., "Old Gang". This phrase serves as a pre-modifier in longer nominal groups (e.g., "old gang governments", "old gang press", "old gang parties", "the whole humbug of the old gang of democratic government") and refers to the political elite consisting of bankers, politicians and members of the press or to anyone who did not show

3. Table 1 is available at https://drive.google.com/file/d/1hSwoMMoAbmjQBgGipT1UXMOHFddVbxVb/view.

sympathy for Mosley's fascism. The negative connotation of "gang", which conveys the idea of a conspiracy, the use of the classifier "old" and the considerable frequency in the corpus all contribute to repeating the image of an enemy that is old as well as an evildoer. Hence the contrast with the image of the young and virile fascist is implicitly stated. "Old Gang" is also the right and left press, without distinction, for they spread untrue facts, especially in reports on fascist meetings, as in "Nonetheless, in their reports on the meeting, the Old Gang press of left and right united in an orgy of lies" (B/33/3/1). In this example, the metaphorical use of the term "orgy" in connection with already unfavourable lies lends a negative quality by conveying the idea of secret rites and pornography.

Moreover, fascist writing traces the weaknesses of the ruling politicians, who are incapable of dealing with reality, and who are so blurred that they are unable to distinguish black from white. The semantic use of colour contrasts concretises the opposition between fascism and current movements, between masculinity and effeminacy, between corporeality and weakness, intelligence and insensitivity, and in the latent confusion "all that glimmers through the darkness is the pale light of 'intellectualism'" (A/36/7/23/1).

According to the "Labelling Theory", originating from American social psychology studies (Kidder, Stewart 1975), a label distorts perceptions and creates those attributes that result from the label itself. This strategy aims to create the image of the enemy as a source of confusion and corruption, an intention that in the BUF's press is supported by the use of other epithets such as "conspirators", "speculators", "parasitic gamblers" and so on. The final aim is to legitimise the philosophy of fascism as an anchor of salvation from the existing rot determined by the stated participants: Communists, often labelled with the classifier "the reds", but also as mentally unfit ("moron") and cowards, in short "human scum", are the target of an attack based on emotion rather than on logic. This critique involves and overwhelms all governments which, now obsolete and conspiratorial, paradoxically are not afraid of an "ineffective and cowardly Communism", but of a movement, the fascist one, which on the contrary presents itself as disciplined and organised and as such attracts vitality and virility (B/33/3/1). The stigmatisation of violence by the communists automatically turns the fascists into martyrs, as highlighted in the following narrative:

3. They determine to break up our meetings by means of interruption; and if this fails, by hurling broken bottles at our speakers. The method

> is this: a Communist man, his wife arrive at one of our meetings. The man holds the baby (so we can't harm him) while his wife hurls the broken bottles and being a woman we can't harm her either (B/33/6/10/1).

The enemy, determined in planned actions, actor of material processes ("hurl", "arrive", "hold"), imposes himself by unauthorised means of coercion ("broken bottles"), using with cowardice the female figure who is of great prestige for the fascist. What becomes evident is the construction of the narrative that anesthetises violence through the brutality enacted on the street (Gottlieb 2004).

4.3. *Another enemy: the Jews*

Although Mosley did not initially include the Jews in the dense ranks of the enemy ("Anti-Semitism is not the main feature of Fascism" B/37/1/194/4), anti-Semitism instead became an integral part of fascist propaganda from 1936 onwards (cf. Tilles 2011). From the sin of being in favour of war and wanting to pull Britain over to Germany's side (A/33/11/2/4), the Jews then became the great financial conspirators.

Like the red enemy, the Jews are accused of cowardice and of opportunism because they have created a state within a state and because they are the fundamental component of international finance, i.e., "the one which gives it its distinctive character" (B/37/194/1/4). In an article entitled "Locusts of Humanity", the journalist rails against the Jews in terms of "horde of locusts sweeping over deserts, over the mountains" (B/37/3/203/5). The starting frame is the "Jews are pests" to the point of being compared to locusts that invade and contaminate without knowledge of borders, dehumanised ("inhuman") and tenacious ("persistent"), while only the British Union remains uncontaminated. It is only a short step here from the accusation of loathing, and in a later article we read that the Jewish businesses flourish not because "they work harder or because they are any cleverer, than Englishmen", but because they are "cunning and slimy in their business practices" (B/37/208/4/3).

5. Conclusion

Fascism in Britain, which shares the prevalent ideology of populism of people *vs*. the corrupted elite, is an indispensable means of achieving peace and progress, and the BUF press uses all the means at its disposal to repeat this

concept in an exaggerated manner: through the relational processes values and enemies of fascism are identified; the mental processes represent the rational and far-sighted characters; finally, the material processes glorify the sense of action.

The BUF's propaganda, like that of *Legiones y Falanges* (Di Gesù 2015), uses the powerful tools of rhetoric by making simple, emotive and forceful arguments: the polarisation of self and other is crucial as an ideological template for the enemy's identity representation and for the development and interweaving of different types of discourse (religious/apocalyptic, medical, sporting, etc.). The choice of precise lexemes, repeated through synonymy, ties in with prevailing cognitive patterns (e.g., the nation is a body; the community is an atom), which appeal to the reader on a rational level, but above all on an emotional level due to the numerous evaluative epithets.

“To tell it like it is”
Fannie Lou Hamer as a civil rights trailblazer

Nicoletta Vasta

> Education is the key to all doors opening upon the fulfilment of [the American] Dream
>
> (Miller 1993a, p. 139)

1. Introduction

Many tributes have been paid over the years to Fannie Lou Hamer (henceforth FLH) as a role model for the advancement of both civil rights and, to a lesser extent, gender equality. Increasingly, her powerful eloquence has been praised for the timeless values that still resonate in the contemporary world, just as much as they did when she first delivered her speeches, in the 15 years of activism running from her conversion to the cause of the Civil Rights Movement (henceforth CRM) in 1962 to her death in 1977. What has not emerged systematically enough, however, is a detailed investigation into the discourse skills she displayed (viz. in terms of the very special relationship she managed to build with her audiences) and through which she performed her fascinating, multi-faceted identity as “a sharecropper, a warrior, and a truth-telling prophet”[1].

This article briefly discusses selected extracts from those speeches epitomising three aspects of FLH’s public identity: a) her life of abject poverty, hunger and exploitation as a sharecropper in the Mississippi Delta; b) her fearless, warrior-like political activism for the protection of freedom, equality and social inclusion of Black people against the backdrop of intimidation, suppression of voting rights and police violence; c) her role as a truth-telling lay preacher. These roles are conflated in the oft-quoted catchphrases and incisive aphorisms she coined[2] – many of them recorded in the

1. From online promotion for Brooks (2014): https://www.upress.state.ms.us/Books/A/A-Voice-That-Could-Stir-an-Army.

2. E.g., “Until I am free you are not free either”; “I’m sick and tired of being sick and tired”; “Is this America?”; “If this is a Great Society [i.e., the one envisaged by President Johnson], I’d hate to see a bad

titles of her speeches (Brooks, Houck 2011) – and are forever etched into American political culture, as is evident from the following tributes made by leading politicians after her death: the first is a quote by Governor Bill Clinton, who, by repeatedly echoing the title of her lay sermon[3] *I'm Sick and Tired of Being Sick and Tired* (Williams Institutional CME Church, Harlem, NYC, December 20, 1964), recalls her socially symbolic status as an exploited sharecropper to maximise his own audience's ideological and electoral response[4]:

> So if you are *sick and tired* of a Government that doesn't work to create jobs, if you're *sick and tired* of a tax system that's stacked against you, if you're *sick and tired* of exploding debt and reduced investments in our future, or if, like the great civil rights pioneer Fannie Lou Hamer, you're just *plain old sick and tired of being sick and tired*, then join us, work with us, win with us – and we can make our country the country it was meant to be. (B. Clinton's Presidential Nomination Acceptance Speech *A Vision for America: A New Covenant*, July 16, 1992)[5]

The second tribute, more specifically paid to the strenuous, fearless and charismatic civil rights activist whose legacy stands the test of time, is the eulogy given at her funeral by Andrew Young, then US ambassador to the UN:

> Young delivered a moving eulogy, praising Hamer's life of courage and sacrifice and emphasizing her remarkable influence on the lives of all Americans. "No one in America has not been influenced or inspired by Mrs. Hamer", he said. Young [...] credited her political work – Hamer's "sweat and blood" – for sowing the seeds of change in America. "None of us would have been where we are now, had she not been there then", he later remarked. (Blain 2021, pp. 131-132)

Indeed, in her lay sermon *Until I Am Free You Are Not Free Either* (Univ. of Wisconsin, Madison, January 1971), FLH celebrated "the contribution that

one"; "If I fall, I'll fall five feet four inches forward in the fight for freedom. I am not backing off" (https://www.aroundrobin.com/fannie-lou-hamer-quotes/).

3. For the use of the expression "lay sermon" and an analysis of its generic features, cf. Vasta 2023b, viz. pp. 131-157.

4. Italics used throughout to underscore key elements in the quotations and provide additional emphasis.

5. For an illuminating SFL-based analysis of this speech, cf. Miller 1993b.

[Black people] have made in the past" and stressed the fact that "this country was built on *the blood and the sweat* of Black people".

The third reference, again quoting from that same lay sermon, is a tweet by Vice-President Kamala Harris, celebrating Juneteenth Independence Day (aka Emancipation Day), just a year before President Biden signed it into law as a "federal" holiday in keeping with his campaign pledge to commemorate the end of slavery[6]: "@KamalaHarris: On a day when we celebrate Black liberation, let us be reminded of what Fannie Lou Hamer said: 'Nobody's free until everybody's free.' We still have work to do. #JuneteenthDay" (1:37AM, June 20, 2020)[7]. This was not, however, the first time Harris had cited FLH: when she accepted the nomination for US Vice-President at the 2020 Democratic National Convention (henceforth DNC), she centred her historic rise on the legacy of courageous women like FLH, who, "without fanfare or recognition, [...] organized, testified, rallied, marched and fought – not just for their vote, but for a seat at the table – [...] paved the way for the trailblazing leadership of Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton, [...] and inspired us to pick up the torch, and fight on". And, she concluded, "although we are not often told their stories, as Americans we all stand on their shoulders"[8].

Within the limits of a short article set against the backdrop of a CDA-inspired "reading" of FLH's identity performance in and through discourse, it seems appropriate to sketch out her capacity for using her powerful voice ("a voice that could stir an army"[9]) to get "a seat at the table" despite attempts at silencing her at all levels, from the refusal to register her as a voter in Indianola to President Johnson's staging a televised press conference to "obscure" the live TV coverage of her testimony at the 1964 DNC (Vasta 2023a, pp. 248 ff.). Such discursive skills include the invention of catchphrases and memorable aphorisms, already mentioned above, as well as verbatim quotations from, and explanations of the Bible, but, more importantly, her strategic code-switching between "standard" and "non-standard" varieties of American English (including AAVE), depending on both the circumstances of speech delivery and the audience addressed, from fellow downtrodden Black Mississippians – in her eyes "a chosen people within the chosen people"[10] – to Washington politicians.

6. For background, cf. https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-06-19/biden-seeks-contrast-with-trump-in-celebrating-juneteenth?leadSource=uverify%20wall; cf. also https://youtu.be/bUbvIeMzmrI.

7. https://twitter.com/kamalaharris/status/1274124052379193349.

8. https://edition.cnn.com/2020/08/19/politics/kamala-harris-speech-transcript/index.html.

9. The expression is borrowed from the title to Brook's 2014 seminal volume on FLH.

10. As Howard-Pitney (2005, p. 13) notes, "the dominant Black Jeremiad tradition conceives of Blacks as a chosen people within the chosen people. The African-American Jeremiad tradition, then,

2. A cursory overview of FLH's public speaking skills

One of the most striking examples of FLH's savvy use of code-switching occurs in a response to a question from her audience about changes in Mississippi since the passing of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The question followed her last major lay sermon, *We Haven't Arrived Yet*, delivered at the University of Wisconsin (January 29, 1976) five years after her *Until I am Free You are Not Free Either* speech at the same place. Her reply claimed that a North-South divide in the US was favouring the South: "what they're going through in Boston we *done* [*sic.*][11] it ten years ago" (quoted in Brooks, Houck 2011, p. 187). As evidence of this, she described her airport encounter in Memphis with Attorney Champ Terney, the son-in-law of James Eastland, the segregationist senator whom she had fought against so bitterly all her political life (Asch 2008): as the story of the warmth of their encounter proceeds, FLH's recourse to direct speech increases, as does the use of substandard (including vernacular) forms of English – crucially, and somewhat mischievously, placed in the mouth of the highly-educated attorney, rather than in her own, underscoring her belief that what we say is important, rather than the way we say it:

1. Now this is one thing that we have in the South that you don't have in the North that it was hard for me to get used to: nobody *speak* [*sic.*] in the North. But, you know, you can be fixing to fight a person in the South and before you hit him you'll say, "Good morning!" You know you got that kind of respect for each other – so, when I saw him in the airport I said, "Good evening Attorney Terney", and he said, "Well, yes, Mrs. Hamer". So, he shook hands with me and he had another, older guy with him, and he said, "You meet Mrs. Hamer", *said* [*sic.*], "This is Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer from Mississippi". [...] But, anyway, after we got to Memphis we met up again. So, at this point, you know, I just felt good going by. And he said, "Hold it, Mrs. Hamer". He said, "You *done* [*sic.*] fought to ride in the front. You *ain't* [*sic.*] going back to the back now; *you going* [*sic.*] to *set* [*sic.*] down here with me". I sat right down.

characteristically addresses two American chosen peoples – Black and White – whose millennial destinies, while distinct, are also inextricably entwined". FLH's activism falls within this dominant tradition but stresses the universal nature of God's world: "The seventeenth chapter of Acts and the twenty-sixth verse said: 'Has made of one blood all nations.' So whether you [*sic.*] Black as a skillet or White as a sheet, we are made from the same blood and we are on our way!" (*We're on Our Way*, Mass Meeting, Indianola, MS, early September, 1964).

11. Italics followed by [*sic.*] indicate non-standard uses of American English, including AAVE.

> And we talked, you know, from Memphis to Greenville. (Quoted in Brooks, Houck 2011, p. 187)

Significantly, her lengthy response to the question was interleaved with a "seemingly" unconnected story:

> 2. I was getting on the plane with a huge picture of Dr. King, that I was carrying back from Rockville, Maryland. And I got all kinds of reactions from White folks. Some of them, you know, would look at it. One stewardess told me, *said* [*sic.*], "You know you can't carry it on that plane". And I said, "I brought it from Washington", I said, "I'm carrying it on home". I said, "If I made it from Washington to Memphis, I certainly can go to Greenville with it". So, she *know* [*sic.*] there wasn't going to be *no* [*sic.*] argument. (*Ibid.*)

Clearly, the stewardess was no match for the combined forces of both FLH and Dr. King. But why such insistence on the theme of talking to each other and the refusal to be silenced? To answer this question, it needs to be recalled that throughout her activism FLH was silenced and thwarted in her activities as a Black woman. Quite apart from being beaten in jail, she was considered uneducated and not worthy of being listened to by others, including various politicians and even some fellow activists (Blain 2021, p. 48). This occurred to her repeatedly and not just when Hubert Humphrey, then a Vice-Presidential candidate sent by Lyndon Johnson to negotiate with CRM leaders, stated that "the President will not allow that illiterate woman to speak from the floor of the convention" (Brooks, Houck 2011, p. xii). The urgency to speak – and speak straight from the heart – whenever she had an opportunity to do so helps explain why her public speaking was essentially unscripted:

> 3. Now, you might be expecting me to have a long essay written down and I would have to use my glasses every time – [indicating] this and this way. But I don't carry around a manuscript because it's too much trouble. I'm just up here to rap and *tell you what it is and to tell it like it is*. (*Until I Am Free You Are Not Free Either*, 1971)

When she did have a script, however rarely, she would intentionally signal the impromptu insertion of spontaneous discourse (bracketed with "S" in the example below) into her written-to-be-spoken text – as is the case at

the outset of her *Testimony before the Subcommittee on Elections of the Committee on House Administration* (House of Representatives, Washington, D.C., September 13, 1965):

> 4. [S] One of the things before I read I would like to say: it is pretty bad when the people can't feel safe in going to what are called police officials or state highway patrols to be protected in the state of Mississippi, because I am standing here today – and I must say this before I continue – I am standing here today suffering with a permanent kidney injury and a blood clot in the artery from the left eye from a beating I got inside of the jail in Winona, Mississippi, because I was participating in voter registration, and these orders *was* [*sic.*] ordered by a county deputy, a state highway patrol. I want to say something else. When we go back home from this meeting here today, we stand a chance of being shot down, or either blown to bits in the state of Mississippi. I want to read [S]. You gentlemen should know that the Negroes make up 58 percent of the potential voters of the Second Congressional District. This means that if Negroes were allowed to vote freely, I could be sitting up here with you right now as a congresswoman. You also know that Negroes are not permitted to, and have not been permitted for almost ninety years, to register and vote in this or any congressional district in Mississippi. (Quoted in Brooks, Houck 2011, p. 66)

As FLH's national stature as an outspoken, truth-telling activist grew[12], so did her need to adapt her discourse, especially when she was called upon to "preach" to audiences unfamiliar with the conventions of the Black church sermon (Vasta 2023b, p. 149). Indeed, throughout her activist career, FLH carefully recast the way she addressed and interacted with her audience, skillfully engaging with those listening to her:

12. "By the early 1970s, Hamer was so well known that the (1971) *Essence* article had only to allude to her accomplishments. [...] She paid a price, however, with police beatings that left her permanently disabled. She lost a daughter because no hospital in Mississippi would treat a child of Fannie Lou Hamer. The Ku Klux Klan shot into a friend's house 16 times while Hamer was staying there. Despite this, Hamer remained. 'Why should I leave Ruleville and why should I leave Mississippi?' she once asked a journalist. 'You don't run away from problems. You just face them'" (Early 2021). Besides co-founding and co-chairing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, in 1964 Hamer organised Mississippi's Freedom Summer along with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and was a co-founder of the National Women's Political Caucus, a multi-partisan grassroots organisation which recruits, trains, and supports women of all races who wish to seek public office.

5. I know you don't agree, maybe, with what I'm saying, but there is one thing for sure: you got a feeling it's the truth. (*We Haven't Arrived Yet*, 1976)

As Brooks reports, unlike other civil rights activists (e.g., Malcom X), FLH believed that:

> Anglo Americans [...] had failed to live up to their founding principles and the covenant they held with God. As a result, African Americans, those chosen people within a chosen people, had been called upon to [...] reinstate their commitment to the country's espoused values. Such claims were an adaptation of American mythology, which Hamer utilized to disrupt dominant cultural conceptions and provide "perspective by incongruity" for her White audiences. (Brooks 2011, p. 524)

Successful construction of her own persona as a lay preacher-cum-activist involved attenuating the generic conventions she had adopted in her first lay sermon, *I Don't Mind My Light Shining* (Freedom Vote Rally, Greenwood, late October 1963, cf. Vasta 2023b, pp. 137 ff.), whereby: "A typical sermon begins with an invocation or introductory phase which takes the form of dialogue-like interchanges representing the minister's, the Lord's and the audience's words" (Gumperz 1982, p. 190), and where, with its rhythmically-timed response, "the audience actively participates and through its reactions, either by withholding responses or by expressing more than usual responsiveness, can materially affect the course of the service" (*ibid.*).

More specifically, her departing from the Black church sermon's generic conventions involved replacing preacher-congregation interaction with interactions with other real or imaginary persons embedded in her storytelling, which often led to a two-part/Other-Me "dialogue" *in absentia* containing the following stages:

6. (Others') Proposition: "*It's* [*sic.*] a lot of people that said: 'Well, forget about politics'".
   Confutation: But, baby, what we eat *is* politics.
   (Me's) Proposition: And I'm not going to forget *no politic* [*sic.*]. Because in 1972, when I go to Washington as Senator Hamer from Mississippi, *you going* [*sic.*] to know *it's* [*sic.*] going to be some changes made. Because we are going to change Mississippi. (*To Make Democracy a Reality*, October 15, 1969)

Thus, FLH does not wait for the congregation's supportive contributions; these are replaced with a pre-packaged form of positive assessment which, by enforcing speaker-hearer alignment, assumes audience assent ("What we eat *is* politics"). Of particular significance in this respect is the use of the form of address "baby", not only here but throughout her speech: this is a rhetorical device to establish and consolidate the "Me" *vs*. "Other" linkage, where "baby" can clearly and unchallengingly be interpreted by the audience as referring either to an imaginary other person, or to her own Self (i.e., "self-talk" as a form of self-encouragement), or even to each individual in the audience. In the case in point, the function is to overcome the disillusionment with politics that many in the University audience listening to her would have had. FLH's "incongruous", somewhat disruptive catchphrase about the identification between food and politics might well have reminded the audience of the courage shown by Black students arrested for defying segregation by sitting at food counters for meals which, even more ironically, they could not afford (Potorti 2019, pp. 115, 144). Associating her appeal for joint responsibility in the civil rights cause with a "pseudo-dialogue" had been a trademark FLH technique since the beginning of her activism:

> 7. I don't want you to say tonight after I finish – and it won't be long – I don't want to hear you say, "Honey, I'm behind you". Well, move, I don't want you back there. Because you could be two hundred miles behind. I want you to say, "I'm with you". And we'll go up this freedom road together. (*We're on Our Way*, 1964)

Incorporation of the political testimony sub-genre within her lay sermons is another significant adaptation she made vis-à-vis the Black church sermon: contextualising details – dates when she (or others) suffered personal violence – initially restricted to the self-portrayal, as in *I Don't Mind My Light Shining* (1963), are consistently used throughout her later speeches to describe the violence and harassment meted out to Delta Blacks, thus underpinning her reflections on hypocrisy and cruelty.

In her *Testimony before the Credentials Committee at the DNC* (August 22, 1964), speaking as co-chair of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party, she challenged the authority of the Mississippi delegation, from which Black people had been excluded. Her testimony is an eyewitness account to events presented as if she were giving evidence in court, providing answers to questions that have simply been removed: this leads to the disfluencies in FLH's "clipped", yet compelling narrative style – one that can only be hint-

ed at here – allowing her to reconstruct events from her own standpoint[13]. She began this famous speech as follows:

> 8. My name is Mrs. Fannie Lou Hamer, and I live at 626 East Lafayette Street, Ruleville, Mississippi, Sunflower County, the home of Senator James O. Eastland, and Senator Stennis. It was the 31st of August in 1962 that eighteen of us traveled twenty-six miles to the county courthouse in Indianola to try to register to become first-class citizens. (*DNC Testimony*, 1964)

At first sight, what looks like bland self-identification when affirming her full name and social status as a married woman with her own address, is, in fact, an assertion that she is not a nameless sharecropper living in a shack on a plantation with no identity of her own. Indeed, the reference to "the home of Senator James O. Eastland, and Senator Stennis" is used to mean "the home of slavery": the implication is that her identity and escape from neo-slavery has been achieved despite the efforts to crush Blacks by these two segregationist Senators. Hence, this is just as much a statement about freedom as Dr. King's opening statement in the *Dream Speech,* when he spoke about the "greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our Nation"[14], but all the more potent for being a stinging rebuke couched as apparently innocuous understatement: FLH was not simply accusing the two senators of maintaining the segregationist *status quo* in Mississippi; rather, she was accusing them of damaging the Democratic Party. Both President Johnson and others there, including Dr. King, knew it. Having recognised the political significance and threat to his own election campaign, Lyndon Johnson sought a compromise, ultimately supported by Dr. King (Brooks, Houck 2011, p. 190), which was rejected by FLH and others. That a woman could publicly say "no" to a President is in itself an important turning point along the way to acknowledging female politicians' influence and impact, despite Hamer having unsuccessfully run for the US Senate in 1964[15] and the Mississippi State Senate in 1971.

A brief parting thought needs to be devoted to the end of her journey when, one year before her death, she looked back over her activism and what it meant for the CRM cause in her already-quoted *We Haven't Arrived*

13. For more details and further analysis of the *DNC Testimony*, including its remediation (Bolter, Grusin 1999) in the digital age, cf. Vasta 2023a, pp. 248-9; 2023b, pp. 150-4 and 376-9.

14. https://youtu.be/smEqnnklfYs.

15. Cf. *Fannie Lou Hamer Runs for Congress* (https://youtu.be/AXqimvAK56Q).

Yet (1976) speech, "which carries forth the confrontational candor of Hamer's speech, as she chastises political figures [...], challenges northern Black members of the audience who 'think they have arrived', and exposes the hypocrisy of the Nation's bicentennial celebrations" (Brooks 2011, pp. 181-182):

> 9. See, some of you all *ain't* [*sic.*] going to like it because you know, and *I am just telling the truth* and so you can, you know, you can respect the truth because *if changes is* [*sic.*] *not made in this sick country*, it's not going to be me crumbling, *we are going to crumble, because a house divided against itself cannot stand*. A nation that's divided against itself is on its way out and when you see a place that's so prejudiced [...], anything is divided, not only for kids *is* [*sic.*] for grown-ups. (*We Haven't Arrived Yet*, 1976)

Donning the mantle of a lay preacher – and a sardonic one, for that matter – FLH closes her ground-breaking speech indirectly echoing, once again, the American Jeremiad[16] as one of the foundations of the American Dream (Miller 2006a, p. 175, Ritter 1980, p. 158, Vasta 2023b, pp. 31-52 *et passim*), while prophetically projecting her vision for the future and a way forward, which she leaves as her lasting legacy enshrined in the founding principles of the American way (e.g., the American motto "united we stand, divided we fall"):

> 10. *We better straighten up America*, because everybody is not going to be as nice as the Indians when they welcomed Columbus and his group here that he said he discovered and it was already fourteen. Just like, you know, we walked out there and *get* [*sic.*] in a car and said we discovered it, how did we discover it if it was already made? *It's later than you think and it's time for us to work together to make this a better country* because together we stand, but divided we all cave. (*We Haven't Arrived Yet*, 1976)

Thus, the journey towards "mak[ing] this a better country" is driven by the American Dream as a powerful centripetal force for unity and equality, "[which] rationalizes the pursuit of individual visions of happiness as the central purpose of all social structures and institutions. It transcends sub-

16. Cf. the italicised text in extracts (9) and (10). On the sermonic form of the American Jeremiad as a lamentation on the decline in morality, a call for repentance and a promise of renewal of God's blessing and favour rolled into one, cf. Bercovitch [1978](2012), viz. pp. 31-61.

cultures to promote societal unity and a collective national identity. It has been called 'the most powerful motivational idea ever invented'" (Dearin 1997, p. 699).

3. Conclusion

The sketchy portrait of FLH drawn above fails to mention other important aspects of her identity, e.g., her capacity to use her powerful voice not just to awaken souls to the truth but also to sing (e.g., after the failed registration attempt in Indianola) in order to "drive away fear"[17], i.e., soothe and inspire her fellow activists. As such, despite her alleged uneducated status, she proved to be a genuine educator, motivating Whites and Blacks of all social ranks and leading the way by asking the right people the right questions about the state of US politics. This is why her "is this America?" ought to resonate as a counternarrative to protect democracy, especially against misinterpretations of the American Dream and the exploitation of fear as an electoral strategy.

17. Cf. the video interview with her fellow activist Bob Moses entitled *Fannie Lou Hamer and the Power of Song* (https://youtu.be/M78izlHM_mw).

Teaching and translation

section 3

Language is purposeful

Some thoughts on teaching Systemic Functional Grammar

Sabrina Fusari

1. Introduction

In this chapter, I will suggest a reflection on the role of teaching grammar at university, with a specific focus on Systemic Functional Linguistics (henceforth SFL) for non-native learners of English who aim to achieve a high level of proficiency in the English language, often with a view to pursuing a teaching career after graduation. My reflection is explicitly based on the guidance and inspiration Donna Miller gave her mentees and younger colleagues at the Department of Modern Languages, Literatures and Cultures (LILEC) of the University of Bologna.

For many of us at this Department, Donna has been not just a mentor, but also a model to be followed, and a friend to turn to for advice and encouragement. At a particularly difficult time in my career, it was Donna who taught me the expression "if there's a will, there's a way", which can seem to be a cliché if considered out of context, but made a lot of sense to me in the conundrum I was going through at that time. As I would discover a few years later, when I started working with Donna at the University of Bologna, this can-do, enthusiastic and well-organised attitude was in fact the hallmark of Donna's work in whatever she was involved in, from research, to teaching and academic management. Her standards were very high, but there is no doubt that she had the gift to inspire people.

For all these reasons, the idea to write a volume to celebrate Donna's work has been in the pipeline for a few years, although it took my colleagues and me quite a long time to come up with just the right idea and set up to actually "do" it. When I started planning this contribution to the volume *A Life in Style. In Honour of Donna R. Miller*, it was at the end of 2019, and academic teaching had not yet been revolutionised by the Covid-19 pandemic. Little did we know that, in just a few months, we would all have to ask ourselves the question "what" to teach and "how" to teach it, in order

to fit the new full-distance or hybrid learning model necessitated by social distancing norms to limit the spread of the virus. For about four months between the onset of the pandemic, through lockdown and various stages of Italy's "recovery" from the dramatic situation affecting its health, economy and everyday life, I was totally absorbed by the restructuring of my teaching strategies, including administering written exams online (what a challenge!), so I simply had to put this paper, as well as many other projects, on hold. My creativity was completely drained, and I began to have serious doubts about my place in the academia, especially about whether it is really able, or perhaps even wants, to teach students meaningfully. Do we see students as persons we are helping grow intellectually, or as containers to fill with notions which can equally well get transmitted through an electronic medium? Does it really matter if what we teach makes sense to students, or is the ultimate purpose of the academia to endow students with x number of credits, so that they will eventually be allowed to graduate? And is earning their degree really "the commencement" – of adulthood, of working life, of a higher level of intellectual awareness – or just a piece of paper to wave before their parents' eyes? Although Donna had already retired from work when the pandemic hit, it is mostly thanks to the model she had set for me as a professor that I found the necessary drive and motivation to try and address all these difficult questions.

2. Donna's leadership style in researching and teaching SFL

SFL is undoubtedly the main beacon driving Donna's work. It is from this angle that she has explored a variety of discursive issues, ranging from US political discourse, to gender, literature, philanthropy, and various other contexts in which language can be seen as "purposeful", and the endeavour of studying it as "exploring the text producer's/consumer's world views, or belief and value systems, their ideologies and identities, all of which are construed in and by their texts" (Miller 2017b, p. xv). So, as a social semiotic of language, purposefully oriented towards the functions of language, SFL is the perfect choice – at least in theory – for a language teacher who is preoccupied with the usefulness of their teaching, in terms of transmitting not only notions, but also skills. It is also perfectly suitable for teaching non-native speakers of English in the "corona era", as it was experimented with successfully in full distance e-learning mode for our students, well before e-learning took over due to the pandemic (Fusari, Luporini 2016).

In practice, however, the day-to-day practice of academic teaching, even before Covid, involves the need to streamline the complexity of SFL to fit the schedule of the academic calendar, especially if students do not already possess a solid grammatical background before they begin their BA. Teaching the whole of SFL, in fact, is probably an impossible endeavour in an undergraduate degree course, because it embraces all aspects of language investigation, from phonology to grammar, reaching to discourse analysis and stylistics, and this is way beyond what is expected of a BA curriculum. Grammar is arguably the "bricks and mortar" from which it makes sense to start, but even grammar alone, in SFL, is too huge and multifaceted to fit completely into the academic time slots we are usually assigned. What simplifications teachers are prepared to make depends on their teaching goals and priorities – which should, as much as possible, be homogenous with their learners' (Zorzi 1996) – but, in general, SFL is a difficult model to simplify, because it is conceptually founded on the intertwining and mutual cooperation of all the systems. As a consequence, any attempt to "streamline" SFL formalism (O'Donnell 2009) involves a risk of trivialising it, or indeed of losing sight of its advantages over other models of grammar.

As a professor, Donna was not a lover of simplifications, and – even in everyday life – she does not seem to me to be a person that particularly likes "easy". One of Donna's main preoccupations when she retired in 2019 was that we would continue her work at the Department: she realised, of course, that we would not be able to replace her in all the courses she taught and the research and scholarly networking activities she pursued, but she was particularly keen to leave an academic legacy we would keep alive. That included, crucially, keeping the Department's Centre for Linguistic-Cultural Studies (CeSLiC) productive and dynamic, but also, not less importantly, teaching the Hallidayan model of Functional Grammar to our students.

While the overall rationale behind teaching SFL at university has been explained by Donna herself (Miller 2017b, pp. 1-5) much better than I could ever do, what I will provide in the next few pages is a general background to what we teach and why we teach it, the advantages and disadvantages of teaching SFL to our BA students, and what I believe can be a reasonable response and constructive basis for negotiating the survival of our syllabus with opposers of this analytical framework.

This implies reflecting, at various levels, on what it means to teach grammar, what model(s) of grammar should or could be taught, and whether grammar should be taught at all. A heavily theoretical model of language like SFL (Thompson, Hunston 2006, p. 1) is clearly not to the liking of all

members of the academia, especially since the university system, not only in Italy and Europe, but worldwide, has undergone a progressive shift towards teaching professionally useful, transferable and, above all, measurable skills, in what is, increasingly, a businesslike Quality Assurance perspective. This shift seems to have become particularly evident since the coronavirus pandemic hit the academic world, causing firstly a temporary transfer of all activities online, secondly a renegotiation of the role of distance learning in higher education, and finally a severe economic crisis which will likely have a long-lasting impact on the number of students, their national and international mobility, as well as their social and family background.

3. The SFL syllabus at LILEC

For first year SFL lessons, students are divided alphabetically into four groups, taught by two different teachers who both have a solid background in SFL. The programme, typically taught in the first semester, lasts thirty hours and concentrates on the basic concepts of the grammar of SFL, with specific focus on textual meanings, to bridge the gap between the characteristically structural and formally-oriented view of cohesion that students tend to learn in high school and the functionally-motivated and meaning-centred notions of textuality that a systemic approach crucially entails.

Although real texts are read and used in class for exercises and practical examples, all analytical work in year 1 of the BA syllabus is done at sentence, clause or clause complex level. This is seen as the necessary foundation for students to begin doing work on texts in year 2, and also to begin to explore some more nuanced shades of meaning as expressed in grammar, such as modality, and especially appraisal (Martin, White 2005). Text appreciation is the topic of the third and last year SFL is taught at our Department, with a declared aim to apply, as the text of the course programme states, "the Systemic Functional Grammar descriptive-analytical model to different functional varieties of texts, or registers, including the literature text, with the aim of having students understand the typical lexicogrammar and semantics of these texts and the contextual variables which tend to activate them". In other words, the ultimate goal of studying the grammar of SFL for three years is gaining a thorough understanding of register, which is then assumed to become applicable to the students' own reading of texts, either for its own sake (i.e., being better, more critical readers) or to possess a useful methodological background to pursue linguistic studies in their MA.

3.1. *Advantages of the SFL syllabus*

Despite some claims to the contrary, SFL's grammatical model is relatively easy for students to master, and probably easier than most competing models. This is because it is centred on meaning, and does not require much background knowledge in terms of metalanguage or logico-formal analytical skills. In fact, a lot of the previous knowledge of grammar students have acquired in high school needs to be overcome or, better still, adapted, for a thorough understanding of how SFL works. For example, students need to abandon the structuralist view that each individual word has to be slotted into a pre-prepared "pigeon-hole" for the sentence to be "correct". Instead, they have to learn how to break down a clause into units of meaning, depending not on the form it has, but on the sense it makes. This is undoubtedly easier for students with a good sense of language, but it also helps students develop that sense of language, as they are constantly encouraged to ask first and foremost what a certain expression means, rather than what structural role it plays. Once learned, this approach is not only useful to learn English, but it can also be extended to other languages: in fact, many students of Japanese at our Department are fascinated to discover that theme is essentially the same thing even in languages that, unlike Japanese, do not grammaticalise it in a specific morpheme.

In addition, through the notion of embedding, the grammar of SFL can solve some nagging issues of structural grammar, like syntactic ambiguity, or amphibology. The fact that SFL "can" tell you who is holding the binoculars in the classic example of syntactic PP attachment ambiguity "He saw the man with binoculars" provides students with a pedagogically useful, if possibly slightly idealised view, that grammar does provide interpretive solutions, in a definitive and univocal way. At the same time, SFL's three-tiered analysis of each and every clause, from the ideational, interpersonal and textual point of view, also contributes to foster in students a multilogical and heteroglossic view not only of language, but of life more generally understood, in which there is no single right answer, but things can, and in fact should, always be seen from different angles. This priority assigned by SFL to divergent thinking is useful to develop in students not only a metalinguistic awareness, but also, and perhaps more importantly, a critical thinking habit, because of the constant need to accommodate more than one reading of the same problem.

In summary, the advantages of the grammar of SFL over competing models revolve around its non-normativeness, its meaning-centredness, its

flexibility for successful application to other languages beyond English, often in a critical discourse perspective across a wide spectrum of contexts of culture and of situation, as well as its pedagogical implications, espousing a philosophy of pluralism not only in language analysis, but in human thinking more broadly.

3.2. *Disadvantages of the SFL syllabus*

The current SFL syllabus taught at LILEC is divided into three parts, to suit the 3-year set-up of the BA programme. Teaching is largely administered in the traditional lecture format, not particularly because of the heavily theoretical nature of SFL, but especially because students are too numerous and teachers too few to organise groups small enough to accommodate seminar-like teaching and class discussion. Despite the existence of a Placement Test students have to pass to be admitted to the English language programme, the potential classroom turnout exceeds 200 people. In fact, even if attendance is not compulsory, the typical turnout during Covid-19 necessitated quite extreme social distancing measures. Attendance rates have not yet come back to pre-pandemic levels, but they are still very high. Therefore, due to the high number of students, teaching rooms are also quite traditional, with a typical lecture theatre set-up where the teacher's desk is located on a platform, in a higher position than students, and there is a pitched floor for students to sit in front of the teacher. This architectural set-up is well known not to encourage interaction, although it may be necessary for a variety of pedagogical as well as logistical reasons (Petrovic, Pale 2014, Schmidt *et al*. 2015).

This fundamentally affects not only "how" teaching is done, but also "what" can reasonably be taught in this physical environment. For example, there is no real opportunity for individual teacher-students interaction, and the transmission of knowledge is necessarily prioritised over the development of practical skills. It is important to understand, however, that this would be true of any topic in linguistics taught in this learning context: as a matter of fact, dialogic teaching is negatively affected by overcrowding and this can be only partially addressed through the use of e-learning (Fusari 2021), even after the huge material and organisational investment in distance learning that was necessitated by the Covid-19 pandemic (Fusari 2022, Luporini, Giacosa 2022).

While previous research shows that the use of distance learning, especially through the integration of several computer-based media, can indeed

facilitate interaction in linguistic teaching generally, and in SFL teaching specifically (Fusari, Luporini 2016), this should be adequately pondered against learning needs and meticulously experimented with, including with appropriate teacher training, to be expected to achieve the desired results in terms of increased student-teacher interaction and skills prioritisation. To achieve a higher level of interactivity in teaching language and linguistics in overcrowded classrooms, it is inevitable to divide students into smaller groups, regardless of whether lessons take place in a brick-and-mortar or online classroom, but this has never been possible at our Department, largely due to logistical issues and spending caps. Overcrowding thus remains the biggest obstacle teachers have to face when devising and delivering their SFL curriculum.

4. Conclusion: is SFL "difficult"?

To address this question, I would like to start by stressing that Donna has never been my teacher. To be more accurate, I have never had any formal instruction in SFL and, before I joined the University of Bologna as a researcher in Donna's team in 2012, I was quite unhappy with the way English language and linguistics were taught at the institution I previously belonged to. If I had not had the opportunity to develop enough knowledge and expertise to be able to teach SFL in Bologna with Donna, I would probably have decided to leave the academia before the end of the 2010s. So that is how I learned SFL, as a beacon of hope to keep doing this job with enough dignity and without feeling a personal and professional failure.

This is why, for me, the answer to the question "is SFL difficult?" is "it depends on your motivations for learning it". For me, personally and professionally, it has been a life changer, for the better, so I suppose it is only natural that I find it easy and love to teach it. It is just as natural that it should prove to be much more challenging for undergraduate students, especially if they come from a high school curriculum that does not prioritise grammar. This is why I have no problems understanding students that say they would prefer a less heavily theoretical English linguistics syllabus.

As said, I was not raised in a Systemic Functional academic "crib", but in a Cooperative Learning one, and it is probably because of this Cooperative Learning background that I firmly believe that (1) "all" learning, not just learning SFL, depends upon your motivations, and (2) how "difficult" you will find whatever you are learning is not an intrinsic feature of what

you are learning. It crucially depends on whether your original motivations eventually become realised in making you feel enriched of new skills, new understandings, and new perspectives on the world that are meaningful to you. This is exactly what SFL is to me, and I am forever thankful to Donna Miller for this.

Evaluative and speaker-positioning function bundles in spoken academic English

English as a Medium of Instruction at UNIBO

Jane Helen Johnson

1. Introduction

This paper is inspired by the work that Professor Donna Miller and I did together when I was at the beginning of my academic career. At the time we were looking at parliamentary debate in the congressional discourse of the U.S. House of Representatives for the year 2003, examining the discourses around the Iraq war through a combination of SFL and corpus linguistics (Miller, Johnson 2009a, 2009b, 2013, 2014). Our aim was to continue investigating the hypothesis that there were certain communal choices in ways of saying/meaning, in other words that there were register-idiosyncratic features of evaluation and stance in congressional debate (cf. Miller 2007b, Miller, Johnson 2009a). We began by extracting lexical bundles, also known as "function bundles" (Halliday 1985, p. 262), "the most frequent recurring lexical sequences in a register" (Biber *et al.* 1999, Chapter 13) from our corpus of congressional discourse, noting that lexical bundles such as "we must", "it is time" and "it + v-link + adj (+ that/to...)" were particularly frequent. This last pattern in particular stood out as being more frequent in the argumentative register of parliamentary proceedings than in other general reference corpora (Miller, Johnson 2009a). For this reason, further exploration was conducted in order to compare the frequency of such bundles with other genres and see to what extent voice and value position distinctions depend on who was doing the appraising and/or who or what was being appraised. We focused initially on the adjectives in the pattern "it + v-link + adj", with the most frequent adjective being "important" and its synonyms, though variations were found according to political orientation, gender, "idiolecticity" and other contextual variables (Miller, Johnson 2009b).

Also known as introductory or anticipatory "it", this pattern often indicates the speaker's position, his or her stance, opinion or affective attitude towards a particular proposition, for example the likelihood that something will take place, noting its importance or its necessity (Biber *et al.* 2004, Biber, Barbieri 2007). The pattern has been described as a semi-preconstructed phrase constituting a single choice (Sinclair 1991, p. 110), acting as structural "frame" to orient the listener and prepare for the "new" information that follows (Biber *et al.* 2004, p. 399, Kaltenböck 2005, p. 146). Considerable research has investigated this pattern in written discourse (e.g., Lemke 1998) and specifically in the context of written academic prose (e.g., Biber *et al.* 1998, p. 75, Hewings, Hewings 2002). It has in fact been described as particularly salient in academic English (Groom 2005, p. 259), being diagnostic of evaluative meaning (Hunston, Sinclair 2000) and adding objectivity and authority to the utterance (Kaltenböck 2005, p. 137). It is in the context of academic English that this present study is placed, shifting to a different domain with respect to my initial work with Professor Miller as described above.

Mastery of lexical bundles has been recognised as essential for fluent speech in academic English (Hyland 2012, Molino 2019). The frequency of lexical bundles has been compared in spoken and written academic registers (Biber *et al.* 2004, Biber, Barbieri 2007), being particularly frequent in academic lectures, which deliver "value-laden discourse" where lecturers present information to the audience, organise it, and express their attitudes and evaluation (Lee 2009, p. 43). While most work has focused on production and reception by Native Speakers (NS), Nesi and Basturkmen (2006) found that certain frequent lexical bundles used by NS lecturers have a discourse-signalling function which may not be immediately understood by Non-Native English-Speaking (NNS) students. Molino (2019) looked at NNS lecturers delivering their lecture in English (English Mediated Instruction: EMI) and found a greater proportion of idiosyncratic usage of lexical bundles when compared with the frequency of lexical bundles used by NS lecturers. The formulaicity of the NS lectures made them easier to follow.

While the pattern "it + v-link + adj (+ to/that + clause)" may not be particularly frequent in spoken academic discourse – Nesi and Basturkmen (2006) found only 1% of NS lectures in BASE[1] contained this phrase, compared with 9% of academic prose – appropriate use of lexical bundles in

1. The BASE corpus is a collection of academic speech events under development at the Universities of Warwick and Reading with funding from BALEAP, EURALEX, the British Academy and the Arts and Humanities Research Board. Available at https://www.sketchengine.eu/.

general is an essential component of fluent spoken and written academic production, distinguishing the expert user from the novice (Nesi, Basturkmen 2006, Hyland 2012).

This study explores the pattern "it + v-link + adj (+ to/that + clause)" in two sub-genres of academic spoken English: the discourse of lectures and that of office hours, in the context of EMI in two different macro areas. EMI has only recently become widespread in the Italian university context, and the task of NNS lecturers is not an easy one, with lectures required to convey the same amount and quality of content as the courses taught in Italian. Lecturers need to be especially clear as regards the evaluation of the content and their positioning or stance towards it for students from very different language backgrounds. Lecturers must also hold office hours, a one-to-one situation involving not only local students, who often enrol on international courses due to their perceived prestige, but also international students. While in the former case, the lecturer may switch to their shared Italian L1, this is not possible in the case of international students. While the lecturer may be able to pre-prepare the lecture event to some degree, the sheer range of potential topics in office hours may be a source of potential language problems. The degree of interactivity may also affect usage of such a pattern, since phrases such as "it is important to" might be replaced by "you must" for example. Hence we would expect a difference in frequency of this pattern between office hours and lectures, with the latter being typically monologic[2] and more likely to include the pattern. The macro area might also determine frequency of usage, because of the denser informational content of Physical Science (PS) subjects, and the more dialogic material in Social Sciences (SS), which might lead to a smaller interpersonal distance between lecturer and student in which alternative forms such as "you must" and adverbials such as "clearly" and "obviously" are preferred to "it is important/clear/obvious".

Past research into the pattern has focused on the semantic and functional meanings of the adjectives or evaluators. Lemke (1998) noted that his classifications of the evaluative attributes of propositions and proposals originating from his study of newspaper editorials overlapped to a great extent those of other researchers, suggesting that the evaluative attributes all seem to fall into a small number of semantic classes. Miller and Johnson (2009a) applied Lemke's classifications to the adjectives in parliamentary

2. Degree of interaction may be calculated according to words per speaker turn. While the average number of words per speaker turn is <100 for three of our four subcorpora (Office Hours in both PS and SS, and SS lectures), it is 202 across PS lectures, suggesting they are much less interactive than any of the others.

discourse, finding that most fell into the "importance/significance" category. Research articles by native speakers were instead examined by Groom (2005, p. 260), who classified adjectives in the pattern into "adequacy", "desirability", "difficulty", "expectation", "importance" and "validity".

Anticipatory "it" phrases have been found to cause problems for non-native speakers in written academic discourse (Hewings, Hewings 2002, p. 368). The speakers in this study are NNS and Italian lecturers' English competence is often weak (Campagna, Pulcini 2014, p. 180). Thus I hope to find out whether similar problems are encountered in non-native spoken academic discourse. My research questions are therefore:

1. How does the relative frequency of the pattern "it + v-link + adj (+ to/that)" compare in the sub-genres office hours and lectures in an NNS context?
2. How does the relative frequency of the pattern compare across macro area? Is this pattern more typical of SS or the denser informational content of PS?
3. What categories of adjectives (Groom 2005) are more represented in the various sub-groups? Which individual adjectives are more frequent within the separate categories?
4. Is there any difference between usage according to gender and/or idiolecticity?

2. Methodology

The discourse of lectures and office hours was examined in two specialised corpora. The corpora and query procedure is described below.

2.1. *Description of the corpora*

The EmiBO corpus (Johnson, Picciuolo 2022) contains 40 hours of university lecture discourse in English given by Italian native-speaking lecturers teaching on international second-cycle degree courses in Social Sciences and Physical Sciences. A small corpus consisting of 5 hours of office hour sessions (OH) from both macro areas was also compiled. Speaker turns were annotated to distinguish lecturer and student turns. Details of duration, number and gender of lecturers, and number of words according to subgenre and macro disciplinary area are given in Table 1.

Table 1. *Duration, number of words, and numbers of lecturers and lecturer words in PS and SS lectures and office hours.*

Corpora		**Physical Sciences**	**Social Sciences**	**Totals**
Lectures (EmiBO)	Duration in mins	1877	352	2229
	No. M lecturers	10	3	17
	No. F lecturers	4	0	
	Total words	180,758	22,400	203,158
	Lecturer (M) words	140,948	17,486	158,434
	Lecturer (F) words	36,030	0	36,030
Office hours (OH)	Duration in mins	120	187	307
	No. M lecturers	4	6	11
	No. F lecturers	0	1	
	Tot. words	10,891	24,540	35,431
	Lecturer (M) words	9344	16,088	25,432
	Lecturer (F) words	0	1086	1086

2.2. *Querying the corpora*

The corpora were queried using SketchEngine (Kilgarriff *et al.* 2004) to extract concordances featuring the pattern "it + v-link + adj" across sub-genres and macrodisciplinary areas. This phraseological unit consists of a dummy subject pronoun "it" followed by the link verb "be", an adjective, and generally a finite or non-finite that-clause or to-clause. Concordances were examined to eliminate irrelevant instances, such as where "it" is not an introductory subject, or referring "it" (e.g., "it can be important here"). A qualitative reading of concordances also highlighted non-standard uses, such as "it + v-link + adj + -ing", as in example (1).

1. so of course, it is important having a European, place, a European things. [EMIBO LE PS]

Such non-standard examples were also included. The pattern queried was therefore "it + v-link + adj + X + clause", where X stands for to/that or non-standard -ing. Adjectives in the pattern were quantified and classified according to Groom (2005), and their relative frequency per thousand

words was compared over corpus subsections. Findings were also compared with the NS lecture discourse in BASE. Academic discipline and speech types were selected in line with this present study as far as possible[3].

3. Findings

3.1. *Relative frequency of pattern according to sub-genre*

The pattern is relatively more frequent in (monologic) lectures in EmiBO, occurring 0.58 per thousand words (ptw), slightly more than in the more dialogic office hours (OH) corpus (0.49 ptw).

3.2. *Relative frequency of pattern according to macro area*

The pattern is relatively more frequent in EmiBO SS (0.86 ptw) than in PS (0.55). This is borne out in BASE, with a greater relative frequency in SS lectures (0.48 ptw) than PS (0.37 ptw).

3.3. *Adjectives and categories of adjectives*

Adjectives in the pattern were divided into semantic categories (Groom 2005). Results are shown in Table 2.

Some examples of adjectives in EmiBO and OH appearing in the classifications are as follows:

adequacy: enough, sufficient;
expectation: frequent, interesting;
importance: important;
validity: clear, likely, intuitive, obvious, true, possible (that);
desirability: convenient, fine, necessary, useful;
difficulty: complicated, difficult, possible (to), easy, simple.

Most adjectives appearing in the pattern in lectures were classified as "difficulty" (47% in SS lectures; 37% in PS lectures). While most ad-

3. It was not possible in SketchEngine to restrict the search in BASE to Academic Discipline, Speech Type and Speaker Type at the same time, so these comparative results can only be indicative. Nor was it possible to compare sub-genre across NS and NNS, since there is no office hours component in BASE.

Table 2. *Semantic groups of adjectives appearing in the pattern across sub-genres and areas in EmiBO and OH.*

Classification of adjective	**Office hours**		**Lectures**	
	PS	SS	PS	SS
Adequacy	0	0	4	0
Expectation	1	0	9	0
Importance	0	1	15	0
Validity	1	0	21	2
Desirability	2	4	12	6
Difficulty	2	2	36	7
Totals	6	7	97	15

jectives in Miller and Johnson's (2009b) parliamentary exploration were classified as "importance/significance", only 15% of the adjectives in the pattern in PS lectures could be classified as "importance", and none appeared in SS lectures. This is possibly because "it is important to/that" has a major function in persuasive discourse such as parliamentary proceedings, whereas the discourse of lectures does not aim to persuade but instruct.

Most adjectives in SS Office Hours fell into the "desirability" group, as in example (2), where the lecturer evaluates the student's behaviour positively ("it's good that"):

2. Student: Ok, that's not a problem.
Lecturer: You know what I mean? That's not a problem at all, cause, I mean [Laugh] it's good that you started by something you made up by just thinking [Laugh] No, what you need to do, and that's why I wrote my first comment. [OH SS]

The phrase in example (2) – "it's good that" – may be described as part of the regulative register (Christie 2000) of the language of schooling (Schleppegrell 2004), concerning classroom management rather than teaching content. Instead, example (3), where the lecturer comments on the best way to work through an example, is better described as part of the instructional register:

3. then you when the exponential goes to the other side you put them together so you have P of J H and then you have E S minus E N but it is more convenient to do this E N minus E S ok? and this is an angular frequency so you may call it omega N S ok? [OH PS]

The choice of "convenient" in example (3) is rather non-standard, never appearing in similar texts in BASE, and is most likely a calque of the Italian "*conviene*", usually translated as "it is better to". Indeed this latter more standard rendering appears in BASE (example 4) but never in EmiBO:

4. why sometimes it's useful to use a hierarchy of models it's good to use not if you're going to use a model it's better to use a couple of models rather than just one all the time it's a bit like a map. [BASE LE PS]

Similarly non-standard was the use of the adjective "intuitive" as in example (5), classed as "validity":

5. so you have conservative before conservative after perturbation in between, ok? It is intuitive that if there is a perturbation you don't expect to find a state of the particle after the perturbation the same as the state before, you may expect that some, ok? [OH PS]

"Intuitive" never occurs in this pattern in BASE. It could be a non-standard usage or an example of idiolecticity, since two out of three times it is used by the same speaker.

Differences according to discipline were found in choice of adjective in the pattern. For example, "easy"/"easier" ("difficulty"), "clear" ("validity"), and "important" (the only adjective in the "importance" group) are by far the most frequent choices in EmiBO PS lectures, as may be seen in Table 3.

"It is important" is a directive (Hyland 2007) which is possibly more frequent in the hard sciences due to the "highly standardised code" resulting from the more linear and problem-oriented approach to knowledge construction typical of these sciences (*ibid.*, p. 105). They are also more typical of the hard sciences due to the greater importance placed on expressing meanings of necessity, acquiring facts, principles and concepts. "It is necessary" is also a directive, but while this adjective appears in 33% of occurrences in SS lectures in EmiBO, it is mainly used in the negative form (4 out of 6) as in example (6):

Table 3. *The most frequent adjectives appearing in the pattern in EmiBO lecture.*

Adjective	**PS**	**SS**
clear	10	
complicated	1	
convenient	5	
difficult	5	
easier/easy	20	
enough	1	
fine	1	
frequent	1	
im/possible	9	7
important	15	
interesting	8	
intuitive	2	
likely	6	
necessary	4	5
obvious	1	
simple	1	
sufficient	3	
true	2	2
useful	2	1
total	97	15

6. urm you will have a, an overview of all the reforms, so it's not necessary to collect all these [] papers and [] they are on the, []. And on [] so lots of information you have in the []. [EMIBO LE SS]

Example (6) contains an evaluation not of lecture content but of classroom behaviour and, as such, an example of the regulative register. It is probably a literal calque of the Italian "*non è necessario*". Instead in a NS context we might expect to find this rendered as "you don't have to", more typical of this register.

The most frequent adjectives in EmiBO SS lectures are "im/possible" (all classed as "difficulty") and "necessary" ("desirability"). Hyland (2007) notes that "Writers in the soft fields cannot therefore report their research with the same confidence of shared assumptions. They must rely far more on focusing readers on the claim-making negotiations of the discourse community, the arguments themselves, rather than relatively unmediated real-world phenomena" (*ibid.*, p. 100). Our findings show that this also applies to spoken lecture discourse in SS lectures, with information being expressed more tentatively through the use of "possible"/"impossible".

Comparison with NS lecture discourse in BASE showed that "difficulty" ("difficult", "easy", "hard", "im/possible") was the largest group, followed by "desirability" ("necessary", "better", "fair", "useful") for both SS and PS. This corresponds with our NNS findings for SS, but not for PS, where "validity" ("clear", "likely", "intuitive", "obvious", "true") rather than "desirability" was the second largest group.

While "possible"/"necessary" were more typical of SS lectures, these 2 adjectives were used in both SS and PS office hours. However, with just 13 instances (Table 4), the sample in the OH corpus is too small to make any generalisations.

Table 4. *Adjectives appearing in the pattern in OH.*

Adjective	**PS**	**SS**
convenient	1	
difficult		1
early		1
good		1
im/possible	2	1
important		1
intuitive	1	
necessary	1	1
reasonable	1	
useful		1
total	6	7

3.4. *Differences according to gender and/or idiolecticity*

The four female lecturers in EmiBO PS contributed 20% of the lecturer words, but only 4 instances of the pattern (4% of the total) so we cannot claim that the pattern is more typical of women. Examples of idiolecticity were instead found, with "it is important" and "it is clear" (10 occurrences each) almost always used by one particular PS lecturer, who produced 35% of the words in the corpus but no less than 64% of the patterns overall. Moreover, the instances of "it is (not) necessary", are almost always used by one SS lecturer. Choices such as the non-standard "it is convenient" and "it is intuitive" could be examples of personal preference and/or "borrowings" from the original Italian.

4. Conclusion

This small study was inspired by Miller and Johnson's (2009a, 2009b) investigation into certain lexical bundles typical of the discourse of congressional proceedings. The material for analysis here however was spoken academic discourse, particularly that of non-native English speaking lecturers teaching in English at an Italian university in two different contexts: lectures and office hours. Compared with NS lecture discourse, the pattern "it + v link + adj" was used relatively more frequently in NNS. Similarly to NS lecture discourse, it was more typical of SS than PS lectures. The pattern was slightly more relatively frequent in NNS lectures than office hours. "Difficulty" was the most frequent semantic class of adjectives in both NS and NNS lectures, whereas "desirability" was the most frequent in SS Office Hours. Though numbers are very small, adjectives in PS Office Hours were equally distributed into "desirability" and "difficulty".

Unlike Miller and Johnson's (2009b) findings in the parliamentary discourse we examined, the pattern does not appear to be more typical of female than male lecturers. In line instead with Miller and Johnson's findings (*ibid.*), idiolecticity is also an issue in spoken academic discourse, while L1 interference is also found.

On the translation of deliberate metaphors in literary texts

Enrico Monti

Foreword

As a postdoctoral student at the University of Bologna under the supervision of Donna in 2011 and 2012, I had the pleasure to co-organise with her what turned out to be quite a successful international conference on the translation of figurative language. That three-day symposium gathered in Aula Prodi several renowned international scholars, including Umberto Eco, who opened up the conference on a mildly apocalyptical day of the year 2012 (12/12/12). During that conference I presented a paper which was not eventually submitted for the collective volume which Donna and I co-edited (Miller, Monti 2014). Some of the considerations of that talk found their way in other papers I have written since then, but what follows is a restored (and partially re-elaborated) version of that oral presentation, as a small token of my gratitude for Donna's kind and thorough support during my postdoctoral years in Bologna.

1. Introduction: on metaphors in translation

Metaphor has elicited a rich debate in Translation Studies since the 1980s, after being neglected in much of the "early" and "pre"-Translation Studies days. The cultural turn in Translation Studies brought attention to a "problem" – as it soon came to be identified –which is undeniably cultural, besides being linguistic. Early scholarship on metaphor translation put forward both the importance of the topic and the surprise for the extent of its neglect up to that point: thus, metaphor translation was presented as being "at the centre of all problems of translation theory" (Newmark 1980, p. 100), or a "pivotal issue in translation studies" (Broeck 1981, p. 73), only to quote a couple of emphatic statements. Another recurring point in early scholarship was the view of metaphors as a limit case in translatability, not to say an illustration

of untranslatability. Some of the early papers carried titles such as "Can 'metaphor' be translated?" (Dagut 1976), "The limits of translatability exemplified by metaphor translation" (Broeck 1981), or again statements such as "there are metaphors which lie beyond the limits of translation in strict sense" (Dagut 1987, p. 81). Besides the emphatic tone of some of these statements, not unusual in any new areas of studies, what can be retained is the awareness of a somewhat problematic issue in Translation Studies. Some attempts at drawing categories of translation patterns were made (e.g., Newmark 1980) and an interesting scheme was offered by Raymond van den Broeck (1981) with his "proportional law of metaphor translatability". Broeck posited that "Translatability keeps an inverse proportion with the quantity of information manifested by the metaphor and the degree to which this information is structured in a text" (Broeck 1981, p. 84). While I would not resort to the much-debated concept of translatability, I find this proportional law a valuable concept in its foregrounding the contextual factors at stake, as well as in its highlighting the two pivotal points in metaphor translation, namely quantity and structuration of the information. An important change in perspective in Translation Studies occurred with Gideon Toury's (1995) account of the issue from a genuinely descriptive perspective, which helped moving beyond the issue of "translatability", towards a view of the issue in terms of "solutions" rather than "problems". Toury proposed to look at the metaphorical realisations in the target text (TT), and then to compare them with the source text (ST), thus accounting for metaphors appearing in the TT which are not the translation of a ST metaphor. However, his scholarship in metaphor translation did not prove too influential, possibly because he dismissed the "problem" framework (which proved quite appealing) and also because, as one may argue, TT metaphors which are not the by-product of ST metaphors are not, strictly speaking, a case of metaphor translation, and may not offer insights into that process (but rather on compensation strategies on the part of translators).

2. Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Translation Studies

Metaphor has elicited innumerable studies since Aristotle at least, and it would be quite impossible to even provide a glimpse of that historical richness in this paper[1]. Metaphor has been tackled from a wide range of lin-

1. The online *Bibliography of Metaphor and Metonymy* (John Benjamins) contains some 13,500 records (https://benjamins.com/online/emetbib/introduction).

guistic approaches, including Systemic Functional Linguistics, which has brought forth the concept of "grammatical metaphor" (cf. Halliday, Matthiessen 1999), thus moving beyond the lexical level to include the grammatical and functional dimensions of metaphor. However, I shall focus here only on one of the latest turning points in metaphor scholarship, i.e., Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Initiated by the seminal work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson (*Metaphors We Live By*, 1980), this theoretical approach to metaphor has been quite prolific over the last forty years, opening the way to cognitive approaches to metaphor studies (cf. Steen 2014 or Kövecses 2014). The basic idea is that metaphor is not a mere embellishment to discourse, but rather a cognitive framework for our thought: in short, if we speak metaphorically is because we think (and live) by metaphors. Translation Studies has been relatively slow in taking into account Conceptual Metaphor Theory and cognitive approaches to metaphor translation (cf. Mandelblit 1995 or Schäffner 2004, for early takes on this approach). As in many interdisciplinary approaches, translation scholars venturing into metaphor studies – quite an intimidating and large field – tend to rely on traditional, not-so-updated resources and terminology. The same can be said, the other way around, for metaphor specialists venturing into Translation Studies, and possibly for most if not all interdisciplinary approaches. However, this should not be a drawback from implementing interdisciplinarity, and the 2012 conference in Bologna and the resulting volume were indeed a good way to have the two domains truly interact and debate – possibly for the first time on a large scale – with some of the more renowned metaphor scholars dialoguing with several Translation Studies scholars. Besides, Translation Studies, as most new areas of studies, has always drawn approaches from neighbouring disciplines and the interactions with a long-established discipline such as metaphor studies are potentially beneficial, all the more so given the multiple similarities between metaphor and translation as transfer operations, starting from their etymological quasi-identity (*meta-pherein ~ trans-latio*).

3. Deliberate metaphors in literary texts

William Gass argued that "metaphors are as deep as their context allows us to take them" (2011, p. 272), underlining the role of context and addressee's interpretation in metaphor reception. Metaphors in literary texts are known to be the object of higher interpretative work on the part of litera-

ture readers, as opposed to readers of other types of texts (cf. Steen 1994). Steen labelled "deliberate metaphors" those metaphors which are meant to change the addressees' perspective on a certain topic, and such metaphors are processed metaphorically, i.e., by comparison (Steen 2008, p. 214). Deliberate metaphors in literary texts are therefore liable to be taken as deep as possible by their readers. And so they should be by their most attentive readers, i.e., their translators. With these ideas in mind, we shall now try and focus on how deliberate metaphors get translated within literary texts, drawing on two trilingual, parallel corpora which I collected and analysed during my doctoral and postdoctoral years in Bologna.

4. Two trilingual parallel corpora

The two literary corpora included in this paper are trilingual, with American English as source language, and French and Italian as target languages. The first subcorpus is represented by Richard Brautigan's *Trout Fishing in America* (1967), alongside two Italian and two French translations. The second one is represented by William Gass' *Cartesian Sonata and Other Novellas* (1998), alongside my own unpublished Italian translation (as part of my doctoral dissertation) and a French translation.

Richard Brautigan:

- ST (1967). *Trout Fishing in America*, Four Seasons Foundation, San Francisco[2].
- TF1 (1984 [1973]). *La Pêche à la truite en Amérique*, tr. M. Doury, Bourgois, Paris.
- TI1 (2010 [1989]). *Pesca alla trota in America*, tr. R. Duranti, Serra e Riva, Milano.
- TF2 (1994). *La Pêche à la truite en Amérique,* tr. M. Chénetier, Bourgois, Paris.
- TI2 (1999). *Pesca alla trota in America*, tr. M. Zapparoli, Milano, Marcos y Marcos.

2. An acronym has been assigned to each text of the corpus, in order to refer to them more easily within the examples: ST for the source text, TF1 and TF2 for the two French translations, TI1 and TI2 for the two Italian translations.

William H. Gass:

- ST (1998). *Cartesian Sonata and Other Novellas*, Knopf, New York.
- TF (2007). *Sonata cartesiana e altre novelle*, tr. E. Monti, Università di Bologna, Bologna.
- TI (2009). *Sonate cartésienne*, tr. M. Chénetier, Cherche-Midi, Paris.

I shall not indulge too long on the presentation of the two texts, in order not to divert from the main topic of this paper. However, a mention should be made on why putting together a philosopher, essayist, and erudite writer such as William H. Gass (1924-2017), with the counterculture eccentric icon Richard Brautigan (1935-1984). Despite the fact that they are almost contemporary, very few things connect the two American writers, or their respective works. On the one hand, we have a collection of erudite novellas structured around Cartesian notions and the sonata form; on the other, an eerie, loosely-connected novel offering an oddly allegorical portrait of 1960s America. The list of differences separating the two writers is quite long, but the reason why they have been gathered here is that, in profoundly different ways, they share metaphor as a key stylistic element in their writing. Therefore, their writings provide a most fertile testing ground for investigating the extent of metaphor translation.

My analysis will be structured around some of the most recurrent translation strategies at play in metaphor translation. A quick mention should be made about the translators: Marc Chénetier (1946-), whose translations appear in both corpora, is a leading American scholar in France and a renowned translator of American literature. Michel Doury (1931-2007) was a writer and translator (of Pynchon's and Leonard Cohen's works, among others). As for the Italian translators, Riccardo Duranti (1949-) is an American scholar and translator, best known for his translation of the complete works of Raymond Carver; Marco Zapparoli (1959-) is a publisher and, accessorily, a translator (although mostly from German, of authors such as Friedrich Dürrenmatt and Herman Hesse).

5. On Brautigan's eerie metaphors: to preserve them or not?

I shall present a few examples which should allow getting a grasp of the different strategies at play in metaphor translation, and of how such stra-

tegical choices may provide insights into the scope of the different translation projects[3]. The first example will offer us a range of alternatives, including omission, which is not as rare a strategy as one would probably think.

1. He looked up at me from underneath a *tattered revolution* of old blankets. (ST 1967)

   Il m'a regardé, en risquant un œil sous une *accumulation* de couvertures en loques. (TF1 1984 [1973])
   Il m'a regardé de dessous une *révolution* de vieilles couvertures déguenillées. (TF2 1994)

   Mi guardò da sotto uno *sbrindellato tumulto* di vecchie coperte. (TI1 2010 [1989])
   Alzò lo sguardo verso di me da un *cumulo* di coperte cenciose. (TI2 1999)

This first example shows quite clearly how the stance of different interpretations may provide the readers with different metaphorical networks. There is no doubt that "tattered revolution of old blankets" is a deliberate metaphor in the text, and one which is part of a larger metaphorical network at play in this section of the novel, not deprived of ironical motives. Since the source expression is quite transparent, it appears that the first French translation (*accumulation*) and the second Italian translation (*cumulo*, "heap") decided to neutralise what must have been perceived as an overrated metaphor in the text. Since both languages allowed for equivalent metaphorical expressions, what appears in the two above-mentioned translations is in fact a decision not to negotiate the analogies which are quite apparent in the source text.

2. "Look at what?" the principal said, staring at the *empty* child.
   "At my back," she said. (ST)

   – Regarder quoi ? demanda le principal, en contemplant la fillette.
   – Mon dos. » (TF1)

3. All italics in the examples, here and in the following section, are the author's own, and are meant to highlight the metaphorical expressions which are analysed.

– De me montrer quoi ? Dit le directeur, les yeux fixés sur la petite fille *vide*.
– Mon dos », dit-elle. (TF2)

«Questo che?» chiese il preside, fissando la ragazzina *vuota*.
«Dietro la schiena» rispose lei. (TI1)
«Dove?» chiese il preside, fissando quella *inutile* bambina.
«Sulla schiena» disse lei. (TI2)

In this second example, we are dealing with a school gang of 10-year-old kids caught bullying a younger pupil. The young child is described as "empty" in the ST, and the metaphor appears to be deliberate, since it is not customary in this context to refer to a child as being "empty." Two translations (F2 and I1) comply with this marked structure and preserve the deliberate metaphor, while the others opt for either omission or normalisation. The metaphorical "empty" disappears altogether from F1 and gets normalised into a "useless" child in I2, which is certainly more acceptable and idiomatic than the source expression.

Here is what happens afterwards:

3. [The principal] excused the girl and a short time later we terrorists were *summoned up from the lower world.* (ST)

et tout de suite après il nous convoqua, nous autres terroristes, dans son bureau. (TF1)
et, peu de temps après, nous autres, les terroristes, on nous a *extraits des ténèbres pour grimper dans les hautes sphères*. (TF2)

dopo aver rimandato in classe la ragazzina, convocò noi terroristi dai *bassifondi* nel suo ufficio. (TI1)
Congedò la bambina e poco dopo noi terroristi *del sottobosco* fummo chiamati a rapporto. (TI2)

All translations preserve the hyperbolic "terrorists" for the gang of 10-year-older, which is paramount in setting the ironic tone of the passage. What is omitted in the first French translation is the equally metaphorical (and hyperbolic) "lower world". The second translation amplifies the metaphor by developing both the up/down contrast and the opposition between the dark world (*ténèbres*) and the heavenly, higher realms (*hautes sphères*)

of the principal's office. The first Italian translation resorts to a slightly attenuated but convincing *bassifondi* (slums), while the second one opts for *sottobosco* ("underwood"). Both insist on the same orientational metaphor (*basso*=lower, *sotto*=under), but *sottobosco* does not seem to carry out the hyperbolic and ironic connotations of *bassifondi*, or of "lower world", for that matter.

Although the number of examples is certainly not sufficient do draw substantial conclusions on this corpus, we can attempt a few concluding remarks on the Brautigan corpus, corroborated by further examples which we analysed. A pattern emerges where TF1 and TI2 standardised, disambiguated or erased ST metaphors. This is not particularly surprising and seems in line with a well-known translation pattern, a "law of translation" in Toury's terms, namely the law of growing standardisation (Toury 1995, p. 267), which leads translators to standardise ambiguous or complex forms in the source text. Interestingly enough, such "deforming" tendencies in Berman's (2000) terms and/or "risk-avoidance" patterns in Pym's terms (Pym 2008, p. 326), do not seem to be affected or induced by the translation-retranslation dynamics. According to a well-known but highly controversial hypothesis in Translation Studies, the retranslation hypothesis (Chesterman 2000), retranslations would tend to be more attentive to source-text features than first translations[4]. This is clearly not the case in the Italian translation-retranslation series. What we can observe is that two translations (TF2 et TI1) are much more attentive to the metaphorical networks of the text. These two translations move from a full recognition of the literary status of the novel and act accordingly, preserving the images and their functional ambiguity. It is certainly not coincidental that these two translations are carried out by two American literature scholars, who are definitely more willing to pursue Brautigan's eerie metaphors as far as they can go.

6. On William Gass's revitalised metaphors: between erudition and wordplay

The works of William Gass show an extensive use of metaphor, which is undoubtedly a key element in his writing. In some of his fictional works, namely in the collection of novellas considered here (*Cartesian Sonata and*

4. For a longer inquiry on the issue, cf. Monti (2024), *Retranslation*, in *ENTI, Encyclopedia of Translation and Interpreting*. https://www.aieti.eu/enti/retranslation_ENG/.

other stories), metaphor opens the way to metalinguistic reflection, offering insights into the power of words and bordering on wordplay, as it appears clearly from the two following examples.

4. Well, their complaints about my "Immodest Proposal" reveal them to be hypocrites *of the deepest dye*. The *dye and its depth* is there for those – like me – who see – to see, he said with satisfaction smearing his face like jam. (ST 1998)

   Be', le loro rimostranze nei confronti della mia "Immodesta proposta" dimostrano che sono degli ipocriti della *peggior foggia. La foggia e la sua grezza natura* sono lì perché quelli – come me – che sono in grado di vederle – le vedano, disse con la soddisfazione che gli imbrattava la faccia come marmellata. (TI 2007)

   Eh bien alors, les rouspétances que leur inspire ma *Proposition immodeste* montrent bien qu'il s'agit d'hypocrites *de la plus profonde espèce. Une telle espèce et une telle profondeur*, elles sont faites pour que des gens – des gens comme moi – des gens capables de voir – la voient, dit-il, le visage aussi tartiné de satisfaction que s'il s'était agi de confiture. (TF 2009)

Luther, the hero of the novella "The Master of Secret Revenges", deconstructs an idiomatic expression ("of the deepest dye"), as if he had suddenly realised its inner structure while pronouncing it, and jumps at the chance of dwelling on it. Decomposing the idiomatic expression into its components (depth and dye) allows revitalising a dormant metaphor. It is, therefore, a prototypical case of deliberate metaphor, since it explicitly foregrounds what normally remains silent and unperceived in an idiomatic expression. The metalinguistic reflection is triggered in the larger context of the novella by the fact that Luther claims to see the souls of his enemies materialise as dark spots on their shirts: thus, the term "dye" finds a new connotation, and the wit of this analogy justifies the hero's (childish) satisfaction. The French published translation resorts to a non-idiomatic expression (*de la pire espèce*, "of the worst kind", being the truly idiomatic expression in French), in order to be able to deconstruct it effectively into its elements. My own Italian translation opted for an idiomatic (albeit less common) expression, because resorting to an idiomatic expression appears to be paramount in order for a plausible metalinguistic reflection to spark from it, as if by accident. The metaphor draws on a slightly different source domain (*foggia* referring to

the cut of a dress), which is partially relevant to souls materialising on the fabrics of their shirts, although the domain of colour is no longer exploited.

5. Icarus was faintly familiar. Flew too close to the sun. Didn't he wear wax wings like the bird? [...] How long ago, though, since he'd seen a *waxwing*? (ST)

   Icaro gli era vagamente familiare. Era volato troppo vicino al sole. Non aveva ali di cera come quell'uccello, il *beccofrusone*? [...] Quanto tempo era, però, che non vedeva un beccofrusone? (TI)

   Icare, ça lui disait vaguement quelque chose. Le gars qu'avait volé trop près du soleil. Il avait pas des ailes en cire comme le *jaseur*? [...] ça faisait combien de temps, n'empêche, qu'il avait vu un jaseur? (TF)

This example pursues the same playful tendency to dwell on lexicalised metaphors and revitalise them, which is typical of Gass and of several of his characters in this collection of novellas. In this case, Walter Riffaterre (possibly an allusion to Michael Riffaterre, a scholar investigating metaphors in surrealist writings) evokes Icarus and associates him to the wax-wings the myth ascribed to him. What happens next is that the evocation of "wax-wings" makes his mind wander to the bird bearing that common name in English. While the English common name insists on the red tips of the quills (resembling red-sealing wax)[5], Gass's hero extends it to the whole wings, incidentally assuming Icarus's wings as being made of wax (while they were in fact made of feathers, sealed with wax to his body). Such confusion or generalisation is not unusual and has obviously not been rectified in any of the translations. The problem, however, resides in the fact that such bird (*Bombycilla garrulous*) does not bear an equally metaphorical common name in either Italian or French. While the French common name (*jaseur*) resorts to the same etymological metaphors apparent in its Latin scientific name (Lat. *Garrulous*; Fr. *jaseur*; En. garrulous) and linked to its singing, the Italian common name insists on its geographical origin (*becco* = beak, *frusone* = Frisian). Both translations employ a similar amplification strategy, which is quite common in these cases, resorting to the fact that having wax-like

5. "The Wax-wings [...] have a most remarkable and peculiar appendage on the tips of some of the quills, which has very much the appearance of red sealing-wax" (*Oxford English Dictionary*).

wings is still one of the distinctive features of such species (and even if it wasn't, one would have pretended that it was, given the context and the fact that this is not an ethnographic study on such species). It should be pointed out that the two translations have been carried out without any reciprocal knowledge or exchange at the time of their writing, so any convergence is purely coincidental, or rather determined by cultural-linguistic factors.

These two examples offer insights into a playful, metalinguistic revitalisation strategy which is not unusual in Gass's writing. Other instances of this kind are offered in a long list of flowers sorted by the categories of their English common names. Revitalised common names of flora and fauna may indeed challenge translations, because of the obvious differences between languages in the process of popularisation. Moreover, one peculiar difference is often observed between English and Romance languages: the latter resort more often than not to calques of Latin names, whose metaphorical origins may be opaque, or in any case less transparent than the newly forged English common names, which bear metaphors on their "face".

7. On translating Eco's roses, or a few final considerations on deliberate metaphors in translation

As this paper tried to show, metaphorical discourse is first and foremost a case of "charge" of meaning, even more so than "change" of meaning, as Patrick Bacry effectively stated (Bacry 1992, p. 52). It is mostly the quantity of information, and the way in which such information is relevant and structured in the context (Broeck 1981), which may make deliberate metaphor translation challenging. And it indeed proves challenging in a few – albeit significant – cases. Needless to say, we don't just translate metaphors, but whole texts, and the treatment of metaphors or other instances of figurative language can only be the by-product of a larger translation strategy. At the same time, such treatment can be a powerful revealer of the strategy at play, a sort of acid test for translation critics in order to gather the translators' overall stance by looking at a few, significant elements of their work.

Paraphrasing Gerard Steen (2014), should we say that deliberate metaphors are a problem in translation? Not necessarily, although what is observed is that the sheer quantity of information involved in deliberate metaphors seems to induce a higher-than-usual rate of risk-avoidance and standardisation strategies, including disambiguation, amplifications and omissions. A final illustration is to be found in Umberto Eco's statement

at the opening of the 2012 conference, reprised in his paper (Eco 2014, p. 9). Eco summarises the problem of "equivalence in difference" in figurative language translation by way of a deliberate metaphor which is undeniably his own, i.e., the "rose" metaphor. Eco argues that, when dealing with figurative language – "imagination activator", as he came to define it on that occasion – the translator's task is to make different expressions in different languages spark a "range" (*rosa*) of possible readers' responses, which is similar or equivalent to those experienced by the readers of the source text. His own phrasing in Italian[6], "*rosa di risposte*" (literally "rose of responses"), is all but coincidental and draws on the metaphorical meaning of "rose" as a "range", a "(short)list" of people or things. Quite an innocent and uncomplicated metaphor in itself, which could be conveniently translated by "range" in most contexts. However, complications arise when it is deliberately employed by the renowned author of *The Name of the Rose*, within a book on figurative language, and when it paves the way to his conclusion on Dante's heavenly "*candida rosa*" translated by Haroldo de Campos. When metaphors are so deliberately foregrounded and deeply embedded in discourse, they carry a charge of meaning which calls for either fortunate cultural coincidences or, more often, for translators' enhanced creative skills.

6. "[I traduttori] debbono lavorare in modo che due espressioni diverse in lingue fatalmente diverse producano una rosa di possibili risposte del destinatario, in qualche modo simili o equivalenti a quelle che essi avevano avvertito nel leggere l'originale" (Eco 2014, p. 9).

SFL across languages, registers and modes

section 4

Language as verbal art more than "a message for its own sake"

Gail Forey, Joy Cranham, Benjamin Van Praag

1. Introduction

1.1. *Literature review*

In this chapter we transpose Miller's (2017a, 2021) concept and understanding of "language as verbal art" to present the position that "language is verbal art". Miller (*ibid.*) extends Hasan's insistence that artistic value and interpretation of literature should centre around "how language functions in the text" and is rooted to the context of that text (Hasan 1989, p. 91). Miller regularly refers to literature as verbal art (Miller 2013, 2016b, 2017a, 2021) and in the present study, we refer to art as realised through languages (many different languages) and meanings that symbolically represent a communities' understanding of "friendship". We discuss language as art, as a "lasting", "symbolical", "generalisation" (Miller 2013, p. 125) realised through a co-created large mural (approximately 90 squared metres) that represents "friendship" in multiple languages, as shown in Figure 1. The "aesthetic intention" of the mural is to represent the "nature of human existence" friendship in a range of different languages (Miller 2017a, p. 512). The focus on the friendship mural (the text) highlights the importance of focusing on the message "*for its own sake*" (Jakobson 1960, p. 356, cited in Miller 2017a, p. 506, italics original) and how a text makes meaning in context. The text involves celebrating multilingualism with teachers, children, and parents at an inner-city school in the Southwest of England. At the school, over 90% of the students are English as Additional Language (EAL) learners, i.e., their home language is a language other than English. In 2020, there were over 1.6 million learners recorded as using EAL in England, which constitutes just under one-in-five (19.5%) of all pupils aged between 5 to 16 years of age (Strand 2021, p. 70). UNESCO (2022)[1] highlight that a child's

1. *Reimagining our futures together: A new social contract for education*, www.unesco.org.

home language plays a crucial role in shaping their learning outcomes and academic performance. Acknowledging, including, and building on home languages affords opportunities for multilingualism and translanguaging to enhance educational achievements (Harman 2018). Multilingualism refers to how individuals may use more than one language to communicate, while translanguaging occurs when an individual draws from one language to convey meaning in another. Translanguaging has often been resisted in educational settings, and the benefits of translanguaging are yet to be fully explored or understood in classroom contexts (Harman 2018).

Following Accurso *et al.* (2019), we adopted a social justice perspective to multiliteracies, art, and education engaging students from minoritised backgrounds to make meaning through art and transform an English-only environment into a celebration of multilingualism. The art afforded an opportunity for visual modality to play "just as important a role as the verbal one in creating meaning and shaping readers" (Painter *et al.* 2013, p. 2). However, our focus was on shaping the context that empowered translanguaging to be valued. We challenged existing beliefs, fostered an inclusive space to celebrate, illuminate and construct a symbolic representation of the linguistic experiences of the multilingual children and their families. Hasan's position is that "in verbal art the role of language is central. Here language is not as clothing to the body; it is the body" (Hasan 1989, p. 91); the art, i.e., the Friendship Wall, made up of multiple languages and meanings empowers students, parents, teachers to interrogate, challenge and value diversity. The importance of valuing diverse identities and communities is immeasurable. For example, the World Literacy Foundation estimates that a lack of literacy costs the UK economy "£81.3 billion per year" (World Literacy Foundation 2022, p. 10)[2], thus illuminating the urgent need to develop inclusive pedagogical practices and enhance educational outcomes (Barnes, Tour 2023). In addition, the UK Commission on Race and Ethnic Disparities (Gillborn *et al.* 2021) identify how insufficient cultural awareness, and knowledge have led to the propagation of inaccurate narratives, systemic biases, and social exclusion for marginalised groups for whom English is often not their first language. These biases and negative perceptions can lead to reduced opportunities for success within society (Ogunrotifa 2022), and a need to acknowledge, address, and enhance equality and access to education for all. This project utilised the co-creation of artefacts to illumi-

2. www.worldliteracyfoundation.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/The-Economic-Social-Cost-of-Illiteracy-2022.pdf.

nate the importance of home languages as a mitigation against these false narratives and deficit models which disregard how all languages facilitate knowledge production. Facilitation of an environment embracing linguistic and cultural diversity in educational settings, the home and communities promotes engagement and inclusivity (Brown *et al.* 2022). In the present study, we integrated creative practices to support multilingual learners in ways that encouraged and enhanced language acquisition, communication skills, and overall community engagement in a school (Leavy, 2020).

1.2. *Context*

The research team visited the school many times from November 2022 to July 2023. The initial visit was a scoping exercise where it was revealed that teachers at the school lacked confidence in teaching EAL learners. The school focus for EAL learners was predominantly phonics, as it was believed that developing awareness of phonetic components of a word was extremely important for the linguistic development of EAL children (Desmeules-Trudel, Zamuner 2023). However, the phonetic skill of decoding unfamiliar words does not enable texts to be read with understanding and may limit students' vocabulary to a narrow lexicon that could negatively impact educational performance (McCabe 2021).

The school was aware that it needed to adopt a more inclusive appropriate pedagogic method for EAL learners. The induction procedures and new arrivals policy of withdrawing new arrivals from the mainstream class for an approximate period of six months, a far longer period compared to other similar schools, needed further clarity. A number of teachers commented that they lacked confidence in teaching new arrivals, and that they found it difficult to differentiate between EAL, new arrivals, and English proficiency. It seemed that the teachers also had limited information about the student's background. All these factors can influence children's educational attainment (Demie 2019). The school was taking affirmative action to address these issues. However, the research team, one senior academic, and two Early Career Researchers (ECRs), did not intend to address or evaluate the practices or policies of the school, rather we present these pedagogical approaches as contexts to the school. We are grateful for the school's warm welcome to collaborate, with a focus to change the environment. Our involvement stimulated the research question: how do arts-based activities and methodologies support community engagement and multilingualism in an educational setting? To answer this question, we adopted a co-crea-

tion arts-based approach, producing artefacts that celebrated the languages of school's diverse community.

2. Methodology

Arts-based methodology facilitated greater awareness of the importance of home languages and translanguaging as a pedagogical resource in educational settings. Co-creation arts-based methodologies enabled an exploration which produced a deeper, more nuanced understanding of education, language and community and facilitated a redistribution of power by actively engaging participants in the co-creation of outputs (Coemans *et al.* 2015). Thereby circumnavigating hierarchical pedagogies and traditional research practices which can silence marginalised voices and isolate the participants from data collection processes and interpretation.

This study is theoretically and methodologically framed in an interpretivist paradigm viewing meaning as created, negotiated, and exchanged between social actors through interactions with each other and the environment. Insights into thought processes and mind-sets of individuals and groups can lead to an understanding of human behaviours (Hammersley, Traianou 2012). The events and artefacts generated by individuals, groups in the school, and community acquired their meaning, significance and value through the participants' interpretation and understanding.

2.1. *Arts-based methodology*

Arts-based methodologies cultivate mutual respect, appreciation, and a collective sense of identity within communities, empowering diverse individuals through co-creation. Coemans *et al.* (2015) highlight the benefits of arts-based methodology and argue that it affords deeper meaningful, and more nuanced understanding of a chosen theme. This creative platform enhances self-esteem and nurtures a deep sense of belonging in the broader community (Hughes *et al.* 2021). Shared artistic experiences can contribute to the formation of strong, cohesive communities, dismantling barriers, creating a sense of unity through the universal language of art. Equitable representation creates an inclusive learning environment that acknowledges, respects, and gives credibility to the diverse knowledge and experiences of the school and its community. Leavy (2020) and Ball *et al.* (2021) add that participatory methodology redistributes power affording more equitable

engagement between researcher and researched and transcends language barriers. Through our approach we recognised the importance of epistemic justice in accessing the curriculum, which was achieved by addressing and acknowledging biases and ensuring equitable representation (Fricker 2013). The use of language as art enabled us to democratise the research process and contribute positively to social change in the context of the school (Nunn 2022).

Arts-based research approaches supported the creation of artefacts, illuminating what is important to the participants and enabled alternative insights and narratives to emerge (Coemans *et al.* 2015). A range of artefacts were produced in the different activities, ceramic tiles representing home, collages, paintings, lego creations were just some of the artefacts produced throughout the study. However, due to space we focus specifically on the mural. Following Richards and Haberlin (2019), the arts-based activities afforded opportunities to develop ethnographic connections between the collaborators and the research context. This methodology aided research collaborations to occur in a neutral natural context which is essential when building non-hierarchical relationships. Developing a research context, which facilitates curiosity and acceptance, enhances the participatory experience and transcends language barriers (Leavy 2020), which is especially relevant for marginalised EAL communities.

The research took place in a school, and schools often foster hierarchical positions and relationships. Co-creation requires a non-hierarchical environment for collaborative artefacts to be produced. This can be achieved using an arts-based approach to enable voices that may not have been heard otherwise to become part of the data. There is growing recognition that collaborative methods of knowledge production are socially beneficial (Horvath, Carpenter 2020, Danaher *et al.* 2013, Chapter 3). These approaches require time to develop relationships, and thus collaboration can be built on trust and understanding. Care needs to be taken to ensure the hierarchical structures found in traditional research methods of researcher and objectivised participant is flattened where possible, to ensure a collaborative partnership and bond can form between all members of the group involved.

Arts-based research methods enabled this rich tapestry of life experiences and knowledges to converge in generative processes, enhancing the data and knowledge produced as a consequence of the study. Ultimately, the co-creative arts-based approach afforded dynamic interactions that converge within embodied experiences of belonging and identity (Balsawer 2020). We utilised research practices which enabled the participants to be-

come research collaborators, with co-creation of knowledge, and epistemic justice emerging organically throughout the study.

2.2. *Participants*

The participants contributing to this project were engaged in reflecting on education, the diversity of language, culture, and the school. Ethical considerations were embedded in the study, e.g., ethics approval was granted from the University of Bath, consent from participants, the parents and teachers was obtained prior to any data collection. Due to the short-term nature of the project we decided to only collect data from consenting adults. All data collected was confidential and anonymous.

The methodology involved engaging with different stakeholders in the school community to co-create artefacts. During this co-creation we discussed and developed multilingual awareness's bridging the language of school and the community. This project centred around five arts-based activities:

1. Meetings/interviews with senior leadership and teachers at the school, November 2022 to July 2023;
2. Parental tea, chat and craft on Monday morning, 9-10:30 am, January – May 2023;
3. Two school arts evenings, approximately 100 participants attending each event, March 2023and April 2023;
4. Mural art, students and parents designed signs in their home language to represent "friendship". These designs were transposed on to the wall and painted by students and parents, March 2023;
5. Celebration event to maximise engagement, where students, teachers and researchers presented the work to the community, July 2023.

As outlined above, the project ran over a period of 8 months. Simultaneously, our education partner, a non-for-profit organisation, i.e., Better Bilingual, ran professional development workshops for teachers and teaching assistants at the school. However, due to limitations in the present study, we focus mainly on the mural that was painted inside the entrance to the school, as this is long lasting artefact that provides a permanent message of multilingualism, inclusion and community for all.

2.3. *Data collection and analytical framework*

The study incorporated continuous data collection methods to assess, review and collect participants' views on the impact of the arts-based co-creation, language, and education. Conversations between parents, teachers, and members of the community were audio recorded and transcribed. The transcribed data was analysed using thematic analysis (Braun, Clarke 2021), where emerging ideas in the data were grouped in the sense of themes. In the present study, we focus on two key emerging themes, namely engagement and transformation, which were revealed through the arts-based co-creation methodology. The findings generated from these events reveal unique insights into the impact of language as art, and the creation of artefacts on individuals, groups, environments, language, and education.

3. Findings and discussion: engaging in language as art

Throughout the study we evaluated and made adjustments, ensuring that the approach remained co-creative, responsive, effective, and relevant to the evolving needs of the multilingual community. The most significant contribution was the Friendship Wall, as shown in Figure 1.

Figure 1. *Photograph of Friendship Wall at the entrance of a primary school in the Southwest of England.*

3.1. *Language as art: co-creation and engagement*

The arts-based activities provided a safe and engaging space for all involved. During each activity, participants, parents, teachers, and students needed reminding to stop and finish. One parent commented "I lost track of time and wanted to carry on until the end of the day". The activities ensured and encouraged participation and engagement bringing the community of parents closer by providing them with a deeper understanding of the school environment. The Family Support Worker (FSW), who organised outreach activities for parents, stated that the "Art has kept people coming [...]. It's an ongoing engagement, where people have felt part of a project". The FSW had been working at the school for over 5 years and commented on how she noticed the arts-based activities afforded opportunities to share experiences, to bring newly arrived and more established parents together regardless of their home language. Parents could be involved in activities irrespective of language barriers. Commenting on the Friendship Wall, one parent stated "it's beautiful! It's helped us know that we're united [...] the love is there".

It was clear that the Friendship Wall and the other arts-based activities had created a closer, more inter-related community outside and inside the school. The role of language as art was seen to be pivotal in creating this engagement. The EAL Lead Teacher emphatically stated that "I didn't realise how great the art would be and the lasting effect it would have on our parents". The contribution of language as art was also explicitly discussed by parents who commented on how the Friendship Wall had enhanced the environment, parents talking about the contribution stated: "our kids can be in a multicultural school [...] to see something that, their mom or themselves did on the wall [...]. They see that school values them". Value and inclusion were key themes that emerged in our discussion with teachers and parents. One parent commented that the multilingual environment had dominated her choice in selecting a school for her child: "I love it! Honestly. I had a choice. I have a school behind my house [...] and I chose to come here". Another parent added that the community views of the school had changed due to the explicit demonstration of multilingualism through the Friendship Wall. The EAL Lead reported on a conversation she had with a parent: "One parent told me she took her child out of our school; she didn't have faith in our school [...] She brought him back. She said conversations in the wider community are changing!". The conceptualisation of language as an art form, particularly within a multilingual context, provided trans-

formational change, reshaping the public perception of the school within its surrounding community.

3.2. *Language as art: transforming the community*

The findings show parents, teachers, and community stakeholders unanimously agree about the transformative impact of language as art on the school environment, fostering greater cohesion and interconnectedness between the school and its community. As one parent points out, her participation in painting on the Friendship Wall in her home language was transformational for her and the children involved, more specifically she stated: "Doing their home languages, it makes you feel part of the community here. People are interested in my language, I'm going to put it on the wall. I'm going to be part of doing it. You become part of the community rather than just dropping your kids off". Up until this point it appears that the relationship between parents and the school was more transactional and less relational. The Family Support Worker highlighted this distinction by commenting that: "Schools can be places that the pupils come to, but families don't necessarily feel part of. A Parent Teacher Association is culturally so British and doesn't fit. Art provided an opportunity for people to become involved in the school community".

As stated previously, at the school over 90% of families had a home language other than English. A number of the families were new arrivals, and for many the concept of a British school was very different from their previous experience. At the school, the history of the families and the journeys they had made to attend the school was often fraught and had meant that some children had not previously attended school. The Parent Teacher Association that commonly unites school communities was an unknown experience for many families.

The arts-based activities dismantled these barriers and provided opportunities to build new meaningful relationships. It was clear in our discussion with parents and teachers that the Friendship Wall and the other arts-based activities had brought "colour, a different vibe to the school, and something the children can relate to" (Parent). It was also believed that the community's identity was strengthened, which was summed up by one parent through the following words, "now there's a different language on the wall, now they see and know something of their own language and culture". Prior to our involvement, other languages remained hidden at the school.

The acknowledgement of other languages enhanced the multilingual, multicultural identity of the learners and supported the exchange of different first languages (other than English) in the school. One parent praised how the art had provided opportunities to identify with others, she said, "[My son] never got a chance to speak Somali or have the feeling that this kid is from the same land as him. [...] but now. He knows [...] I'm Somali and Sami is Somali, we're from the same place". Affiliation and recognition of other identities was promoted through the arts-based activities. These activities also initiated some transformational change in educational contexts. Through her involvement in the project, the Lead EAL Teacher expressed the positive impact of the study on the realisation of her role and that she was the voice for the multilingual learners in her school. She stated that the project: "[it] made me fight for my children, the children that I teach, the children that I work for [...] Making sure their voice is heard and I am that voice [...] I didn't realise how much of a fight you have to put up, because it's not core, it's not maths and English!". Children with EAL can sometimes feel marginalised and disempowered by a system (Barnes, Tour 2023) when they are unable to articulate their experiences and knowledge, and this approach redressed these discrepancies and enabled unvoiced narratives to be heard. In line with the methodological approach, arts-based activities facilitated ways to make visible what at times might be hidden.

4. Conclusion

The present study contributes insights into methodological knowledge and practices of arts-based research (Leavy 2020) in contexts related to education multiculturalism and social cohesion. At the same time, the study advanced the value of language and home languages in educational environments and led to a positive impact on the participants and the broader social context. Evidence from the study also provided insights into how home languages and translanguaging could be integrated in educational frameworks to enhance community engagement, learning outcomes, and pride in cultural identity and home languages. The study also generated new knowledge by examining and establishing connections between education, language as art, and a deeper understanding of the interplay between culture, language, identity and community in educational contexts.

By involving a wide range of stakeholders, including parents, educators, artists, researchers, and community organisations in working towards a

common goal, we were able to bridge the gap between research and society. Through a focus on language as art and adopting arts-based methodologies, we developed bi-directional knowledge exchange. As one parent commented: "Art doesn't have a country, language or border. Art unites everybody!". Through the methodology adopted and a focus on language as art, we were able to disrupt and dismantle barriers that may have historically hindered community engagement, multilingualism, inclusion, and social justice (Accurso *et al.* 2019, Harman 2019, Ogunrotifa 2022). The findings demonstrate that we were able to promote meaningful collaboration, and foster a positive relationship between academia, families, and local communities (Nunn 2022). Notably, we constructed artefacts that, importantly, represented a symbolic reflection of multicultural human social existence (Miller 2017a). This mural will continue to enhance cultural awareness and strengthen social bonds and community networks. Using language as art resulted in lasting change to the environment, acknowledging and celebrating multilingualism, and leaving a positive footprint that represents, values, and respects the community.

Three idiosyncratic registers

Sheena F. Gardner

1. Introduction to idiosyncratic registers

This paper outlines three public academic registers of a single author, Professor Donna Rose Miller. Miller has had significant impact on the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) community, particularly but by no means exclusively in Europe, through her contributions to discussion lists, through her involvement on the European SFL Association (ESFLA) Committee, and through her numerous publications. Texts from these three strands form the focus of the analysis of her idiosyncratic registers in this paper.

Before examining the data, it is worth considering what Miller (2017b) has said about register. This is a main theme of her successful *Language as Purposeful: Functional Varieties of Text* (2nd ed.), a textbook for third year university students that brings together the SFL teaching they have encountered in their first and second years with a focus on Poetic language, or verbal art, a central focus of Miller's work. We are particularly concerned here with register-idiosyncrasy, a term she coined to account for the correlations observed between the text creators and the message. But first we need to understand text, context and register.

As she explains so clearly (Miller 2017b, p. 7) text and context are mutually constitutive: "a text is the result of the context in which it is being realized and where language is being shaped to function purposefully. On the other hand, a context is then realized in turn by the text, i.e., by means of a text, a context is being created". So, texts realise contexts which are in turn instantiated in texts. This becomes clear in subsequent sections (3 and 4) in our analyses of Miller's three sets of texts and their distinctive contexts.

Miller goes on to explain how contexts constrain meanings or registers (*ibid.*, p. 17): "Our language competence as speakers rests heavily on knowing how things are typically – even obligatorily – meant/said in certain contexts". This constraint led to Miller's concept of register idiosyncrasy (Miller, Johnson 2013, 2014, in Miller 2017b, p. 18) which brings together register and individuation. Although Miller and Johnson (2013) build a case

for idiosyncrasy on shared characteristics of groups of speakers (specifically gender and political party), this paper investigates written texts all produced by one author, Donna Rose Miller, and therefore interprets "idiosyncrasy" as belonging to one individual. To examine the three data sets, I have used SketchEngine (Kilgarriff *et al*. 2014) to compile an electronic corpus with three subcorpora.

As Miller points out (2017b, pp. 43-44), a corpus facilitates "a more reliable and accurate picture of the 'register idiosyncrasy'" and although our data sets are not enormous, they are arguably substantial enough to be representative and to provide evidence for the analysis. Of course, as she points out later, statistical frequency – which is easier to produce if focused on lower-level items as in the lexicogrammar – is no guarantee of significance, but she finds "such counting to be at least an important stage in contextualized meaning analysis" (*ibid*., p. 45).

As I am not concerned here with poetics or verbal art, I move now to her summary on page 93 where she outlines the process of text creation as in Table 1.

Table 1. *The process of text creation: based on D.R. Miller, "English Linguistics" lecture notes: AY 2000-2001 (Figure 14 in Miller 2017b, p. 93).*

	Activates	**Realised in + by**
CONTEXT OF SITUATION	**SEMANTICS (MEANINGS)**	**LEXICOGRAMMAR (WORDINGS)**
I FIELD What's going on?	Ideational speaker as observer Experiential meanings Logical meanings	Clause as representation Transitivity structure Clause interdependency (taxis) Logico-semantic relations
II TENOR Who is taking part?	Interpersonal speaker as participant/ intruder	Clause as exchange Mood/modality/ appraisal systems
III MODE How are the meanings being exchanged?	Textual speaker as text-maker	Clause as message Structural cohesive devices Thematic + info structure, grammatical parallelism/ Non-structural cohesive devices & rhetorical/discourse structure

In the next section (1.1), I present the data analysed, then in the following sections I return to this table to outline the different contexts of situation (2) together with the meanings they activate and the wordings in which they are realised (3).

1.1. *The data*

The corpus compiled for this paper includes three subcorpora: single-authored, published research; emails to an intercontinental discussion list; and emails to a European Committee.

1.1.1. Published research papers

From Donna's numerous publications, I have chosen the most cited articles and chapters, that are available through Google Scholar and those that are single-authored (in order to capture the idiosyncrasies of her register), excluding chapters for handbooks (which are likely to have a more summarising register) and textbooks (which are addressed to students rather than colleagues).

This selection process resulted in the seven single-authored research articles and chapters which are listed in full in the Appendix and summarised here in Table 2. The word counts have been calculated after references and endnotes were removed for corpus analysis.

Table 2. *Research papers in the corpus.*

Number of words	**Date of publication and beginning of title**	
9643	2004a	*Truth, justice and the American way*
7131	2004b	*To meet our common challenge*
6864	2002a	*Multiple judicial opinions*
7934	2006b	*From concordance to text*
8973	2007a	*Construing the 'primitive' primitively*
4778	2016a	*On negotiating the hurdles*
8408	2016b	*Jakobson's place in Hasan's*

It is worth observing here that the total number of words for the seven texts is 53,731, which is an average text length of 7676 words (excluding references). These therefore represent a substantial contribution to knowledge. The first four papers include the analysis of American non-literary texts, the next two papers include the analysis of literary texts (D.H. Lawrence and Shakespeare's *Coriolanus*) and the final text argues for Jakobson's place in Hasan's Social Semiotic Stylistics. The papers all make linguistic arguments, but the final paper is perhaps the most theoretical in that it focuses on the writings of Hasan, a fellow linguist whose influence with Halliday's is seen throughout Miller's work. The papers are of course not intended to represent Miller's entire contribution to SFL, but they do include a focus on American political discourse, register, corpus linguistics and verbal art, and in doing so illustrate some of her major concerns and areas of contribution.

1.1.2. Emails

I had originally planned to simply compare the registers of emails with published research, but it became clear that there were regular differences between emails to the intercontinental (and more public) SFL discussion list and those to the European (and more private) SFLA Committee. These differences will be described in the analysis. The dates are somewhat opportunistic and simply reflect the emails I was able to access when preparing this paper (i.e., they may not be a complete record of contributions made). Nevertheless, I believe they clearly represent two distinct registers. While the research papers are published, and therefore readily available to other researchers, the emails are essentially only available to list/Committee members, and therefore the corpus used for this paper will remain private. My aim is to celebrate Donna's contributions to the SFL community, as I believe my analysis does.

Table 3. *Emails in the corpus.*

	Number of emails	**Date range**	**Total length in words**	**Average email length in words**
Emails to SFL discussion list	29	2017-2023	1784	62
Emails to ESFLA Committee	47	2023	1574	33

As shown in Tables 2 and 3, the publications and emails span the years to date of the 21st century. The texts vary most evidently in length, with the papers typically being over 7000 words long, the emails to the discussion list being on average 62 words long, and the emails to the European Committee being on average 33 words long. Further differences emerge through the analysis.

2. Analysis of context

In this section I will examine the contexts of text production, then in the following section I will consider the texts themselves, looking specifically at keywords and lexical bundles (two areas that Miller herself has prioritised). The final part of the analysis aims to bring these two together, to show how the context and text are mutually constitutive and how idiosyncratic the three registers are.

Although the contexts of situation are not fully recognised until they are brought into a relationship with the texts, it is worth explaining the contexts in which the texts were produced at this stage (see Table 4).

These very different contexts influence the texts produced in significant ways, and it is interesting to consider how the texts reflect their contexts of production and vice-versa. For instance, the research papers are written for an open and unlimited audience, the discussion list has over 900 subscribers, where the Committee includes around 12 members. Thus, although each subcorpus represents a written academic English register, their purpose, the size (and nature) of their audiences and their modes of production vary significantly.

3. Linguistic analysis

The linguistic analysis is based on evidence from the corpus. I will examine each of the three subcorpora in turn, beginning with the research papers. For each subcorpus I consider first keywords, then frequent words and finally Ngrams. These provide an overview of the contents of each subcorpus with examples. The corpus analysis is conducted in SketchEngine (Kilgarriff *et al*. 2014) where keywords are calculated in comparison with the large 2021 web corpus (EnTenTen2021) as a reference corpus.

Table 4. *Three contexts of situation.*

CONTEXT OF SITUATION	RESEARCH PAPERS	INTERCONTINENTAL DISCUSSION LIST	EUROPEAN COMMITTEE DISCUSSION
I FIELD What's going on?	These papers present Miller's analyses and theoretical arguments.	Miller's emails are typically in response to announcements on the list, although she does also post requests.	These emails typically involve planning (e.g., for conferences, for awards).
II TENOR Who is taking part?	These papers are written for SFL colleagues (including students) to read.	These conversations are among SFL colleagues internationally, where the main contributors are probably known to Miller, although there are reportedly around 900 subscribers (http://www.isfla.org/Systemics/Lists/Sysfling.html).	The emails are to the Committee, which is a relatively small group of about 12 people, who mostly know each other (http://esfla.org/Office-Bearers.html).
III MODE How are the meanings being exchanged?	The ideas in many of these papers have been presented at conferences; the subsequent written paper conforms to publication guidance, undergoes peer review and editorial feedback.	The responses are typically addressed to individuals who have posted announcements, but they are available for all in the list to see.	The responses typically engage with issues and sometimes are directed at individual Committee members, though available to all Committee members.

3.1. *Research papers*

The keywords identified for the research papers in Table 5 give a clear indication of the issues Miller engages with in her writing.

Here we recognise Miller's contributions to verbal art in particular (verbal art, poetic function, literature text), but also to corpus linguistics (concordance line) and appraisal analysis (appraisal theory, engagement system, appraisal analysis, and more).

The most frequent words in articles (Table 6) are typically very much grammatical words, but it is worth noting that "the" and "of" are the top

Table 5. *Top 20 keywords in the research paper subcorpus.*

verbal art	engagement system
concordance line	semantic location
symbolic articulation	appraisal analysis
poetic function	process type
donation request	behavioural past
pervasive parallelism	interpersonal meaning
semiotic system	speaker evaluation
common challenge	system of language
appraisal theory	negative judgement
literature text	social sanction

Table 6. *Top 20 most frequent words in the research paper subcorpus.*

1 the 3514	11 it 394
2 of 2444	12 this 375
3 and 1461	13 with 374
4 to 1318	14 for 353
5 in 1157	15 are 346
6 is 1047	16 which 332
7 a 853	17 or 321
8 as 763	18 but 271
9 that 677	19 not 270
10 be 432	20 on 254

two, with more than 3500 and 2400 occurrences respectively, as this combination is common in academic writing where nominalisation is a feature. For example, frequent forms are "the meaning/analysis/mode/grammar/semantics/form of a/the/that/any text".

Equally, the verb forms "is" and "be" are common as academic English tends to use a present tense, as in these extracts: "the segments/devices/wordings have been analysed" or "it is true/posited/argued/hardly surprising/overturned/noteworthy/my belief/indubitable" or, bringing them together with "the" and "of", a typical phrase is "it is the essential aim of this paper to".

An alternative list is the top Ngrams. Table 7 shows the top ten 4-grams in Miller's research papers. These are strings of four words that occur together, similar to lexical bundles.

Of interest here are the hedges "is seen as being" (no. 6), "would appear to be" (no. 7) and later (occurring 4 times) is "may be said to be" (no. 25). Again, these are typical of academic discourse.

Table 7. *Top 10 4-grams in the research paper subcorpus.*

1 has to do with 5	6 is seen as being 5
2 for the analysis of 5	7 would appear to be 5
3 core of the earth 5	8 the context of situation 5
4 hot wild core of 5	9 of the United States 5
5 the analysis of any 5	10 at the level of 5

Table 8. *20 top keywords in the discussion list subcorpus.*

1 stylistics	11 bologna
2 semiotic	12 mda
3 sfl	13 fn2
4 ruqaiya	14 sfl-ers
5 sysfling	15 langct
6 socio-semantic	16 counter-dominant-culture
7 gestating	17 sfmda
8 telegraphic	18 inter-relater
9 fn1	19 sflers
10 mn1	20 logogenesis

3.2. *Discussion list*

The keywords in the discussion list are more general than those in the research papers. They do not tell us so much about Miller's research, although stylistics and semiotics are numbers 1 and 2. In addition, they reflect her engagement with the SFL community in general (sfl no. 3, sysfling no. 5, sfl-ers and sflers no. 14 and no. 19, langct no. 15). Some proper names have been changed to preserve confidentiality ("fn" = female name, "mn" = male name).

The keywords thus provide a mixed picture of research and engagement with colleagues. Table 9 displays the most frequent words in the discussion list subcorpus.

The frequent word list suggests that this discourse is less academic. "To" is now most frequent, replacing "the" and "of". We also notice the appearance of "I" (no. 7) and "you" (no. 10), suggesting a more informal, interpersonal register, as in example (1), and the responses to postings including "thanks" and "congratulations" as in examples (2) and (3).

Table 9. *20 most frequent words in the discussion list subcorpus.*

1 to 78	11 be 16
2 and 70	12 is 16
3 the 68	13 but 15
4 in 45	14 so 15
5 of 44	15 it 13
6 a 35	16 too 12
7 I 33	17 that 12
8 for 27	18 thanks 12
9 on 19	19 as 11
10 you 17	20 have 10

Table 10. *10 top 4-grams in the discussion list subcorpus.*

1 to be able to 3
2 their work to me 3
3 if you don't 3
4 signal their work to 3
5 be able to indicate 3
6 able to indicate seminal 2
7 also interested in very 2
8 Linguistics and the Human 2
9 analysis to verbal art 2
10 and the Human Sciences 2

1. Heartfelt condolences, which I wish to send to you both and your families;
2. So not just congratulations are in order but very sincere thanks;
3. Yes, indeed, congratulations! And thanks…

In Table 10 we see further examples of the interpersonal nature of the discourse through the use of first and second person pronouns, as in "to me" (no. 2), "if you don't" (no. 3), "please let me" (no. 11) and "I really appreciate your" (no. 12). The less formal nature of the discourse is also evident through the use of contractions ("don't" in no. 3 and no. 15) and adverbs such as "please" and "really" in no. 11 and no. 12 respectively.

3.3. *Committee discussion*

The majority of keywords in Table 11, which presents keywords in the Committee emails, are proper names of people and places, reflecting the planning focus of the discussions. I have replaced these with "fn", "mn", "pn" and "un" for female name, male name, place name and university name, respectively. It is worth noting that typos are very infrequent but only occurred in this data set, pointing to the fact that the published research would have been proofed, and suggesting that emails to the international discussion list were carefully written and proofed before sending.

If we ignore three typing mistakes (no. 15, no. 16, no. 18), we see most of the top twenty keywords are proper names, showing the very different nature of this register. Other keywords include "bursary", "agm", "mid-afternoon", "treasurer" and "reimburse". So these keywords reflect the planning nature of the emails to the European Committee. The short forms and specific references ("esfla" no. 2, "agm" no. 9, "esflc" no. 11, "isfla" no. 14, "jiscmail" no. 19) are all expected to be comprehensible to members of this small, focused Committee.

In contrast, the frequent words in the Committee emails are similar to those in the discussion list emails.

The most frequent words in the Committee subcorpus are "to", "the", "and", similar to the discussion list, with "I" now at 4th place, compared to 7th in the discussion list, and now joined by "we" (no. 16). These suggest the more personal, informal and purposeful, planning nature of the emails, with initial "and", "though" as a tail marker more common in spoken than written discourse, and exclamation marks, as in examples (4), (5) and (6).

4. And a big thank you for the link to AGM!
5. I think we'll need to explore possibilities outside the Committee though.
6. Kung Hei Fat Choi to you too!

Here we see clear evidence of modality, with "would" and "should" occurring 4 times in the top ten, alongside "maybe", "n't" and other verbs with negative prosody such as "object" and "forgotten". Unlike the messages to the discussion list, which are invariably positive, the messages to the Committee are more frank and generally aimed at moving things forward and getting things done.

Table 11. *Top 20 keywords in the Committee subcorpus.*

1 fn1	13 uk-ers
2 esfla	14 isfla
3 un1	15 alsoat (typo)
4 mn1	16 fn (typo)
5 fn2	17 co-admin
6 pn1	18 memeory (typo)
7 mn2	19 jiscmail
8 bursary	20 studiorum
9 agm	21 pn2
10 fn3	22 waterlogged
11 esflc33	23 pn3
12 sysfling	

Table 12. *Top 20 most frequent words in the Committee subcorpus.*

1 to 54	11 in 18
2 the 49	12 of 18
3 and 41	13 all 17
4 iI 37	14 thanks 16
5 a 31	15 have 15
6 for 26	16 we 14
7 it 25	17 do 14
8 but 23	18 that 14
9 be 23	19 if 13
10 you 19	20 mn1 13

Table 13. *Top Ten 4-grams in the Committee subcorpus.*

1 Maybe other colleagues should 2
2 Had totally forgotten the 2
3 UN1 colleagues would object 2
4 forgotten the visa issue 2

5 as they made the 2

6 made the videos available 2

7 n't suppose UN1 colleagues 2

8 object as they made 2

9 other colleagues should be 2

10 suppose UN1 colleagues would 2

4. Interpreting the three idiosyncratic registers of texts in context

The analyses point to three distinctive academic registers. First there is Miller the academic researcher, who writes about verbal art (verbal art, poetic function, literature text), corpus linguistics (concordance line) and appraisal analysis (appraisal theory, engagement system, appraisal analysis) and uses appropriate academic language to do so (e.g., "it is the essential aim of this paper to").

Second there is Miller the supportive international colleague who contributes to our discussion list, where many of us lurk silently, and who does much to further the impression of an SFL community that is warm, welcoming and supportive. Typical moves in this discourse are thanks and congratulations, with occasional condolences where appropriate. The emails are unfailingly warm and supportive, with only a few (4?) of the 29 emails addressing substantive issues of linguistics. This important academic work deserves to be recognised. Some examples are provided in (7), (8) and (9):

7. Thank you, (mn), for the good news – a rich issue indeed;
   And thanks to all editors, past and present, for making LangCT a remarkable reality!
8. Yes, indeed, congratulations!
   And thanks, (fn), for reminding about the download! And to editors for providing the opportunity!
9. Yes! Impossible not to concur! (fn) and her super team organized a conference that was indeed very special. So not just congratulations are in order but very sincere thanks for all their great efforts.

Thirdly, there is Miller the Committee member who brings with her comments considerable experience and institutional memory. She includes some praise and thanks, as in the discussion list, but her contributions to the Committee go beyond this to getting things done, as in examples (10) to (13).

10. (fn) could contact (mn) at (email address) but I should hear as soon as dates are set and promise to tell you all;
11. Maybe you can ask (fn) to see if (mn) might do it? Or…?;
12. Sounds good, (fn). Then we could create a separate folder for the seminars though, so they don't get "lost"?
13. I won't be there as you know but if I recall properly the AGM is usually at the end of a day and takes an hour – hr and ½. We've done them in lunch breaks too but these tend to be less well attended.

These are of course only three idiosyncratic academic registers, I am sure colleagues and students of Miller could add to these, but they seem to sum up how I have come to know and value her – for her academic contributions, for her contributions to the SFL discussion list internationally and for her contributions to the European Committee and conferences.

Appendix: texts used to compile the research article/chapter corpus[1]

1. Miller D.R. (2002a), *Multiple judicial opinions as specialized sites of engagement: conflicting paradigms of valuation and legitimation in Bush v. Gore 2000*.
2. Miller D.R. (2004a), *Truth, justice and the American way. The appraisal system of judgement in the US House debate on impeachment of the President, 1998*.
3. Miller D.R. (2004b), *"…To meet our common challenge": ENGAGEMENT strategies of alignment and alienation in current US international discourse*.
4. Miller D.R. (2006b), *From concordance to text: Appraising "giving" in Alma Mater Donation Requests*.

1. The full entries can be found in the final References section.

5. Miller D.R. (2007a), *Construing the "primitive" primitively: Grammatical parallelism as patterning and positioning strategy in D.H. Lawrence* (accessed from Researchgate).

6. Miller D.R. (2016a), *On negotiating the hurdles of corpus-assisted appraisal analysis in verbal art*.

7. Miller D.R. (2016b), *Jakobson's place in Hasan's Social Semiotic Stylistics: "Pervasive parallelism" as symbolic articulation of theme*.

Towards a grammar of relational clauses in Welsh

Exploring the relationship between sub-types and third person singular forms of the present tense of *bod* "be"

Gordon Tucker

1. Introduction

An immediately noticeable feature of Welsh[1], for the learner or descriptive linguist, is the variety of third person singular forms of the verb *bod* "be". As in English and other languages, *bod* in Welsh serves both as an auxiliary verb in the expression of other tenses and as a copular verb in relational clauses[2].

The various forms of finite third person singular *bod* (equivalent to the single English form "is") are: *mae*, *ydy/uw*, *dydy/dyw*, *oes*, *does* and *sy(dd)* and it is the relationship between these forms and sub-types of relational clause that is explored here[3].

Lexicogrammatical forms, in terms of both individual items and syntactic structures, make available meanings within the language in question. And whilst there is some evidence of free variation in language, notably in the phonological system of English, for example the (Br. Eng) pronunciation of *either* as either /ˈaɪðəʳ/ or /ˈiːðəʳ/, in the case of lexicogrammar it is reasonable to assume that differences in form signal differences in meaning. Even beyond the lexicogrammar, such formal differences often indicate dialectal differences, as is the case with *ydy* and *uw* in Welsh (cf. Note 2).

A key point of departure for Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) as a linguistic theory is the importance of language as a resource for "semogen-

1. Here we are concerned with modern colloquial Welsh, rather than literary Welsh, which is little used now by Welsh speakers.

2. I use the traditional grammar term "copula" or "copular verb" here, rather than Halliday's "predicator" or the Cardiff Grammar term "main verb".

3. The pairs *ydy/uw* and *dydy/dyw* reflect broad regional differences with *ydy/dydy* found predominantly in northern Welsh and *uw/dyw* in southern Welsh. Cf. Jones (2018, p. 352) for an overview of be.pres.3s forms of *bod* and of the range of dialectal variations. Given the scope of this chapter and restrictions of space, there will be no discussion of the form *sy(dd)*.

esis", meaning-making (Halliday, Matthiessen 1999, p. 17). It is therefore incumbent on those who adopt Hallidayan theory in the description of individual languages to relate meanings systematically (and systemically) to forms.

The features in a system network, the primary descriptive instrument for setting out the options available to speakers of a language, must be justified on the basis of some "reflex in form" or "reactance", in the Whorfian sense (Whorf 1956, p. 89). Without formal evidence, any feature opposition, within a given system, may be perceived as arbitrary or simply at the whim/impression/opinion of the analyst. It is indeed from the observation of lexicogrammatical differences that the underlying features are established.

There is now an ever-growing body of language-typological studies within SFL, surveyed in Kashyap (2019). Thanks to Lise Fontaine at Cardiff University, a number of SFL contributions on Welsh have appeared, in addition to much earlier work by Kelly (1992) on North Welsh phonology, notably Franks and Fontaine (2015), Fontaine and Williams (2019) both on the mood system in Modern Welsh, and Williams (2019) on the Welsh nominal group. As do the above-mentioned contributions, the following brief discussion takes place, however, in the absence of any overall SFL account of Welsh. The considerable task of producing a Systemic Functional Grammar (SFG) of any language has, however, to begin somewhere and on some aspect or other of the language.

In the discussion below, two major "dialects" of SFG are drawn upon, Halliday's "Sydney Grammar", with special reference to Halliday and Matthiessen (2014) and Fawcett and Tucker's "Cardiff Grammar" (Fawcett 2000, 2008). Both varieties cover and describe the phenomena explored here, although clearly in the case of English. The major reference points specifically for Welsh are King (2017), Borsley *et al.* (2007) and, notably, Jones (2018), whose unpublished monograph provides an extremely comprehensive account of copular clauses in Welsh. These last two contributions are grounded in the formal generative grammar tradition and adopt X-bar theory in the analysis of their data.

The Welsh data discussed here are generally taken from the three works on Welsh mentioned above and we accept that their examples have either been drawn from Welsh texts or have been attested and authenticated by first-language Welsh speakers. Future work, however, can exploit Welsh language corpora, in particular the *Corpws Cenedlaethol Cymraeg Cyfoes* (CorCenCC), the National Corpus of Contemporary Welsh, recently developed and compiled at Cardiff University (Knight *et al.* 2021).

Wherever individual examples are analysed, the five rows from top to bottom correspond to (a) Welsh example, (b) item by item English equivalence following the Welsh ordering, (c) Cardiff Grammar analysis of clause elements and associated participant roles in the system of transitivity, (d) Sydney Grammar transitivity analysis and (e) English translation. A key to the grammatical symbols used (e.g., M = main verb) is also provided at the foot of each analysed clause; only newly encountered symbols are provided in subsequent analyses.

Given the observed range of third person singular forms of *bod* in Welsh, it is reasonable to investigate their role in systemic opposition. The fact that they are all third person singular forms (henceforth be.pres.3s forms) suggests that they are found in the same general lexicogrammatical context and are therefore in direct opposition, rather than simply being non-contextual, differing forms.

This chapter therefore proposes to explore the lexicogrammatical contexts in which the various forms of be.pres.3s forms of *bod* are found and relate each of them to their role within the various "metafunctions" (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, pp. 30-31) or "strands of meaning" (Fawcett 2008, p. 55).

As a recent learner of Welsh, my attention was first drawn to this particular phenomenon by King's account of the verb *bod* in his fairly comprehensive description of the language (King 2016, pp. 175-206). Although King would not claim to be a theoretical linguist espousing any of the major functional schools of linguistics (for which cf. Butler 2003), his grammar of Modern Welsh is insightful throughout in respect of the relationship between form and meaning.

His tripartite division of the fields of meaning of *bod*, as we shall see, merits attention and at first blush is suggestive to some extent of the considerable discussion in SFL of English "be" in relational clauses within the system of transitivity.

King discusses *bod* in terms of "three main fields of meaning", which he characterises as: (a) identification, (b) existential, (c) descriptive (King 2017, p. 176).

2. Identification

King glosses this category, with reference to English, as "[covering] those uses of *to be* asking or answering a question beginning *Who is/are…?* or *What is/are…?* where a simple identification is the only information required"

(King 2016, p. 176, italics original). He goes on to specify that "an important characteristic is that both elements or phrases on either side of the verb *to be* refer to the same person or thing" (italics original). In other words, the expressions at subject and complement of the clause are co-referential. The form of be.pres.3s of *bod* is *ydy/uw* and follows the first argument in the clause, abnormal in Welsh as a VSO language. This is illustrated in (1) and (2), with (1) analysed in (3). Further features of identifying clauses are discussed in Section 4.

1. Prifddinas Cymru yw Caerdydd.
   "Cardiff is the capital of Wales".

2. Crys Sioned ydy hwnna.
   "That is Sioned's shirt".

3.

Prifddinas	Cymru	yw	Caerdydd
Capital	Wales	be.pres.3s	Cardiff
C/at		M	S/Ca
Identifier		Process	Identified
"Cardiff is the capital of Wales"			
C = complement; M = main verb; S = subject; At = attribute; Ca = carrier			

The labels "identification"/"identificatory"/"identifying"/"identity" etc. are widely accepted across linguistic theories as characterising the relationship between the subject and complement of clauses such as (1) and (2) (e.g., Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 276), where such clauses are classified as identifying, and similarly for Borsley *et al.* (2007, p. 129) and Jones (2018, p. 60). Zaring (1996) also discusses what he refers to as 'identity predicates' in Welsh. Although Fawcett (2009, p. 67) discusses sub-types of relational processes in terms of "identifying" and "non-identifying", he treats them under the single category of attributive, as is seen in the Cardiff Grammar analysis in (3).

3. Descriptive

King's descriptive field is a catch-all category covering all functions of *bod* other than identification and existential. In terms of what we wish to achieve here, it is perhaps useful to single out the function of *bod* as a copular verb, rather than as an auxiliary. As we shall see, both in its identification and existential categories, *bod* is copular, which would suggest that we are fully in the realm of relational process clauses and differences between sub-types.

We will therefore exclude from our discussion *bod* in its auxiliary function. Other verbs in colloquial Welsh have no inflected present and imperfect tense forms and rely on *bod* as an auxiliary to express these tenses. This is illustrated in (4), where the main verb is *gwerthu*, "sell", and the auxiliary is *mae*, as analysed in (5).

4. Mae'n cymydog yn gwerthu ei dŷ̂.
   "Our neighbour is selling his house".

5.

Mae	'n	cymydog	yn	gwerthu	ei	dŷ̂
be.pres.3s	our	neighbour	progp	sell inf	his	house
X	S/Ag		progm	M	C/Af-Pos	
Process	Actor		Process		Goal	
"Our neighbour is selling his house"						
X = auxiliary verb; progp = progressive particle; progm = progressive marker; Ag = agent; Af-Pos = affected-possessed						

Having excluded *bod* as an auxiliary verb we are left with examples such as (6) and (7), with (6) analysed in (8).

6. Mae Caerdydd yn ddinas hardd.
   "Cardiff is a beautiful city".

7. Mae crys Sioned yn newydd.
   "Sioned's shirt is new".

8.

Mae	Caerdydd	yn	ddinas	hardd
be.pres.3s	Cardiff	predp	city	beautiful
M	S/Ca	C/At		
Process	Carrier	Goal		
"Cardiff is a beautiful city"				
predp = predicating particle				

Jones, in his extremely comprehensive and detailed account of copular clauses in Welsh, classifies examples such as (6) and (7) as "ascriptive copular clauses", which "assign properties to the subject in terms of class membership, composition, attributes, and measure" (Jones 2018, p. 36). For Halliday (6) and (7) are classified as "intensive: attributive" clauses, in which the participants are assigned the roles of carrier and attribute, where the attribute specifies the class of entity, typically through a nominal group, or a quality, through an adjectival group (Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 265)[4]. For the moment, we will use Halliday's term attributive – very much like Jones' term ascriptive – rather than King's more general term descriptive.

4. Comparing identifying and attributive clauses

If we now consider the respective lexicogrammatical features of clauses classified as either identifying or attributive, we are able to assess the contribution of such features as reflexes in form of the two categories. Clearly, here we are considering largely overt lexicogrammatical patterns, rather than covert cryptotypical patterns (cf. Whorf 1956, pp. 88 ff.), which by their very nature are far more difficult to tease out in understanding the relationship between form and meaning, so there is no claim here that the few features identified are exclusively responsible for the semantic categories which underlie the form. However, we are concerned here with lexicogrammatical features in Welsh which may in fact contribute to the recognition of the systemic distinctions.

One immediate difference involves the be.pres.3s forms of *bod*. As we have seen, in identifying clauses *ydy/uw* occurs, whereas in attributive

4. The Sydney Grammar does not recognise a separate adjectival group, adjective-headed structures being considered a sub-class of the nominal group. In the Cardiff Grammar, adjective-headed structures are labelled "quality group" on the basis of their semantic function (Tucker 1998), although the present author has since favoured the label "adjectival group".

clauses *mae* is found. This can be seen in (1) and (2), compared with (9) and (10). In other tenses of *bod* the third person singular forms, *oedd* (imperfect "was") and *bydd* (future "will be"), are common to both identifying and attributive clause types, although the difference in their respective placement in the clause remains, as shown in (11) and (12).

Furthermore, as we can see in these examples, identificatory *ydy/uw* is not placed initially, unlike *mae* in attributive clauses.

9. Mae Caerdydd yn ddinas hardd.
   "Cardiff is a beautiful city".

10. Mae crys Sioned yn newydd.
    "Sioned's shirt is new".

11. Siôn oedd yr athro.
    "The teacher was Siôn".

12. Oedd Siôn yn feddyg.
    "Siôn was a doctor".

Identifying *ydy/uw* also retains its medial position, between the participant roles of identifier and identified, *hwnna*, "that", and *crys Sioned*, "Sioned's shirt", in both interrogative and negative clauses, as shown in (13) and (14), taken from King (2016, p. 179). Note also that identification clauses are negated by the fronted negative focus particle *dim*, as in (14), which is not possible in default-order clauses (Jones 2018, p. 68).

13. Crys Sioned ydy hwnna?
    "Is that Sioned's shirt?".

14. Dim crys Sioned ydy hwnna.
    "That isn't Sioned's shirt".

The be.pres.3s form *ydy/uw* is also used in interrogative attributive clauses, but it should be noted that in such clauses, unlike in identifying clauses, it is placed initially, as in (15), the default position of the finite verb in Welsh as a VSO language.

15. Ydy crys Sioned yn newydd?
"Is Sioned's shirt new?".

Finally, the negative equivalent of (15) requires *dydy* [...] *ddim*, shown in (16), as the default ordering of Welsh clauses, compared to the fronted *dim* in identifying clauses, as shown in (14)[5].

16. Dydy crys Sioned ddim yn newydd.
"Sioned's shirt isn't new".

A further distinguishing feature, as in English, is the presence of two definite, nominal expressions in identifying clauses, that is, both the identified and the identifier are typically definite (cf. Halliday, Matthiessen 2014, p. 277). However, the identifier may also be realised by other structures such as, following Jones, "a verb phrase, *wh*-clause, prepositional phrase, a complement clause, or an *i*-clause" (Jones 2018, pp. 63 ff.)[6]. Such structures are also discussed for English in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 290ff). The nominal group complement in attributive clauses, which ascribes a class of entity to the referent at subject, is typically indefinite. Both adjectival and nominal complements are introduced by the predicative particle (predp) *yn/'n*[7].

5. Existential

The be.pres.3s verb form *mae* is also used in King's existential category. Again, this category is widely recognised across linguistic theories, appropriately here in Halliday and Matthiessen (2014, p. 307), in Fawcett (2009, p. 73) and, for Welsh, in Jones (2018, p. 317).

Essentially the category involves an expletive subject and where the existence of some indefinite referent is expressed in relation to some location, either temporal or locational, whether this is expressed or understood. In English such clauses involve the use of initial "there", as in (17).

5. *Ddim* is the soft mutation form of *dim*.

6. *I*-clauses are non-finite clauses introduced by the conjunction *i* with its sense of "for", "to", "in order to" etc.

7. The item *yn* has three distinct functions: as a "predicative particle" in attributive clauses, as in examples (6) to (9); secondly as a progressive particle before verbal nouns, as in example (3), and as a preposition with the sense of "in", as in examples (16) and (7).

17. There is always some moisture around (British National Corpus).

Examples of existential clauses in Welsh are given in (18), (19) and (20), with a full analysis given of (18) and (19) in (21) and (22) respectively.

18. Mae 'na gar ar y ffordd.
"There's a car on the road".

19. Mae ceffyl yn yr ardd.
"There's a horse in the garden".

20. Mae llaeth yn yr oergell.
"There's milk in the fridge".

21.

Mae	'na	gar	ar	y	ffordd
be.pres.3s	there	car	on	the	road
M	S	C/Ca	C/Loc		
Process		Existent	Circumstance		
"There's a car on the road"					
Loc = location					

22.

Mae	ceffyl	yn	yr	ardd
be.pres.3s	horse	in	the	garden
M	C/Ca	C/Loc		
Process	Existent	Circumstance		
"There's a horse in the garden"				

Note the presence of *yna/'na* ("there") in (18), which acts, like its English equivalent, as an expletive subject. As the Cardiff Grammar analysis in (21) indicates, no participant role is associated with the subject. In (19) and (20), however, *yna/'na* is absent, yet both these clauses are analysed as existential (King 2017, p. 179, Borsley *et al.* 2007, p. 257). As Jones (2018, p. 318) argues, while the analyst might be tempted to treat such *yna*-less clauses as locative clauses, equivalent to "a horse is in the garden", the presence or absence of *yna/'na* is a north-Walian *vs.* south-Walian dialectal or a stylistic differ-

ence and both types are semantically equivalent and considered existential clauses. Following this argument, in (19) and (20) no subject is present in the clause, as shown in (22). One question to be answered with regard to the SFG analysis in (22) is whether or not an underlying subject which has no realisation should be indicated or not.

We also note that in the three examples above there is no determiner accompanying the noun *ceffyl*. This is because Welsh has no equivalent of the "indefinite article". It does, however, have a definite/specific determiner, *yr/y/'r*. If the noun *ceffyl* is made definite, with the definite determiner *'r*, as in (23), we now have a clear attributive clause, with the nominal group *'r ceffyl*, "the horse" as its subject, with the associated participant role of carrier.

23. Mae'r ceffyl yn yr ardd.
"The horse is in the garden".

Further support for the classification of clauses such as those in (18) to (20), with or without *yna/'na*, as existential, rather than ascriptive, is given by the be.pres.3s forms of *bod* in interrogative and negative clauses, as shown in (24) to (27). In the existential clauses (26) and (27), *mae* is replaced by *oes* with positive polarity and interrogative mood and by *does* when negative, in association with the negative particle *dim*. In the interrogative attributive pair (26) and (27) *mae* is replaced by *ydy* and *dydy*, the latter in association with the negative particle *ddim*.

24. Oes ceffyl yn yr ardd? (int + pos existential).
"Is there a horse in the garden?".

25. Does dim ceffyl yn yr ardd (decl + neg existential).
"There isn't a horse in the garden".

26. Ydy'r ceffyl yn yr ardd? (int + pos attributive).
"Is the horse in the garden?".

27. Dydy'r ceffyl ddim yn yr ardd (decl + neg attributive).
"The horse isn't in the garden".

So while the presence of *oes* or *does* does not exclusively provide a test for existential clauses (cf. Jones 2018, pp. 352 ff. for a full discussion of this), ex-

istential clauses, when negative or interrogative, as in (24) and (25), exhibit these be.pres.3s forms, and again with either the presence or absence of *yna/'na*, "there", as expletive subject. We should also note that in the Welsh mood system interrogative mood is not realised through inversion of the elements subject and finite. As a VSO language, Welsh has a default order finite → subject, with the distinction carried by the different intonation patterns, the presence or absence of a question mark in the written mode and, in the case of be.pres.3s, different forms of *bod*. In colloquial Welsh the opposition may also be signalled by clause-initial particles, *mi* and *fe* for declaratives and *a* for interrogative, which trigger soft mutation of the following verb, but unlike in literary Welsh, they tend to be omitted, although the verb often still undergoes soft mutation triggered by the particles (cf. Borsley *et al.* 2009, pp. 4-37).

6. Conclusion

The lexicogrammatical complexity of relational clauses in Welsh is evidenced by the 427 pages of Jones' (2018) account, and that on *bod* copular clauses alone. In a short initial, exploratory "incursion" into Welsh, as this present contribution has only been able to be, there is no space to examine and discuss anywhere near that full complexity. Many important aspects of attributive and identifying intensive clauses, such as participant role reversibility and particularly the major phenomenon of syntactic fronting of non-verbal elements in Welsh as a VSO language and its significance in distinguishing relational clause sub-types, have simply had to be left for another occasion.

Nonetheless, we have been able to show how the various be.pres.3s forms of *bod* and their respective clausal configurations contribute to the recognition of underlying distinctions in the system of transitivity. Moreover, in terms of language-typological studies, the more diverse the range of languages in the data set, the greater the chance to develop, test and validate SFL as a general theory of language (cf. Matthiessen 2023, p. 393). Despite very recent important typological contributions, such as Martin *et al.* (2023) and Kim *et al.* (2023), SFL lags behind the massive body of work in the Chomskyan Universal Grammar (UG) tradition, to which both Jones (2018) and Borsley *et al.* (2007) contribute substantially in respect of Welsh.

SFL, like the cosmological universe, has continuously spread out from the nuclear lexicogrammar into many fields of human activity in which

language is central. That expansion, however, should not be taken to be a licence to neglect or abandon lexicogrammatical description, to rely on extant descriptions or even the particularities of the analysis, such as which elements of structure are needed to account for the grammar of a particular language. We have already encountered two particles in Welsh, predp (predicative particle) and progp (progressive particle), both realised by *yn*, neither of which is present in the functional structure of English. Each language we explore will inevitably throw up phenomena which challenge our descriptions, particularly if they have been developed originally for the description of English. And to achieve these general theoretical and descriptive goals, there will always be a need for more SFL grammarians, working on an even wider range of languages!

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