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**Majid KhosraviNik  
Alexandra Polyzou**

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**Department of Linguistics and English Language  
Lancaster University**

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# Investigating expertise in textbook writing: Insights from a case study of an experienced materials writer at work

Dawn Atkinson  
Lancaster University

## Abstract

Although there is a body of literature dedicated to the theme of materials design, resources focused on the empirical investigation of textbook development are lacking. This factor provided the impetus for a study of expertise in textbook writing, to discover how an experienced materials designer went about his work, in order to identify how the writer approached textbook development. The aim of this work was to offer a research-informed view of expertise in textbook design.

In studying expertise in textbook design, the researcher gathered data – via the use of interviewing, concurrent verbalisation and stimulated recall – from this established educational materials developer for the purpose of forming a case study of his writing practices. Using a grounded approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998) to data analysis, themes were teased out from the data which provide a look at how expertise in textbook writing is manifested. Preliminary results of this analysis point to certain strategies and techniques that the experienced designer used when engaged in the work of textbook development.

In this paper, the author will focus on how empirical research can inform textbook design. With this aim in mind, the motivation for the project will be described, followed by a description of the study. Lastly, characteristics of the writer will be discussed in the section on research findings.

## **The centrality of textbooks**

In recent years, the number of English language teaching (ELT) materials produced for commercial purposes has grown at a steady rate to take account of the multitude of learning situations that exist in the world today. Materials writers and publishers are keen to address the needs and desires of learners, teachers, administrators, governmental bodies, and parents and to capitalise on areas of the ELT market which as yet remain unexploited. And while some educators may lament the use of these mass-produced teaching tools – Allwright (1981, p. 9) postulates that “The whole business of the management of language learning is far too complex to be satisfactorily catered for by a pre-packaged set of decisions embodied in teaching materials” – the reality is that teaching materials, particularly textbooks, play a vital role in most language learning contexts. In fact, Davison (1976) says that “After the teacher, the next most important factor in the foreign-language classroom is the textbook” (p. 310). And Sheldon (1988) contends that textbooks “represent for both students and teachers the visible heart of any ELT programme” (p. 237).

## **Rationale for the research project**

As a result of the growth in the ELT textbook market, as well as the importance placed on these products within the classroom context, there seems to be increasing interest in the development of textbooks (see, for instance, Tomlinson, 2003; and McGrath, 2002). Yet, despite this interest, relatively little is known about how textbooks are written in practice. With regard to this point, Samuda explains that “Most accounts of what is involved in the process of materials development have been largely based on experienced writers’ own intuitions of what they do, and examples from published materials” (2005, p. 235). And while this literature may provide a basis for instruction on textbook development, it nevertheless offers scant research-based insight into how textbooks are actually written by seasoned professionals who work in the trade.

The one notable exception to this situation is research in the area of expert pedagogic task design (Samuda, 2005; Johnson, 2003; Johnson, 2000; Ormerod & Ridgway, 1999; Ridgway, Ormerod & Johnson, 1999; Samuda, Johnson & Ridgway, 2000). This work has mainly involved empirical study of the principles that experienced task designers use when developing language learning activities, which has provided a foundation for understanding the writing proficiencies of experts. But textbook design is, in fact, much more than task design; it involves the development not only of tasks, but of whole units which must fit together seamlessly in order to reflect a coherent end product. Thus, there is room to expand the research on materials production to take into account whole textbook design. It is this niche that I aimed to address by carrying out an empirical study of expertise in ELT textbook writing – expertise being characterised as “effortlessly acquired abilities, abilities that carry [individuals] beyond what nature has specifically prepared [them] to do” (Bereiter & Scardamalia, 1993, p. 3) – in order to discover how an experienced textbook designer

went about his work; i.e. what “criteria and skills” were used by this author when composing materials (Ridgway, Ormerod & Johnson, 1999, p. 8). In so doing, I addressed the following areas of inquiry in the research:

1. How did the experienced textbook writer who participated in the study go about his work; what processes and procedures did the writer follow when developing a textbook?
2. What facets of expertise were revealed in the work of the experienced textbook writer who participated in the study?

## **Using an expertise approach**

In a project like this one, which focused on the empirical study of an experienced participant, “the analysis of expertise is characterised by the examination of the cognitive processes employed by subjects classified as experts...in a particular subject-matter domain as they perform domain-specific tasks,” in this case textbook development (Housner & Griffey, 1985, p. 46). The empirical nature of this project seemed appropriate since I was interested in discovering what the established textbook writer who participated in the study actually did in his work. This was important because, “If we know what constitutes expertise in an area, we will be provided with essential information on which to base the training of experts” (Johnson, 2003, p. 6). And although it is not yet known whether expertise can be taught, part of the reasoning behind this research – similar to the investigation of expertise in pedagogical task design described in Johnson (2003) – was to explore that prospect.

## **The role of experience in participant selection**

In order to study textbook writing expertise, I collected empirical data from the participant –TW1 (or Textbook Writer One) – as he was composing a series of units for a European-oriented ELT textbook-development project designed for special needs students with cognitive learning disabilities. This was a cooperative endeavour whereby TW1 worked along with a group of special needs teachers and psychologists who consulted on the project. When the project commenced, TW1 had been writing ELT textbooks and materials for more than five years on a professional basis. In addition to his textbook-writing duties, he was also teaching materials development to graduate students. In total, he had been employed as a teacher and teacher trainer for 21 years both in the United Kingdom and abroad.

TW1’s amount of design experience as specified above – five years – is consistent with the criteria for identifying experts as set out in Johnson (2003). In that research, while Johnson notes that independent means of expert verification are important, he does initially identify expert participants in his study as those individuals who have been engaged in task design full-time for five years (2003, p. 16-

17). In relying on this type of “‘external’ or ‘social’ criteria” for the identification of experts, the implication is that “an expert is someone who is recognised as one within society,” very often by length of service in a particular field (Johnson, 2003, p. 138). This is consistent with a number of other expertise studies like Housner and Griffey (1985); Sabers, Cushing and Berliner (1991); and Clarridge (1990) which use five years of service – as well as participant observation and colleague nominations in the case of the second two studies – as the means for identifying experts. And while there are problems with equating expertise with experience, “it is impossible to develop expertise without experience” (Tsui, 2005, p. 169).

## **A multidimensional approach to data collection**

### **Constructing a case study of the textbook writer**

In this project, I collected data from the participant introduced above through the use of interviews, concurrent verbalisation and stimulated recall to formulate a case study of him in action. It was hoped that by combining these data-collection techniques instead of just relying on one research method, a fuller picture of what was involved in textbook writing could be achieved. This was because the approaches chosen were designed to address various aspects of expertise in textbook design which, when used in combination in the development of a case study, provided unique insight into the whole nature of textbook authoring, thereby addressing the research questions asked in the study.

While multiple methods were chosen specifically to address different issues in this study, the principle of triangulation was also thereby addressed. In the context of social science research, “Triangulation has been generally considered a process of using multiple perceptions to clarify meaning, verifying the repeatability of an observation or interpretation” (Stake, 2003, p. 148). But, since case studies are essentially not repeatable, it also “serves to clarify meaning by identifying different ways the phenomenon is being seen” (Flick, 1998; Silverman, 1993; and Smith, 1994 as cited in Stake, 2003, p. 148).

The choices regarding methodology in this research study were made after having dedicated much thought to the goal of the project – to develop a better understanding of expertise in textbook writing in order to help others to master the craft – since, “Case study is not a methodological choice but a choice of what is to be studied” (Stake, 2003, p. 134). In essence, the phenomena of expertise in this study seemed to call for the employment of this qualitative approach, whereby the richness of the data gathered helped to build an understanding of the processes and practices followed by TW1. In other words, “utilizing the case study method is useful specifically in cases [like this one] where one is trying to identify essential and detailed features from individual programmes and projects” (Patton, 1987, p. 19 as cited in Virtanen, 2002, p. 97).

I will now move on to focus on the individual research techniques that were used to gather data for the case study under discussion.

### *Interviewing*

In order to delve into the practice of textbook writing from the point of view of the participant (for the purpose of constructing a case study of his work), I interviewed TW1 before his think-aloud sessions in order to gain a clearer understanding of his educational background, his teaching and textbook-writing experience, his own views on his work, and his approaches to the project at hand, and after the periods of concurrent and retrospective verbalisation – of which there were four in total – to clear up any uncertainties about his writing processes. And since this research focused on the process of the experienced textbook writer's efforts, it was crucial that I captured some glimpse of his cognitive musings. For this reason, I chose to restrict my questions to the open-ended variety during the interview sessions that occurred in order to collect as complete a picture of the textbook writer's thought processes as possible while attempting to reduce the impact of the researcher's impressions of the development procedure on TW1's responses. This is in line with the conception of interviewing within the interactionist tradition in which "interviewees are viewed as experiencing subjects who actively construct their social worlds; the primary issue is to generate data which give an authentic insight into people's experiences; the main ways to achieve this are unstructured, open-ended interviews" (Silverman, 1993, p. 91). It was also hoped that this style of interviewing would help to add validity to the study by allowing TW1 to reveal himself through the course of the interview interactions.

### *Concurrent verbalisation*

In order to study the participant's cognitive processes, I chose to utilise the research technique of concurrent verbalisation, which helped to ensure the provision of a rich data set from which to extract observations about textbook development. This data collection technique has been widely used in studies of expertise (see, for example, Ball, Evans, Dennis & Ormerod, 1997; and Swanson, O'Connor & Cooney, 1990) and is valued for its ability to allow the researcher at least some glimpse of what is happening inside the minds of participants, even if that glimpse is sometimes incomplete and somewhat distorted due to the fact that it is self-reported data.

In concurrent verbalisation, a participant is asked to say aloud everything that comes to mind while he or she is engaged in a certain activity, thereby producing a think-aloud protocol of their cognitions from which the researcher can deduce conclusions regarding the subject under investigation. This particular introspective method was chosen in order to help capture, with some degree of immediacy, the cognitive activities of TW1 as he worked on his textbook development project. In particular, the technique "has the advantage of gaining access to a deep and broad pool of information about the writing process without unduly distorting it" (Swarts, Flower & Hayes, 1984, pp. 55-56).

The point has been raised, with respect to verbal protocoling, that the data from such reports is extensive, requiring a great deal of time and effort to transcribe, code, and analyze. It seems that “Protocols offer so much information that it is sometimes hard to know how to design productive research questions that are manageable” (Swarts, Flower & Hayes, 1984, p. 56). For this reason, I chose to focus on one textbook writer for the case study project, following the advice of Ericsson and Smith (1991): “Analysis of think-aloud verbalisations is time-consuming, and therefore researchers in expertise using these types of data tend to collect data on...individual subjects for a large number of tasks (case studies)” (p. 20).

### *Stimulated recall*

In an attempt to build a more complete understanding of the cognitive elements involved in textbook writing, I also decided to use the technique of stimulated recall in data collection. With stimulated recall, a participant carries out a task and is then asked to verbalise on the act once it is finished. Often, the subject is video taped while he or she is performing the activity, which allows the researcher to play the tape back for the informant during the recall period. The participant is then given the opportunity to stop the video at suitable times to report on their thought processes during the act of completing the task. Gass and Mackey (2000), in citing Bloom (1954, p. 25), explain the reasoning behind this procedure: “Through the use of stimulated recall, ‘a subject may be enabled to relive an original situation with great vividness and accuracy if he [or she] is presented with a large number of the cues or stimuli which occurred during the original situation’” (p. 17).

In the case of my study, by viewing a video tape made of a design session – during which concurrent verbalisation also occurred – TW1 was encouraged to experience again the act of textbook writing in order to comment upon it, which provided him with the opportunity to reveal aspects of his thinking with regard to textbook development. And by supplementing the data collected in the think-aloud protocols with that gathered via the use of stimulated recall, the attempt was made to comply with the suggestion put forth by Smagorinsky (1989) that, “A composite picture from both retrospective and concurrent protocols might yield the corroboration necessary to draw strong conclusions” from introspective data (p. 472).

## **Transcription and examination of the research data**

### **Transcription**

After collecting data for the project via the methods set out above, the results were set out for analysis using a broad system of transcription, which “[provided] a level of detail similar to that found in scripts of plays and in courtroom proceedings” (Edwards, 1995, p. 20). This level of specificity seemed adequate for the phenomena I was studying since the nature of the research demanded a focus on TW1’s



vocalisations about the act of textbook composition rather than on other features of his utterances.

## **Coding**

Following transcription of TW1's textbook-writing sessions, I looked closely at the data to identify prominent motifs in the work and initial coding categories were developed based upon these subjects. In this way, categorisation of the data adhered to the "*coding paradigm*" described by Strauss (1987) in which this first sweep of the data could be described as "open coding" or "unrestricted coding of the data" where "[the] aim is to produce concepts that seem to fit the data" (pp. 27, 28, emphasis in original). Given that the coding themes were extracted directly from the data in this manner, coding proceeded via a grounded approach (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss, 1987; Strauss & Corbin, 1998). This mode of data analysis seemed to fit with the objectives of the study since the research essentially addressed a new avenue of inquiry within expertise study and ELT research.

Following the above-described process of open coding, whilst perusing the data on subsequent occasions, I refined the codes by engaging in "*axial coding*" or "intense analysis around one category at a time" which produced "cumulative knowledge about relationships between [one] category and other categories and subcategories" (Strauss, 1987, p. 32, emphasis in original). As this process proceeded, "linkages" were made between the categories that were identified as "'core'" (Strauss, 1987, p. 33). The resultant useable system of categories was then subjected to "selective coding" whereby I "[delimited] coding to only those codes that [related] to the core codes in sufficiently significant ways as to be used in a parsimonious theory" of expertise in textbook writing (Strauss, 1987, p. 33).

## **Analysis**

In the next stage of the project, the core coding categories and the parts of the data to which they referred were reviewed to identify meanings which were thought to be important to the emerging theory of expertise in textbook writing. The core codes were then grouped together according to their relationship to one another and to the parts they had to play in TW1's textbook design practices. And while it could be argued that this process began during the selective phase of coding described above, it indeed continued during the analysis stage of the project; this is in keeping with the tradition of qualitative research whereby stages of the research process oftentimes proceed in tandem (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2000, pp. 147, 148) due to the characteristically "holistic" nature of qualitative data (Brock-Utne, 1996, p. 609). Overarching headings were then assigned to the groups of codes in order to further organise the data for purposes of the case study write-up (see Appendix A for a list of these coding categories).

A close review of the aspects of the data listed above revealed a number of findings about the research topic. And while the generalisability of these findings is

limited due to the small-scale nature of the study, the results nevertheless point to areas of importance in developing a theory of expertise in textbook writing.

## The research findings

Prior to addressing the research findings, I would like to note that TW1's approach to design was complex; therefore, I have had to be selective in the choice of topics under consideration here in order to keep within the limits of what is practicable within a paper of this length.

### TW1's design process was cyclic in nature

In looking at the design process that TW1 followed, it must be stressed that his style of writing was characteristically cyclic in nature. This meant that rather than TW1 progressing through the design route in whole discrete steps, he instead tended to work through certain steps together in small repeated segments, sometimes repeatedly returning to what he had previously done in order to make changes or amendments for the sake of those principles which were important to the design of the book. TW1's adherence to this cyclic style of textbook designing indeed seemed to be evident, for example, in his attempts to address what he considered to be "bittiness" in the textbook (TW1, 2006b, line 295). In that case, his concerns with continuity, substance, variety and repetition – all design principles – led him to revisit certain activities on multiple occasions during data collection. In fact, during one concurrent verbalisation session (TW1, 2006b), TW1 took up the "bittiness" issue four separate times (lines 151, 295, 464, 620). In his efforts to remove this perceived "bittiness," TW1 engaged in trying out several ideas for activities but eventually problematised certain aspects of these possibilities – this was in the midst of engaging in other various steps in the design process. TW1 returned to the "bittiness" issue again during the stimulated recall session which followed, at which time he was still trying to work out how to address the problem:

TW1: Ya I...think in relation to what I've said...before about it being a bit bitty and repetitive...I really...wanted some way of changing...the mode of it because it seemed to be all sort of listen react listen react...listen react produce a bit produce a bit and so on...And I wanted something that...they could just do more at their own pace like a reading text or something like that but it's difficult to do that because I don't think they've got much reading...ability in...L1 so what I'm...searching for is something which is a bit...less intensive on their concentration. (TW1, 2006b, lines 1042-1062)

In his efforts to alleviate what he perceived to be a "bittiness" problem in certain textbook sections, TW1 worked in a cyclic manner, re-examining these sections several times, thereby working through certain steps in the design process on multiple

occasions; this was done to ensure that the textbook indeed fitted with the design principles of the project and was appropriate for the intended audience of special needs learners.

The observance that good task designers sometimes design “*cyclically*” was made by Johnson (2003) in his study of pedagogic task design (p. 134, emphasis in original). This idea also seems to apply here, since the practice allowed TW1 to refine areas of the textbook in small sections while also taking into consideration the larger details that impacted upon the development of the entire book, such as the task of infusing continuity, substance, variety and repetition into the book, as mentioned above, as well as the need to introduce new concepts or vocabulary in little steps – another design principle – so as to avoid overloading the special needs learners for whom the textbook was being written. While designing in a cyclic fashion, TW1 engaged in constantly reviewing what had already been written, which constituted a step in the design process. For instance, when considering the matter of bittiness in the textbook, he repeatedly reviewed the activities he had written whilst attempting to refine them: “I think I need something with a bit more substance with all these mini dialogues. Let’s go back through it and see what it looks like” (TW1, 2006b, lines 365-368). This practice of reviewing was also used by the good task designers in the research conducted by Johnson (2003) and effectively helped TW1 to avoid “[becoming] bogged down in consideration of one variable, losing track of the whole” since in materials design “a large number of variables have to be juggled with at the same time” (p. 113). Furthermore, as Johnson (2003) notes, cyclic design coupled with continual reviewing allows for an “even descent into detail” which guards against the occurrence of “a single variable [being] highly developed at an early stage” with the likely result “that the variable will control the task’s development, possibly to an undesirable extent” (p. 134).

### **TW1’s understanding of the design process helped him to clarify issues that arose during the writing of the textbook**

Whilst TW1 was engaged in a seemingly complex design process when writing, he was also cognisant of the various stages of textbook development as he was working. Consequently, his transcripts were peppered with talk about these stages of design and the textbook-development cycle in general. Piloting was indeed a stage that was given some importance within the construction of the textbook. This was because TW1 seemed to rely at times on what was discovered during piloting in order to help him to proceed with design: “It might be a little bit of overkill on TPR but ah it seems to have gone down well in the practice lesson the pilot lesson” (TW1, 2006b, lines 462-463). In what follows TW1 makes it known why piloting was so important in a materials-writing endeavour of this nature.

TW1: I mean one of the things that...some of the partners wanted was this...you know lessons must fit into a ninety minute block and so on and that was one of the things I was quite strongly against because I think when you’re writing materials especially for a group

you don't know at all...you just haven't got a clue...how long it will take...and as we're in the pilot stage I think we'd we'd be much better trying them out and the teacher saying this took 25 minutes...so then we can say to other teachers when it was piloted in Ulm with this group it took 25 minutes there's a what you would call a ball-park figure. (TW1, 2006c, lines 2093-2115)

In a case such as this where TW1 had no history of working with the group of learners for whom the book was designed, piloting was vital to working out the logistical aspects of the textbook.

TW1 acknowledged that piloting was also important when taking account of design principles. For instance, at several points during data collection he discussed how "varied repetition" (TW1, 2006c, lines 1451, 1169-1171) was an important aspect of design when writing for the intended audience of special needs learners: "And we've been told to take them in very little steps and that they need lots of repetition" (TW1, 2006b, lines 1030-1031). He further elaborated in relation to this point: "So ya this is they get multiple repetitions of the question but with different answers so they are getting that continuity but with a bit of variety which is really what we are trying to achieve with these" (TW1, 2006c, lines 1169-1171). But while repetition was a plus in the materials, TW1 was wary of adding too much of it to the textbook, thereby building monotony into the units. He commented that piloting was useful in helping to determine where to draw the line with repetition: "It would be helpful if you could watch watch somebody do this with a class and see if it is too repetitive work them all out or if the continuity's is actually a good thing" (TW1, 2006b, lines 656-658).

In TW1's awareness of the design process, as exemplified by his recognition of the value of piloting, the author was displaying what Johnson (2003, p. 133) describes as "metacognition" or "strategies used to monitor, assess and manage behaviour." Johnson notes that "[metacognition]...is generally thought to be associated with expertise" and, indeed, in the case of TW1, the metacognitive statements made with regard to piloting seemed to help him to clarify issues within the design of the textbook (p. 133).

### **TW1 took guidance from outside sources in order to meet learners' needs when writing the textbook**

While TW1 was writing a textbook designed for individuals with special needs, he acknowledged during data collection that he himself had never had any experience with teaching or designing materials for such students. Furthermore, when asked what sort of cognitive learning disabilities the students had, he said that "It seems to cover quite a range and this is something that we're really not sure about until we pilot them" (TW1, 2006c, lines 105-106). Although TW1 admitted that he was flying blind in this area of textbook design, this factor did not seem to hamper his ability to envisage ideas for the textbook or for how it would be used. This was because TW1 abided by the design principles which had been set out during conceptualisation of the project by the previously-mentioned team of seven psychologists and special needs teachers who

had had contact with groups of learners similar to those for whom the textbook was intended. And in his capacity as ELT Specialist on the project, TW1 was able to mesh these design principles with certain methodological concepts in English language teaching – like Total Physical Response, for instance – in order to develop workable ideas for the textbook. In the following transcript selection TW1 outlines some of the principles adhered to in the project for learners with special needs:

TW1: Well the materials were amply justly received by the first pilot class which I'm pleased about because I don't think they're particularly revolutionary I just think that I think what we're doing is just to make things extra clear and extra systematic and build in a lot more physical activity than I normally would do but other than that I don't think there's anything in the principles which is very different from mainstream teaching perhaps I like to say that it's the same the same ingredients but a different recipe. (TW1, 2006c, lines 5-11)

Here TW1 acknowledged that “Supporting learners who have difficulties is not usually about making radical changes in the classroom, but about ensuring that the materials, environment and teaching methods are adapted, if necessary, to match different needs” (Smith, 2007, p. 181). And the design principles TW1 discussed during data collection were indeed intended to reflect the needs of the target group of learners, which, along with the needs of the teachers – the other end users of the textbook – were his uppermost priority. This was regardless of his knowledge of their learning challenges, since “putting a name to a difficulty is not always necessary; as teachers it is not usually our job to diagnose, but to respond to the needs of the individuals in our classes” (Smith, 2007, pp. 180-181).

While it was the principles of the textbook project which guided TW1's writing practices, it was his willingness to follow those principles, as well as the advice of the other individuals working on the book, that provided a view of his expertise. In other words, TW1 was experienced enough to know when his experience was insufficient and was open to looking to outside sources for the materials writing guidance he needed when he deemed it necessary or desirable.

### **TW1's variety of experience helped him to see how the textbook would be used in practice**

As stated above, TW1's focus was on the end users of the textbook, and his efforts were directed towards making the package of materials as user friendly as possible not only for students but also for teachers. Furthermore, it seemed that his experience as a teacher, teacher trainer and materials writer helped him to conceptualise how the book would ultimately be used by educators. In fact, his ability to view the act of textbook development from several vantage points enabled him to articulate the intended teacher training function of the textbook.

TW1: I think that one of the main aims is actually to to give teachers...an idea what kind of materials you can use what kind of activities...might work what kind of methodology...might work so rather than us producing masses of coursebooks I think we're just trying to produce something which will be a good source of ideas...An exemplar which is a bit too strong a word but...A framework. (TW1, 2006c, lines 1900-1919)

As a teacher and teacher trainer he recognised the influential role that materials play in the classroom, and as a textbook writer he was able to translate this knowledge into a comprehensible format. It seemed that his expertise, which had been shaped by his various employment experiences within the field of education, helped him to visualise the roles that the textbook would play.

### **TW1 respected teacher and student autonomy while also satisfying educational aims**

Given that TW1 had extensive experience not only as a creator, but also as an end user of teaching materials, it seemed natural that there was evidence in the transcripts of his respect for those teachers who would be using the developing textbook. In those instances, he placed some degree of importance on teacher autonomy within the design of the textbook and its package components, i.e. the teacher's notes, teacher's manual, accompanying video, and so forth.

TW1: I think the idea is...to really get over to the teachers that it's meant to be used flexibly...and that there might be eight activities in a unit but that they're not necessarily meant to use all of them if they don't want to...They can slot in. (TW1, 2006c, lines 255-265)

In this way, TW1 acknowledged the professionalism of the teachers, promoting the idea that how they made use of the textbook in the classroom was just as important as the textbook itself.

While TW1 actively promoted teacher autonomy in designing the textbook package, he did so with a guiding hand. This was done not only to provide for teacher training but also to help to ensure that the learning objectives of the textbook were fulfilled. The transcript segment to follow exemplifies how TW1 accomplished this balancing act:

TW1: "Make two groups." I'll make it absolutely explicit. Um "the first group" ... "to put" all the body parts all the sticky parts "all the sticky labels in the right place is the winner." Alright. Now what do we do with all these when they go in the right place? Um something like Simon Says but I've done that in a previous unit but can put it there as an option. Oh ya I need to say I need to say which words as well don't I or do I should I give them the freedom? But it might even in future activities so I need to specify at least a few of those

um. Um. Alright ya ok. I'll give them the option but I'll specify some um role plays um... "Consider how many body parts to teach. Please include" what do you want "head back knee stomach" head back knees stomach shoulder how can you "shoulder tooth." (TW1, 2006b, lines 577-590)

Here, although TW1 provided for some degree of independence in how the textbook activities were used in the classroom – in this case by supplying options – he did make specific suggestions to the teachers in order to ensure that certain target vocabulary was recycled within the book, thereby helping to advance one of the educational aims of the textbook: L2 lexical development. This practice also helped contribute to continuity within the book, which was one of the principles promoted in its design.

Just as TW1 was proactive in supporting teacher autonomy within the design of the textbook, so too was he committed to the idea of promoting independent learning among students who would be using the book. Once again, this tendency reflected his overall concern for those who would be engaging with the textbook when it was completed. The following transcript segment provided evidence of this concern for the learners:

TW1: I just think...the script this is actually what I was thinking about before I think it's important to let the students off the leash a little bit because everything else is so tightly controlled for good reasons but I think they need a an opportunity just to let rip as it were. (TW1, 2006a, lines 61-64)

In other words, TW1 was determined to allow the students some degree of freedom in making use of the textbook – even though literacy, mobility, et cetera could be challenging for the book's intended audience, and this often led to the necessary incorporation of what might be considered rather restrictive rubrics.

In his advancement of teacher and learner autonomy, which was coupled with his desire to promote the educational goals of the textbook, TW1 was again revealing an element of his expertise – the ability to keep a number of considerations in mind when progressing through the design of the book. Johnson (2003) calls this characteristic "maximum variable control" and he notes that in the case of the good task designers who took part in his study, this attribute enabled them to "produce tasks...with attention given to a wide range of variables so that their tasks [were] sensitive to as many issues and constraints as possible" (p. 137).

## Conclusion

To summarise, the findings of the study revealed the following aspects of TW1's textbook-writing expertise:

- TW1's design process was cyclic in nature.
- TW1's understanding of the design process helped him to clarify issues that arose during the writing of the textbook.
- TW1 took guidance from outside sources in order to meet learners' needs when writing the textbook.
- TW1's variety of experience helped him to see how the textbook would be used in practice.
- TW1 respected teacher and student autonomy while also satisfying educational aims.

These preliminary results seem to provide some evidence to support the idea that experience in English language teaching and teacher training may have a part to play in expertise in ELT textbook writing. TW1's experience in these areas certainly appeared to influence his textbook-writing practices, and the empirical work carried out in this study was key to uncovering this point.

I intend to explore the ties between these fields in greater depth during continued study of TW1 and another ELT textbook writer, whereby the work discussed here will provide a starting point for further research-based investigation in the area of expertise in ELT textbook writing. It is hoped that insights gained from the project will be useful in helping to improve training in the area of textbook design.

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## Appendix A – Coding categories

### Design principles

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Clarity	Reference to a clear style of writing in the units/textbook
Continuity	Existence of a connection between the textbook units
Flexibility	Reference to the flexible use of the units/textbook
Progression	Progression in the textbook from one unit to the next
Simplicity	Reference to simple language being used to write the textbook
Naturalness	Reference to the naturalness of the language being used to write the textbook
Fun	An element of fun being incorporated into the textbook
Repetition	Incorporating repetition into the textbook
Variety	Incorporating variety into the textbook
Stimulating	Reference to the textbook/parts of the textbook being interesting
Familiarity	Designing the textbook units so that the structure is familiar across the units
Little steps	Proceeding slowly while introducing elements that are unfamiliar to the students
Substance	Incorporating depth into the design of the textbook
Originality	Reference to originality or lack thereof in the units/textbook
Useful	Incorporating an element of practicality into the textbook
Humour	Incorporating an element of humour into the textbook
Physical activity	Incorporating physical activity into the design of the textbook
Real life	Incorporating an element of reality into the textbook

### Design process

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Reviewing	Looking back over the units/textbook
Feedback	Feedback given about aspects/sections of the textbook
Expansion	Expanding upon what has already been written
Planning	The planning that occurs in materials writing
Collaborate	Collaboration between those working on the textbook-writing project
Finalising	Expressing that a part of the textbook is complete
Considering alternatives	Taking into account various options
Problematising	Complexifying the writing process by considering problems that could occur with the design of the textbook
Break	Reference to taking a break while writing the textbook

Revising	Revising/adapting the textbook units
Piloting	Piloting of the textbook units
Rejects idea	Deciding not to use an idea in designing the textbook
Switches focus	Leaving one part of the textbook to work on another
Uses resources	Drawing upon a reference source or source of artwork in designing the textbook
Trying out idea	Trying out an idea when designing the textbook units
Ideas flowing	Noting points at which the thoughts concerning the design of the textbook are easy to come by
Recycling	Incorporating language used in previous units into those that follow
Return in future	Stating the intention to resume working on a part of the textbook in the future
Write it down	Reference made to putting something down on paper
Changes mind	A point at which the participant changes his mind during the design process
Routine	Following a routine when designing materials

### Commercial aspects of the textbook

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Marketing	Reference to marketing considerations
Publishing	Reference to publishing considerations
Credibility	Reference to the issue of credibility in the commercial distribution of the textbook

### Participant's experience

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Design experience	The participant's experience in materials/textbook design
Linguistic reference	The participant uses linguistic terminology
Teaching experience	The participant's teaching experience
Teacher training experience	The participant's experience as a teacher trainer
Education	The participant's education
Materials writing training	The materials writing training that the participant has received
Writer enters materials	The participant refers to his being a native speaker of English in regard to the design of the textbook
Preference	The participant expresses a preference

Open to revision	The participant accepts that revision is part of the textbook writing experience
Efficiency	Efficiency in materials writing
Repertoire	Drawing from repertoire when writing the units/textbook

### Design considerations

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Materials framework	The framework for the units/textbook
Language	The language used in the textbook
Design freedom	Being free from constraints in designing the units/textbook
Sequence	The sequence of aspects of the textbook/textbook components
Timing	References made to time
Layout	The physical layout of the units/textbook
Literacy	Reference made to the target group of learners being able to read and write
Guidelines	Reference to the design principles guiding the writing of the textbook
Constraints	Restrictions in place in the design of the units/textbook
Syllabus	Consideration given to the syllabus in the design of the textbook
Work space	The textbook writing environment

### Textbook components

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Video	Reference to the video feature of the textbook package
Audio	Reference to the audio feature of the textbook package
Teacher's manual	Reference to the teacher's manual component of the textbook package
Teacher's notes	Reference to the teacher's notes component of the textbook package
Art	Reference to the artistic elements of the textbook
Rubric	Instructions to the students
Listening work	Listening activities in the units/textbook
Speaking work	Speaking activities in units/textbook
Writing work	Writing activities in the units/textbook
Text-based work	Reading activities and related tasks in the units/textbook
Comprehension work	Comprehension activities in the units/textbook
Realia	Reference to using realia within the design of the units/textbook
Dialogue	The dialogues that are used in the units/textbook

Monologue	The monologues that are used in the units/textbook
Activation option	Options to help get the students to practice the vocabulary built into the textbook units
Optional activities	Optional activities for the learners built into the textbook, teacher's notes or teacher's manual
Recast activities	The recast activities that are built into the textbook
Headings	The headings used in the textbook
Relaxed activity	An activity designed to enable the students to have a rest

### Participant's personal development

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Interest in design	Expressing interest in the process of textbook design
Self-reflection	Reflecting upon the textbook-writing process
Influence	The influences that have had an effect on the participant as a materials writer
Principles	Reference to materials design that is based on certain principles
Task typology	Reference to the participant's self-constructed typology of ELT tasks

### Use of the textbook/textbook components

<i>Code name</i>	<i>Explanation of code</i>
Consideration for users	Taking the learners'/teachers' needs, feelings or desires into account
Learner knowledge	Things known/unknown about the students who will use the textbook
Teacher knowledge	Things known/unknown about or known by the teachers who will use the textbook
Materials in use	Considering how the textbook/textbook components will be used in practice
Teacher autonomy	Acknowledging that the teachers are professionals who are capable of using the textbook/textbook units as they see fit
Student autonomy	Enabling the students to express themselves while using the textbook
Teacher training	The textbook serves a teacher training function
Reliance on teachers	Counting on the teachers to carry out activities

# The discursive management of work-life dilemmas

Justin Charlebois

Aichi Shukutoku University, Japan, Lancaster University

## Abstract

This paper explores the ways in which a group of women construct their gender identities in contemporary Japanese society. *Critical discursive psychology* (Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998) was used to investigate the *interpretative repertoires* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) these women drew on as they constructed their gender identities. The interpretative repertoires that were identified in their talk about managing domestic and non-domestic responsibilities are presented for analysis. The participants assumed different subject positions in relation to these repertoires as they managed the *ideological dilemmas* (Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton & Radley, 1988) that emerged from the contradictions between these repertoires. The results of the analysis suggest that modern women face a difficult task as they carefully manage these dilemmas and construct identities from the interpretative resources circulating in Japanese society.

## Introduction

Japan is still considered a highly gendered society (Iwama, 2005). One area in which unequal gender relations play out is the division of household labour. Women have traditionally performed childcare, eldercare, and housework (Iwao, 1993; Sugimoto, 2004). This inequity is far from unique to Japan; in fact, in many other industrialised nations, there is a wide gender gap in domestic work among married couples (Connell, 2002: 101; South & Spitze, 1994). In Japan, the reason given for this discrepancy is that men have to devote a tremendous amount of time to their careers (Brinton, 1993; Iwama, 2005; Tsuya & Bumpass, 1998). Men are only able to do so because of the domestic support provided by their wives. As Brinton (1993) describes this, “women assume virtually all the emotional and caretaking responsibilities for the family and leave men free to devote long hours to company life” (p. 93). The working patterns of women are described as an M-shaped curve (Iwao, 1993: 163; Mouer & Kawanishi, 2005: 133; Sugimoto, 2004: 155). Basically, women work in their early twenties, quit once they marry or bear their first child, and then resume part-time work once their children are grown. When displayed graphically, the working patterns of women form the contours of the letter ‘M’. This trend, however, is changing as more women are postponing marriage and childbirth and expressing a desire for both a career and family (Mouer & Kawanishi, 2005: 134).

The participation of women as part-time workers fills the chronic labour shortage of the past three decades (Gottfried, 2003; Sugimoto, 2004: 155). Thus, women are participating in the workforce, but in the capacity of marginalised workers who receive minimal wages and few benefits yet work long hours. These ‘false part-timers’ do not have the economic resources to achieve financial independence from their husbands (Gottfried, 2003; Sugimoto, 2004: 156). Thus, while the number of working women increases, women do not work on the same terms as men.

The demand for increased labour led to the passage of the Equal Employment Opportunity Law and creation of a two-tier employment track system: the *sogo shoku* or ‘career track’ and the *ippan shoku* or ‘clerical track.’ The career track holds women to the same working conditions as their male counterparts. These conditions include demanding work, regular overtime, after-hours socializing, and transfers to branch offices. Clerical workers, on the other hand, perform routine tasks, leave work at a specified time, and are not transferred. Clearly, this so-called ‘mommy track’ is much more conducive to family life. The inflexibility of the two track system discourages women from entering the career track and results in a disproportionate number of female managers. For example, only roughly one quarter of Japanese firms



have female managers at or above the section head level and 73 percent of those in managerial positions do not have children (Sugimoto, 2004: 157).

This study investigates the interpretative repertoires a group of Japanese women draw on as they construct their identities. As Billig, Condor, Edwards, Gane, Middleton, and Radley (1988) have insightfully pointed out, everyday commonsense is intrinsically fragmented and fraught with contradictions; thus, *ideological dilemmas* develop as people construct their identities (1988: 17). Accordingly, a second goal of the study is to analyse how the participants work with the inconsistencies between interpretative repertoires in order to manage ideological dilemmas. In the next section, I discuss the concepts which form the basis of my methodological approach.

## **Analytic concepts and procedures**

A particularly suitable approach for studying how people construct their identities through talk and manage contradictions arising from tensions between interpretative repertoires and subject positions is critical discursive psychology (see Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). *Interpretative repertoires* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) are patterned, commonsense ways that people from a given society discuss a topic. Interpretative repertoires are defined as “basically a lexicon or register of terms and metaphors drawn upon to characterize and evaluate actions and events” (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 187). This study focused on men’s and women’s roles in Japanese society and I identified the interpretative repertoires thematically and through discursive devices which are referred to in the analysis.

*Subject positions* (Davies & Harre, 1990; Hollway, 1998) are the identities people construct in social interaction through drawing on, resisting, or reconfiguring interpretative repertoires. Individuals both adopt positions and assign positions to others. The others include the social scientist conducting the interview and the non-present social actors in the interviewees’ accounts. Subject positions form the base of people’s identities (Burr, 2003). As Taylor (2005) states, “a position, or subject position, can be understood as a temporary identity which is conferred on or taken up by a speaker and which becomes both who she or he is seen to be, by others, and the perspective from which she or he sees the world” (p. 96). The fact that people assume various subject positions relative to interpretative repertoires suggests that identities are not fixed but are fluid and constantly changing.

The process of identity construction is not seamless and conflict free, however. Participants strategically deploy interpretative repertoires in order to suit the rhetorical demands of the interactional context. Accordingly, tensions and

contradictions between interpretative repertoires can contribute to the formation of *ideological dilemmas* (Billig, et al., 1988). For example, in a study investigating the disparate ways a group of men discursively construct feminists, one participant faces an ideological dilemma between presenting himself as non-sexist and constructing an account where some feminists are 'extremists' (Edley & Wetherell, 2001). One pattern of accounting he uses to manage this dilemma is to endorse liberal feminist values, thus constructing a positive *self-presentation* (Goffman, 1959) while simultaneously constructing some feminists as 'extremists'. Therefore, speakers use the internal inconsistencies in interpretative repertoires as resources to manage emergent ideological dilemmas.

I will now move on to present the data of my study, which is concerned with the ways a group of Japanese woman draw on certain interpretative repertoires related to gender roles and their management of ideological dilemmas which form due to tensions between these repertoires.

## **The interviews**

The research data consists of semi-structured, individual interviews I conducted with fifteen women. Interviews are a data collection method frequently used in critical discursive psychology (Edley, 2001; Wetherell, 1998). The purpose of the interviews was to elicit *interpretative repertoires* (Potter & Wetherell, 1987) about gender roles and any *ideological dilemmas* (Billig et al., 1988) the participants articulated. Participants were asked about traditional and modern roles of men and women and if women face social pressure. The interviews were conducted in Japanese and averaged ninety minutes in length.

The research interview is a site where gender and other identities are constructed and performed (Butler, 1999). Social actors have agency in society as they construct their gender identities, yet they are constrained by larger social institutions such as the state, workplace organisations, and educational institutions (Connell, 1987, 2002; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002). I followed the principles of 'responsive interviewing' (Rubin & Rubin, 2005: 30-38), thus the participants were 'conversational partners' and the resulting interaction was a co-constructed event which occurred in a specific time and place.

The criteria for inclusion in this sample were that participants be female and of Japanese ethnicity. The sample was recruited through the author's network of acquaintances and through snowballing. Potential candidates who expressed interest were asked if they would be willing to take part in an interview about being a woman.

Beyond this they were not given any specific information about the content of the interview. They were assured of confidentiality and encouraged to provide their contact information if they wished to see the results of this study. Pseudonyms are used to protect the participants' identities.

The purpose of data collection in discursive psychological research is not to generate data which is generalisable or representative of a large group (Potter & Wetherell, 1987: 161). Instead, the focus is on how participants rhetorically manage the demands of the current interactional context. For this reason, the ways participants draw on interpretative repertoires, assume subject positions in relation to those repertoires, and manage ideological dilemmas are evident even in a small corpus.

Before proceeding to the analysis, some issues related to translation and transcription conventions need to be discussed. Fairclough (1999: 186) objects to performing discourse analysis on translated texts and maintains that extracts reproduced in academic papers should be written in the source language. I conducted the analysis on the Japanese texts, but due to space constraints and to increase the paper's readability, I present English translations in this paper. The translations are as close to the original Japanese as possible with clarificatory remarks enclosed in brackets as needed. Regarding the transcription conventions, (laughs) indicates laughter; [explanation] is used for clarificatory remarks; and "quote marks" are used to indicate quoted speech. Punctuation is provided for increased readability rather than to indicate speech patterns.

## **Analysis and discussion**

This section discusses both interpretative repertoires and subject positions. In the first part of the section, I discuss the two main interpretative repertoires that participants drew on when constructing accounts of men's and women's social roles: *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work*. An important point about these repertoires is that they are *gendered* (Sunderland, 2004) and position men and women in different social roles. Men are positioned as working in society where they accrue *cultural* and *symbolic* capital (Bourdieu, 1977) from their public roles while women are positioned as wives and mothers whose capital is dependent upon their husband's work-related success and children's academic results.

## Work as a reason to live

This notion of locating one's *ikigai* or 'reason to live' in work developed after World War II, when Japanese salaried workers devoted tremendous amounts of time to their careers in order to rebuild war-torn Japan. A pattern emerged whereby men devoted themselves single-heartedly to their work and women to domestic responsibilities, working part-time at most, but supporting the family in many non-economic ways (Mathews, 2003). Since men were working in order to support their families, many located their *ikigai* with their families. However, the long hours spent at their workplaces resulted in work becoming the main source of *ikigai* for many men (ibid.). Ueno (1995) contends that even today some men are under the false impression their *ikigai* is family when in fact it is work. Certainly, the importance of work in Japan for men makes it difficult to construct an *ikigai* beyond work (Mathews, 2003).

This repertoire was identified in discussions around the topic of work. The participants talked about the tremendous amount of time workers devote to their jobs. In this first extract, Nayu contrasts working patterns in Japan with those in Switzerland, where she has lived. According to her account, a system exists in Switzerland whereby people (mostly women) can work reduced hours while still remaining on a career track. This system was created to support those aspiring to combine a career with other things (i.e. raising children or furthering their education):

### *Extract 1*

111 Justin: I think the long-hours work culture that prevails in Japan makes it difficult  
112 to maintain a healthy work-life balance.

113 Nayu: That's a good point. As I said before, I was in Switzerland last year.

114 Switzerland has a system where you can work fifty to eighty percent of the time.

115 This isn't part time work, just a reduction of normal working hours. In the off time  
116 people can do housework or attend college. In Japan, building a career involves  
117 giving one hundred percent, so the amount of time people have to spend at  
118 at work makes it very difficult to combine both [a career and family].

The *work as a reason to live* repertoire is suggested by the social obligation conveyed by 'have to' (line 117). Nayu contrasts the flexible Swiss system with Japan where people are expected to give 'one hundred percent' to their careers. In the next extract, Yukari discusses how men are penalised for missing work:

*Extract 2*

112 Justin: Can men also take childcare leave?

113 Yukari: Yes they can, but it makes the news—that's how rare it is. If a male civil  
114 servant takes leave, it's factored into his evaluation. Even though he is legally  
115 allowed leave for childcare or nursing elderly parents, it works against him on  
116 his evaluation. Employees are entitled to about twenty days of paid leave and  
117 three to four months of childcare leave per year. However, if you take that much  
118 time off...

In Yukari's account, *work as a reason to live* makes it difficult for members of both sexes to take childcare leave; however, the gendered nature of the repertoire positions men as primary breadwinners and thus unable to take leave. Yukari uses sex-based *membership categories* (Sacks, 1995: 40), when discussing childcare leave. The categories which people use (e.g. 'doctor', 'friend') are embedded with inferences about normative activities that members engage in (Sacks, 1995: 40). Since men who take leave 'make the news', this is not a typical or *category-bound activity* (Sacks, 1995: 40) that men partake in (line 114). In the last part of the account, Yukari's unfinished clause constructs members of Japanese society as unforgiving toward those who take their legally guaranteed leave. The gap between the law and employers' attitudes could lead to the development of an ideological dilemma for men who wish to combine work with parenthood:

*Extract 3*

44 Justin: Why do you think men use the excuse they have no time to help out with  
45 domestic work?

46 Nayu: The Japanese system makes it hard to take time off. For example, in order to  
47 get a good position, you cannot take much time off. It's hard to say, for example,  
48 "I'm going to take a year off for maternity leave."

Nayu draws on the *work as a reason to live* repertoire as she constructs work as a legitimate excuse for not participating in housework (line 46). Even though my question is about men, Nayu does not orient to gender in the first part of the account. In fact, the repertoire makes it difficult for anyone, suggested by the generic 'you' (line 47), to take time off from work. In the last part of the account, gender is introduced with reference to maternity leave. The gendered nature of *work as a reason to live* is apparent since work and motherhood are constructed as incompatible. That is, it is difficult to take time off work for the purpose of having a baby.

The accounts presented above overlap with one another. Yukari's discussion of current childcare leave practices echoes Naya's comments about the importance of devoting long hours to the job. Resisting this powerful repertoire by taking childcare leave could affect one's chances for promotion. In addition, men who take leave not only risk damaging their careers, but also 'make the news' because of their atypical masculine behaviour. Clearly, "to "do" gender is not always to live up to the normative conceptions of femininity or masculinity; it is to engage in the behaviour *at the risk of gender assessment*" (West & Zimmerman, 2002: 13). These extracts demonstrate that while men *can* 'do' gender differently, it will not go unpunished. Furthermore, in Japanese society the proverb 'the nail that sticks up gets hammered down', constitutes a powerful interpretative repertoire, the pressure for group conformation is privileged over individual desires (Sugimoto, 2004: 2-5). Therefore, those who fail to 'do' gender appropriately are appropriately punished or 'nailed down'.

Conformity is encouraged by the unforgiving and watchful eyes of the *seken* or normative community (Lebra, 1984; McVeigh, 1997; Sugimoto, 2004), i.e. "the surrounding world of community consisting of neighbors, kin, colleagues, friends, and other significant persons whose opinions are considered important" (Lebra, 1984: 338). The *seken* becomes a sort of regulatory device that keeps personal behaviour in check. People perform in their socially legitimised roles for fear of ostracism by the *seken*. For example, many leaders involved in public scandals quickly apologise to the *seken* (Sugimoto, 2004: 281).

Since *work as a reason to live* is a gendered interpretative repertoire, it rests upon the assumption that men devote themselves to their careers, i.e. that, for men, a career is part of a normal life cycle. Accordingly, given that most men marry and produce families, childcare and housework remain central to women's lives. This was usually an implicit assumption as the women interviewees discussed working patterns:

*Extract 4*

29 Justin: Why do you think it is difficult for husbands and wives to divide the  
30 housework equally?

31 Megumi: The chances are higher that men work more hours than women. If men  
32 were also able to leave work by 5:30 then dividing the housework equally might be  
33 a possibility. However, the chances that men have to work overtime are quite high.  
34 The way things are in Japan right now, men have to spend so much time at the  
35 company, their time at home decreases and so it's difficult to equally share the  
36 housework with their wives.

Megumi uses several discursive strategies to contrast the different expectations of working men and women. She invokes the membership category, 'men' to illustrate work related obligations. Here men are bound to the activity of work, which is indicated by 'have to' (line 33). The gendered nature of the repertoire is suggested by 'men' and 'the way things are in Japan right now'.

Embedded in Megumi's account is the gendered presumption that *work is a reason to live for men*. Her description rests on the assumption that men work in the career track and women in the clerical track. Although she gives the hypothetical scenario where men leave work at 5:30, this would involve them working in the clerical track. This is unrealistic for couples who want to retain a certain standard of living.

In the next extract, Chika, who is currently job hunting, discusses explicit pressure she has experienced when applying for jobs. Chika is comparing the clerical track and career track employment system:

*Extract 5*

54 Chika: There is a much greater percentage of men in the career track positions and  
55 sometimes the number of women [in the career track] is not written on company  
56 documents.

57 Justin: Really?

58 Chika: Yeah. In the clerical track there are many women. Also, clerical jobs are  
59 advertised as being popular with women. This makes those jobs appealing for  
60 women and they aim toward those. It is often written on the job advertisements that  
61 the career track is usually filled by men and clerical track usually filled by women.

The exclusion of women from career track job advertisements draw on and constitute the *work as a reason to live* repertoire, according to which, from an employer's perspective, women are a risk not worth taking since they may resign from their jobs (Wetherell, Stiven, & Potter, 1987). In Japan, employing women is a particularly 'risky' business since employers invest much time in on-the-job training of their employees (Dasgupta, 2000: 194-196; Sugimoto, 2004: 94). Employers try to avoid this risk on the one hand by encouraging women applicants to apply for the clerical track, where resigning after a few years is normal and not a wasted investment, and on the other by discouraging women to apply for the career track. The advertisements invite women to apply for clerical positions not through coercion but by highlighting their apparent appeal among women.

Excluding a discussion of what constitutes a healthy work-life balance, the

*work as a reason to live* repertoire itself is, in principle, not dilemmatic for single people able to devote a large amount of time to their jobs as they climb up their career ladders. However, the gendered nature of the repertoire means that in practice women do not have equal employment opportunities. Men are explicitly positioned as family breadwinners, while women are implicitly positioned as homemakers. That is, men are expected to enter the career track by default, while women work in the clerical track for several years prior to marriage. An ideological dilemma can develop for those women attempting to balance a career and family (plus, in principle, for men who wish to do the same). Women who are pursuing careers face a dilemma because, in the *women as responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoire I deal with in the next section, they are first held accountable as wives and mothers before career professionals.

### ***Women as responsible for domestic work***

This brings us to the second interpretative repertoire that arose in the participants' talk: *women as responsible for domestic work*. Positioned by this powerful repertoire, women attempting to balance both work with family may express guilt for not completely fulfilling a domestic role:

#### *Extract 6*

20 Justin: What do you think about women's roles today?

21 Nayu: I think traditional thinking still persists. Women are still expected to shoulder 22 the major burden of housework and childcare. On the other hand, the number of

23 women working outside the home has increased, so they don't only have domestic 24 roles. They also work out in society where they use their skills and knowledge.

25 Justin: Why do you think that having both a career and family is so difficult for 26 women?

27 Nayu: In Japan you know many men still have traditional thinking where once a 28 woman marries, she has to do all of the housework. That is why childcare 29 facilities such as nursery schools are not so developed and a system is not set up to 30 support working women. Even for those women who want to keep working, it is 31 difficult to balance both [career and family].

Nayu's account constructs women as performing two different types of roles. First, women are still expected to perform housework. Second, women are using their skills



and working in society. At first glance, her account of the various roles women are performing suggests that gender equality is approaching. However, 'traditional thinking' (lines 21; 27) indicates that she is drawing on the *women as responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoire. This repertoire in combination with an *equal opportunities* repertoire (Wetherell, et al., 1987) can form into an ideological dilemma. Women want to excel at their careers but the pull of domestic responsibilities hinders their ability to do so or results in a second shift when they return home (Hochschild & Machung, 2003: Chapter 1). The increasing age of marriage or decision to remain single indicate that women may wish to pursue careers but are unwilling to assume the second shift (Nemoto, 2008). In addition to reflecting a social assumption that women perform housework, *women as responsible for domestic work* has material consequences such as inadequate childcare facilities (lines 103-106), which Akiko discusses in the extract below:

*Extract 7*

31 Justin: Do you think that men and women are equal in the workplace?

32 Akiko: I think that teachers are pretty equal, but it is not about whether or not a  
33 particular school is unfair. For example, under the current social system women  
34 have to pick up their kids from nursery school by six o'clock. Due to this, women's  
35 workload is decreased or they are not given that much responsibility which I think  
36 is unfair.

Akiko differentiates inequalities which exist in individual schools with the overall inequality of the current social system and thus *gender order* (Connell, 2002: 54) of Japanese society. Membership in the category of 'women' entails the category-bound activities of picking up children from school, which impacts women's careers. The discursive absence of men from Akiko's account reflects the gendered nature of the *work as a reason to live* repertoire where men are released from domestic responsibilities due to paid employment.

An ideological dilemma can develop for women due to contradictions between the *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoires. Given that women are positioned as responsible for domestic affairs, it is difficult to draw on both repertoires in the process of identity construction. Akiko assesses this situation as unfair which suggests she is taking a resistant subject position in relation to these gendered repertoires (lines 35-36).

*Women as responsible for domestic work* was also suggested when participants talked about the different expectations for women and men. Irrespective of the fact

that increasing numbers of women choose to continue working, traditional social expectations still associate women with domestic work:

*Extract 8*

201 Justin: Do you think that women today face social pressure?

202 Akiko: Since women have to look after their children they cannot pursue their jobs  
203 to their heart's content. I think this is a form of social pressure. It is not about one  
204 company or one employee's individual situation, but different expectations of men  
205 and women. For example, if a family does not attend a graduation ceremony, it is  
206 the woman who is blamed. The husband can't help it because he has to work. If  
207 the wife doesn't go people will ask why. This is you know social pressure.

...

269 Akiko: I feel social pressure from the expectation that women have to go and pick  
270 up their children by a certain hour. In the end, men would not be forgiven [by their  
271 employers] for leaving work early to pick up their children, so it falls on women's  
272 shoulders to do so. Women are seen as having some sort of duty and are allowed to  
273 leave work early. This results in women not being promoted or given tasks such as  
274 serving tea. If the working hours were shortened, that would really solve this  
275 problem.

This extract represents a significant development from extract seven because domestic responsibilities are now formulated as 'social pressure' for women pursuing careers (line 203). Akiko uses the membership categories 'men' and 'women' to construct membership in each category as involving different, thus gendered, category-bound activities (lines 204-205). The example of graduation ceremonies (line 205) is especially revealing as it illustrates the active role women are expected to play in supporting their children's education. The nomenclature *kyoiku mama* ('education mother') is used to reflect the pivotal role mother's play in their children's education (Allison, 1991). Since motherhood is viewed as all-encompassing, sometimes mothers even hide their part-time employment from schools for fear of being seen as inadequate mothers (Allison, 1991: 203). The obligatory nature of *women as responsible for domestic work* is suggested by 'duty' (line 272). The material consequences of this repertoire are limited opportunities for promotion and unchallenging jobs (lines 273-275). This subject positioning is not specific to Japanese society. Michelle Lazar (2002: 12) uses the term *other-centeredness* in reference to how heterosexual femininity is constructed around devotion to husbands and children. This is particularly the case in Japan where marriage and motherhood are connected to femininity. In fact, career track women

sometimes feel unfeminine due to their career pursuits (Nemoto, 2008: 230).

These accounts suggest that the current system is set up to support an outdated model based upon a sexual division of labour where a father works full-time and mother works either part-time or is a full-time homemaker. Unfortunately, women and not men are still held accountable as primary caregivers (Roberson & Suzuki, 2003: 8). Female employees, unlike their male counterparts, are first and foremost held accountable as wives and mothers who leave work early in order to care for their children, manage the household, and support their husbands. This assumption contributes to a *gender accumulation process* forming the basis of a *patriarchal dividend* (Connell, 2002: 142) where predominantly men occupy socially-powerful positions and women remain financially dependent on their husbands which limits their life choices.

### **Subject positions**

In the second part of this section, I discuss the subject positions the women assumed in relation to the *work as a reason to live* and *women are responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoires. These participants discursively managed work-life dilemmas by adopting the *working professional*, *homemaker*, or *superwoman* subject positions in relation to the *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoires. These subject positions involve resisting, accepting, or reformulating the above mentioned interpretative repertoires.

#### ***Working professional position***

In discursively negotiating the work-family dilemma, the *working professional* is a position that some women assumed in the process of identity construction. The position was not drawn on by a majority of the participants, but it is still worth mentioning because of its transformative potential to disrupt a traditional gender order that locates women primarily in the domestic sphere and men in the public one. This position involves resisting the *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire and embracing the *work as a reason to live* repertoire. In other words, these women work in the same capacity as their male counterparts—the main difference being that they are single and thus do not have the domestic support provided by the wives of their male counterparts (unless, of course, they are provided with support from a domestic husband, parents, or hired help). In any event, this position allows women to fully devote themselves to their careers. In the extract below, Akiko talks about her sister who fits into this category:

*Extract 9*

295 Akiko: My sister is single and on the career track. She graduated in 1993, six  
296 or seven years after the Equal Employment Opportunity Law was passed, and was  
297 hired by a large company. She works into the wee hours of the morning, and  
298 attends late-night parties.

299 Justin: So she is treated equally with her male counterparts?

300 Akiko: Yes, I think she works in the same capacity as her male colleagues. She  
301 loves her job, works really hard at it, and is really good at it. So I think she is  
302 treated the same as her male colleagues.

According to Akiko's account, by working into the 'wee hours of the morning', her sister has embraced the *work as a reason to live* repertoire. Her hard work has paid off as she 'loves her job' and is 'treated the same' as her male colleagues. This position provides women with an opportunity to acquire both economic and cultural capital acquired only from working in the public sphere and consequently denied to fulltime homemakers.

This subject position is not however as conflict-free as the previous extract suggests for women. In addition to sacrificing much of one's free time, it also involves jeopardizing the prospect of marriage and a family. This is not meant to suggest that this is most women's ultimate goal but to highlight the main difference between male and female working professionals. While many working professional men have domestic support, their female counterparts typically do not.

The next extract illustrates an ideological dilemma that some working professional women face. In the account below, Kayoko draws a parallel between her friend's experience and her own conflicting feelings about male-female relationships:

*Extract 10*

271 Kayoko: Concerning things like salary, you know men think that it is better to earn  
272 more [than their partners]. So I have the feeling that men think about these kinds of  
273 things more than women.

274 Justin: Do you mean things such as status?

275 Kayoko: Yeah, that's right. I don't care about educational background at all; I see  
276 people for who they are. Apparently men think about these kinds of things much  
277 more than women. Like my friend who got her doctorate from Tsukuba University.  
278 She said that men think that if they are not in a higher position than their partners,  
279 things probably won't work out between them.

279 Justin: Does your friend want to get married?

280 Kayoko: She did at one point but not anymore.

281 Justin: Why is that?

282 Kayoko: She told me about a couple of previous relationships where the guy  
283 wanted her to give up her career, and she was not willing to do that.

284 Justin: I see.

285 Kayoko: When she told me that I began to think about something. You put all of  
286 your effort into something that you really want to do, yet from the perspective of  
287 people around you. How do I put this? They compare themselves with you and  
288 don't want to get close to you. I'm not really sure.

Kayoko positions men and women as having different ideas about gender relations. For example, men's desire to earn a higher salary is framed as readily available knowledge through the use of the discourse marker 'you know' (line 271). One function of 'you know' is to construct information as common knowledge (Schiffrin, 1987: 267). In contrast, Kayoko positions herself as unconcerned about educational background (line 275). This positioning is supported by the use of the *extreme case formulation* (Pomerantz, 1986: 219) 'at all' (line 275). This device functions to emphasise Kayoko's claim that while she is unconcerned about status, men are very much concerned about it. Kayoko constructs an account about her friend to further corroborate her claim that men and women have different views about the importance of status (lines 277-279). Similar to Kayoko's friend, Kayoko's high academic qualifications and career success potentially reduce her prospects of marriage.

The resulting dilemma for women who embrace the *work as a reason to live* repertoire plays out discursively at the end of this extract. Women who draw on the repertoire as they construct their identities face the potential dilemma of overqualifying themselves for the marriage market. Kayoko's self-positioning is that she is putting 'all of her effort' into what she wants to do, yet she is subjected to the negative gaze of others (lines 287-288). As previously discussed, social conformity is encouraged in Japan by the *seken* ('normative community') and is reflected in the proverb 'the nail that sticks out gets hammered down.' Consequently, behaviour is modified in accordance with the expectations of the *seken*. Indeed, the ever vigilant *seken* serves as a sort of disciplinary device that encourages the self-regulation of behaviour. In Kayoko's account, embracing the *working professional* position is not as seamless and conflict-free as Akiko's extract indicates.

The working professional woman position or 'career woman' is an example of *gender manoeuvring*, which involves manipulating traditional conceptualisations of masculinity and femininity (Schippers, 2002: Chapters 3-4). By engaging the discourse

of working patterns typically associated with male bodies and ultimately masculinity, women can challenge the current gender order and cause *gender trouble* (Butler, 1999: 163-180). These social actors thus have agency as they construct gender identities, yet their non-normative performances incur sanctions (Butler, 1999: 178; Connell, 2002: 58-60; Pascoe, 2007: Chapter 3; Sunderland, 2004: 190; West & Zimmerman, 2002: 13). The example of Kayoko's friend illustrates that social actors can challenge the current gender order by engaging in non-normative gender performances. At the same time, consequences such as being overqualified for the marriage market can result.

### *Homemaker position*

This subject position involves constructing an identity by drawing on the *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire. This position was overwhelmingly adopted by university students when asked about their future plans. In the account below, Akiko provides some relevant background information about why young women are taking up this subject position:

#### *Extract 11*

183 Akiko: My generation was heavily influenced by women's liberation and feminism  
184 since we graduated [from college] right after the Equal Employment Opportunity  
185 Law was passed. We felt fortunate just to be working. So we worked extremely  
186 hard doing both housework and our jobs while men continued just as they always  
187 had. The generation that witnessed this are now university students. They saw  
188 their mothers both work and take care of the house while it was acceptable for their  
189 fathers only to work and of course they hate this. So they are either becoming  
190 fulltime homemakers or if they work, they are choosing not to get married. Since  
191 one generation has seen this pattern, they are becoming more conservative I think.  
192 My generation did not know the reality. We were happy just to be working, so we  
193 gladly did the housework and cooking too.

In this account, university students are positioned by Akiko as adopting *homemaker* or *working professional* subject positions. The account maintains that, unlike the women of their mothers' generation who were thrilled by the prospect of working, they are unwilling to spread themselves that thin. The result is that many women are reportedly adopting the *homemaker* position which entails forgoing a career. This account positions young women as having a high degree of agency, choosing to focus on domestic duties since they are not expected to be family breadwinners. However,

the account does not articulate the material consequences of adopting this subject position. For instance, since these women are not developing any type of skill, it will be very difficult to become reemployed later. Their options will be limited to marginalised part-time work that does not require any skills and has few benefits (Gottfried, 2003; Iwao, 1993: 173-175; Mouer & Kawanishi, 2005: 133; Sugimoto, 2004: 155). More importantly, however, in many ways the choice to become a fulltime homemaker makes them financially dependent on their husbands.

Nayu further elaborates on the notion that women today may have more choices than men:

*Extract 12*

365 Nayu: Women might even have more choices than men today. Men can't really say,  
366 "I want to become a homemaker." While women are able to work more, men are  
367 unable to work less in today's society. I don't know who faces more pressure. For  
368 example, my friend who is a researcher told me that there is a woman who he  
369 wants to marry, but because he doesn't earn that much money he can't marry her.

The pattern of accounting which constructs women as having more choices than men neglects to acknowledge the resulting inequalities. In Nayu's account, men are constructed as not having agency to perform outside a breadwinning role. The *work as a reason to live* repertoire positions men in this breadwinning role. Yet they also receive benefits from this role, accumulating financial as well as symbolic and cultural capital while women's unpaid 'labour of love' remains largely unacknowledged (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 38). Therefore, women who adopt this subject position are positioned less powerfully than their husbands, although they may have a limited domestic empowerment.

### ***Superwoman position***

This subject position involves embracing both the *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoires. For these women, the large amount of time that employees are expected to spend at work makes employment difficult to balance with domestic work. One strategy to resolve this dilemma is to embrace the *superwoman* position and the resulting second shift that accompanies it.

Discursive evidence of the tension between these repertoires emerged in the women's accounts as we discussed the pressures they face. The *work as a reason to live* repertoire was implied in their accounts of the household duties they neglected due to

their jobs. The *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire was suggested by lexical items which suggested feelings of guilt for not fulfilling domestic responsibilities. This was the case for Akiko who reportedly shares domestic responsibilities with her husband. Nevertheless, when they have to cut corners, Akiko reportedly feels as though she has neglected her parental duties:

*Extract 13*

129 Justin: Do you put pressure on yourself?

130 Akiko: It's not that someone has specifically said something to me. You know since  
131 I am working there are times when I can't clean the house and I feel responsible.  
132 Since my husband and I are both working he thinks that it's fine. When I'm late  
133 picking up my child you know I feel as though I'm the only one who wasn't at  
134 school on time. When [my husband and I] decide to pack our lunches and aren't  
135 able to do so, I feel as though I didn't do something that I had to do. Is this social  
136 pressure? Probably society didn't say anything, yet I feel this way.

In this extract Akiko formulates an account where job commitments result in some aspect of domestic work being neglected. Lexical items expressing guilt reflect (i.e., 'I feel responsible') the *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire and are suggested by the use of 'you know' (lines 130, 133) and 'had to' (line 135). 'You know' emphasises that it is natural to feel as though she is 'the only one' who is late. 'Have to' constructs picking up her child as her duty. The *work as a reason to live* repertoire conflicts with *women as responsible for domestic work* and results in an ideological dilemma for Akiko who is attempting to construct her subjectivity by drawing on both. The *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire is a strong ideological force as Akiko and not her husband articulates guilt. Another noteworthy point about this and the next extract is the positioning of her husband:

*Extract 14*

138: Justin: How do you and your husband balance the housework?

139 Akiko: My husband and I decided a long time ago to do everything together  
140 (laugh). Concerning the household, the one who is not busy should jump in. Both  
141 of us are able to do anything related to the house. In the morning, it's better for the  
142 one who is not sleepy to make breakfast. That is how we do things. In spite of this  
143 when we are both busy and cannot do something, I feel more of the responsibility.  
144 Like when we decide not to pack our [the whole family's] lunches I feel as though  
145 because I did not work hard enough, the lunches were not made. Yet my husband  
146 thinks nothing of it.



In this account, pressure was not directly applied to Akiko. Nevertheless, childcare is constructed as her 'responsibility' and when it is neglected it is because she did not 'work hard enough', the implication being as a wife and mother. Both endurance and persistence are extolled values in Japanese society (Sugimoto, 2004: 282). In Akiko's account, we see the gendered nature of these values. The reference to *obento* or 'lunch-boxes' is significant due to its connection with motherhood (Allison, 1991). Elaborate, nutritionally balanced *obento* symbolise a mother's love for her children and that she is 'fulfilling' her motherly duty (Allison, 1991: 203). Similar to extract 13, when some aspect of domestic work is neglected, Akiko reportedly feels the bulk of the guilt.

The second point about this account is the positioning of Akiko's husband. In contrast to her self-positioning as someone who did not 'work hard enough', he is positioned as recognizing that sometimes the demands of their jobs infiltrate their ability to attend to domestic responsibilities. Unlike Akiko who 'feels responsible', he 'thinks nothing of it'. Positioning herself as concerned about fulfilling her motherly and wifely duties is one way to manage a positive self-presentation as a 'good wife and mother'.

Akiko's self-positioning as not 'working hard enough' suggests that the *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoire is still a powerful ideological force in Japanese society. A *troubled identity* (Wetherell, 1998) is one which diverges from the identities that a community accepts as normative, and requires an account by the individual concerned. Akiko provides this account by drawing on the concept of hard work to emphasise dissatisfaction toward neglecting household chores. The *superwoman* position troubles the *work as a reason to live for men and women as responsible for domestic work* repertoires. The troubling is not without tension, as suggested by the feelings of guilt constructed in Akiko's account. Even if Akiko is a 'successful' *superwoman*, culturally dominant discourses construct marriage and motherhood as *eikyu shushoku* or 'lifetime employment' (Iwao, 1993: 156), thus an attempt to construct a subjectivity outside of these roles may be 'troubling'.

## Conclusion

In this study, the *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoires position individuals in specific, gendered ways; nevertheless, participants adopted subject positions such as complicit (homemaker), resistant (working professional), and transformative (superwoman). The *superwoman* and *working professional* are subject positions which may contribute to revolutionizing the

current gender order of Japanese society. Participants who assumed the *superwoman* subject position faced an ideological dilemma due to tensions between the *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* interpretative repertoires. For this reason, the *superwoman* position is a *troubled identity* in Japanese society where motherhood is viewed as a full-time, stay-at-home job (Allison, 1991: 203). Nevertheless, women who manage to successfully perform this identity demonstrate that motherhood is not necessarily 'lifetime employment' and that women can also make equally important non-domestic social contributions. However, the gendered *work as a reason to live* and *women as responsible for domestic work* repertoires combined with men's lack of participation in domestic work make the *superwoman* position troubling in the current discursive climate.

The *working professional* is another example of a transformative subject position. Similar to the *superwoman* position, it challenges traditional notions of Japanese femininity. As I suggested, embracing this position illustrates that if women are willing to adapt to a somewhat 'masculine' identity at the interactional level, then they can carve out a place for themselves in a largely male-dominated working world. While challenging the unequal gender order at the interactional level is an important component of structural change (Pascoe, 2007), structural, institutional inequalities still exist which disadvantage women (Connell, 2002).

The issue related to women adapting to a 'masculinised' work environment is that it sets the working patterns of men as the norm. As Edley and Wetherell point out, conflating gender equality with sameness fails to incorporate the notion of gender diversity. Instead of respecting gender diversity, 'masculine' becomes the gold-standard which others are compared to (Edley & Wetherell, 2001: 452). In reference to this study, the particular talents or abilities women could bring to the workplace are not recognised, but instead women are expected to accommodate to a 'masculinised' work environment. The 'masculine' work environment and overall patriarchal gender order remain unchallenged and moving toward gender equality involves women changing themselves.

This paper suggests that while Japanese women may have made some steps toward gender equality, in reality women today do not have the multitude of choices that their male counterparts have. Indeed, their option to work rests on the assumption that they still perform a majority of the domestic labor since this option is not easily available to men. One way to escape this second shift is to construct an identity entirely within the domestic realm—which has been the typical pattern in the post-World War II era (Sugimoto, 2004: 163-164). This identity may provide women with a sense of power and control within the household; nevertheless, this power is

limited by the domain itself (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 38). The woman remains dependent on her husband allocating the resources that he collects in the public domain. In addition, her social status is dependent on her husband's since he is the one engaging in non-domestic work which ultimately receives recognition by society. As Deborah Cameron (2003) perceptively observes, "ultimately it is men who have power (in public and private life) whereas women have only responsibility" (p. 197). Women who adopt *superwoman* and *working professional* subject positions can contribute to challenging the entrenched and repressive patriarchal gender order and facilitate movement toward greater gender equality.

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# Two subtypes of M-implicature: A study with special reference to Modern Greek\*

Michael Chiou  
University of Reading

## Abstract

The neo-Gricean pragmatic M-principle (Levinson 1987a, 1991, 2000 and Huang 2000, 2007) operates in terms of alternates that contrast in form. More specifically, the M-principle predicts that “marked or prolix anaphoric expressions will tend to pick up the complement of the stereotypical extensions that would have been suggested by the use of the corresponding unmarked forms” (Levinson 2000: 38). When it comes to anaphora, the M-principle predicts that, given an anaphoric M-scale  $\{x, y\}$ , the use of the marked  $y$  instead of the unmarked  $x$  will M-implicate a contrast either in terms of reference or in terms of contrastiveness and/or logophoricity (Levinson 2000, Huang 2000, 2007). Based on a study in Modern Greek anaphora, it will be argued that these two subtypes of M-implicatures (in reference and in contrastiveness/logophoricity) interact systematically in a hierarchical manner. Therefore, a hierarchical resolution schema will be proposed, according to which M-implicatures in reference are the first to be calculated. If, on the other hand, there is no contrast in reference, despite the use of a prolix expression, then an M-implicature in terms of contrastiveness and/or logophoricity is generated.

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## Introduction

Conversational implicature is one of the most fundamental notions in pragmatic theory and constitutes the basis for the development of the neo-Gricean theories. The notion of implicature was introduced by Grice in the William James lectures delivered at Harvard back in 1967. Grice develops the theory of conversational implicature based on the fact that speakers intend meanings which are not formally (linguistically) coded. As Levinson (1983: 97) remarks, the notion of conversational implicature gives an explanation for this, as it gives ‘some explicit account of how it is possible to mean ...more than what is actually said (i.e. more than what is literally expressed by the conventional sense of the linguistic expressions uttered)’. Since the inception of the original Gricean theory, there have been many developments of the original Gricean concepts. For the purposes of this study, I will focus on the neo-Gricean pragmatic theory as introduced and developed by Levinson (1987a, 1987b, 1991, 2000), Horn (1984, 1988, 1989) and Huang (1991, 1994, 2000, 2004, 2007) and more precisely on the neo-Gricean M(anner)-principle. More specifically, based on the examination of certain data of Modern Greek NP-anaphora it will be argued that there are two subtypes of M-implicatures (in reference and in contrastiveness/logophoricity) which interact systematically in a hierarchical manner.

## The Levinsonian neo-Gricean pragmatic principles

Levinson (1987a, 1991, 2000), proposed that the original Gricean theory<sup>1</sup> should be reduced to three basic communicative principles namely the Q- (Quantity)<sup>2</sup>, I- (Informativeness)<sup>3</sup> and M- (Manner) principles. Each of these principles provides the speaker with a maxim and the hearer with the correspondent corollary, which should

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<sup>1</sup> The original Gricean theory of meaning is built upon the notion of conversational implicature. The theory of conversational implicature includes an overarching principle, which Grice dubs the co-operative principle, plus a handful of conversational maxims and sub-maxims. According to Grice, the maxims along with the co-operative principle regulate efficient language use in communication (for more see Grice 1989).

<sup>2</sup> The Q-Principle

*Speaker's Maxim:*

Do not provide a statement that is informationally weaker than your knowledge of the world allows, unless providing a stronger statement would contravene the I-principle.

*Recipient's Corollary:*

Take it that the speaker made the strongest statement consistent with what he knows (Levinson 1987a: 401).

<sup>3</sup> The I-Principle

*Speaker's Maxim: The Maxim of Minimization.*

‘Say as little as necessary’, i.e. produce the minimal linguistic information sufficient to achieve your communicational ends (bearing the Q-principle in mind).

*Recipient's Corollary: The Enrichment Rule.*

Amplify the informational content of the speaker's utterance, by finding the most specific interpretation, up to what you judge to be the speaker's m-intended point (Levinson 1987a: 402).

be followed within communication. For the purposes of our analysis, we will mainly focus on the M-principle leaving thus aside the Q-and I-principles. The M-principle is defined as follows:

M-Principle

*Speaker's Maxim:*

Indicate an abnormal, non-stereotypical situation by using marked expressions that contrast with those you would use to describe the corresponding normal, stereotypical situation.

*Recipient's Corollary:*

What is said in an abnormal way, indicates an abnormal situation, or marked messages indicate marked situations, specifically: When *S* has said "p" containing marked expression *M*, and there is an unmarked alternate expression *U* with the same denotation *D* which the speaker might have employed in the same sentence-frame instead, then where *U* would have I-implicated the stereotypical or more specific subset *d* of *D*, the marked expression *M* will implicate the complement of the denotation *d*, namely *d'* of *D*.

It is important to note that the M-principle operates in terms of alternates that contrast in form and not in semantic content. The main tenet of the M-principle is that the use of a marked<sup>4</sup> expression will implicate a marked message. In the opposite way, marked expressions should be avoided if no marked message is intended. So, for instance in a set {*x*, *y*}, where *y* is more prolix than *x*, the use of *y* will M-implicate the complement of the interpretation associated with the use of *x*. The dictum of the M-principle has an intuitive basis, since there must be a reason for choosing a marked expression where there is a choice for an unmarked one. In effect, the question that naturally comes up is what happens when a marked expression is used instead of an unmarked one?

M-implicatures are generated by M-scales which are defined as follows:

M-scale: {*x*, *y*}

$y \rightarrow M \sim x$

By way of illustration, consider the following example of M-implicatures.

- (1) O Janis stamatisse to aftokinito  
The John stopped the car  
'John stopped the car.'  
+> John stopped the car in the normal way

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<sup>4</sup> The terms 'marked' and 'unmarked' are used by Levinson in the sense of normal/abnormal. This sense of 'markedness' is adopted in this work. For a discussion on the different senses of 'markedness' and the possibility of doing away with it see Haspelmath (2006).



- (2) O Janis ekane to aftokinito na stamatisi  
The John made the car to stop  
'John caused the car to stop.'  
+> John stopped the car in an unusual way

In example (1), where the speaker uses a less prolix expression (stopped the car), s/he also invites an unmarked interpretation. By contrast, in (2), the choice of a more marked expression (caused the car to stop) indicates that the speaker wants at least to avoid the interpretation associated with the use of the unmarked expression. Therefore, in that case the use of a more marked expression conveys a more marked interpretation. This marked interpretation is the direct outcome of the application of the M-principle: Given the M-scale {*stop*, *cause to stop*} the use of the more prolix expression *cause to stop* will tend to M-implicate that the interpretation associated with the use of the less prolix one does not hold (for more on M-implicatures see Huang 1991, 1994, 2000, 2007, Horn 2004).

## A neo-Gricean pragmatic theory of anaphora

So far, the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles have been presented as an independent framework. In a later stage, these principles have been employed for the interpretation of a widely researched phenomenon i.e. the phenomenon of anaphora. The neo-Gricean pragmatic approach to anaphora has been mainly advocated in the works of Levinson (1987a, 1991, 1998, 2000) and Huang (1991, 1994, 1995, 1996, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2007). The more recent neo-Gricean apparatus for the interpretation of anaphora is proposed by Huang (2007). According to it, the interpretation of NP-anaphora can follow from the interaction of the three neo-Gricean pragmatic principles in the following way:

Huang's revised neo-Gricean pragmatic apparatus for anaphora:

(a) Interpretation Principles

- i) The use of an anaphoric expression  $x$  I-implicates a local co-referential interpretation unless (ii) or (iii):
- ii) There is an anaphoric Q-scale  $\langle x, y \rangle$ , in which case the use of  $y$  Q-implicates the complement of the I-implicature associated with the use of  $x$ , in terms of reference.
- iii) There is an anaphoric M-scale  $\{x, y\}$ , in which case the use of  $y$  M-implicates the complement of the I-implicature associated with the use of  $x$ , in terms of either reference or expectedness.

(b) Consistency Constraints

Any interpretation implicated by (a) is subject to the requirement of consistency with:

- i) The Disjoint Reference Presumption.
- ii) Information saliency, so that
  - a) implicatures due to matrix constructions may take precedence over implicatures due to subordinate constructions, and
  - b) implicatures of co-reference may be preferred according to the saliency of antecedent in line with the following hierarchy: topic > subject > object, etc.; and
- iii) General implicature constraints, namely,
  - c) background assumptions,
  - d) contextual factors
  - e) meaning<sub>nn</sub>, and
  - f) semantic entailments.

### The case of Modern Greek

The neo-Gricean pragmatic apparatus can also account for the interpretation of NP-anaphora in Modern Greek as shown in Chiou (2007). In the remainder of the discussion, I will focus on the case of the M-implicatures with specific reference to Modern Greek<sup>5</sup>.

At this point, I would like to remind that Modern Greek is a typical pro-drop language and that as a result, it drops the overt subjects of the clauses. As a consequence, in an unmarked context, finite clauses in Modern Greek appear with a phonetically null subject as illustrated in the following example:

- (3) O Janis<sub>i</sub> theli Ø<sub>i</sub> na fighi.  
the John wants (he) to go  
'John wants to go.'

Given the revised neo-Gricean pragmatics apparatus, the interpretation of the null pronoun will follow directly from the I-principle. However, the pro-drop effect is just a general tendency, which means that an overt pronoun form can also occur instead of the null one. This is illustrated in (4) below.

- (4) O Janis<sub>i</sub> theli aftos<sub>j</sub> na fighi.  
the John wants he to go  
'John wants him to go.'

In contexts as those in (3) and (4) above, the zero and the overt pronoun form a typical M-scale {Ø, *pronoun*}, such that the use of the more prolix pronoun *aftos*, instead of the less prolix null pronoun, will M-implicate the complement of the interpretation

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<sup>5</sup> Note that the examples used for the purposes of our analysis are based on intuitive data, which are crosschecked with a handful of Modern Greek native speakers.

associated with the use of the null pronoun, i.e. disjoint interpretation. By contrast, the use of the unmarked null pronoun shows the intention of the speaker to avoid such a disjoint interpretation. It becomes fairly clear then that, in contexts like these, the marked message which is promoted by the use of a more prolix pronoun is a marked message in terms of reference.

The picture, however, is not so clear since the use of a more prolix form does not always result in change of reference<sup>6</sup>. Consider the following pair of examples:

- (5) O Janis<sub>i</sub> dhen katalave oti Ø<sub>i</sub> kerdhise to laxio.  
 the John not realized that (he) won the lottery  
 'John didn't realize that he had won the lottery.'
- (6) O Janis<sub>i</sub> dhen katalave oti aftos<sub>i</sub> kerdhise to laxio  
 the John not realized that he won the lottery  
 'John didn't realize that he had won the lottery.'
- (7) O Janis<sub>i</sub> nomizi oti Ø<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
 the John thinks that (he) is the best student  
 'John thinks he is the best student.'
- (8) O Janis<sub>i</sub> nomizi oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
 the John thinks that the same self is the best student  
 'John thinks he himself is the best student.'

Indeed, the use of more prolix anaphoric expressions in examples (5)-(6) and (7)-(8) does not seem to trigger M-implicatures of disjoint reference as it is otherwise predicted by the M-principle.

Is the M-implicature therefore cancelled in contexts like these? The answer is, not at all. Since language is not redundant in such a way, there must be a difference between the use of the more prolix anaphoric expressions and the null pronoun. In other words, the overt pronoun *aftos* in (6) and the anaphor *o idhios* in (8) must contrast in some way with the null pronoun. I argue that in these contexts there is a marked message in terms of emphaticness and contrastiveness when the full pronoun *aftos* is used, and in terms of logophoricity when the anaphor *o idhios* is used.

What I observe here is some sort of unexpectedness (Edmondson & Plank 1978, Huang 2000, Levinson 2000); that is, interpretations which are 'contrary-to-expectation' (the term used by Levinson 2000: 333) and seem to be problematic for a neo-Gricean pragmatic analysis. However, this is not the case. As Huang (2000: 225) notes, 'this unexpectedness may turn out to be logophoricity, emphaticness/contrastiveness or something yet to be discovered'. In any case, these contrary-to-expectation interpretations can be accounted for in terms of the systematic interaction of the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles, as I will illustrate further down.

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<sup>6</sup> The indexation in example (6) indicates the most preferred reading i.e. the default interpretation. The full pronoun can also have an independent interpretation as well, which however, is not the most preferred one in this context.

### *Emphaticness/contrastiveness*

Modern Greek does not codify emphaticness/contrastiveness with purpose-specific pronouns. Emphaticness/contrastiveness is mainly expressed by the use of the anaphor *o idhios*, the full personal pronoun and in some contexts the reflexive *o eaftos mu*; all these cases are accompanied by contrastive stress. Baker (1995) points out that the use of an emphatic is subject to two conditions, namely, contrastiveness and relative discourse prominence. Contrastiveness condition: Emphatics are appropriate only in contexts in which emphasis or contrast is desired and Relative discourse prominence condition: Emphatics can only be used to mark a character in a sentence or discourse who is relatively more prominent or central than other characters (Baker 1995: 77, 80).

Let us pick a typical case of an emphatic use of *o idhios* in Modern Greek.

- (9) O Janis<sub>i</sub> lei oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
the John says that the same self is the best student  
'John says he himself is the best student.'

It is fairly clear from this example that the use of *o idhios* in these contexts satisfies both conditions; more specifically, *o idhios* marks contrastive or emphatic content which is also accompanied by a natural negative gloss of the sort 'and not anyone else'. What is more, *o idhios* stresses the prominence of the internal protagonist of the sentence in relation to the speaker.

In distributions like (9), the use of *o idhios* leads to a contrary-to-stereotype emphatic/contrastive interpretation, since it is used instead of the unmarked zero pronoun. In this particular case, the use of a zero pronoun would invite a stereotypical co-referential interpretation, which is natural and non-emphatic. In contrast, choice of the marked anaphor *o idhios* will promote a marked interpretation in terms of emphasis and contrast, contrary to the stereotypical interpretation (the non-emphatic one) which would have been triggered by the unmarked zero pronoun. The use of *o idhios* for emphaticness/contrastiveness is pragmatically motivated, and it is subject to the M-principle.

### *Logophoricity*

Logophoricity and the use of logophoric pronouns were initially observed in a number of African languages such as Ewe, Dogon, Tuburi, Aghem and so on (see Huang 2000 for a variety of examples). In these languages there is a separate paradigm of logophoric pronouns, i.e. a class of pronouns dedicated to the encoding of logophoric interpretations. Nevertheless, apart from the purpose-specific logophoric pronouns, reflexives can be used logophorically under certain conditions (see Culy 1994, 1997, Huang 1991, 1994, 2000, Sells 1987, Zribi-Hertz 1989).

According to Culy (1997: 845), "logophoric pronouns are usually described as pronouns that are used to refer to the person whose speech, thoughts, or feelings are reported or reflected in a given linguistic context". This 'person' is also referred to as

the ‘internal protagonist’ (Huang 2000) or the ‘minimal subject of consciousness’ (Zribi-Hertz 1989). In particular, Zribi-Hertz (1989) identifies the subject of consciousness with Kuno’s (1987) sense of logophoricity as “a semantic property assigned to a referent whose thoughts or feelings, optionally expressed in speech, are conveyed by a portion of the discourse” (Zribi-Hertz 1989: 711). Logophoricity is frequently related with the notion of ‘point of view’, yet Culy (1997) claims that the notion of logophoricity is rather distinct from that of ‘point of view’. More precisely, Culy points out that “morphologically distinct logophoric pronouns are grammatically licensed in indirect discourse...and only secondarily indicate point of view” (Culy 1997: 846). In a similar fashion, ‘indirect reflexives’ (reflexives which can be used logophorically) “can express point of view if they do not have grammatically determined antecedents” (Culy 1997: 856).

As Kuno (1987) and Kuno & Kaburaki (1977) note, the contrast between a pronoun and an anaphor, where there is a free choice, is semantic/pragmatic in nature and it is associated with the notion of ‘point of view’. This seems to be the case with Modern Greek *o idhios* when it occurs in embedded subject positions instead of a zero pronoun as in (12) below.

- (10) O Janis<sub>i</sub> pistevi oti Ø<sub>i</sub> / o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
 the John believes that (he) /the same self is the best student  
 ‘John believes that he / himself is the best student.’

The use of *o idhios*, apart from emphaticness/contrastiveness, also encodes logophoricity in the sense of Kuno (1987) and Kuno & Kaburaki (1977). The logophoric interpretation of the sentence can be analyzed as follows: When the null pronoun is used, the belief that *John* is the best student is expressed by the speaker. In other words, the speaker states his own view about the protagonist of the sentence who is *John*. By contrast, when *o idhios* is used, the sentence conveys a more logophoric interpretation in the sense that the internal protagonist’s point of view is also expressed. As we understand it, the use of the anaphor *o idhios* encodes logophoricity.

In a study on logophoricity based on long-distance reflexives in Icelandic and Japanese, Sells (1987)<sup>7</sup> argues that there is no unified notion of logophoricity, but logophoric phenomena are clusters of three primitive discourse-semantic notions, namely, *source* (the one who makes the report), *self* (one whose internal feeling is being reported) and *pivot* (point of view) Sells (1987: 445). Based on this tripartite division, Sells goes on to define four discourse environments which follow from the combination of these three semantic notions. Among these four environments there is one that involves logophoric verbs. This, according to Sells, is the prototypical logophoric context. In that case, the internal protagonist carries the three semantic roles, namely the *self*, *source* and *pivot*. Let us illustrate with an example from Modern Greek:

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<sup>7</sup> A more in-depth examination of logophoricity is beyond the purpose of this paper. We only examine the phenomenon in relation to the distributional overlap between *o idhios* and null pronoun. For that purpose we adopt here the analysis proposed by Sells (1987). For a critique on Sells (1987) and for a further analysis, see also Stirling (1993).

- (11) O Janis<sub>i</sub> lei oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine eksipnos  
the John says that the same self is clever  
'John says that he is clever.'

First of all, in (11) *John* is the source of the report. Moreover, he is the *self* since he is the one who says that he is clever and finally, the *pivot* as the point of view of the sentence is the same as *John's* point of view who is the internal protagonist. However, in an example like the following the antecedent of *o idhios* is not the *source* but it is the *self* and the *pivot*.

- (12) O Janis<sub>i</sub> nomizi oti *o idhios*<sub>i</sub> ine eksipnos  
the John thinks that the same self is clever  
'John thinks that he is clever.'

The fact that the *source* is external does not really affect the logophoric reading of *o idhios*; it just shows that logocentric verbs such as verbs of saying, reporting etc.) appear to trigger the logophoric interpretation of long-distance reflexives such as *o idhios* to a different degree.

There is cross-linguistic evidence (see Huang 2000, Stirling 1993) that certain verbs allow the logophoric interpretation of long-distance reflexives in a higher degree than others do. Thus, there seems to be a kind of implicational universal for these types of verbs, which is formulated as follows:

Universal for logocentric predicates, (Huang, 2000: 185)

Speech predicates > epistemic predicates > psychological predicates >  
knowledge predicates > perceptive predicates.

According to this hierarchy, the existence of a certain predicate type in a language also involves the existence of the predicates higher in the hierarchy. So for instance, if psychological predicates are possible then both epistemic and speech predicates are equally allowed.

In Modern Greek, knowledge predicates permit the establishment of a logophoric domain as example (13) illustrates. As it is predicted from the hierarchy above, every class higher in this hierarchy will be allowed.

- (13) O Janis<sub>i</sub> kseri oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
the John knows that the same self is the best student  
'John knows that himself is the best student.'

Moreover, psychological verbs also trigger a logophoric domain.

- (14) O Janis<sub>i</sub> fovate oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> tha plirosi ja oti eghine  
the John is afraid that the same self will pay for what happened  
'John is afraid that he himself will pay for what happened.'

- (15) O Janis<sub>i</sub> eknevrizete otan o idhios<sub>i</sub> xani sto podhosfero  
the John gets angry when the same self loses in the football  
'John gets angry when he himself loses in football.'

Furthermore, epistemic predicates allow for the logophoric use of *o idhios*. In this category Huang (2000) also includes non-factive perceptives such as 'see' (that) and 'hear' (that).

- (16) O Janis<sub>i</sub> nomizi oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
the John thinks that the same self is the best student  
'John thinks that himself is the best student.'

- (17) O Janis<sub>i</sub> idhe oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> dhen ixε kamia elpidha stis eksetasis  
the John saw that the same self not had no hope in the exams  
'John saw that he had no hope in the exams.'

Finally, examples like (18) and (19) show that speech predicates allow the establishment of logophoric domains in Modern Greek. In fact, these predicates trigger stronger logophoric interpretations than the rest of the logocentric predicates. In the examples below, the use of the anaphor *o idhios* will M-implicate a logophoric interpretation of the pronoun. At the same time, the I-principle will induce the co-referential reading since there is no M-implicature in terms of reference to cancel it.

- (18) O Janis<sub>i</sub> lei oti o idhios<sub>i</sub> ine o kaliteros mathitis  
the John says that the same self is the best student  
'John says that himself is the best student.'

- (19) O Janis<sub>i</sub> rotise an o idhios<sub>i</sub> bori na erthi sto party  
the John asked if the same self can to come to the party  
'John asked if he himself can come to the party.'

The logophoric interpretation of *o idhios* can be accounted for by the systematic interaction of the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles. When there is an option between a zero pronoun and *o idhios*, the speaker will tend to use the unmarked zero if a marked message is not intended. By contrast, if a logophoric interpretation is intended, the more marked *o idhios* will be used. This is explained in terms of the interaction of the M- and I-principles. Given the M-scale  $\langle \emptyset, o idhios \rangle$ , the use of the more prolix anaphor, instead of the unmarked zero, will M-implicate the intention of the speaker to go for a logophoric interpretation.

## Two subtypes of M-implicatures

To recapitulate so far, it has been illustrated by the data that the use of a more prolix anaphoric expression where a less prolix one could have been used, does not necessarily trigger an M-implicature in terms of reference. At the risk of redundancy, the reader should recall that the use of the more prolix pronoun *aftos* or the anaphor *o idhios*, instead of the zero pronoun, does not generate a contrast in reference but it indicates a marked message in terms of emphasis and logophoricity respectively. In consequence, I understand that the contrast that exists between *aftos* or *o idhios* on the one hand, and the null pronoun on the other, is maintained at a level other than reference. In a sense, there are two sub-types of M-implicatures, namely, those indicating reference and those signalling emphaticness/ contrastiveness or logophoricity. The revised neo-Gricean pragmatic apparatus indeed predicts that M-contrasts can hold at a level other than reference, thus being able to account for these ‘unexpected’ interpretations. What now remains to be investigated is how these two sub-types interact with each other.

### The M-hierarchical pattern

The examination of data from Modern Greek shows that there is a kind of complementarity between these two sub-types. This means that in cases where there is an M-implicature in terms of reference, there cannot be an M-implicature in terms of emphaticness/ contrastiveness or logophoricity, and vice versa. In other words, an anaphoric expression that is marked for a contrastive/emphatic or logophoric interpretation cannot encode change in reference. For instance, the use of the full pronoun *aftos* (him) in the following example can be either emphatic, which means that reference is maintained, or it can indicate change in reference, which means that it cannot be emphatic.

- (20) O Janis<sub>i</sub> theli Ø<sub>i</sub> na fighi.  
the John wants (he) to go  
‘John wants to go.’
- (21) O Janis<sub>i</sub> theli AFTOS<sub>i</sub> na fighi.  
the John wants he to go  
‘John wants to go himself.’
- (22) O Janis<sub>i</sub> theli aftos<sub>j</sub> na fighi.  
the John wants he to go  
‘John wants him to go.’

What is more, as I acknowledge, apart from the systematic complementarity between these two sub-types, there must also be a kind of hierarchical relationship. Since the primary function of anaphoric expressions is to encode referential properties, reference resolution is the first to be calculated when it comes to the interpretation of an



anaphoric expression. Any other interpretation, which lies at a deeper pragmatic level, should be calculated when reference is resolved. What then is necessary for the pragmatic apparatus is to formalize this hierarchy by incorporating a resolution schema that will predict the order in which these two types are being calculated.

What I put forward here is a hierarchical schema which regulates the interaction of these two subtypes of M-implicatures (in reference and in contrastiveness/emphaticness and/or logophoricity).

(23) M-scalar hierarchical schema

M-contrasts:

(a) reference

(b) contrastiveness/emphaticness or logophoricity

According to this hierarchical schema, M-implicatures in reference are to be calculated first, in the absence of any contrastive/emphatic or logophoric intended meaning. However, when there is no contrast in reference, an M-implicature in contrastiveness/emphaticness and/or logophoricity will be calculated.

The lettering in the schema reflects the hierarchy of the two types of M-implicatures. The study of the empirical data shows that when there is an M-contrast in reference, there is no contrast in contrastiveness/emphaticness and/or logophoricity, and vice versa. This schema can account for the fact that M-implicatures are not cancelled, even when reference is maintained, since they operate at other levels of pragmatic explanation as well.

## Conclusion

Summing up the discussion, I have outlined the neo-Gricean pragmatic framework for the interpretation of NP-anaphora. As was illustrated by the examination of some Modern Greek data, there are cases in which the use of a formally more marked anaphoric expression, instead of an unmarked one, does not trigger an M-implicature of disjoint reference. It was argued then that the M-implicature is still triggered but at this case it operates at a level other than reference, namely, that of contrastiveness/emphaticness or logophoricity. As a result, having two sub-types of M-implicatures, and based on the empirical findings from Modern Greek anaphora data, I put forward a hierarchical resolution schema, according to which M-implicatures in reference are the first to be calculated by interlocutors. When there is no contrast in reference, an M-implicature in contrastiveness/emphaticness or logophoricity will take over. In this way, we can give an adequate and elegant explanation of the pragmatic factors involved in the choice of anaphoric expressions. What is more, it was shown that M-implicatures (triggered by the use of marked anaphoric expressions like *o idhios*) are still active even when reference is maintained, since they operate at a level of pragmatic explanation other than reference, namely, emphasis, contrast and/or logophoricity.

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# **A CDA approach to the translations of taboos in literary texts within the historical and socio-political Turkish context**

Reyhan Funda Isbuga-Erel  
University of East Anglia

## **Abstract**

This paper explores the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Descriptive-Explanatory Translation Studies (DETS) by relating translated/target literary texts to societies as both products and processes. Translated/target texts (TTs) will be related in particular to the prevailing ideology or ideologies in the society where the TTs are produced. Based upon the intrinsic relationship of prevailing ideologies, power relations and censorship laws to translators' choices, the study tests the data to see whether it might help researchers relate literary translation to constraining factors of social origin. The data consist of Turkish translations of taboos relating to incest in translated literary texts. To this end, a socio-cognitive theoretical framework with an emphasis on the dialectical relationship between society and discourse is employed. The theoretical approaches that are found applicable are Wodak's discourse-historical CDA model (2001) and van Dijk's socio-cognitive CDA model (1998). The study also employs a diachronic retrospective methodology based on Toury's comparative model (1980, 1995) which allows a reconstruction of the regularities in translators' choices. The findings gathered from the analysis of the data show that translators' choices in literary texts are governed by the constraints of social origin. They also show that literary texts, whether original or translated, can offer as much information about the relationship between ideology, power relations and discourse as non-literary texts.

## Introductory remarks

This paper explores the combination of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) with Descriptive-Explanatory Translation Studies (DETS) by relating translated/target literary texts as products and processes to the societies in which they are produced, as well as the prevailing ideologies in these social contexts. Four major arguments can be put forward in this regard. First, translating in general, and literary translation in particular, is an ideologically-embedded undertaking (see also Schäffner, 2003). Second, CDA is applicable to DETS in general and translated literature in particular at the level of both theory and practice. Third, if a scholar of translation wishes to deal with translation within the framework of CDA, his/her approach must be *target-oriented*, i.e. focusing on a perspective that regards translations as “facts or products of the target culture” (Toury, 1995: 29), whose language the source text (ST) is translated into. Finally, translators are hardly powerful enough to introduce new ideologies or challenge existing ones through their translational decisions. Nevertheless, there are exceptions to this, namely when translated literature helps original literature to emerge or improve (The introduction of new genres, such as the novel, tragedy, comedy, and Western poetry, into the Turkish literary system during the Reformation period is a conspicuous example of how a translated literature may hold a central position in the literary system of a particular culture).

Translation Studies (TS), introduced by Holmes in 1972, grew out of one of the functionalist translation theories based on description. This discipline has considerably evolved over the last thirty five years, and in line with changes in perspective, its name has changed as well. While it has been common to call it Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), here I refer to it as DETS, considering the incorporation of the explanatory plane by Toury (1995, 1998). This contextualised DETS regards the historically-changing socio-cultural/political context of target texts (TTs) as an indispensable factor in creating, describing, and explaining translations. In light of this, it can be claimed that the practice of translation in a given society changes over time depending on the changes in the socio-cultural/political context of that society.

Translation is an ideologically-embedded socio-cultural/-political practice. Any translation is ideological (Schäffner, 2003: 23), because the choice of a ST is determined by the interests, aims and objectives of social agents or clients (cf. Toury’s preliminary norms, 1980: 53-54, 1995: 58). In addition to the choice of the ST, the function or use of the TT in the target society is also decisive, and this function is again determined by the same factors. Besides these externally-imposed constraints, translators’ own worldviews, values, prejudices and ideological orientations acquired during their socialisation process in the society they live in, are also at work. These are termed internal factors in this study.

I explore the changing practice of translation in Turkish society as a consequence of changes in the socio-cultural/political context in that society over a period of fifty-five years from 1945 to 2000. I conduct this exploration by analysing different TTs of the same literary ST, with the ultimate aim of demonstrating the benefits of applying a CDA approach to DETS in general, and translated literature in

particular. As I examine historical, cultural, political and ideological progress or changes in Turkish society and the effects of such progress or changes upon the practice of translation, the model employed should be diachronic in nature. Wodak's discourse-historical model is particularly apt for exploring the changing external (social) factors influencing the practice of translation. I apply Van Dijk's socio-cognitive model in exploring the internal (cognitive) factors determining the translator's particular solutions in the translation process. By relating the translator's discursive translational solutions (socio-cognitive/internal level of translation) to the ideological surrounding (social/external level of translation), I try to ascertain the importance of external factors in determining internal ones.

There are already some socially-oriented theories or models in DETS such as feminist theory, gender theory, and post-colonial theory, but they are related to immediate areas of interest, relating translation to society from a specific angle. Generally speaking, CDA perspective complements these partial theories, because it offers a general theory and thus helps TS expand towards a critical social theory. More specifically speaking, Wodak's and Van Dijk's models are beneficial in having more explanatory power in relation to the socio-historical factors and socio-cognitive processes which are at play when translating. Nevertheless, it cannot be disregarded that the opposite approach is also true. Critical analysis of language use in literary translated texts can be a very prolific source for critical social research into ideology and power relations. Thus, these two approaches complement and enrich each other.

## **Relating socio-cognitive and discourse-historical CDA approaches to translation as an ideologically-embedded social practice**

Critical study of language use in texts should be connected both to the historically changing social conditions, which affect the reception and production processes of texts, and to the cognitive accounts of the role of the writer in producing texts, and of the reader in comprehending, reacting and interpreting them. Therefore, as Fairclough (2001: 16) argues, in CDA, the analyst should be concerned not only with texts themselves but also with the processes of producing and interpreting those texts, and with how these cognitive processes are socially shaped and historically changed.

Among the variations within the functionalist approach, DTS, polysystem theory, and particularly DETS seem compatible with socio-cognitive and historical CDA theories or models. The primary reasons for this compatibility are, first, that both CDA and TS models emphasise the socio-political and cultural background as the governing factor in text or discourse production and consumption; second, they can shed light on translation both as product and process, without preferring one aspect over the other; and finally both are descriptive and explanatory in nature. The most important difference between DETS, the main premise of which is "translations are facts of target culture" (Toury, 1995: 29), and DTS and polysystem theory, is its strong emphasis on the explanation of translations. In other words, while polysystem and DTS make possible the description of [literary] translations in relation to the target

culture, trying to answer “*how*” – (“how is it translated?”), DETS explains translations in relation to the context of the target culture (in addition to describing them) and tries to answer “*why*” – (“why is it translated thus?”). This is where TS meets CDA, because the answer to this question inevitably links translation phenomena to ideology and power relations.

I argue that translated texts offer a readily available and reliable source of research to bring ideology to the surface and to explore social and political conditions in a given society at a given time. This builds on the basic argument of CDA that the text offers a mediated interpretation (or a variable version) of the objective reality (Fairclough, 2004: 104). Moreover, as Fairclough points out, changes in language use are linked to wider social and cultural processes in a dialogical relation; that is, society influences discourse and discourse influences society (Chouliaraki and Fairclough, 1999; Fairclough, 1992), mediated by ideology (van Dijk, 1998). Looking at translated literary texts rather than any other text type as the source of data demonstrates that literary texts are no different from non-literary ones in reflecting and construing social reality, either by conforming to or challenging it. Thus, they can offer as much information for CDA analysts as non-literary texts. There has already been some work within CDA on fiction (e.g. Talbot on fictional texts, 1995, 1997; Sunderland on gender, 2004; Brisset on drama translation, 1990; Isbuga-Erel on literary translation, 2008a, 2008b; Kosetzi on fictional texts; for more extensive references and discussion see Kosetzi, 2007, 2008), but still literature is not so extensively analysed within CDA, including translated literature.

Regarding the relationship between ideology and translation, Mason (1992: 23) avows, “ideology impinges on the translation process in subtle ways,” adding that the text users consciously or subconsciously bring their own assumptions, predispositions and general world-views to bear on their processing of texts at all levels, including lexical choices, cohesive relations, syntactic organisation and text type. The translator, as both reader and producer of a text has “the double duty of perceiving the meaning potential of particular choices within the cultural and linguistic community of the ST and relaying that same potential, by suitable linguistic means, to a target readership” (ibid.). Given the argument that translators perform their task in specific socio-political contexts to produce TTs for specific purposes as identified by their clients (Schäffner, 2003: 24), and that they draw on their socially-acquired personal ideological predisposition, consciously or subconsciously, in the translation process, we can thus claim that it is inevitable that ideology permeates this process which will end up with systematic shifts from the ST. Given such an intrusion by ideology at all levels of text production (from lexical choices to text type), it would not be unreasonable to surmise that the examination of surface linguistic realisations in TTs, that is, of translators’ final choices or decisions, can reveal the prevailing ideology or ideologies. More specifically, it will help reveal the social effects of ideological conditioning on translators’ cognition and accordingly on their decision-making process, during which they should also bear in mind the text consumption tendencies, or expectations, of the target readers.

Van Dijk introduces a multidisciplinary approach to the notion of “ideology,” involving insights from cognitive and social psychology, sociology and discourse analysis. He utilises a three-part approach for analysing ideologies: social analysis,

cognitive analysis, and discourse analysis. Whereas social analysis in this model pertains to examining the “overall societal structures” (the non-linguistic context), discourse analysis is primarily text-based. However, what makes van Dijk’s approach unique is his cognitive analysis. He asserts (1998: 126) that in order to explain the proper nature of ideologies and their relation to social practices and discourse, we first need a revealing insight into their mental or cognitive dimension. The main point here is that ideologies indirectly influence the personal cognition of group members in the act of comprehension and production of discourse.

Van Dijk essentially perceives discourse analysis as the analysis of ideology, and argues throughout his works (1995, 1998) that one of the crucial social practices influenced by ideologies is discourse, which, in turn, influences how we acquire, learn, take on, change and reproduce ideologies. Thus, by analysing the discursive dimensions of ideologies in texts, we can prove how they can affect society and its members and at the same time how they may also be reproduced or legitimised or challenged in society. For van Dijk, a text or discourse means the original. In translation, in contrast, it is hard to claim this two-way relationship, for translated texts are usually less powerful than the originals in challenging or changing the prevailing ideologies; hence, most of the time, they reproduce or legitimate the ideologies in question. It is this peripheral status (see also Even-Zohar, 1990) of translation which brings about some constraints on translators, thus leading them to manipulate the ST with the aim of conforming to existing ideologies in the target culture. In addition this explains why translation is regarded as an ideologically-embedded socio-cultural and political practice. Similarly, Bassnett and Lefevere (1992: vii) argue that translation is a rewriting of an original text and, like all rewritings, is a manipulation undertaken in the service of power, thereby reflecting a certain ideology.

Van Dijk’s socio-cognitive model, which emphasises the cognitive interface between discourse structures and social structures, is adopted with the aim of explaining how ideology impinges upon the translation process. In particular, the model considers how ideology is reproduced or legitimised and/or challenged through the discursive manifestations which are the outcome of the mediation by individual translators who manipulate the ST under the constraints of their own personal cognitions governed by their own assumptions, worldviews, values, goals, beliefs and (ideological) predispositions (which are socially and ideologically conditioned and shared). Thus I explore the effects the external factors have over the internal ones. These interrelationships can only be uncovered by linking observable data to the less observable or non-observable ones. The observable data in the present study are discursive manifestations in the TTs, which are the surface realisations of the translators’ final decisions taken as a consequence of several (socio-)cognitive processes. The less observable or non-observable data are the several (socio-)cognitive processes governed by the translators’ assumptions, worldviews, values, goals, beliefs and (ideological) predispositions, as well as the ideologies which shape and govern them. Such an analysis inspired by van Dijk’s society-cognition-discourse triangle is, therefore, expected to provide insights into the ideological conditioning of translation as a social practice.



Translations are far more exposed to constraints than original texts. Thus, they are more productive when analysing particular discursive usages and ideologies, in reaching an understanding of the intricate interrelationship between discourse and ideology in general. The advantage of translated literary texts in such research is clearly demonstrated by the fact that the extent of the cognitive and social processes occurring in the production and consumption of the translated discourse is two times higher than that in original literary texts. When we consider the whole course of action in the production and consumption of an original literary text, we can identify a number of processes that take place as follows:

- (i) interpretation of the real world by the author, governed by his/her personal experience of the real world and the social representations in his/her mind.
- (ii) creation of the literary text or discourse by its author. As Althusser (1971, cited in Eagleton, 1998: 466) states, a literary text or discourse is a reflection or expression of the experience of the real world in an imaginary way; so a literary text or discourse is only an instance of many possible imaginary ways of expression through which ideologies as well as the way power is exercised are (re)produced.
- (iii) interpretation of the literary text or discourse by its readers. In this process, readers' cognitive processes, as mentioned above, are at work. Thus, as social representations differ from reader to reader, so may the meaning of the communicative event. Meaning is thus negotiated between producer and receiver at this stage.
- (iv) reception, by the reader, of the effects of the meaning intended by the author.

These phases are repeated for the production and consumption of the literary translated text or discourse. In other words, the translator as reader goes through phases (i) to (iv), during which the meaning intended by the ST author is located in the reader-translator's subjective reading. The process of production or translation then begins, governed by the translator's own personal experience of the real world and the social representations in his or her mind which differ from those of the ST author. Thus, during and after the processes of interpretation [of the ST] and production [of the TT], which are organised, coordinated and regulated by the social representations peculiar to him or her, the translator will have manipulated the reality in the ST discourse, itself already a version of reality manipulated by the ST author (a repetition of step i). In addition, this new version of reality is expressed by the translator in a new, imaginary way (repeating step ii). The course of action is completed when the TT reader interprets and receives the meaning intended both by the ST author and the translator (a repetition of steps iii and iv, but this time in step iii, the meaning is negotiated between the TT reader and both the ST author and translator). The processes of production and consumption of the literary translated discourse can be seen in the following chart. From this, it is clear that the interpretation variant is counted for both the ST author and the translator, and the consumption variant for both the translator and the TT reader:

Addresser /author	Speaking /writing process:	Text (ST)	Interpretation process:	Addressee /reader/ translator	Translation process:	Text (TT)	Interpretation process:	Addressee/ TT reader
	Choosing the utterance at various levels with representations one has stored in the long-term memory (social representations: knowledge of language and society, personal experience of the real world, attitudes, ideologies, etc.)		Matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations one has stored in the long term memory (social representations: knowledge of language, personal experience of the real world, attitudes, ideologies, etc.)		Choosing the utterance at various levels with representations one has stored in the long-term memory (social representation: knowledge of language, personal experience of the real world, attitudes, ideologies, etc.)		Matching features of the utterance at various levels with representations one has stored in the long term memory (social representation: knowledge of Language and society, personal experience of the real world, attitudes, ideologies, etc.)	

Stages of production and consumption of discourse in the process of translation, based on Fairclough's premise of language as social process (2001: 18-22) and van Dijk's cognitive account of the production and interpretation of discourse (1993a: 38-39, 1993b: 110-111, 1998: 79).

Although van Dijk's model is well-suited to explain translators' decisions as products of the socially-acquired representations in their minds (in particular ideologies), it lacks the historical dimension necessary for a diachronic study that would explore the impact of changes in socio-historical and political conditions on the practice of translation.

Among CDA scholars Wodak is known for focusing upon the historical dimension of discourse. Her model emphasises that the inclusion of the historical perspective is necessary in CDA as "social processes are dynamic, not static" and this "has to be reflected in the theory and in the methodology" (Wodak, 1989: xvi). Moreover, seeing language as the medium for the constitution and manifestation of these dynamic social processes and interaction, Wodak and Ludwig (1999: 12-13) claim that:

- (i) discourse "always involves power and ideologies. No interaction exists where power relations do not prevail and where values and norms do not have a relevant role."
- (ii) discourse is unavoidably historical or historically produced and interpreted, that is, "it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events which are happening at the same time or which have happened before" (ibid.), so it is not produced without context and cannot be understood without taking the context into consideration. In this respect, intertextuality and sociocultural knowledge are at work within the concept of context.
- (iii) readers and listeners might have different interpretations of the same communicative event, depending on their background knowledge and information, and position and role within the society. In other words, "THE RIGHT interpretation does not exist; a hermeneutic approach is necessary. Interpretations can be more or less plausible and adequate, but they cannot be true" (emphasis in original).

Besides these three principles, like van Dijk's socio-cognitive model, Wodak's model demands the methodological interdisciplinarity of CDA by combining historical, sociopolitical and linguistic perspectives in investigating a particular discourse practice. Such a triangulation is based on the concept of context (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 41; Weiss and Wodak, 2003: 22), involving intra-textual, inter-textual and extra-textual contexts (see also Wodak, 2001: 67-68). Thus, the discourse-historical model is highly suitable and relevant to the nature of the present study. I analyse the translations of two extracts of STs – for each ST I take two TTs from two different periods of the Turkish history. Thus, I observe the diachronic dimension of changing social context, aiming to explain how ideology is reconstructed through translated literature by impinging on both the process during which the translator interprets the ST (cf. hermeneutic quality) and the process of translation (cf. ideologically-generated discourse).

## Socio-political Turkish context in the republican era

Given the importance of historical background in discourse, some knowledge of the historical context of Turkish society is necessary to understand the societal constraints, particularly censorship, imposed on translators. These influence translators' decisions during the translation process through the social representations in their minds, which, in turn, are internalised versions of the socio-political context of the society of which the individual translators are members. Thus, a brief history of the Turkish context under examination is provided below.

The Law of Establishment of Public Order, which came into force in 1925, gave the government limitless authority to restrict the freedom of the press and end the publication of any newspaper (Kabacalı, 1992: 963-964). Nevertheless, censorship was never confined to the press. It also affected radio and television, films, plays and books (see also Yayla, 1992).

From the second half of the 1940s - during the transition from the one-party to the multi-party system in Turkey - extraordinary restrictions, martial law, and despotism prevailed in the political arena. Many newspapers were banned for comments not approved by the government. As stated in *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı* (1999: 223, 244), after the General Directorate of Press and Publication started to operate under the authority of the Prime Ministry, the government increased its control over the press. Furthermore, during the war years the despotic regime not only restricted political thought but also intervened in every area of daily life, and the world of literature had to bear its share of government scrutiny. Thus, for example, the translation of Pierre Louys' *Afrodite*, about the customs of ancient times, was legally challenged in 1940 on grounds of obscenity. Along with the publisher and translator of the book, Sabiha Zekeriya Sertel, a writer and journalist, was also prosecuted for her article about the trial, in which she criticised the pressures imposed by the government on the writers, publishers and translators (see also *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı*, 1999: 227, 250-252).

The despotic conduct of the Democratic Party (1950-1960), which was economically liberal but culturally conservative, led to the design of different educational and cultural policies (Tahir-Gürçağlar, 2003: 125) and was only brought to an end by a military coup on 27 May 1960. As Kabacalı states (*ibid.*), The National Unity Committee, which succeeded it, agreed to the immediate release of imprisoned journalists, and abolished most of the anti-democratic provisions in the Law concerning Crimes Committed through Publications and Radio and in the Press Law. As a consequence of these, Kabacalı (1992: 965) notes that the era which began with this coup was a milestone in the history of the Turkish Republic.

After the military coup a new constitution was drafted and accepted by the majority of voters in 1961. While standard and political rights were more comprehensively defined than before, articles guaranteeing freedom of the press and prohibiting censorship were also added, thus initiating a real process of democratisation in social and political life (see also *Cumhuriyetin 75 Yılı*, 1999: 480-481). This era, however, was brought to an end by another coup in 1980. During these

nineteen years (1961-1980), a multi-party system was set up, society became to some extent autonomous, and a process of rapid urbanisation began (Insel, 1999: 476).

As Yayla (1992: 956) notes, the civil conflicts which broke out throughout the country after 1970 started to threaten the unity and democratic nature of the state. Martial law was introduced until finally, when turmoil could no longer be prevented, the military again seized power on 12 September 1980. The coup led to another new constitution. The Constitution of 1982 gave lawmakers an opportunity to re-examine the laws pertaining to freedom of the press and publication. While the basic principle of freedom of the press and prohibition of censorship remained as set out in the 1961 Constitution, the issuing and releasing of news that might threaten national unity or national security, and that might incite offences and revolt, was to be prevented by the decision of the authorised administrative court (see also Yayla, 1992: 956). Prosecutions for books branded 'obscene' or 'pornographic' started to decline noticeably from the late 1980s. From then on, and particularly during the 1990s, the books subjected to confiscation decisions under the propaganda ban in article 142/1 of the Turkish Criminal Code were mostly socialist classics (for an extensive list of these books, see Tanör, 1997: 88) and their Turkish translations.

A consideration of the current decade demonstrates how much the political milieu in Turkey has changed since the 1940s. The transformation in political life as a result of the completion of the democratisation process has led to changes in social life. Turkey had, and still has, big problems concerning freedom of the press and publication, freedom of expression and freedom in the sciences and arts. Nevertheless, there have been improvements in these areas, mainly as a consequence of Constitutional amendments introduced in 1995 as part of the EU adjustment programme. These opened a new stage in the process of democratisation of Turkey.

An exhibition of a selection of 100 books banned and confiscated in Turkey from 1938 to 2001 was organised by the Istanbul City Directorate of Culture and Tourism, and opened to the public on 17 May 2005 (<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/2005/05/22/guncel/gun03.html>). This exhibition, functioning as concrete evidence of the considerable progress made in areas such as freedom of thought and expression, along with freedom of the press and publication, should be seen as a significant event in recent Turkish history, not least because it was organised by a government agency and was free to the public. Indeed, it has been interpreted by the public and the media as an effort to compensate for the mistakes of governments in the past. On the other hand, this does not mean that books or films are no longer banned for obscenity, which does still occur, even if it is much less frequent.

## **Methodology and data**

The CDA approaches of van Dijk and Wodak (see section on CDA above) seem most appropriate for the systematic analysis of concrete discursive manifestations of ideologies in literary TTs. This serves the ultimate aim of this study, which is to juxtapose CDA with DETS in general and substantiate the suitability of translated

literature as a practical source of data for CDA scholars in particular.

While a combined theory from CDA is applied in this study, the methodology is taken from DETS. It is Toury's comparative micro-analysis model (1980, 1995, 1998), which is retrospective and diachronic in nature. After some regularities in translators' choices are reconstructed, these will be related to ideologies as "clusters of beliefs in our minds" (van Dijk, 1998: 48) and as the socially-acquired and shared "mental representations" (van Dijk, 1998: 9), which govern the successive cognitive processes in the translator's mind when making his/her translational decisions. This model also seems to match both van Dijk's and Wodak's approaches.

The comparison is carried out in two steps. First, two different TTs produced in different periods by different translators are compared. Second, the TTs are compared to their ST. The examples included here are three novels from 20<sup>th</sup> Century English and American literature and their respective translations into Turkish. The STs selected are Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (BNW) (1932/1993), and pertinent TTs (1945) and (2000); Nabokov's *Lolita* (L) (1955/1992) and pertinent TTs (1959) and (2000); and Erskine Caldwell's *God's Little Acre* (GLA) (1933/1995) and the pertinent TTs (1949) and (1986).

In this paper I present the analysis of a few selected extracts from the above mentioned STs (see Appendix) at the level of words, expressions and concepts which would have been considered sexual taboos in Turkish society under prevailing ideologies and social norms in the 1940s and 1950s. Topics emerging as taboo from the analysis are 'incest,' 'homosexuality,' 'group sex,' 'orgasm,' 'male and female genitalia,' 'sexual intercourse,' and any slang or vulgar words and expressions with sexual connotations. In this paper, though, I focus on the translation of incest-related ST units. The other topics have been and will be dealt with in detail in other studies (Isbuga-Erel, 2008a; Isbuga-Erel, 2008b).

Looking at the history of Turkish socio-political life in the 1940s and 1950s, we see that the most influential ideologies which could exert constraints on press and publication were conservative, spiritual, nationalist and anti-communist. There were in addition some social and ethical values, violation of which would result in social sanctions. For instance, family was considered one of the most prestigious institutions, so mention of extra-marital relationships and extra-marital pregnancy, homosexuality, and incest would not be tolerated by the average Turkish person. Indeed, adultery used to be counted as a public crime, while incest still is. However, while incest used to be utter taboo and the victims used to keep their experiences a secret during the 1940s and 1950s, it has become less of a taboo in the later years and has been discussed in the media and on TV programmes and included in research projects at universities. The victims are indisputably protected by law and as a result feel much freer to sue their assailants.

The detailed analysis of the books under examination showed that there are different types and degrees of *incest* experienced by the characters in the novels: incest between father and daughter, grandfather and grand-daughter, and father-in-law and daughter-in-law.

The table below shows the examples of the ST units relating to incest and their respective translations.

No. of examples	STs	Earlier TTs	Back translation (BT)	Later TTs	Back translation (BT)
1	Incestuous	zina	adulterous	ensest (adjective)	incestuous
2	Incest	zina	Adultery	baba kız aşkı	father-daughter love
3a	the normal girl is usually extremely anxious to please her father	Segment omitted	-	sağlıklı küçük kızlar, genellikle babalarını hoşnut etmek için çırpınırlar	healthy little girls usually make a great effort to please their father
3b	She feels in him the forerunner of the desired elusive male	Segment omitted	-	babalarını o ebedi, o ele geçirilmez erkeğin öncülü olarak görürler	These girls see their father as the forerunner of that eternal, elusive male
3c	realizing that the girl forms her ideals of romance and of men from her association with her father	Segment omitted	-	Romantic hülyalarını ve erkekler konusundaki düşüncelerini babalarıyla kurdukları ilişkilerden türettiklerini bilerek	realizing that their daughter derives her romantic reveries and her ideas about men from her relations she established with her father
3d	sexual relationships between a father and his daughter	Segment omitted	-	babayla kız arasındaki cinsel ilişkiler	sexual relationships between a father and his daughter
4	I might have her produce eventually a nymphet with my blood in her exquisite veins, a Lolita the Second...salivating Dr. Humbert, practising on supremely lovely Lolita the Third the art of being a granddad...	Segment omitted	-	Lolita'ma sonuçta şahane damarlarında benim kanım dolaşan bir ikinci Lolita doğurtabileceğim... Dr. Humbert'in olağanüstü güzellikteki Lolita Üç üzerinde ağzının suyu akarak büyükbabalık sanatının inceliklerini çeşitlediği...	I might have my Lolita produce eventually a second Lolita with my blood in her exquisite veins...Dr. Humbert drooling over supremely lovely Lolita the Third while practicing the art of being a granddad...
5	getting right down there and then and licking something	yere çöküp bir şeyler yalamak istermiş gibi bir his duydum	kneeling down and then licking something	hemen oracıkta diz çökeyim de oranı öpeyim istedim	kneeling right down there and then kiss yours
6	Humbert was perfectly capable of intercourse with Eve, but it was Lilith he longed for.	Segment omitted	-	Humbert, Havva ile cinsel ilişki kurabilmesi pekâlâ da mümkünken ne yazık ki sadece onun küçük kız kardeşini arzuluyordu.	It was of course possible for Humbert to have sexual intercourse with Eve, but it was her younger sister he longed for.

### **Examples 1 and 2**

As seen, the ST unit 'incest' in both examples appears as 'zina' (adultery/ adulterous) in the earlier TTs . The translator's choice to change the ST unit can be based on the fact that people used to avoid talking or even thinking about incest in the 1940s. As seen, the translator of the later translation in example no. 1 retained the sense in the ST while the meaning was not only retained but also explained in example no. 2.

### **Example 3a, 3b, 3c, and 3d**

Humbert (H.H.), the protagonist, describes an incestuous relationship between stepfather and stepdaughter in the ST. Citing some stories from other cultures or from history, he suggests that a sexual relationship between father and daughter is normal and should be encouraged by families and society itself. Thus, there is no doubt that H.H. talks about the necessity of incest. We know that by doing this, he tries to justify his incestuous manner towards Lolita, his stepdaughter. As seen, while the whole passage was omitted by the translator of the earlier TT, it was retained by the translator of the later one.

### **Example 4**

This is another typical example of incest as taboo. The long ST unit reveals H.H.'s dreams or plans of having Lolita produce a girl, Lolita the Second (his potential step-granddaughter) with whom, in his mind/dreams, he would have sexual relations in the future to bring Lolita the Third (his potential step-great-granddaughter) into life, ostensibly denoting a further incestuous relationship. As seen from the example, the translator of the earlier TT preferred to omit the passage entirely, while the translator of the later TT remained faithful to the ST.

### **Example 5**

This is a typical example of familial taboos of incest. The father-in-law, Ty Ty, talks overtly about his daughter-in-law Griselda's genitals when many people are around and confesses that he wanted to lick these parts. As seen, this ST unit was translated as 'bir şeyler' (the plural form of 'something' in Turkish) in the earlier TT. This plural ending functions as a sort of euphemism by distracting the target reader's attention from a specific area of Griselda's body. When we look at the later TT, we see that it appears as 'oran' (yours/your...), which in this context, means 'your sexual organ,' denoting Griselda's genitals. By translating the ST unit 'something' as 'oran' (yours/your...), the translator of the later TT seems to have preferred to make Ty Ty's remark much more explicit for the TT readers.



## Example 6

In this example, Nabokov's Humbert and Annabel, Humbert's childhood lover, play out their variations on a Biblical theme. Here, we see that Humbert symbolises Adam and Annabel Eve (Proffer, 1968: 10), while Lolita is Lilith, the sister of Eve. Lilith is a female devil who, according to an ancient Jewish tradition, was the first wife of Adam, and a vampire who attacked children, as well as being portrayed as a famous witch in the demonology of the Middle Ages (Appel, 1970: 43). The long passage in the ST, which includes this Biblical allusion, was omitted by the translator of the earlier TT. The translator of the TT of 2000, on the other hand, paraphrased it, replacing 'Lilith' with 'onun küçük kız kardeşi' (her younger sister). He might have intended to provide some guidance for target readers who do not know who Lilith is.

## Findings and discussion

From the examples above, we can see that there is regularity in the strategies applied by different translators when dealing with ST units regarding incest. In all the examples, the translators of the earlier TTs seem to deliberately change/omit/euphemise the words or phrases or sentences relating to incest. This suggests some constraints imposed on translators of the earlier TTs when translating the ST units denoting or connoting incest. In contrast, the translators of the later TTs seem to have tried to remain faithful to the ST, if not making it even more explicit than the ST author himself. Although society is still very sensitive to familial relationships and values, talking about incest is no longer an utter taboo, which may be an immediate result of the liberal ideology in today's Turkish society.

Although the main concern of this paper is not religious taboos, example no. 6 typifies both taboos on incest and on anything considered contrary to the ideal and perfect life depicted in the sacred books. The way the translator of the earlier TT chose to handle the passage, containing some negative remarks about some religious figures, might be directly linked to the conservative and spiritual ideologies prevailing in Turkish society in the 1940s and 1950s. This was a sensitive time to criticise or question religion and nobody would dare to say anything against it or make negative remarks about religious figures in public. Today, however, while religion, and not only Islam, is still highly respected in Turkish society, readers of literature would not be bothered by such passages in a literary text like the one in question.

Thus, I argue that the shifts from the STs that display regularity in the earlier TTs seem unlikely to be there by chance unless they are the translators' arbitrary choices. The possible reasons for these regular shifts, from the point of view of translators, can be summarised as follows:

- (i) the pressure not to go against the objectives of clients (mostly publishing houses or government institutions)
- (ii) concerns over running counter to target readers' expectations

- (iii) fears about exposure to governmental censorship due to the concept of 'obscene' or 'immoral' novels, plays, films etc.
- (iv) the pressure of, and concerns about, lawsuits filed against writers, or translators and publishers
- (v) personal ideological predispositions

All of these factors, therefore, may have forced the translators to impose 'self-censorship,' thus enabling them to avoid negative sanctions either from clients, readers or authorities, and to conform to their own ideological and ethical predispositions. Hence, in order to fulfil this task, they may have had to manipulate the linguistic material of the STs by negotiating the meaning between the ST authors and the impositions of the target culture and society. This, in turn, would have entailed re-writing the relevant parts through change, omission, and euphemism.

As to the strategies applied by the translators of the later TTs, from the late 1980s up to 2000, we can see that all the linguistic material in the STs has been retained. The reason for this faithfulness to the ST may be explained again through the prevailing socio-political/cultural conditions of the time. When compared to the readers of the 1940s and 1950s, Turkish readers of recent years are more open-minded, more aware of freedom of thought and speech, and have either eliminated, or wished to eliminate, taboos. Most importantly, they are the generations who have largely grown up with the Constitution of 1961, which brought freedom of thought and freedom of expression. In this respect, we may assume that the translators of the later TTs most probably had no reason to worry about ethical prejudices, censorship and lawsuits.

In conclusion, differences in the type and frequency of the choices or shifts in the earlier and later TTs (TT discourse) can be related to different social representations in translators' minds which are the internalised cognitive versions of particular societal structures and processes, including ideologies and power relations (cf. socio-cognitive aspect of van Dijk's CDA model and Wodak's hermeneutic approach), which historically change (cf. historical aspect of Wodak's CDA model).

## Conclusion

There is no doubt that political and social formations motivate or discourage cultural and artistic creation. In the light of this fact and taking into account the tenet that translated literature cannot be isolated from the body of domestic writing of the target culture, I have argued that both original and translated literature are inevitably governed by the social and political situations particular to the society in which they are produced. This, in turn, requires the translation scholar to adopt a target-oriented approach for its applicability in making connections between translation and social structures and processes in general, and prevailing ideologies and power relations in particular, within the target society. This explains why translations, as rewritings, are very effective as a source of data for critical research into ideology, if handled from a

target-oriented point of view.

The findings of the analysis of different translations of the same original novels also suggest that, as with non-literary texts, literary texts, whether original or translated, can also tell us a great deal about a society and its characteristics, as society governs their production. Therefore, given the fact that the studies covered in CDA have mostly been carried out on non-literary texts, one reason for choosing literary translated texts as a source of data is to provide evidence that they can also be analysed by means of CDA. In this way, one can gain insights into how ideologies impinge on the processes of text production; and in turn, how ideologies can be as reflected, legitimised or challenged as effectively in literary texts as in non-literary ones. However, for literary translations, this function *usually* reveals itself as reflecting and legitimising but not challenging due to the generally peripheral or secondary position of literary translations within the body of domestic writing of the target culture.

In this study I have tried to show the ideology-text production relationship by relating translation solutions/decisions (discursive usages) to ideological reasoning, the predispositions of individual translators (cognitive processes) and to the prevailing ideologies, at a given time in a particular society, which together govern the cognitive processes of the translator, and thus the end product (TT). Revealing this relationship, the analysis has thus provided evidence for the argument that there is no apparent reason for the non-applicability of CDA to DETS in general and (translated) literature in particular. Taking into consideration both the nature of the social processes and the way those processes are transferred to and manifested in language, critical research into the link between society and discourse should include historical, social and cognitive dimensions. In this respect, the unification of van Dijk's socio-cognitive model and Wodak's discourse-historical model into a more comprehensive new model could help researchers investigating ideology and the society-cognition-discourse relationship.

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## APPENDIX

### Example 1

(ST – BNW) - Or in the incestuous pleasure of his bed....(p. 115)

(TT – 1945)...zina bulaşık zevkini sürerken (p. 166)

(Back Translation/BT) While he enjoys his adulterous pleasure.

(TT – 2000) Veya yatağında ensestten keyifli (p. 180)

(BT) Or in the incestuous pleasure in his bed...

### Example 2

(ST – L) Parody of incest (p. 305)

(TT – 1959) Zina taklidi (p. 237)

(BT) Parody of adultery

(TT – 2000) Baba kız aşkı bozuntusu (p. 331)

(BT) Parody of father-daughter love

### Example 3

(ST – L) Look, darling, what it says. I quote: the normal girl - normal, mark you - the normal girl is usually extremely anxious to please her father (a). She feels in him the forerunner of the desired elusive male (b) ('elusive' is good, by Polonius!). The wise mother (and your poor mother would have been wise, had she lived) will encourage a companionship between father and daughter, realizing - excuse the corny style - that the girl forms her ideals of romance and of men from her association with her father (c). Now, what association does this cheery book mean - and recommend? I quote again: Among Sicilians sexual relationships between a father and his daughter are accepted as a matter of course, and the girl who participates in such relationship is not looked upon with disapproval by the society of which she is part (d) (p. 158).

(TT – 1959) Segment omitted (p. 126).

(TT – 2000) Bak sevgilim neler diyor! Okuyorum: Sağlıklı küçük kızlar - sağlıklı diyor, duydun mu - sağlıklı küçük kızlar, genellikle babalarını hoşnut etmek için çırpınırlar (a). Bu kızlar, küçükten beri babalarını o ebedi, o ele geçirilmez erkeğin (b) (Polonius aşkına, 'ele geçirilmez' diyor!), erkeğin öncülü olarak görürler. Aklı başında anneler (Zavallı anneciğinin de aklı başında olacaktı yaşasaydı!) kızlarının, romantik hülyalarını (üslubun bayağılığı için özür dilerim!) ve erkekler konusundaki düşüncelerini babalarıyla kurdukları ilişkilerden (c) türettiklerini bilerek, babayla kız arasındaki ilişkileri destekleyeceklerdir. Bu kitabın ne türlü ilişkileri kastettiğini ve önerdiğini gördük, değil mi? Okumaya devam ediyorum; Sicilyalılar'da, babayla kız arasındaki cinsel ilişkiler son derece doğal sayılır ve bu tür ilişkilere giren kıza üyesi olduğu topluluk tarafından kötü gözle bakılmaz (d) (p. 173).

(BT) Look, my darling, what it says! I am reading: healthy little girls - says healthy, have you heard - healthy little girls usually make a great effort to please their father (a). These girls see their father as the forerunner of that eternal, elusive male (b) (for Polonius's sake! it says 'elusive'!). The wise mothers (your poor mother would have been wise, too, had she lived!) will encourage relations between father and daughter, realizing that their daughter derives her romantic reveries (excuse the corny style!) and her ideas about men from her relations she established with her father (c). We understood what type of relations this book means and recommends, did we? I keep reading: Among Sicilians sexual relationships between a father and his daughter are accepted as a matter of course, and the girl who participates in such a relationship is not condemned (d).

#### Example 4

(ST – L) ...to the thought that with patience and luck I might have her produce eventually a nymphet with my blood in her exquisite veins, a Lolita the Second, who would be eight or nine around 1960, when I would still be dans la force de l'âge; indeed, the telescoping of my mind, or un-mind, was strong enough to distinguish in the remoteness of time a vieillard encore vert - or was it green rot? - bizarre, tender, salivating Dr. Humbert, practising on supremely lovely Lolita the Third the art of being a granddad (p. 184).

(TT – 1959) Segment omitted (p.144).

(TT – 2000) ...birazcık sabırla ve şansımın da yaver gitmesi koşuluyla Lolita'ma sonuçta şahane damarlarında benim kanım dolaşan bir ikinci Lolita doğurtabileceğime kadar...Lolita İki 1960 başlarında sekiz ya da dokuz yaşına gelmiş olur, ben de hala olgunluk çağımda olurdum. Zihnimin ya da zihin yerine taşıdığım o korkunç şeyin dürbününden baktığımda, zamanın uzaklığı içinde bir ihtiyar delikanlının - yoksa ihtiyar bir rezil mi demeliyim? - garip, gülünç, sevecen bir Dr. Humbert'in olağanüstü güzellikteki Lolita Üç üzerinde ağzının suyu akararak büyükbabalık sanatının inceliklerini çeşitlediğini de görebiliyordum (p. 201).

(BT) ...to the fact that with a little patience and providing I was lucky, I might have my Lolita produce eventually a second Lolita with my blood in her exquisite veins...Lolita the Second would be eight or nine in the early 1960s and I would still be in the age of maturity. When I looked through the telescope of my mind or of that terrible thing I carried as a mind, I can see, in the remoteness of time, an evergreen old man - or should I say an old villain? - bizarre, funny, tender Dr. Humbert drooling over supremely lovely Lolita the Third while practicing the art of being a granddad.

#### Example 5

(ST – GLA) ...I felt like getting right down there and then and licking something. (p. 30)

(TT – 1949) ...hemen orada yere çöküp bir şeyler yalamak istermiş gibi bir his duydum. (p. 43)

(BT) I felt like kneeling down and then licking something.

(TT – 1986) içimden öyle geldi ki hemen oracıkta diz çökeyim de oranı öpeyim istedim. (p. 33)

(BT) I felt like kneeling right down there and then kiss yours.

#### Example 6

(ST – L) Humbert was perfectly capable of intercourse with Eve, but it was Lilith he longed for. (p. 20-21)

(TT – 1959) Segment omitted (p. 12).

(TT – 2000) Humbert, Havva ile cinsel ilişki kurabilmesi pekâlâ da mümkünken ne yazık ki sadece onun küçük kız kardeşini arzuluyordu (p. 24)

(BT) It was of course possible for Humbert to have sexual intercourse with Eve, but it was her younger sister he longed for.

# Language policy and ideology in the United States: A critical analysis of 'English Only' discourse

Rachele Lawton  
Lancaster University

## Abstract

'Official English' is a political movement in the United States of America which contends that national unity, American identity and the English language itself are threatened both by immigration and languages other than English. Also known as 'English Only', this movement's primary areas of focus are educational policy for language minority children, linguistic access to political and civil rights (such as the right to access voting materials and drivers' licensing exams in languages other than English), and a constitutional amendment that would give English the status of the sole official language of the United States (Schmidt, 2000). The arguments of English Only proponents are often fuelled by nativism, characterised by historical inaccuracies about language usage in the U.S., and fraught with misconceptions about the relationship between bilingual education and educational failure (May, 2001). This paper examines these issues through an exploratory study that contains an analysis of English Only discourse and the movement's historical context. In so doing, it also examines language policy and ideology in the United States. In order to determine which arguments are most common in English Only discourse, which discursive strategies are used by English Only proponents, and what ideologies motivate the verbal practices of English Only proponents, the discourse-historical approach (Wodak, 2001a) to Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is adopted as a theoretical and methodological framework. Data extracts from a corpus comprised of various texts associated with English Only ideologies are analysed and discussed.



## Introduction

This paper examines language policy and ideology<sup>1</sup> in the context of the Official English movement in the United States from a critical discourse analysis (hereafter CDA) perspective. This movement is also widely known as 'English Only'<sup>2</sup> due to its efforts to restrict the use of languages other than English in government and the public domain; therefore, the term English Only will be used in this paper. Proponents of the English Only movement contend that national unity, American identity and the English language itself are threatened by immigration and other languages, primarily Spanish, and must be protected. This movement has gained momentum in the United States since its inception in the early 1980s, and it has recently seen renewed support, due in part to the increase in the number of immigrants from the Spanish-speaking world.

Consequently, Spanish-speaking immigrants in particular are targeted, and much of the discourse of the English Only Movement can be considered as Hispanophobic, that is, characterising the Spanish language, Spanish speakers and Latino<sup>3</sup> leaders as the antithesis of their lofty English-speaking/U.S. American counterparts (Zentella, 1997). Zentella notes that while the English Only movement may violate the human rights of millions of speakers of other languages in the U.S., it is the speakers of Spanish who are its principal target (ibid.). As Latinos figure prominently in the English Only debate, they are often constructed discursively as posing a threat to American values and national identity in the United States. For this reason, some of the texts selected for analysis in this paper reference Latinos in particular. Schmidt (1997: 343) notes that few controversial policy issues are more closely associated with the Latino community in the U.S. than language policy, and he asserts that most U.S. Latinos are bilingual, contrary to claims often made about their refusal to learn English. The English Only movement also obscures the

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<sup>1</sup> I adopt the view of ideology as a "shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups" (van Dijk, 1998: 8).

<sup>2</sup> Though the term 'English Only' was coined by supporters of a 1984 California initiative opposing bilingual ballots (Nunberg, 2002), most proponents of the movement reject this label and refer to their cause as 'Official English,' claiming that they do not object to the use of foreign languages at home. However, due to the movement's efforts to restrict the use of languages other than English in government and the public sphere in general, as well as its claims that English needs protection, I support Nunberg's (2002) position that the term 'English Only' is a fair characterisation of the goals of the movement so far as *public* life is concerned (my emphasis).

<sup>3</sup> There is an ongoing debate about which term—Latino or Hispanic—is more appropriate in reference to Spanish speakers in the United States who have emigrated from South and Central America. Schmidt (1997) and Zentella (1997) both adopt the term Latino. While space does not permit a lengthy discussion, I will briefly mention that the term Latino signifies the colonial relation between the USA and Latin America rather than Spain and Latin America, which is a relationship of greater political and cultural relevance for understanding the conditions of life in the western hemisphere for Latinos or Hispanics (Alcoff, 2005: 402). Therefore, I have chosen to adopt the term 'Latino'.

prominent role of the Spanish language in American history and portrays it as a direct threat to English (Zentella, 1997).

In this paper, which is part of a larger project<sup>4</sup>, I attempt to address two questions related to the discourse of the English Only movement. First, I ask what the main arguments are in favour of English Only policies, and how they are constructed discursively. I aim to determine what discursive strategies are used, and how these arguments can be categorised. Next, in examining more closely the arguments of English Only proponents, I consider whether and how my methodological approach to analysing various texts associated with the English Only moment can expose certain ideologies that I hypothesise are embedded in English Only discourse. Finally, I demonstrate how I attempt to answer these questions by applying certain analytical categories to my data (extracts of English Only texts), and I provide illustrative examples from my analysis.

The English Only movement is primarily supported through the efforts of politicians and private organizations such as *U.S. English* and *English First*, which were founded in the 1980s and propagate English Only ideologies through their websites, legislative lobbying and public mailings. Schmidt (2000) identifies the three types of issues that predominate in English Only discourse as: educational policy (bilingual education) for language minority children, linguistic access to political and civil rights, and a constitutional amendment that would declare English the sole official language of the United States. More specifically, policies informed by English Only ideologies often aim to restrict or eliminate bilingual education, prohibit the use of languages other than English in government, and limit the abilities of states to provide services in languages other than English. These issues overlap and are interrelated, feeding upon and influencing each other (Schmidt, 1997: 344). To date, thirty states have enacted official English laws. According to Crawford (2008: 199), Official-English proposals vary, but those currently pending before the U.S. Congress are radical and restrictionist in nature, aiming not just to celebrate English as the common language but also to prohibit the use of other languages by the federal government.

May (2001) categorises the English Only movement into four major aspects, which he characterises as problematic and in need of closer examination:

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<sup>4</sup> The larger project is my Ph.D. thesis, which investigates language policy, language ideology and attitudes toward language and identity in the context of the English Only movement in the USA from a CDA perspective. In addition to the methodology discussed in this paper, questionnaires and interviews are used for data collection and analysis in my thesis.

1. Arguments characterised by historical inaccuracy about the role of English and other languages in the United States
2. Explicit links made between a lack of English and educational failure and a misrepresentation of Bilingual Education<sup>5</sup>
3. Inherent nativism<sup>6</sup> of English Only rhetoric where language is used to maintain racialised<sup>7</sup> distinctions (e.g. Hispanophobia)
4. The assumption that speaking English is a unifying force while multilingualism is destructive of national unity

May's categorisation of the English Only movement provides a starting point for an analysis of English Only discourse and the movement's historical context. Examples of these four aspects into which he categorises English Only will be provided in the text extracts and analysis later in the paper. Both in this paper and in the larger project, I have adopted the discourse-historical approach (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001; Wodak, 2001a, 2006) to CDA. The discourse-historical approach is multi-theoretical and multi-methodological, it emphasises the historical context in investigating a social problem, and advocates the integration of available knowledge about the historical sources and backgrounds of the social and political fields in which discursive events are embedded (Wodak, 2001a). Thus, I will discuss the background of the English Only movement, which includes a brief historical overview of uses of and attitudes toward languages in the U.S., leading up to the English Only movement. In addition, though the discourse-historical approach advocates multiple methods, the focus of this paper is discourse analysis.

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<sup>5</sup> There are various models of bilingual education, and bilingual programs have experienced varying degrees of success for a variety of reasons. In the U.S. bilingual education can be defined broadly as any use of two languages in school—by teachers or students or both—for a variety of social and pedagogical purposes (The National Association of Bilingual Education, 2004, <http://www.nabe.org/>).

<sup>6</sup> In the American context, present-day nativism can be defined generally as opposition to immigration. Nativism typically distinguishes between Americans born in the United States and those who have immigrated to the United States and is largely based on fears that immigrants do not share mainstream 'American' values.

<sup>7</sup> Racialisation refers to the attempt to establish a hierarchical distribution of privileges and obligations on the basis of race (Wiley, 2000: 72). Miles' (1982: 157) concept of racialisation is a synonym for the concept of racial categorisation, defined as a "process of delineation of group boundaries and of allocation of persons within those boundaries by primary reference to (supposedly) inherent and/or biological (usually phenotypical) characteristics".

## Background to the study

### Historical context

Understanding the historical context (both the recent and more distant past) preceding the English Only movement in the U.S. and its relationship with immigration is necessary in order to critically analyse the discourse that it has engendered. While the official status of English has been debated since the founding of the United States, a language policy has never been established at the federal level (Ricento, 1996). Heath (1992) argues that the new nation's founders associated an official status for English with European monarchy and aristocracy and therefore avoided official recognition of English. In addition, drafters of both the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution were reluctant to formalise English or any language (Shell, 1993). Though English was never imposed through legislation, it became an official dominant language, gradually becoming so hegemonic that observers are often surprised by the absence of any language legislation in the U.S. (Shannon, 1999).

English was not pre-eminent in the United States in the early colonial period, however, during which a number of languages competed with English in the public domain (May, 2003). In fact, the language history of the United States was much more diverse and contested than assertions of English dominance might suggest, as is the case with most modern nation-states (ibid.). In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in the colonies which later became the United States of America, Dutch, Swedish and German were widely spoken (Zentella, 1997), and Spanish and French predominated outside of those colonies (May, 2003). Publicly and privately funded bilingual schools also existed in the U.S. until the early part of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (ibid.), when bilingual education in English and German was more widespread than bilingual programs in all languages are today (Crawford, 2008: 118). In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, newspapers were also published in multiple languages throughout the U.S. (Pavlenko, 2002: 169). By the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, every major ethnic community had dailies and weeklies, and multilingual printing presses existed in different parts of the country (ibid.).

Bilingualism, biculturalism and linguistic diversity in general were viable options in the United States for some time, and this was reflected in the policies and practices of the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries (Pavlenko, 2002: 167). However, primarily because of immigration at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, U.S. society has been portrayed as a 'melting pot', which is a metaphor for ethnic assimilation within the context of large-scale immigration. Pavlenko sees the melting pot as an intrinsic part of U.S. national identity, yet she also points out that current scholarship "debunks the traditional image of America as a monolingual 'melting pot' where immigrants willingly renounced their native languages and learned English in order to belong", as many of them were already multilingual and were joining a society that was multilingual (2002: 164, 166). Between 1880 and 1924, however, an ideological shift occurred with regard to language, due to the

atmosphere of hatred toward German-Americans and distrust and apprehension of the new Southern and Eastern European immigrants in the post World War I period (Pavlenko, 2002).

Though restrictive language movements existed in earlier historical periods, the English Only movement, at least in its current form, had been lying dormant for nearly half a century when it resurfaced in the 1980s (Schmid, 2001). Therefore, it is also important to look briefly at immigration between the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and the 1980s, when the present English Only movement began. The United States has a history of regulating immigration, which was evidenced in the 1924 National Origins Act and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (Jernegan et al., 2005).<sup>8</sup> While these acts sought overall limits on immigration, they strongly favoured immigrants from Europe over other regions of the world (ibid.). The turning point, however, was the Immigration and Nationality Act Amendments of 1965, as they set in motion powerful forces that still shape the United States today by abolishing the national origins quota system as the basis for immigration and increasing numerical limits on immigration (ibid.). As a result, the United States "began to witness the transformation from predominantly European immigration to Latin American and Asian flows that continue to characterize today's immigration patterns" (ibid.). In the early 1980s, there was a rise in nativism due to an increase in the number of minority language speakers, particularly those from the Spanish-speaking world, despite the fact that demographic research indicates a rise in the rate of Anglicisation along with the rise in minority language speakers (Crawford, 2008: 118). Consequently, ballot initiatives to make English the official language and impose other restrictions in favour of English began to emerge, resulting in the development of the English Only movement.

While this brief historical overview is neither in-depth nor detailed, it is important in positioning the English Only movement in relation to its historical context. Pavlenko (2002: 164) sees English monolingualism as being constructed historically as a symbol of 'Americanness', and this leads to a discussion of the present English Only movement.

### **English Only: An overview of the modern-day movement**

It is necessary to link the linguistic history of the U.S. with the recent past in order to gain a thorough understanding of the English Only movement, with a particular focus on May's (2001) point regarding historical inaccuracy about the role of English and other languages in the United States. English Only proponents have often depicted present-day language diversity as a departure from a mythic past in which immigrants strove to learn English and ceased using their native languages (Macias and Wiley, 1998: viii). In 1982, Samuel Hayakawa, a Republican senator from California, proposed an English Language Amendment to the constitution which would make English the official rather than de facto

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.migrationinformation.org/Profiles/display.cfm?ID=283>

national language (May, 2001). Hayakawa supported his proposition with the following claims: a common language unifies while separate languages fracture and fragment a society; learning English is the major task of each immigrant and is necessary to fully participate in society; and, English plays the role of the principal agent of social mobility (ibid.). While Hayakawa's English Language Amendment failed, it received a great deal of publicity and public support, and that same year Virginia adopted English as the official state language and official language of public instruction.

The remainder of the 1980's saw various English Only measures in the form of anti-bilingual ordinances, the founding of several pro-English Only organizations including U.S. English, English First and Pro-English, and the adoption of official English laws by numerous states. In 1985, the then Secretary of Education William J. Bennett began to question the effectiveness of bilingual education, which resulted in multiple attacks on this type of instruction during the following years. Then, in 1998, Proposition 227 was voted into law in California, banning the use of languages other than English for instruction in public schools. Two years later, Proposition 203, an initiative similar to Proposition 227, was voted into law in Arizona, imposing a state-wide English Only mandate on the public schools. In 2007, federal legislation that would amend the U.S. constitution to make English the national language of the government of the U.S. was introduced, as was the English Language Unity Act, which attempted to declare English as the official language of the United States and establish a uniform English language rule for naturalisation.

## **Language policy and ideology in the United States**

In examining historical and current attitudes and policies related to language in the United States, it is necessary to look at language policy in more general terms, as well as the relationship between language policy and ideology. Therefore, this section contains a brief summary of perspectives on language policy, ideology and the relationship between them. Wodak (2006: 170) views language policy as "every public influence on the communication of languages, the sum of those 'top-down' and 'bottom-up' political initiatives through which a particular language or languages is/are supported in their public validity, their functionality and their dissemination". Language policy debates are always about more than language, which is evidenced in English Only discourse, and furthermore, ideologies about languages have real effects on language policies and practices (Ricento, 2006: 8). Language policies can also be seen as ideological constructs that reflect and (re)produce the distribution of power within society (McCarty, 2004: 72).

In addition, the absence of explicit policy may also be viewed as an act of language policy itself, a point which is clearly relevant in the American context (Heath, 1977). From Schmidt's (2000) perspective, language policy in the U.S. can be seen as a political issue with partisans divided into two camps; pluralists and assimilationists. These two groups have radically different understandings of what is at stake in the language debate: because

language minorities are people of colour, pluralists see this conflict as linked to the struggle for racial equality in the U.S., whereas assimilationists see it as the socialisation of immigrants and the common good, and they are preoccupied with what they perceive as the increasing threat to national unity brought about by change in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century (ibid.).

Language is built into the structure of society so deeply that its fundamental importance seems natural, and language policies are often seen as expressions of natural, common-sense assumptions about language in society (Tollefson, 1991). In general terms, the ideology of the English Only movement encourages policies that would require everyone to learn the dominant language, as this is widely seen as a common-sense solution to the communication problems within multilingual societies (ibid.). In this context, monolingualism is seen as a solution to linguistic inequality, and the argument of English Only is that linguistic minorities will no longer suffer economic and social inequality if they learn the dominant language (ibid.).

However, the ideology of English monolingualism has also been used to rationalise policies for the incorporation and subordination of various groups into the U.S. (Wiley, 2000: 67). Linguistic assimilation into English has been universally held as a mandate for all groups, as a central tenet of the monolingual ideology is that languages are in competition (ibid.). This presupposes a contest between languages in which only one language can prosper, and for that language to prosper, there is an assumption that it must conquer all others lest it be conquered (Wiley, 2000: 67-68). For example, Spanish, which is increasingly spoken in the U.S., is seen as a threat to English; therefore, there is an assumption that English must conquer Spanish. Wiley (2000: 68) sees this view as a false dichotomy that is "an artefact of the ideology of monolingualism itself, which suppresses the more typical and accommodating tendency toward bilingualism or multilingualism".

## **Theoretical background and methodology**

### **CDA and the discourse-historical approach**

In my view, CDA is not a single theory or methodology; rather, it is an approach or a way of doing discourse analysis that emphasises certain concepts (e.g. power and ideology) but to which multiple approaches exist. Blackledge (2005: 3) views its concern with social life, and the role of discourse within it, as most characteristic of CDA, and this is consistent with my view of CDA. The discourse-historical approach, which I broadly follow in this paper, perceives both spoken and written discourse to be a form of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Discourse is understood as a complex bundle of simultaneous and sequential interrelated linguistic acts which often manifest themselves as texts (Wodak, 2001a: 66). According to Wodak (2001a: 64), "research in CDA must be multi-theoretical and multi-methodological, critical and self-reflective". In addition, the

term 'critical' is understood as having distance to the data, embedding the data in the social, taking an explicit political stance, and focusing on self-reflection (Wodak, 2001b: 9). Wodak (2001a: 69) outlines the most important characteristics of the discourse-historical approach; here I will emphasise those characteristics which are most pertinent in my research project. While not all aspects of the discourse-historical approach will be implemented or discussed in this paper, they are integrated into my thesis.

- The discourse-historical approach is interdisciplinary on several levels (theory, work and practice)
- The approach is problem oriented
- The theory and methodology are eclectic and integrated
- The approach is abductive: a constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary
- Multiple genres and public spaces are studied
- Intertextual and interdiscursive relationships are investigated<sup>9</sup>
- Categories and tools for analysis are defined and selected according to these steps and procedures as well as to the specific problem under investigation
- Practice is the target, and results should be made available to experts in different fields with the goal of changing certain discursive and social practices
- The historical context is always analysed and integrated into the interpretation of discourses and texts

While all of the characteristics above are features of CDA, the emphasis placed on the historical context is of particular significance for the discourse-historical approach. Finally, Wodak (2001a) explains that critical analysts should try to make choices at each point in the research itself and make these choices transparent, and CDA should justify theoretically why certain interpretations of discursive events seem more valid than others. Still, an analyst's assumptions can never truly be absent, as one's own biography, history and political orientation are brought to the reading of a text (Blackledge, 2005). However, it is important to consider ways in which to minimise the risk of bias (Weiss and Wodak, 2003), and this may be achieved in part by adhering to the principles of triangulation, a salient feature of the discourse-historical approach. The triangulatory approach adopted by Wodak can also be characterised as theoretical and based on the concept of context, taking into account the following four levels: the immediate language, the intertextual and interdiscursive relationship between utterances, texts, genres and discourses, the extralinguistic (social) level or the 'context of situation', and the broader socio-political and

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<sup>9</sup> Intertextuality refers to the fact that all texts are linked to other texts; both in the past and the present, and these links can be established through reference to a topic or events or by the transfer of arguments from one text to another. Interdiscursivity indicates that discourses are linked to each other in various ways. For example, if a discourse is defined as topic-related, then certain discourses often refer to topics or subtopics of other discourses (Wodak, 2008).



historical contexts (Meyer, 2001: 29). Nonetheless, strict objectivity cannot be achieved by means of discourse analysis since the beliefs and ideologies of analysts are embedded in their analyses (ibid.).

### **Ideology as a concept and language ideologies**

Ideology is a concept that figures indispensably in the English Only movement and CDA, as it is seen as establishing and maintaining unequal power relations (see e.g. Wodak, 2001a). Santa Ana (2002: 18), however, takes a less power-oriented approach and defines ideology as “the articulated social order to which people are normally oblivious”.

Santa Ana describes ideology in more detail:

Those contingencies that are never questioned, such as the background understanding about their social space, social beliefs, relationships, and identities that are established in the day to day, are also products of the discursive process of ideology. When, for example, it is just ‘common sense’ that ‘illegal aliens’ have fewer rights than citizens, or it is only ‘natural’ that students have to disregard or deny their home world in order to be taught things by their teachers ... then we are operating within the ideological assumptions of U.S. social order (2002: 18).

Ideology in both views underpins arguments about the use of language in society, and this can be applied to multilingual societies in particular. In this paper, the emphasis on language ideology relates to Blackledge’s (2005: 32) view that ideologies include the values practiced and beliefs associated with language use by speakers and the discourse which constructs values and beliefs at state, institutional, national and global levels. Language ideologies are always socially situated and connected to questions of identity and power (ibid.). While ideologies may appear to discriminate against languages, they often discriminate against the speakers of those languages, and symbolic means of discrimination are found because explicit racist discourse that describes particular groups of people in negative terms is not permitted (Blackledge, 2005). It could be argued that this is the case with speakers of Spanish in the United States. Therefore, CDA can be used as a tool to expose these underlying discriminatory ideologies in discourse.

Blackledge’s (2005) theoretical framework which analyses and illuminates ideological debates about minority languages in multilingual societies can be applied effectively to the context of the United States, as aspects of his discussion include relations between language and identity, language and nationalism, language and hegemony, language and symbolic racism, multilingualism and social cohesion, and language and citizenship, all of which relate to English Only. Blackledge (2005: 32) understands the complex ways in which language ideologies are produced and reproduced in relation to Bourdieu’s (1977) model of ‘habitus and field’. Habitus, which is key to understanding the

discursive reproduction of power, is the set of dispositions or learned behaviours which provides individuals with a sense of how to act and respond in the course of their daily lives. It is a way of being which has been inculcated through patterns of behaviour of the group in its history, culture, language and other norms (Bourdieu, 1977).

The production and reproduction of common-sense consensus that occurs in discourse can be seen as *symbolic violence*, and language ideologies also contribute to the production and reproduction of social difference, as some languages are constructed as having greater worth than other languages (Blackledge, 2005: 33). Bourdieu's (2000) assertion that the "state makes a decisive contribution towards the production and reproduction of the instruments of construction of social reality" is applicable in the context of English Only, and Blackledge (2005) points out that "this contribution is often in the form of illiberal and hegemonic discourse which wears a liberal mask".

Blackledge (2005: 34-35) explains that

very often, multilingual societies which apparently tolerate or even promote heterogeneity in fact undervalue or ignore the linguistic diversity of their populace. A liberal orientation to equality of opportunity for all may mask an ideological drive towards homogeneity, a drive which potentially marginalises or excludes those who either refuse, or are unwilling, to conform.

This can be applied to the case of many Latino immigrants in the U.S. who maintain their native language and cultural practices, which is viewed by many English Only proponents as an unwillingness to assimilate.

Bourdieu's (1998) model of the symbolic value of one language over another is also important. In this model, "cultural and linguistic unification is accompanied by the imposition of the dominant language and culture as legitimate and by the rejection of all other languages into indignity" (Bourdieu, 1998: 46). This is particularly applicable in contemporary USA, where the expectation has often been that immigrants should replace the traits that make them different with characteristics that make them appear more 'American' since allowing languages other than English to flourish would appear to jeopardize the status quo of the dominance of English as well as those who speak it (Blackledge, 2005: 37). Dicker (1996) calls the Official English movement a language-restrictionist movement that is based on the ideology that immigrants need to conform to 'American' ways linguistically if they are to be accepted and successful in their new country. In addition, language ideologies are likely the location of images of 'self/other' or 'us/them', specific examples of which are found in the English Only debate (Schieffelin and Doucet, 1998: 286). Blackledge (2005: 37) describes the English Only debate as "a contest about political identity, about who is allowed to be 'American' and who is not, and about who is 'in' and who is 'out'".

Silverstein (1996) sees American society as one with a culture of monoglot standardisation. This monoglot standardisation underlies the constitution of the linguistic

community and affects the structure of various and overlapping speech communities (ibid.). Similarly, Tollefson (1991) examines linguistic hegemony in the U.S., as linguistic minorities are denied political rights, and multilingualism is widespread but officially invisible in the major mass media, government, and most public discourse. Because minority languages do not appear in these areas of public discourse, their exclusion comes to be seen as natural and inevitable, and this may explain why the English Only movement has garnered so much public support (ibid.). On the other hand, the increasing presence of Spanish in the public domain has also garnered support for the English Only movement, as it is seen as a 'threat' to the hegemony of English.

## **Data collection and analysis**

### **Analytical categories**

In this section, I outline my approach to analysing the text extracts in this paper. Rather than adhering to a particular model, I take an eclectic approach to textual analysis. In the analysis contained in the following section, I examine several linguistic features, including personal pronouns, modality, grammatical structures, presupposition, and lexical choices. I also ask specific questions that Wodak (2006: 179) defines as important in an analysis of 'us' and 'them':

1. How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
2. What traits and characteristics are attributed to them?
3. What arguments are used to justify and legitimise the inclusion and exclusion of others?
4. From what perspective are labels, attributions and arguments expressed?
5. Are utterances articulated overtly, and are they intensified or mitigated?

In addition, I apply certain discourse-analytical tools employed by the discourse-historical approach that are useful for the analysis of discourses on language policies/politics and relate to the identification of discursive strategies used for positive self and negative other representation (see Wodak 2001a, 2006):

<b>Strategy</b>	<b>Objective</b>	<b>Devices</b>
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	-Membership categorization -Biological, naturalizing and depersonalizing metaphors and metonymies
Predicational	Labelling social actors more or less positively or negatively, deprecatorily or appreciatively	-Stereotypical, evaluative attributions of negative or positive traits -Implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of positive or negative attributions	-Topoi used to justify political inclusion or exclusion, discrimination or preferential treatment
Perspectivation; Framing or discourse representation	Expressing involvement; Positioning speaker's point of view	-Reporting, description, narration or quotation of (discriminatory) events and utterances
Intensification/Mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	-Intensifying or mitigating the illocutionary force of (discriminatory utterances)

In the extracts analysed in this paper, there is a particular emphasis on the use of argumentation strategies, or topoi, and metaphor. Topoi are parts of argumentation that take the common sense reasoning that is typical for specific issues as their key feature (van Dijk, 2000: 97) and make plausible the transition from a premise to a conclusion (van Eemeren, 1996). Similarly, Wodak and Meyer (2001: 7) describe topoi as parts of argumentation which belong to the obligatory, either explicit or inferable premises. For example, the topos of burdening, which can be seen in arguments related to immigration in English Only discourse, is explained as follows: if a person, institution or country is burdened with specific problems, action to diminish such burdens should be taken (Wodak, 2001a).

Metaphor, a device that may be used in referential/nomination strategies intended to construct in-groups and out-groups, is also significant to the analysis in this paper. The use of metaphor enables the creation of new and alternate realities that make feasible otherwise unfeasible or overly imaginative correlations, thereby allowing an individual

conceptualisation of reality to appear more convincing because of the invocation of emotions (Bhatia, 2007: 510). According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 36), metaphor is principally a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another. Metaphors often bring about a reconceptualisation of our experiences rather than providing explanations, and they may favour particular interpretations of situations and events over others (Deignan, 2005; Goatly, 1997).

## Analysis

This section contains a small number of text extracts that represent a variety of genres; it also provides examples of some of the common arguments found in English Only discourse.<sup>10</sup> The texts selected for inclusion in this paper represent the range of topics present in English Only discourse (some of which have been discussed in previous sections of this paper) and demonstrate interdiscursivity, as discourse on English Only often draws on discourse on immigration. The extracts are taken from texts produced by various individuals and groups involved in the debate on language in the United States, including citizens' action groups, politicians, and private citizens expressing their opinions. The extracts in this dataset represent the following genres: political speeches, online discussion, website content, public opinion surveys, and legislation.

The first extract is taken from a speech given by former California Senator Samuel Hayakawa to the U.S. Congress in support of S.J. Res. 72, a constitutional amendment that would make English the official language of the United States, which Hayakawa introduced in 1981. First, it is necessary to provide some background and context in accordance with the discourse-historical approach. This extract represents an important piece of English Only legislation, as it was the first attempt to give English official status in the United States at the federal level. Hayakawa was also a former college professor and college president whose work examined the semantic theories of philosopher Alfred Korzybski. While he is speaking as a politician in the context of this speech, he may also try to claim some language-related expertise as a professor (or his audience may assume that he possesses language-related expertise).

- (1) Language is an instrument which binds people together. When people speak one language they become as one, they become a society. In the Book of Genesis, it says when the Lord saw that mankind spoke one universal language, He said, 'Behold, they are one people, and they all have the same language ... and nothing which they propose to do will be impossible for them.' If you will recall the Bible story, God destroyed this power by giving mankind many languages rather than the one. So you had proliferation of language breaking up human pride and, therefore, human power.

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<sup>10</sup> While space does not permit a lengthy discussion of genre in this paper, I adopt Fairclough's (1995: 14) definition of a genre as a conventionalised, more or less schematically fixed use of language associated with a particular activity. For a more extensive discussion on genre, see Polyzou (2008) this volume.

Hayakawa begins with one of the primary English Only arguments, which is the metaphor of 'language as an instrument' that unifies people, thereby making them one as a society. However, many metaphors distort because they are over-simplifications (Deignan, 2005: 23). The use of the 'language as instrument' metaphor implies that unity can be achieved simply through speaking a common language and nothing else.

Hayakawa also employs a religious argument and makes an intertextual reference to Biblical scripture to further conceptualise English, the common language, as an instrument that will help society achieve unity, strength, and the ability for great accomplishment. The story of the tower of Babel implies that the use of many languages (multilingualism) fragments, but that the use of one language (monolingualism) unifies, or it could be said that power can be achieved through a common language but not multiple ones (as multilingualism was, after all, a punishment in this context). However, it is interesting to examine how hearers are intended to understand the use of the Babel story in this argument. Hayakawa's implication may be that God himself advocates monolingualism as superior, and therefore sees multilingualism as destructive of the power that can be achieved through one common, unifying language. However, in the Bible story the power achieved through one language produced arrogance, which God punished with multilingualism. Hayakawa, however, does not directly acknowledge that people were being punished for their arrogance, so the appearance of the Babel story in this text is confusing. Rather than attempting to look for a logical use of this story by Hayakawa, it may be worth considering whether its vague use is intentional, as the misuse of concepts is widespread in political discourse in the developed West, in statements by politicians and in the media (Allott, 2006: 147).

Extract 2 is also taken from the Hayakawa speech.

- (2) Mr. President, the United States, a land of immigrants from every corner of the world, has been strengthened and unified because its newcomers have historically chosen ultimately to forgo their native language for the English language. We have all benefited from the sharing of ideas, of cultures and beliefs, made possible by a common language. We have all enriched each other.

A critical analysis should take into account *absences as well as presences* in the data (Kress and van Leeuwen, 2001). In extract 2 the use of the passive as opposed to active voice in the first sentence ('the United States...has been strengthened and unified') results in the absence of the immigrants who we can assume have strengthened and unified the United States. Furthermore, a critical analysis accounts not only for what linguistic elements and processes exist in a text, but also explains the linguistic choices of producers of texts, bearing in mind that a given language may provide several other options (Baker et al., 2008: 281). Hayakawa chooses not to give immigrants agency in this extract, even after referring to the U.S. as a 'land of immigrants'. In addition, Hayakawa endorses the assimilationist ideology (Schmidt, 2000), which assumes that newcomers have 'chosen' to

forgo their native language rather than having been forced to assimilate linguistically. In addition, he equates the strengthening and unifying of a nation with the choice to replace a multitude of languages with English.

Extracts 3 and 4 are from anonymous posters in an online discussion forum called 'Unexplained Mysteries Online Discussion Forum.' The topic was 'What's next, Amerexico?' and this discussion began in response to a Spanish language translation of the U.S. national anthem in 2005 (<http://www.unexplained-mysteries.com/>).

- (3) Enough is enough. If we keep on making it easy for people of another country to live here without even as much as learning our language then hell...we'll be over-run soon. In a good ten years from now the mexicans will be the majority and [we] will be the minority...
- (4) oh my god what idiots, first of all this is the US not Mexico so i will give all the illegals advice take the fajita and enchilada somewhere else!!

In both extracts there are examples of the construction of in-groups and out-groups (Wodak, 2001a). In extract 3, it is necessary to ask exactly who the pronoun 'we' refers to, as many immigrants with limited English proficiency are, in fact, U.S. citizens and 'legal' residents, yet in this context, it is clear that the use of 'we' intends to exclude them. I would argue that the poster refers collectively to monolingual and perhaps even Anglo-Americans as 'we', while bilingual Spanish-speaking Latinos are collectively referred to as 'people of another country'. It is possible that the posters intentionally adopt a strategy of overgeneralising in referring to all Spanish-speaking 'immigrants', including bilingual American citizens who might be American-born as well as first and second generation immigrants, as 'illegal' and 'mexican' based solely on the criterion that they are not monolingual English-speaking Anglo-Americans.

In addition, the use of the metaphor 'over-run' in order to conceptualise how 'they' are going to take over and outnumber 'us' is an example of how metaphors have been used in American public discourse in the late 20<sup>th</sup> century in order to edify, reinforce and articulate the concept of Latinos for the public (Santa Ana, 1999).

In extract 4, a predicational strategy (labelling social actors negatively in this context) is used as the stereotypical labels *illegal* and *Mexican* (the latter emphasised by a reference to 'Mexico' as well as to 'fajita' and 'enchilada' which are common Mexican foods) are seemingly assigned to all Spanish-speaking Latinos. Because immigrants or all bilingual Spanish-speaking Latinos might view a Spanish translation of the national anthem as a way of expressing allegiance to the U.S., they are negatively categorised and called idiots; to the producer of this text, these symbols of 'Americanness' clearly lose their meaning if they are not represented or communicated in English. Also interesting in this extract is the use of the imperative, as the poster gives immigrants a direct order to learn English or leave ('take the fajita and enchilada somewhere else'). However, an imperative statement can only be an order if uttered by someone with authority over the hearer

(Wood and Kroger, 2000: 5; see also Austin, 1962; Searle, 1971), and this speaker possesses no authority in this situation or presumably on the subject. It could be argued, however, that the speaker is assuming a position of authority over immigrants and bilingual Spanish-speaking Latinos as a native-born, monolingual English-speaking American. Extract 5 is taken from the home page of the U.S. English website (<http://www.usenglish.org/view/3>).

- (5) U.S. ENGLISH believes that the passage of English as the official language will help to expand opportunities for immigrants to learn and speak English, the single greatest empowering tool that immigrants must have to succeed.

Modality, which is the linguistic encoding of 'speakers' claims about the necessity, probability or possibility of beliefs and actions (Turnbull and Saxton, 1997: 145), is worth examining in this extract, as the use of epistemic modality ('U.S. English believes') demonstrates the certainty of U.S. English that this law will help immigrants. In addition, deontic modality ('that immigrants must have to succeed') is expressed to demonstrate that, in the opinion of U.S. English, immigrants are obligated to learn English if they want to be successful in the U.S. Within this statement, the metaphor of English as a tool is also present, as is the topos of usefulness (learning English will be useful for immigrants; therefore, it is something that they should do).

Extract 6 is taken from a statement by Mauro E. Mujica, the Chairman of U.S. English. It is taken from the U.S. English website (<http://www.usenglish.org/view/5>).

- (6) The lack of an assimilation policy for immigrants to the United States is rapidly changing the successful integration ways of the past. Gone are the days of the American Dream and the upwardly mobile society for immigrants. English, the greatest unifier in our nation's history, has come under attack in our government, in our schools and in our courts. The whole notion of a melting pot culture is threatened if immigrants are not encouraged to adopt the common language of this country. While using a multitude of languages in business, at home or in worship is valuable, it is burdensome, inappropriate, and divisive in government. What's more, it only serves as a disincentive to immigrants to learn English; the language 97 percent of our country speaks. We believe it makes far more sense to funnel the money spent on translation services to providing newcomers with the most important instrument in their life's toolbox - the knowledge of English so they can go as far as their dreams take them. Join us. Support us. Fight with us. Because English is the key to opportunity for all new immigrants.

By referring to the American Dream and the upward social mobility of immigrants, Mujica implies that successful integration was occurring automatically in the past. This is relevant to the discussion in the section on the historical context above, as it is an example of the type of historical inaccuracies contained in many English Only arguments (this also



demonstrates why knowledge of the broader historical context is necessary in order to fully understand English Only discourse and for language policy planning). Mujica also uses multiple metaphors here: the war metaphor ('English is under attack', 'fight with us'), the melting pot metaphor, and the metaphor of English as an 'instrument in life's toolbox' and the 'key to opportunity'.

Next, Mujica invokes the topos of burdening with regard to the use of 'a multitude of languages' in government and the topos of numbers to make a case for all immigrants learning English (if 97% of the country speaks English, why shouldn't the other 3% learn to speak it just as well)? Mujica's lexical choices are also worth noting, as he uses the evaluative adjectives 'burdensome', 'inappropriate', and 'divisive' to refer to the use of multiple languages in government. Also interesting is his use of the figure 97% to refer to the number of English-speaking Americans in the U.S. Mujica claims that English is under attack but then states that 97% of the country speaks it, which contradicts his argument. Does he assume that those individuals who do not speak English (3%) are so powerful that their languages may compete with English, spoken by the overwhelming majority?

Finally, Mujica uses the imperative ('join us', 'support us', 'fight with us') to solicit support for U.S. English from visitors to its website. As previously mentioned, the use of the imperative involves some degree of authority on the part of the speaker. In the text from which this extract is taken, called 'Why an Immigrant Runs an Organisation Called U.S. English', Mujica also mentions that he himself emigrated to the U.S. and that he is perfectly bilingual. Therefore, Mujica appears to be claiming expertise or authority on the issue of English acquisition by immigrants in the U.S. as someone who knows what is best for them based on personal experience.

Extract 7 is comprised of content taken from a U.S. English public opinion survey used in a direct mailing in April 2007.

- (7) With some 33 million foreign-born now living in the U.S. and illegal immigration out of control, America is rapidly becoming multilingual as evidenced by these disturbing statistics on our government's provisions for non-English speakers. But, most Americans believe abandoning English as our common language undermines our national unity and that encouraging the use of foreign languages ultimately hurts rather than helps immigrants. U.S. English has won many battles for Official English, but we have yet to reach our goals of establishing English as the official, unifying language of the United States and reversing harmful multilingual policies. The Department of Justice requires the printing of election ballots, registration forms, and brochures in foreign languages at over 1,000 polling locations—costing taxpayers \$27 million each year. Ours is the battle for our way of life in America.

Extract 7 begins with a statistic on the number of 'foreign-born' people living in the U.S. First, the use of the attribute 'foreign-born' without a noun is a strategy to degrade and dehumanise. Also, while the sentence does not actually state that there are 33 million

'illegal' immigrants in the United States, the statistic is followed by the phrase 'illegal immigration out of control'. The inclusion of both pieces of information in the same sentence may have been purposeful in order to link 'foreign born' and 'illegal'. No reference is made to the number of immigrants who are in the U.S. 'legally' as opposed to 'illegally'; thus, consumers of this particular text may be unaware of how many of those 33 million are actually 'illegal'. The use of language in this U.S. English survey serves to discredit all immigrants, not only the 'illegal' ones but also the 'legal' majority, which could also be perceived as 'illegal' due to phrasing used.

The 'war' metaphor is also used by U.S. English in this extract ('has won many battles', 'ours is the battle for our way of life in America'). While the war metaphor is ubiquitous, it is interesting to note its use by advocates of English Only (or Official English, as it is referred to in the extract above) to demonstrate the threat to English and the American way of life by 'harmful multilingual policies' and immigration. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) look at the conceptual metaphor 'argument is war', a metaphor that they claim is reflected in our everyday language by a wide variety of expressions, and in the context of English Only, a 'war' can be seen as the specific argument about making English Only language policies. Though arguments and wars are different kinds of things, and the actions performed are different kinds of actions, argument is partially structured, understood, performed and discussed in terms of war (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In this particular extract, however, the 'war' is between monolingual English speaking Americans who are 'protecting' their 'way of life' against other forces, which could include politicians, immigrants or immigration as a more abstract entity, bilingual education and language policies related to multilingualism.

According to U.S. English, 'ours is the battle for our way of life in America', but whose way of life is it? Does the subject 'ours' refer to the battle that U.S. English is waging, and does 'our' refer to U.S. English, to all monolingual-English speaking Americans, or simply *all* Americans who are concerned about the unifying role that English plays in the U.S.? In addition, the phrase 'battle for our way of life in America' presupposes that there is agreement on what the 'way of life' *is* in America and *whose* way of life should be excluded. The phrase 'America is rapidly becoming multilingual as evidenced by these disturbing statistics on our government's provisions for non-English speakers' is also problematic. America was never a monolingual nation, but this statement, an example of historical inaccuracy, presupposes a previous state of monolingualism that is currently threatened by multilingualism (attributed to the number of foreign-born individuals living in the country and illegal immigration). Also, lexical choices such as the evaluative adjectives 'disturbing' and 'harmful' evaluate multilingualism and multilingual policies negatively. Overall, this extract creates in- and out-group constructions, as 'our way of life' clearly excludes non-monolingual, non-English-speaking, and possibly even non-Anglo Americans.

Next, the topos of finance is used in extract 7 to demonstrate how immigrants are costing American taxpayers \$27 million annually in printed materials in foreign

languages. The argument is that if a specific action costs too much, it should be diminished. The topos of finance is often closely related to the topos of burdening: if a country is burdened with specific problems (in this context, immigrants that necessitate the use of funds to print materials in other languages), actions should be taken to diminish the burden (Reisigl and Wodak, 2001: 78).

Extract 8 is taken from the 'Arguments for Proposition 203' section of Proposition 203, English Language Education for Children in Public Schools, 2000 (<http://www.azsos.gov/election/2000/Info/pubpamphlet/english/prop203.htm>).

- (8) The public schools of Arizona currently do an inadequate job of educating immigrant children, wasting financial resources on costly experimental language programs whose failure over the past two decades is demonstrated by the current high drop-out rates and low English literacy levels of many immigrant children. For many years all of us have worked hard to try to end Arizona's failed system of Spanish-only "bilingual education" which has inflicted so much educational harm on tens of thousands of innocent Hispanic children. Bilingual education has failed in its mission to teach children English. Students are trapped for years in segregated bilingual classrooms that fail to teach them English. Therefore, any student deprived of the opportunity to become fluent in English will be economically handicapped.

First, the topos of uselessness/disadvantage is used here in reference to bilingual education; since no advantage can be seen from bilingual education, it should not occur even though research in Second Language Acquisition has indicated that there are multiple advantages to bilingual education (see Crawford, 1999; Krashen, 1996, 1999; Ramirez et al., 1991). The topos of finance is also present, making a case against bilingual education because it is described as experimental and as having failed; therefore, financial resources used on bilingual education are wasted.

In addition, the war metaphors 'mission' and 'trapped' are employed to demonstrate the failure of bilingual education, as is evaluative metaphorical vocabulary ('inflicted', 'handicapped', 'trapped') in order to depict bilingual education in negative terms and to portray children as victims ('tens of thousands of innocent Hispanic children'). It is also interesting to note that the adjective 'segregated' is used to modify 'bilingual classrooms', linking segregation (rather than integration) with bilingualism. What I find most significant in this extract, however, is the use of the term 'Spanish Only', which not only demonstrates the lack of knowledge about bilingual education on behalf of the writers of Proposition 203, but also indicates how Spanish may be attacked even when other languages are involved, as bilingual programs are not exclusively English/Spanish programs.

Extract 9 refers to bilingual policies and is taken from Representative Joe Knollenberg's floor debate on English language legislation in 1996.

- (9) Our current bilingual policies are shredding the common bond that has made our Nation great. By making it easy for those who come to America, we have ripped the heart out of our national unity.

In this extract, 'current bilingual policies' are personified and given a great deal of agency as social actors, or participants in the social process (Fairclough, 2003: 22), as they metaphorically 'shred the bond that has made the United States great'. The use of the pronoun 'our' demonstrates that the speaker wants to convey a sense of shared identity and responsibility in joining together to put a stop to 'our' policies so that our nation can continue to be great. There is still a construction of in- and out-groups, but interestingly, immigrants are not blamed. Instead, it is 'we' (English-speaking, American-born citizens of the United States?) who are complicit in making it easy for immigrants to come and live in the U.S., and in so doing 'we' have ripped the heart out of our national unity—without a heart, our great nation can no longer survive; this is 'our' fault for allowing bilingual policies, and this reinforces the need to legislate against them. The use of 'heart' in extract 9 also evokes the conceptual metaphor of 'the nation as a person', which is pervasive and powerful (Lakoff, 2004: 69).

## Conclusions

This paper contains an exploratory study of a small sample of texts that can be categorised as supportive of the English Only movement. In this study, I have attempted to provide insights into the ideologies and discursive strategies contained in the discourse of proponents of the English Only movement. The aim of this final section is to synthesise the theory and analysis, to discuss the specific arguments and strategies found in the texts in the previous section, and to consider future directions for the larger project.

Ricento (2003: 630) sees texts as reproducing and reflecting social relations, and practices and attitudes of a society as discursive constructions that may evolve into ideologies. I view the attitudes expressed in the texts analysed as ideological, and I have thus far identified different arguments advocating what I will describe as the English Only Ideology which, at least in the texts in this paper, draws on Hispanophobia, monolingualism and assimilationism, three different but interconnected ideologies. Therefore, I categorise these arguments as follows:

1. English needs protection and preservation because it is threatened
2. Monolingualism is desirable while multilingualism is undesirable in daily public life
3. As far as immigration is concerned, American national identity is conceived in terms of the melting pot metaphor. Because English is an essential element of the

melting pot, 'Americanness' and English are inseparable (and assimilation is therefore essential)

4. English is essential to unity and social coherence in the U.S. (and in general, a common language is essential to unity and social coherence in any society)
5. A division exists between 'us' (American born monolingual English speakers and perhaps those who have chosen to assimilate) and 'them' (immigrants and bilingual Spanish-speaking Latinos who choose to maintain their languages and cultures) because 'they' do not conform to the melting pot tradition
6. Bilingualism is equated with ethnic separatism as far as immigrants are concerned

These arguments are problematic, particularly in the specific extracts in which they were presented. First, important historical information about the use of English and other languages in the United States is omitted in cases where it would be most relevant, and this supports May's (2001) assertion that English Only arguments are characterised by historical inaccuracy about the role of English and other languages in the United States. This could be seen as a deliberate choice or a reflection of limited knowledge about the role that English and other languages have played in the U.S. historically, or possibly a combination of both. May's (2001) other assertions about the misrepresentation of Bilingual Education, the inherent nativism of English Only rhetoric, and the assumption that speaking English is a unifying force while multilingualism is destructive of national unity also emerge in the texts and analysis.

Bourdieu's (2000) theory about the contribution of the state towards the production and reproduction of the instruments of construction of social reality is evidenced in English Only policies, and Blackledge's (2005) contention about this contribution in the form of illiberal and hegemonic discourse with a liberal mask can be effectively applied in the English Only context. In the texts in the previous section, there are statements about empowering immigrants and giving them the tool (English) to succeed, about enrichment through different cultures and beliefs in the U.S., and about the importance of a multiracial, multicultural and democratic society. These types of statements, found in multiple text extracts, appear to be liberal (based on equal opportunity and pluralism), yet what is mentioned is, in the view of proponents of the English Only movement, achievable only through imposing English and through forced assimilation. Forces within U.S. society that do not conform to the melting pot metaphor are perceived as a threat or a danger. Schmidt's (2000) identity politics framework for language policy in the U.S. can be applied here effectively. While a pluralist 'front' may be presented in certain places in the texts, this pluralism (which advocates a multicultural, multiethnic and multiracial society) is only tolerated to the extent that it does not involve languages other than English in the public sphere, and there are actually underlying ideologies that promote assimilation and monolingualism. As previously discussed, the assimilationist ideology relates to conflicts about language policy in the U.S. and to the socialisation of immigrants and the common good; therefore, there is a preoccupation with the 'threat to national unity' (Schmidt, 2000).

This ideology is present in the anonymous postings from the online discussion forum, in U.S. English's website statement on English as the official language of the U.S., and in Mauro Mujica's statement on the lack of assimilation policy for immigrants in the U.S. What appear to be common sense arguments about providing immigrants with upward social mobility and preserving the English language and American identity may instead be motivated by other underlying ideologies that a detailed textual analysis is able to expose. Therefore, in addition to the assimilationist ideology, the monolingual / monoglot ideology (see Silverstein, 1996, and Wiley, 1998, 1999, 2000) that underlies the U.S. linguistic community also contributes to the English Only Ideology and is present in numerous instances: the reference to Babel in Hayakawa's speech, the attack on bilingual education in Arizona by Proposition 203, Knollenberg's debate on bilingual policies, and the statement on English as the official language of the United States on the U.S. English website.

In addition, textual representations of English Only have demonstrated somewhat predictable linguistic characteristics, such as the use of metaphor (particularly in how arguments about English are constructed and immigrants (or Spanish-speaking bilinguals) are portrayed, e.g., there is a war to save English because there is a war against English, English is a tool that immigrants must possess, the U.S. is being overrun by immigrants), presuppositions that underlie the arguments of English Only proponents (that all immigrants should want to learn English, that multilingualism is problematic, that the U.S. used to be monolingual, that there is an agreed upon way of life in America), evaluative vocabulary ('divisive', 'burdensome', 'useless', 'hurtful', 'harmful', and 'disturbing' are all used to reference aspects of bilingualism/multilingualism) and topoi (e.g. the topoi of burdening, numbers and finance as they relate to immigrants in U.S. society).

To conclude, this paper has offered an overview of the English Only movement in the United States and a discussion of its historical context as regards language policies and ideologies, resulting in a discussion of the 'English Only' ideology. It has also examined how the discourse-historical approach to CDA can be applied to analyse English Only discourse through an examination of its underlying ideologies and the identification of certain discursive strategies. As an aim of CDA is to practically apply results with an emphasis on social change, one goal of the Ph.D. project that this paper draws on is eventually to challenge these discursive constructions by pointing toward alternative discourse practices and language policies. Therefore, possibilities for increasing awareness and possibly implementing change within the context of the English Only movement, such as making available a wider range of findings to those involved in politics, immigrant advocacy, and various educational contexts in the United States, will be explored as this project is developed.

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# Genre-based data selection and classification for Critical Discourse Analysis

Alexandra Polyzou  
Lancaster University

## Abstract

The notion of 'communicative purpose' as a primary criterion for genre identification and classification (Swales, 1990) has been criticised and shown to present the analyst with a number of challenges (Askehave, 1999). Similarly, scholars from Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis speak of the 'social activity' linked to each genre (Fairclough, 1992; Kress, 1985/1989); they thus view communicative purpose from a more socially-oriented perspective and make the identification of the social activity taking place central to genre identification. At the same time, researchers aiming to provide guidelines for genre analysis place their focus on how to conduct the analysis of a corpus of texts of the same genre, rather than on the criteria used to compile the corpus – genre identification has been broadly assumed to be accomplished merely based on background knowledge of or about the 'speech community' who is using the genre (Bhatia, 1993; Fairclough, 1992; Swales, 1990).

In this paper I examine a small, non-electronic corpus of Greek women's lifestyle magazines and discussing the identification of the genres within the magazines themselves. I argue that in this case genre identification is not a straightforward matter (even for an 'insider') and therefore I focus on the methodological issue of identifying genres within such a multi-genre medium as lifestyle magazines.

I claim that, despite the problems they present, the notions of 'communicative purpose' and social activity are indeed primary for critical research, as they point us towards the ideological functions of genres. I focus my analysis on the texts I have identified as having the broad communicative purpose of 'advice'. Taking into account other parameters for genre identification provided by Swales (1990: 58), such as the participants, the content, the structure and the style of the texts in my data, I propose that texts of quite different structure and/or content can be classified as sub-genres of the same 'advice' genre, providing evidence that these texts share a set of common generic characteristics.

## Introduction

This paper draws on my broader research project exploring the manifestation of gender ideologies in Greek lifestyle magazines,<sup>1</sup> with ideology defined as “a shared framework of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members, and in particular also power and other relations between groups” (van Dijk, 1998: 8). Thus, I am adopting a socio-cognitive approach situated within Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

The specific focus of the paper is methodological and deals with the second phase of data selection. During the first phase, through questionnaires snowballed among Greek subjects, six monthly titles were selected: *Cosmopolitan*, *Madame Figaro* and *Marie Claire* (women’s) and *Nitro*, *Playboy* and *Status* (men’s). I decided to analyse these magazines over a period of three months, randomly selected, namely February-April 2006. This would allow for a certain level of generalisability which would be impossible if only one month’s issues were analysed, without resulting in a bulk of data unmanageable for qualitative analysis. However, a second phase was required, since magazines are heterogeneous, comprising of a variety of different kinds of texts, which would require different methods of analysis if they were to be analysed from cover to cover. The questions, then, I am concerned with in this paper are: how can I end up with comparable sample of texts across the 18 volumes? How could this selection be systematic, motivated, and consistent with the overall aim of the project for critical analysis?

Initially I discuss the notion of ‘genre’ as a criterion for categorising texts for critical analysis. Despite its advantages, certain difficulties are presented with less conventionalised mediated texts - various kinds of texts in magazines do not always belong to clearly identified/identifiable genres. Then I move on to propose a way of facing these difficulties, by adopting categories broader than but related to genre. I am making the theoretical suggestion of viewing texts as overarching speech acts, and suggest classifying texts in ‘speech act’ categories, further to be divided in ‘genre categories’ as a method of categorisation. Finally, I demonstrate how I applied this categorisation to my own data and provide 3 texts and evidence from my analysis as illustrative examples.

### Approaching genre from a functional perspective

Currently, *genre* as a kind of text is considered to be part of every human social activity, and the functions and extra-textual conventional characteristics of genres are taken into consideration. Swales’ (1990: 58) definition of *genre* as

a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes... In addition to purpose, exemplars of a genre

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exhibit various patterns of similarity in terms of structure, style, content and intended audience

provides a useful starting point. One would assume that in order to identify the various genres within the magazines, one would have to identify the shared (sets of) communicative purposes, as well as the structure, style, content and intended audience shared by the texts belonging to the same genre. Communicative purpose is privileged as a criterion (Bhatia, 1993: 13; Swales, 1990: 58), at least for a functional approach to discourse, although other elements may be assigned more importance depending on the genre.

The approaches adopted by Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis in relation to genre are compatible with that of Swales and Bhatia, putting more emphasis on the additional dimension of social situation or social activity. Kress's references to participants and to 'functions, purposes and meanings' (Kress, 1985/1989: 19) are related to the notion of 'communicative purpose'. Critical Linguistics and Critical Discourse Analysis scholars also refer to form, again in line with the common perception that genres are 'types' or 'kinds' of texts, with specific texts being the tokens of these types (Kress, 1985/1989; Wodak, 2001: 66).

The emphasis for CDA lies in the connection of genres to social situations or activities (Fairclough, 2001: 123; Fairclough, 1992: 51-52; 125; Kress, 1985/1989: 19; Wodak, 2001: 66) a connection earlier identified and discussed by Bakhtin (1986: 60). That is, genre is bound to what we may call the 'situational context', which in itself is embedded in the broader historical and socio-political context (see Wodak, 2001: 67; Martin, 1992: Ch. 7). Kress suggests that "the characteristic features and structures of ... situations, the purposes of the participants ... all have their effects on the form of the texts which are constructed in those situations" (1985/1989: 19). Moreover, he points out that most social situations are conventionalised, to a certain extent, and that "[t]he conventionalised forms of occasions lead to conventionalised forms of texts", genres, which are "deriving from and encoding the functions, purposes and meanings of the social occasions" (ibid.). Fairclough also suggests that genre is "a relatively stable set of conventions that is associated with, and partly enacts, a socially ratified type of activity" (1992: 126). Thus, whereas we may not have access to the minds, intentions and purposes of the participants in a communicative event, and we may not be able to read off effects from texts, genres as event schemata are abstractions of how people use language conventionally, in order to achieve conventionally ratified (or even institutionalised) social purposes.

In terms of the methodology of genre identification, the link to specific conventional situations and what people are actually doing with discourse in these situations is in many cases valuable. However, there are still problems. Admittedly not all situations, or the language associated with them, are equally conventional (Fairclough, 1992: 70; Kress, 1985/1989: 19). Most importantly, practically all mediated texts (i.e. written or broadcast) are less bound by a 'context of situation' including a specific setting (time, space) and specific participants. At the same time, by definition communication involves at least two parties (as pointed out in encoding-decoding models of communication since Shannon and Weaver, 1949; cf. also Hall, 1980) and

thus a discursive event (or its communicative purpose) is not realised until the consumption of the text. With written, recorded or mass media texts it is not always possible even to know who is consuming the texts, let alone where, when and how. Of course, some mediated texts, particularly written ones, are more closely linked to specific production, distribution and consumption practices, specific audiences and specific functions (or communicative purposes and effects). Such texts are academic genres like student essays, exam papers, academic journal articles etc., texts used in the areas of law and politics (in the narrow sense) like laws and bills, and generally genres used in specific institutions and organizations such as job applications, or even the Bible.

When it comes to mass media texts, however, even ethnographic observation may not give us the full range of what people do with these texts, and audiences are much more fluid and flexible in their composition and practices. To link with the specific case of magazine genres, the setting, audience and even the effect of the texts are not determining factors for the assignment of the texts to genres, in the way that they are with other, context-bound discursive events. If I decide to discuss my medical problems with my friend, who is a doctor, over a cup of coffee, the interaction will be a hybrid genre between medical consultation and friendly conversation, and the participants will simultaneously occupy the subject positions of doctor/patient and friends – a ‘proper’ medical consultation would most probably have to take place in a doctor’s practice. However, whether I decide to read a magazine at my home, or someone else’s home, or in the tube, or in a waiting room does not change the genre of the texts I am reading. And there is nothing to stop a young man, or elderly woman from reading a lifestyle magazine targeting young women, whereas not everybody can have access to exam papers, for example. In addition, the fact that a number of texts are put together in one volume of a magazine, and can therefore be read in exactly the same settings by the same reader, does not mean they all belong to the same genre.

At the same time, texts are clearly restricted by their co-presence in the same medium. There are certain forms, contents and communicative purposes texts can have in order to appear in an academic journal, for instance, or in a lifestyle magazine. In that sense, one can speak of lifestyle magazines as ‘super-genres’, that is, comprising a number of genres and occupying a position superordinate to genres (see Figure 1 below). Such super-genres do play a role in and are associated with social activity. This is however best discussed in terms of social activity and social context in the broad sense (Wodak, 2001: 67), rather than specific situations. We can still be concerned with what ‘communicative purpose’ the genres or super-genres in question have, and at least their potential effects, moving on to ideology which, as a social and cognitive structure, occupies a superordinate level to genres (see, e.g. Martin, 1992: 496). It is on that level that Martin discusses a rather different notion of purpose emphasising that “genres are social processes, and their purpose is being interpreted here in social, not psychological terms” (1992: 503). By using the Aristotelian term ‘telos’ instead of purpose, he alludes to the overall contribution of genres as processes to the organisation and function of any given culture, irrespective of the private purposes of any individual involved in a communicative event. It is in that sense that although we may not have access to the purposes of the author of a text in the lifestyle magazines,

or the various purposes people seek to fulfil by reading a magazine, or the effects of the magazines on specific people, we can still examine how the texts in the magazines link to specific ideologies, and thus of what social activity they are part.<sup>2</sup>

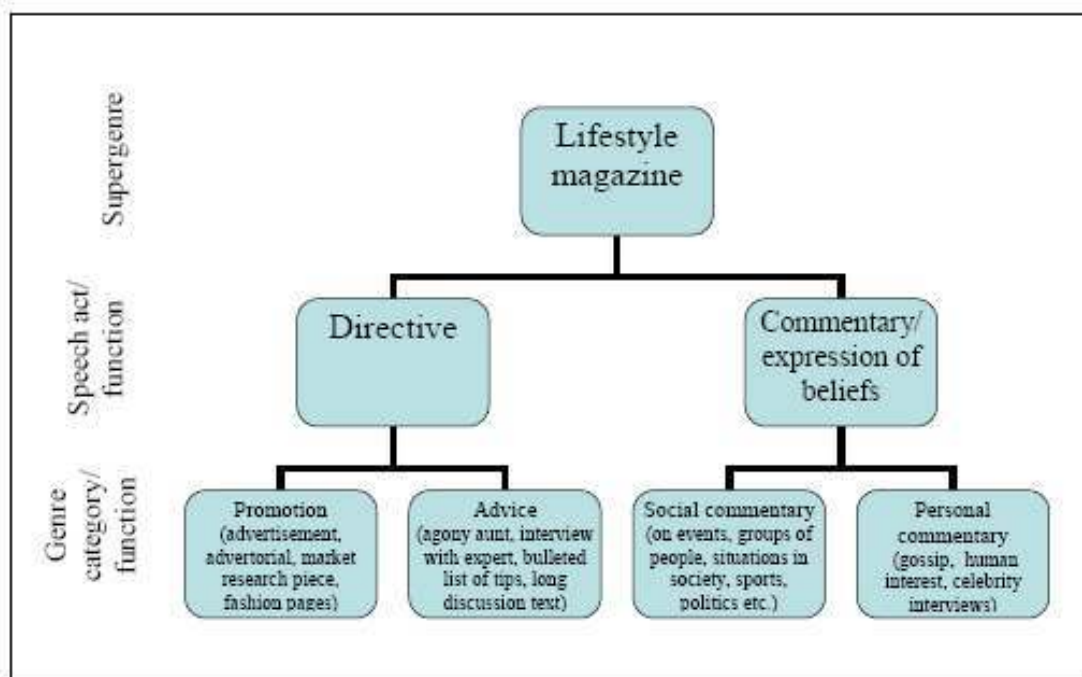


Figure 1- Levels of text classification according to functions

The question then is how to go about distinguishing the number of genres present within a multi-genre medium (or 'super-genre') such as a lifestyle magazine; none of them is strictly bound to a specific situational context while all of them occur simultaneously within the same social context, and address roughly the same audience. Moreover, we cannot have a list of the generic characteristics of the texts in advance to use as criteria for our categorisation.

Andrew Tudor observes this fundamental problem in categorising texts in genres and then discussing their generic characteristics:

To take a genre such as the 'western', analyse it, and list its principal characteristics, is to beg the question that we must first isolate the body of films which are 'westerns'. But they can only be isolated on the basis of the 'principal characteristics' which can only be discovered from the films themselves after they have been isolated (1974: 135, cited in Gledhill, 1999: 138).

<sup>2</sup> It should, however, be borne in mind that it is simplistic to assume that 'the cultures as a whole are goal-directed, with some over-riding purpose governing the interaction of social processes' (Martin, 1992: 502), but rather, '[s]ocial processes negotiate with each other and evolve' (ibid.); thus *telos* should not be taken as an essentialist, deterministic 'inherent purpose' in any social activity, but rather as the role of every activity in this (ideological) negotiation of social relations and structures.

In selecting, then, texts belonging to the same genre in order to analyse them, the analyst is faced with the paradox that s/he has to analyse them before s/he can categorise them.

## **Methodology of categorisation – the two initial stages**

Swales (1990: 39) and Bhatia (1993: 23) suggest using one's already existing background knowledge of a genre and the speech community as an additional, extra-textual criterion for genre identification. Thus, I initially relied on my own insights as a member of the Greek society who has come in contact with both men's and women's Greek lifestyle magazines, had informal conversations with other Greeks, as well as non-Greek colleagues who have had experience of lifestyle magazines in their own discursive communities (since often characteristics of lifestyle magazines transcend geographical and cultural boundaries and are as related to the magazine's international 'brand' as to the local social context of its circulation - see Machin and Thornborrow, 2003 and Machin and van Leeuwen, 2005). Despite the value of these insights,<sup>3</sup> the members of the relevant discourse communities do not necessarily have category names for all kinds of texts present in magazines with the exception of the highly conventionalised ones.

This inevitably leads to looking at the texts themselves for elements for their categorisation, and to the paradox identified by Tudor, which applies not only to genre categorisation but to every hermeneutic process. This is also known as the *hermeneutic circle* (Gadamer, 1965), which "implies that the meaning of one part can only be understood in the context of the whole, but that this in turn is only accessible from its component parts" (Meyer, 2001: 16). It is thus impossible to approach any category of texts without a preconceived notion of what its members are, and it is impossible to analyse the parts of any text without a previous idea of the function and meaning of the whole text. In order to avoid misled or biased conclusions or categorisations, one cannot rely on first impressions alone and follow a linear 'theory - data selection - analysis' process. Initial insights are valuable but too intuitive and unsystematic, and therefore have to be informed by the data and reformulated accordingly, with the data selection revisited after some preliminary analysis, the resulting dataset followed by more in-depth analysis, and the theory informed by the data and the analysis consequently (Meyer, 2001; Wodak, 2001).

Thus, I moved on to the second step, which involved a closer reading of a sample of the data, beginning from the theoretical premise of the primacy of function as a criterion for categorisation. I concentrated on a randomly selected sample, namely the February 2006 issues of all six selected magazines (one-third of the total data). The categories found would presumably also be found in the March and April issues of the

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<sup>3</sup> I am particularly indebted to Costas Gabrielatos and the members of the Gender and Language Research Group of the Linguistics Department of Lancaster University, whose observations have helped significantly with my categorisation. The discussions with them highlighted even more the dimension of function and its importance.

same magazines of the same year. The initial reading of the data (in conjunction with the background knowledge I already had of the texts and the discourse communities involved) provided the first impressions and an initial categorisation of the texts according to function. This was an interpretative first step, relying on the ‘overt’ (rather than ‘hidden’) communicative purpose of the texts (cf. Askehave, 1999). Hidden communicative purposes would be the object of the later stage of in-depth analysis (not discussed in this paper).

Hence I came up with a classification of texts on a level superordinate to genre, as it is based on function but does not initially address the issue of the rest of the generic characteristics of the text; these I discuss later on in relation to the function of the text. I suggest that a useful way of looking at texts in relation to the function is seeing them as broad types of speech acts. Thus, the categories used are not genres but ‘speech act categories’ and/or ‘genre categories’, based on the overall speech acts performed by the texts. I suggest that two broad kinds of speech acts are performed by the texts in lifestyle magazines, directive speech acts and commentary/ expression of beliefs, further broken down in categories of the genres performing the functions advice or promotion (directives), and social and personal commentary (commentaries). The categorisation has involved cyclical procedures of moving from theory to data and then back to theory again (cf. Wodak, 2001: 70), as well as from the data categorisation to analysis which feeds back into the data categorisation again, before moving on to further more detailed analysis (cf. Meyer, 2001: 16, 18). Below I am elaborating on what I have termed ‘speech act categories’ and ‘genre categories’ and how these different levels of categorisation emerged from examining the data.

The four main functions identified through my initial categorisation were: promoting commercial products and services, providing advice to readers, providing commentary on social situations and social groups, and providing information, gossip and evaluation of individuals. At this stage two theoretical observations emerged: first, that these function categories can include texts which can be readily identified as established genres in the discourse community as well as unclassifiable texts with characteristics of form and content too unique or too common to determine genre membership. For instance, expert interviews (e.g. interviews with doctors, cosmetologists or nutritionists) are an established genre performing the function of advice – but so do other texts which are clearly not interviews; for instance, the text in *Marie Claire* (February 2006 issue, pp. 70-73, Text A in Appendix) entitled “One more drink after work... Yes, but are you overdoing it?” (*Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;*) discusses the issues of alcoholism and alcohol abuse and provides relevant advice – it is a long text broken down in sections, which is a very common format of many magazine texts. At the same time, expert interviews perform a very different function to celebrity interviews, although they have exactly the same format (question-answer) and layout (e.g. questions may be in different fonts from the answers, the initials of interviewer and interviewee may precede the questions and answers etc.) – celebrity interviews practically never provide advice (maybe only occasionally), and rather provide to the readers as ‘overhearers’ of the interview information about the interviewee’s work, gossip about their personal lives and in some cases promote the interviewee’s recent work (e.g. a new album or film). It would



therefore be misleading to consider all interviews as belonging to the same genre or performing the same functions merely because they have the same form and are termed by the discourse community with the same name ('interview'), whereas texts with functions similar to celebrity interviews could be grouped with them (see section on 'commentary' below). Thus, a categorisation on a level superordinate to genre can lead to a more fruitful data classification and selection, since it does not lead to the exclusion of texts with the same function merely on grounds of form or content. The categories at this level are too broad to be considered genres, although the category members do display shared generic characteristics. Indeed Askehave (1999: 22) criticises Bhatia for speaking of 'promotional genres' (1993: 59), because this broad term can include many different kinds of texts belonging to different genres. I would therefore propose to use the term 'genre categories' for categories or groups of genres (and texts of unidentifiable genre) which perform the same function.

My second theoretical observation is the striking similarity of the functions performed by discourse with Austin's notion of speech acts. The proposed genre categories can be seen as directive speech acts (the promotion and advice categories), or as expressions of beliefs (social and personal commentary categories). I suggest that speech act theory can be extended from the study of sentences or clauses, which was its initial focus, and the study of parts of texts (as suggested by van Leeuwen, 1993, 2008) to the study of whole texts. We then end up with a hierarchy of scope when it comes to focussing on function, from the overall kind of speech act performed by a text (which I will call the 'speech act category'), to its genre category, moving down to genre (see Figure 1). I am focussing on these levels in this discussion, although this hierarchy can continue upwards to include lifestyle magazines, then the total of Greek media and their ideological functions, ending up to the total of discourse activity taking place in the Greek society as a whole, and downwards to include parts of texts constituting structural elements of genres (or 'moves', see van Leeuwen, 1993: 195), to smaller units like phrases down to single words.

In the following section I provide a theoretical discussion of the parallels between speech acts and text as belonging to genres and genre categories, and then move on to discuss the third step of my data selection process involving textual analysis as a guide for identifying the genre category membership for the texts in the data, focussing on the 'advice' genre category.

### **Text types as 'speech act categories' and 'genre categories'**

As Martin very aptly puts it, "[g]enres are how things get done, when language is used to accomplish them" (Martin, 1985: 250). The parallels between genres as a means of achieving communicative purposes, my broad 'genre categories' based on function and speech acts as defined by Austin and Searle, are many. The emphasis in Austin's lectures (see Austin, 1962; 1975 for edited published versions of the lectures) is indeed on the fact that language is not merely used in order to describe states of affairs in the world, but rather in order to perform actions. Due to the multifunctionality of

language, though, even a short phrase can perform more than one action (Austin, 1975: 73) and Searle explicitly states that “the characteristic grammatical form of the illocutionary act [speech act] is the complete sentence” (1969: 16) because words only have meaning as parts of sentences.

The question then arises whether we can speak of whole texts, consisting of a number of sentences, as speech acts, or rather as the accumulation of a number of speech acts, each act performed by each sentence. According to van Leeuwen “the basic unit of generic structure is the speech act” (1993: 195) and the speech act is not necessarily restricted to one sentence but constitutes a part of the structure of a genre which surfaces as a text part of indeterminate length, which can be clauses or sentences. Van Leeuwen points out that the speech act is the minimal linguistic unit which performs some action (*ibid.*). I would argue that we can concentrate on a higher than the minimal level and focus on the action performed by whole texts as a ‘speech act’. That is, whereas every utterance or part of a text performs a certain act (or acts), such as insulting or requesting, a genre as a whole is a resource we use to achieve broader purposes, such as acquiring a job or making a commercial transaction.

Thus, despite the fact that we can isolate sentences or phrases performing speech acts as the basic or minimal units of generic structure, we can also see whole texts as overarching speech acts. Importantly, although Searle speaks of sentences, Austin speaks of utterances, since the term ‘sentence’ refers to a specific grammatical formulation, whereas utterance refers to language in use (Levinson, 1983: 16 ff.). Levinson in his discussion focuses on comparing sentences with sentence-long utterances, in order to emphasise the context-bound nature of utterances. He does note, however, that an utterance can be a “sentence part, sentence, string of sentences or sentence parts” (Levinson, 1983: 16). Thus, an utterance may consist of more than one sentences and at least in theory it can be of any length - cf. Harris’s definition of utterance as “any stretch of talk, by one person, before and after which there is silence on behalf of that person” (Harris, 1951: 14, cited in Lyons, 1977: 26). Arguably a written text of any length can be perceived as the equivalent of a spoken utterance (see e.g. Loos et al. 2004<sup>4</sup>) – interestingly Bakhtin begins to define genres as ‘types of utterances’ (1986: 60). In that sense any (spoken) utterance or (written) text as a whole can be seen as performing one (or more) speech acts;<sup>5</sup> Brown and Yule indeed observe that “[f]rom a speaker’s point of view several sentences (or syntactic chunks) strung together may constitute a single [speech] act. Thus, a fairly extended utterance may be interpreted as a warning or as an apology” (1983: 233).

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<sup>4</sup> <http://www.sil.org/LINGUISTICS/GlossaryOfLinguisticTerms/WhatIsAnUtterance.htm>, last accessed 19/6/2007.

<sup>5</sup> Lyons also extends this definition of utterance to written texts (1977: 26); however, this definition encounters problems when we consider texts as the ‘representation of discourse’ (Brown and Yule, 1983: 6), where discourse involves dialogue, whether spoken, transcribed or (as is the case in magazines) written questions and answers. In texts like interviews we cannot speak of the utterance of one person but rather of two people taking turns. However, it is presumably one person who writes the text (the journalist – although there may be editing by other persons too), and the interviewees are not involved in the representation of their own speech. As far as the readers are concerned, they never take a turn, and thus we can perhaps still treat an interview as one single text/utterance, with the turns within it constituting different moves/units of structure.

A more interesting consideration is that, to echo Searle's extension from the word to the sentence for the study of meaning, as words have meaning only within sentences, sentences only have meaning in the discourse in which they occur. For instance, we wouldn't be able to identify the expression "don't tell your beloved one 'I love you'" (*Μην πεις στον αγαπημένο σου 'σ'αγαπώ', Madame Figaro, Feb. 2006, pg. 84*) as advice rather than command or request without the co-text. Thomas provides a useful example of how "speakers... 'build up to' the performance of a particular speech act" (1995: 200). She demonstrates how a speaker 'prepares the ground' for a request – in my 'advice' texts the initial stage, where the problem or question is set up and elaborated, is 'preparing the ground' for the advice to be given in relation to the specific problem. Although most of the sentences in the 'problem setting' part can be characterised as statements or rhetorical questions (rather than advice), the actual sentences performing the advising (including often imperatives or expressions such as 'I advise you' and 'I suggest') would make no sense without the 'problem setting' part. Moreover, "the pragmatic force of successive utterances can have a cumulative effect" (Thomas, 1995: 201), so that a succession of the speech acts of advice within the same 'advice' text will contribute towards the overall advising function of the text – one more reason to consider the text as a whole rather than isolating parts of the texts that can strictly be considered 'speech acts' according to Austin and Searle's discussions. Indeed Wunderlich (1980: 293) points out that there is a continuum in the complexity of speech acts according to the length of the unit one is examining: "turn, move, speech act pattern, complex speech unit and discourse type". He discusses the interconnection of speech acts as they appear in larger units of interaction - as turns within a dialogue or as moves in dialogue or monologic text, contributing to moving on towards the final communicative purpose to be achieved. He also argues (1980: 296) that a discourse type "is the most complex unit of speech activity ... that can be realised by a whole conversation" (or any text as a whole) and the examples of discourse types he provides roughly correspond to genres ("getting-and-giving direction, instruction, interview, counseling", *ibid.*). Van Leeuwen demonstrates how generic structure consists of a number of stages, where each stage "consists of one or more of the same speech acts" and "has a specific function in moving the text or communicative event forward towards the realization of its ultimate communicative aim" (2008: 348).

By classifying types of texts according to the overall speech act they perform in 'speech act categories' I recognise the cumulative and joint contribution of the stages and respective speech acts within texts – it should be noted that by speaking of the overall function of a text as an overarching speech act I mean a complex, higher level speech act and do not attempt to reduce the complexity and multifunctionality of texts into one single dimension, but rather to emphasise the role of text as action.

So far I have been speaking of text categories (the 'speech act' categories) as *types* of speech acts. That is, directive speech acts are all kinds of speech acts that dictate a course of action on behalf of the hearer/reader, but can be divided further in 'advice', 'request', 'demand', 'command', and so on. Likewise expressions of beliefs can take place through statements, assertions, explanations etc. (see Searle, 1971/1976 for a suggested typology of speech acts). Likewise, texts performing the functions of promotion and advice belong to the broader *directive* 'speech act type', whereas

personal and social commentary are both *expressions of beliefs* (Searle, 1971/1976: 3). These more specific functions/ speech acts (according to which I assign texts to 'genre categories', as discussed above) are nevertheless still *types* or kinds of texts, just as a number of different utterances can be categorised as 'requests' irrespective of what is requested or the specific phrasing of the request. One can further distinguish between kinds of requests, depending on the way the requests are expressed linguistically e.g. polite and impolite, formal or friendly, expressed in the declarative, interrogative or imperative mood and so on. Thus, 'genre categories' can be further broken down in genres, but members of every category will all share the same primary communicative purpose of advice, promotion etc.

From the above identified genre categories, I decided to select the 'advice' category for the compilation of the final corpus. As directive texts, the members of this category are more reader-oriented and entice action more directly, and from a social perspective they are linked to ideology in that they suggest on a personal(ised) level what (should) constitute problems for modern men and women in Greece and how these problems should be faced.

I then conducted a preliminary analysis of the texts I had originally assigned to the 'advice' category, which either confirmed or refuted my initial, more intuitive categorisation. The preliminary analysis also allowed me to see how (proto)typical of the category each text was, and identify hybrids and marginal members. By means of illustration I am providing in the next section the analysis of 3 texts drawn from the women's magazines (Feb 2006).

## **Illustrative analysis and discussion - 'advice' texts from Greek women's magazines**

The results of the preliminary analysis of a sample of three women's magazines from my data (the February 2006 issues of *Cosmopolitan*, *Marie Claire* and *Madame Figaro*) suggest a number of generic characteristics, all or most of which shared by the texts in this category. The three texts I am using for illustrative purposes show this quite clearly – despite their differences they display a number of the discussed characteristics.

Text A is entitled *Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;* "One more drink after work... Yes, but are you overdoing it?". It is discussing drink-related issues such as alcoholism and alcohol abuse. It is a three page long feature from *Marie Claire* (Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73) separated in sections with a header in each section.

The title of Text B is *her hair* (title in English), and it is a short bulleted list in a coloured frame embedded in a longer text entitled *Τι δείχνουν τα μαλλιά σου για σένα;* "What does your hair show about you?" It is also from *Marie Claire* (Feb. 2006, pp. 74-77).

Text C, *σεξουαλικές αποφάσεις 2006*, "sexual resolutions 2006", is the February 2006 part (pg. 62) of a permanent column of *Madame Figaro*, *sex diary*. This text has the

format of numbered paragraphs, shorter than the sections of Text A, but longer than the bullet points of Text B. This is clearly a hybrid, since 'diary' is a clearly demarcated genre in the discourse community, and like all 'autobiographical' genres (autobiographies, diaries, memoirs, blogs) it has the function of self-commentary on one's life and relevant events. However, contrary to 'pure' diaries written for the eyes of the author only, publicised autobiographical texts take into account the presence of an audience and thus always have additional, audience-related functions, like raising awareness of the issues they discuss, or even entertainment. The *sex diary* of *Madame Figaro* could be categorised as 'social commentary', but specifically the *sex diary* of February 2006 can be said to have an advising function, as it displays characteristics similar to the 'advice' Texts A and B, to be discussed below.

In the discussion below I will be using examples from the three illustrative texts translated in English – the original texts are also included in the appendix and the Greek and translated texts have the same line numbers.

### **Schematic structure**

The main characteristic of the texts in the 'advice' genre category, linked to the speech act and communicative purpose of 'advising' is an underlying 'Problem-solution' structure as an underlying 'discourse schema' for the specific category of texts (cf. van Dijk, 1985; 1998: 207). Thus the texts consist of at least two parts, the 'problem' part, occurring at the beginning, followed by the 'solution' part. Both the 'problem' and the 'solution' parts can be followed by 'elaboration' parts, serving various functions. Variations of the simple 'problem-solution' schema include 'problem-solution-problem-solution' (a number of related problems and solutions), 'problem-solution-solution-solution' (one problem and many suggested solutions) or 'problem-problem-problem-solution-solution-solution' (a number of problems followed by a number of solutions). In some texts the problem is not explicitly stated, but implied from the mere fact that advice is given (if there is no problem or issue to be dealt with, advice is not necessary – see discussion on felicity conditions of advice below).

In the examples included in the appendix, Text A deals with drinking-related problems and Text B with the issue of 'how to style one's hair' (constructed as a problem). Text C is not a prototypical advice text in that there is not explicitly stated problem to be dealt with. From the title of the column and the header of this particular piece (*sex diary*, *sexual resolutions*), it is clear that the topic of the column is sex life. One can therefore assume that it may deal with the issue 'how one can have a better sex life'. It could also, however, be a mere account of the sex life of one individual (the author of the 'diary') – the advice character can be seen through the characteristics this text nevertheless shares with other advice texts, discussed below.

### **Lexis**

Problem-related lexis indicates that the topic is not merely an issue to be commented on, but a problem. For example at the beginning of Text A we have lexis such as

'overdoing' (l. 1), 'alcohol abuse' (l. 2), 'alcoholism' (l. 2) and 'problem' (l. 3). There are two issues dealt with here: how to know whether one's drinking habits are a problem, and, if yes, how to solve this problem. There are fewer such lexical items in Text C ('dangerous', l. 32, 'careful', l. 32), and none in Text B; Texts C and B employ other devices to set the problem, such as questions (see below).

## Participant roles and style

For every interaction involving advice, the prototypical roles are the person providing the advice ('advisor') and the person in need of advice, who receives it ('advisee'). The relationship of the two participants is reflected in the style of the advice texts as a mixture of authority and solidarity; the person providing the advice has more knowledge and therefore the authority to tell the advisee what to do, but at the same time the advice is presumably for the benefit of the advisee, and therefore the advisor should be somebody who cares about and wants to help the advisee. The main characteristics of these two co-existing styles are listed in Table 1.

Authority	Solidarity
Distant	Friendly, familiar
Categorical modality, 'absolute truths' High deontic modality (must, should)	Deontic modality of various degrees (more hedging through expressions such as 'you may want to...')
Scientific or quasi-scientific jargon	Informal vocabulary
Reference to 'people who have the problem' in 3 <sup>rd</sup> person	Addressing the reader (2 <sup>nd</sup> person singular, questions, imperatives)
Authority quoted or exclusive <i>we</i>	Inclusive <i>we</i>

Table 1 - Styles in advice texts

## Syntax

Problems and issues are often presented as questions, as in Text B, which is embedded in the text 'What does your hair show about you?' (l. 1). In the introductory paragraph Text B itself includes another question: 'Do you want to look dynamic/active, modest or sexy?' (l. 8). The issue here is then what hairdo to adopt in order to give a particular impression. Text A also uses questions to set up the problem, e.g. 'When are you led to abuse, when to alcoholism and when are you just a social drinker? How will you realise if you have a problem and who can help you?' (l. 2-4). As shown in the table above, these questions (rhetorical or not) function also as a manifestation of an interactive style, reducing the distance between advisor and advisee.

Imperative clauses are quite a central characteristic of advice texts. They also address the reader directly - more often than not they have a second person singular inflection, which in Greek indicated familiarity and positive politeness (as opposed to the second person plural) e.g. 'observe your behaviour' (Text A, l. 34), 'don't let such

opportunities go unexploited' (Text C, l. 30). Lack of mitigation in these examples also indicates positive politeness rather than impoliteness.<sup>6</sup>

### **The speech act of advising and felicity conditions**

As already mentioned above, the actual part of the text where the speech act of advising takes place is the second part, namely, the 'solution' part. The directive speech act is realised through imperatives (see previous paragraph), but also through more indirect or mitigated expressions, e.g. 'Then it is a good point for you to get in touch with people who have the disease' (Text A, l. 36-37), 'the classic ponytail gives ease and attitude - the ideal hairdo for meeting your boyfriend's parents or to make a presentation for your [manager/ boss]' (Text B, l. 24-26). 'I am... suggesting ... not to miss the ones who charm us' (Text C, l. 26-28). These expressions urge the reader to do the respective actions, i.e. get in touch with other alcoholics if they show signs of alcoholism themselves, arranging their hair in a ponytail if they want to make a good impression, and not to miss opportunities with men they find charming.

These kinds of expressions appear more often in the parts of texts written in a friendly and informal style. The advice in the parts of the texts where the style is more authoritative is realised even more indirectly, as there is more emphasis on the distance between the advisor and advisee. Often there are shifts in style from the description of the problem, which may be presented in an authoritative style, to the more informally presented solutions (Text A is a case in point). However, in more elliptical texts, like Text B, only brief and categorical descriptions of states of affairs are presented, e.g. 'The short haircut is considered synonymous of intelligence, honesty and directness' (l. 11-12). Since it has been established earlier on that a woman can influence the impression she makes on others by changing her haircut, it lays upon the reader to infer from this example that if she wants to appear intelligent, honest and direct, she should adopt a short haircut – if not, she shouldn't. The whole Text B practically consists of such impersonal, general statements which apparently should be used by women as a guide for their hairstyle choices. Text C can be seen as functioning in the same way by predominantly using the 1<sup>st</sup> person singular. That is, although the author/narrator appears to be speaking only about herself, what she says about herself may be taken as applying to the readers as well. The rare occasions where the reader is directly addressed and/or advised, support this explanation – a particularly clear example is her 'resolution' number 2 (l. 25-32). Although at the beginning of the paragraph the resolution is stated as a personal plan ('I will not miss opportunities for sex', l. 25), soon she moves on from 'I' to (inclusive) 'we' and then to 'you' ('I am not suggesting that we go with every random guy, but not to miss the ones who charm us', l. 26-28, 'Don't let such opportunities go unexploited', l. 30, respectively).

The choices of style and various expressions performing the directive speech act are related to Austin's felicity conditions of speech acts (1975, esp. 14-15; 50-51). Austin discusses how for speech acts it makes no sense to speak of truth conditions (i.e. whether the content of a statement is true or false), but rather of felicity conditions

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<sup>6</sup> See Brown and Levinson (1983) on positive and negative politeness.

which, when fulfilled, contribute to the speech act being successfully performed. If one or more of the felicity conditions are not fulfilled, the speech act is performed 'unhappily', it appears out of place. The felicity condition relevant here is that 'the particular persons and circumstances in a given case must be appropriate for the invocation of the particular procedure invoked' (Austin, 1975: 15). That is, here, the 'appropriate circumstances' are the existence of an issue on which advice is required, a problem to be solved or a situation in which one might not know how to act. The 'appropriate persons' here should be the advisor and the advisee, where the advisor is someone entitled to provide advice by possessing knowledge the advisee lacks, whereas at the same time being concerned about the advisee enough to provide the advice. Thus, a problem-setting part normally has to precede the advice part, in order to justify the act of giving advice, and the styles of authority and solidarity are used to express the position of the advisor as participant, namely, someone who has knowledge and authority, but also a personal interest in the addressees' wellbeing.

### **Felicity conditions and presupposition**

Austin in his lectures links felicity condition for all speech acts with the phenomenon of presupposition for statements – that is, by performing a speech act it is automatically presupposed that it is appropriate to do so (1975: 50-51). In the case of giving advice, the advisor presupposes that they are providing knowledge they have but the advisee does not have, that the advice is wanted etc. and therefore that they have the authority to provide the advice. This also applies to the felicity conditions provided by Searle specifically for the speech act of advice (1969: 67), in short, that advising refers to future actions of H (the Hearer, or, in this case, the reader), that there is reason to believe that the advice will benefit H, and that it is not obvious that H will do what is advised anyway (i.e. the Speaker (S) provides knowledge H does not already have).

This rather broad view of presupposition in relation to speech acts provides useful insights for the function of the discursive devices used in the genre categories in the data. According to van Dijk, shared knowledge or 'common sense' is presupposed and thus does not need to be asserted (e.g. 1998: 39, 102ff). In the case of the advice given in lifestyle magazines it is not necessarily clear and agreed upon by all readers that the advice is necessary, or that the magazine is the best source for receiving advice. Therefore, a presentation of something as a problem usually has to precede the advice, and often this presentation is elaborate and supported with various evidence, so that it will become clear that this is, indeed, a problem. For example in Text A it is *not* presupposed that readers are aware that their drinking habits may be problematic, and a large part of the text is devoted in explaining how having a drink after work is not as innocent as it may seem, and may be a sign of alcoholism. Additional supportive evidence are the statistics and research results presented in relation to alcoholism in Europe and in Greece (l. 9-15). Appeals to authority are used to indicate that the advice indeed comes from a source entitled to give advice, which could be the magazine itself ('We have the answers', Text A, l. 4), or experts ('the psychiatrist-psychoanalyst Theodosios Christodoulakis, also specialised in addiction issues', Text A, l. 16-17,



'Psychologist Dr. Katrina Case', Text B, l. 8 ). Text C is anonymous and the author/advisor does not have the credentials of a title or degree – thus, the first paragraph (the 'sexual review', l. 10-17) apart from the diary function of recording events of the past year, also serves to establish the authority of the narrator to provide advice on sexual matters, as she has had such rich sexual experience.

Finally, the elements of friendly style adopted in the texts in question contributes to fulfilling the felicity condition that the advice should be in the benefit of the advisee – since the magazine is the reader's friend, they would surely offer helpful advice. To this end also the 'solutions' of the problems are often elaborated on, as, for example, in Text C, l. 40-45 – the reader is encouraged to travel in order to meet new partners and is assured that she will be successful ('of course', l. 42, 'you will find new *partenairs*' (as opposed to 'you may find new *partenairs*'), l. 42-43) with a number of arguments ('You have the time on your side: Greek women right now are hot and top in the list of the most beautiful women of the world. The Olympics helped, too', l. 43-45).

An additional reason why the felicity conditions of the advice have to surface in the magazines' texts is that to a certain extent magazines may function as 'didactic or initiation discourse (van Dijk, 1998: 39). Many of the readers may be first-time or not regular readers (at least women's magazines do not have a steady readership, Hermes, 2005), and may also be young members of the discourse community who have not been exposed extensively to the relevant gender discourse and ideologies (which are acquired at the stage of late adolescence, van Dijk, 1998: 248). Thus, knowledge about the position and function of the magazine cannot be taken for granted and the magazine has to 'gain' the approval of the new or young reader. Finally, the position of the magazine as an authority and as a friend has to be constantly expressed as a strategy of positive self representation, and similarly even self-evident problems and solutions (which should normally be presupposed) may be topicalised and elaborated upon for emphasis, as in discourse this contributes to the readers' mental model construction and can influence their beliefs (van Dijk, 2000: 63, 65ff). However, very often the felicity conditions of the advice given are indeed presupposed, or surface only minimally, as in Text B. Apparently in this text no lengthy explanation is needed why hairstyle should be a concern – the fact that it 'reveals your personality, but can also pass the message you want' is sufficient. Notably, Text B is embedded in another, longer text where a 'panel of experts' speculates on a number of women's character based on their hairstyle; thus, there is no need to elaborate further on this argument in Text B itself.

Interestingly, despite the devices indicating that the advice provided in the texts is felicitous, it may not be the case in reality. That is, the authors providing the advice may not necessarily have more knowledge than the readers, they may not have the readers' best interests at heart and they may not have sufficient evidence to believe that their suggested solutions will work (there is no guarantee, e.g., that a Greek woman will automatically find a partner by travelling abroad, or that people will indeed think a woman is strong-willed and intelligent by the fact that she has average length hair). They may not even think that what they present as problems are indeed problems – Texts B and C presuppose that women (both authors and readers) see their

hair and their sex lives as issues on which advice is needed, which may not be the case. However, these factors (which cannot be accounted for by textual analysis) do not influence the categorisation - even if the advice is infelicitous, it has nevertheless been given, and thus the speech act of advice has been performed; this holds for all advice-giving texts regardless of the beliefs of the participants.

The social importance of conventionalised types of texts and situations lies in the correspondence of these conventions to (relatively stable) power relations in any given social situation - Fairclough explicitly emphasises the connection between genres and the subject positions available to participants of conventionalised social situations, "which are socially constituted and recognised in relation to the activity type" (1992: 126). Wodak suggests that genre is actually a means of control of social situations, and that "it is often exactly within the genres associated with given social situations that power is exercised or challenged" (2001: 11). In genres with clearly delineated situational contexts and participant roles, one can see how in interactions between doctor and patient or teacher and student, for example, the former party is exercising power and the latter may or may not (try to) challenge this power. In lifestyle magazines, one can make the same observation as Thornton and Thetela in relation to advertisements – in exploring the relationship between power and purpose, they see

the typical relationship between the writer-in-the-text and the reader-in-the-text as almost the reverse of the real relationship between the advertiser and the reader. That is, in reality the advertiser is in the inferior position of entreating the more powerful reader for help (by buying the product, etc.). However, ... the writer-in-the-text almost invariably interacts with the reader-in-the-text as an equal or even from a position of superiority (1995: 111).

Magazines are similar in that, apart from promoting commercial products, they are commercial products themselves, and they need to promote themselves and appeal to readers. Thus, the reader has the power not to buy or not to read the magazine, or to stop reading any time, or to read it but not accept the truth or validity of the beliefs expressed, not to take the advice offered, and not be convinced by the promotional texts. The authors of the magazine texts, as shown above, do address the readers as equals (through a friendly style) or as superiors (through an authoritative style), and this characteristic is most prominent in advice texts (and less so in promotional texts), where there is an attempt to convince the reader to act in specific ways.

Apart from power relations between magazine and reader as participants in an interaction, relations between the represented gendered categories 'man' and 'women', further intersecting with parameters of sexuality, age, social class etc. are also of importance. The position of the magazine in relation to the reader, and its discursive expression, becomes of relevance as a factor in expressing, perpetuating or subverting gender ideologies through discourse. It has also been a factor in my categorisation of texts in genre categories, as there is a difference of emphasis in the position of the magazine as providing knowledge, information and evaluation (in commentary texts) or as providing in addition advice and guidance and therefore having more authority (in directive texts).

## Concluding remarks

Texts of the same genre may display certain linguistic characteristics in different degrees – genres as categories have radial structure (Lakoff, 1987; Rosch, 1973), that is, some members which display most of the generic characteristics and thus will be prototypical of the category, and some will display less of these characteristics and thus be more marginal (Bordwell, 1989: 148 ff; Swales, 1990: 49 ff). The members thus display family resemblances to each other (Wittgenstein, 1953), rather than sharing a fixed set of characteristics which constitute necessary and sufficient conditions for category membership. The boundaries of radial categories are fuzzy (Lakoff, 1987), and marginal members may be considered to belong to one category or another. The same holds for genre categories. Often, marginal members which can be considered to belong to either one category or the other are products of genre hybridisation, incorporating elements from more than one genre or genre category. Elements of different genres may be brought together in order to produce certain effects, such as irony, humour, or simply originality via subverting genre norms (Bordwell, 1989; Chandler, 1997; see Unger and Sunderland, 2007 for some examples), or genre hybridisation may be the result of changes in social structures and social activity involved, such as British Universities' brochures showing the marketisation of education in Britain (Fairclough, 1992, 1993). In lifestyle magazines genre and genre category hybridisation may be an element of creativity which provides additional interest for the reader, but may also contribute to achieving different functions.

In such cases I tried to focus on primary communicative purpose/function for the data selection, but hybrid elements will have to be taken into account in the further, in-depth analysis of every individual text. Notably, hybrids can be marginal members of more than one category, but cannot be prototypical members of any category (Bordwell, 1989: 148 ff) – Text C is neither prototypical advice nor a prototypical diary. Hybrid texts or non-prototypical members are by no means rare in the data – however, these phenomena need to be accounted for on an individual basis for every text through the stage of in-depth analysis rather than in the stages of data selection, not only due to the inherent fluidity of hybrids, but also due to the lack of conventionalisation of lifestyle magazine texts and the creativity and entertainment value motivating this hybridisation and heterogeneity. Thus, possible patterns of similarity among apparently unique texts would have to be discovered through the stage of in-depth analysis – the 'genre categories' provide a matrix for identifying at least an 'overt' function in most of the texts, and against which we can decide whether and how prototypical or marginal particular texts are, or whether they are hybrids, and to what extent.

Moreover, the differing functions and consequent discursive characteristics of the texts in the magazines are a matter of degree rather than clear-cut differentiation, not only because of the radial structure of the categories, but also because they all belong to the broader super-genre 'lifestyle magazine'. They all have to comply with the overall character of the brand of the magazine, their inclusion has to be decided upon by the same editorial board, and there are certain functions shared by all of them.

Entertainment is one shared function which surfaces for instance in humorous elements in texts irrespective of their other functions. Providing a light reading for passing the time is another, which places restrictions on the length of the texts, and influences the inclusion and kind of visual elements accompanying the texts and possibly the complexity of the language used (as they have to be easy to pick up and put down any time, as Hermes (1995) has demonstrated in relation to women's magazines). Arguably, then, even commentary texts have an element of advice (David Machin, personal communication, May 2006), as they provide evaluation of what is praiseworthy and desirable, and thus should presumably be imitated, and of what is to be criticised and condemned, and thus should be avoided. Vice versa, one cannot claim that only commentary texts express beliefs, because both factual and evaluative beliefs are expressed in the advice texts, in order to represent something as a problem or in order to justify why the suggested solution is indeed the best one. Thus, readers of these texts, even if they do not need or do not follow the advice provided, are at the same time presented with knowledge and evaluation which they may decide to adopt or not. The functional categorisation I have adopted is concerned with the primary function of texts, which, without refuting these secondary functions, or the common elements of texts as belonging to the same super-genre, provides a reliable means of distinction of text categories which, taken together and with a different contribution each, synthesise the total of the magazine.

There are, obviously, a number of issues pertaining to the analysis of genre in relation to Critical Discourse Analysis, including 'hidden' communicative purposes, which are beyond the scope of this paper. I hope, however, to have made explicit the regressive methodology applicable to CDA and functional approaches in general. The emphasis especially on CDA stems from the broader research question of examining ideologies, as opposed to conventions and functions in the narrow context. Although, as we saw, the issue of genre identification has been a sore methodological point for scholars from a number of disciplines (from linguistic genre analysis to literary criticism and film studies), CDA has been more widely criticised for lack of methodological rigour and imposition of the analysts' interpretation on the data (Widdowson, 1995, 1998 – see also O'Halloran, 2003: 30-31). Whereas we cannot overlook, indeed must rely on intuition from the discourse community for tasks such as genre identification and analysis, it is also imperative to be reflexive and explicit about our methodology, for CDA perhaps more so if we are to be not only valid, but also self-critical. Thus, it may not necessarily be the case that genre identification has to go painstakingly through all the stages detailed here, down to the actual analysis. The discussion and analysis here may well be, however, a more explicit demonstration of a course taken less formally and more or less consciously by an analyst when dealing with the slippery notion of 'genre'.

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## **APPENDIX**

Text A, *Marie Claire*, Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73

- 1 Ένα ακόμα ποτό μετά το γραφείο... Ναι, αλλά μήπως το παρακάνεις;
- 2 Πότε οδηγείσαι στην κατάχρηση, πότε στον αλκοολισμό και πότε είσαι απλά  
3 κοινωνικός πότης; Πώς θα καταλάβεις αν έχεις πρόβλημα και ποιοι μπορούν να σε  
4 βοηθήσουν; Έχουμε τις απαντήσεις. Από τη Βάλυ Βαϊμάκη.
- 5 Μπορεί να είναι, απλώς, ένα ποτό μετά το γραφείο. Μπορεί να είναι ο γάμος  
6 της κολλητής σου, ένα πάρτι, μια μπαρότσαρκα – όλες το έχουμε κάνει και...  
7 παρακάνει κάποιες φορές. ... Το ουίσκυ ή η βότκα... καταγράφεται στον κατάλογο με  
8 τα ευχάριστα της μέρας...
- 9 Αλλά μήπως το έχουμε παρακάνει; Οι αλκοολικοί παγκοσμίως αποτελούν το 10%  
10 του πληθυσμού, ενώ στην Ευρώπη φτάνουν τα 84 εκατομμύρια. Η Ελλάδα  
11 κατέχει τη 10<sup>η</sup> θέση στον αλκοολισμό σε πανευρωπαϊκό επίπεδο. Από το 1970 μέχρι  
12 το 2002 έχουμε αύξηση 51% σε αντίθεση με τις οινοπαραγωγές χώρες,  
13 όπως η Ισπανία, η Γαλλία, η Ιταλία, που παρουσιάζουν μείωση, αποκαλύπτουν τα  
14 στοιχεία του Παγκόσμιου Οργανισμού Υγείας και του Ευρωπαϊκού  
15 Παρατηρητηρίου για τα ναρκωτικά. ...
- 16 ... ο ψυχίατρος – ψυχαναλυτής Θεοδόσης Χριστοδουλάκης, ειδικευμένος και σε  
17 θέματα εξαρτήσεων.
- 18 Κατάχρηση και εξάρτηση
- 19 Πριν αρχίσεις να ανησυχείς, ας κάνουμε μερικούς απαραίτητους  
20 διαχωρισμούς. Πότε μιλάμε για κατάχρηση αλκοόλ και πότε για εξάρτηση,  
21 δηλαδή για αλκοολισμό; Κατάχρηση κάνει αυτός ή αυτή που καταναλώνει συχνά  
22 μεγάλες ποσότητες αλκοόλ ... Αυτό σημαίνει ότι το άτομο μπορεί να το  
23 περιορίσει όταν θέλει ... Αντίθετα, αυτός που πάσχει από εξάρτηση, ακόμα και  
24 όταν θέλει, δεν μπορεί να περιορίσει ούτε την ποσότητα ούτε τη συχνότητα.
- 25 Γιατί κάποιιοι γίνονται αλκοολικοί και άλλοι όχι;
- 26 Όταν το ποτό γίνεται αυτοθεραπεία
- 27 Το ποτό, το «φάρμακό» μας. Το «ηρεμιστικό» μας – νόμιμο, ελεύθερο και  
28 διαχρονικά στη μόδα. Το βρίσκεις παντού, σου διώχνει την ένταση μιας πιεστικής  
29 μέρας, σε βοηθάει να φλερτάρεις, να γίνεις το επίκεντρο της παρέας, να διώξεις τις  
30 αναστολές σου.
- 31 Γιατί οι γυναίκες πίνουν όλο και περισσότερο;
- [Προβλήματα που προκαλεί το αλκοόλ στις γυναίκες και τους νέους]
- 32 Τι μπορείς να κάνεις;



33 Όπως έχει δείξει η ιστορία, κάθε είδους (ποτο)απαγόρευση οδηγεί μάλλον στα  
34 αντίθετα αποτελέσματα. Παρατήρησε, λοιπόν, τη συμπεριφορά σου. Αν, για  
35 παράδειγμα, αυξάνεις σταθερά τη συχνότητα και τις ποσότητες, έχεις έναν πρώτο  
36 λόγο να ανησυχήσεις. «Τότε είναι καλό σημείο για να έρθεις σε επαφή με  
37 ανθρώπους που έχουν την αρρώστια, είναι σε ανάρρωση ή με χώρους  
38 ενημέρωσης για να σου συζητήσουν πράγματα και να δεις αν ταυτίζεσαι με αυτά. Να  
39 δεις αν τα πρόδρομα συμπτώματα σου είναι συμπτώματα της ασθένειας του  
40 αλκοολισμού ή όχι», λέει ο κ. Χριστοδουλάκης.  
41 Οι θεραπείες των εξαρτήσεων παντού στον κόσμο είναι θεραπείες ομάδας...  
42 Μια από αυτές παγκοσμίως είναι η αδελφότητα των Α.Α., με πολύ καλά  
43 αποτελέσματα, κατά τις εκτιμήσεις των ειδικών. ...

Text A, *Marie Claire*, Feb. 2006, pp. 70-73, English translation

- 1 One more drink after work... Yes, but are you overdoing it?
- 2 When are you led to abuse, when to alcoholism and when are you just  
3 a social drinker? How will you realise if you have a problem and who can  
4 help you? We have the answers. By Valy Vaimaki.
- 5 It may just be a drink after work. It may be your best friend's  
6 wedding, a party, a bar crawl – we have all done it and...  
7 overdone it some times. ... The whiskey or vodka... is registered in the list  
8 with the pleasant [things] of the day...
- 9 But have we maybe overdone it? Alcoholics universally comprise 10%  
10 of the population, whereas in Europe they reach 84 million. Greece  
11 holds the 10<sup>th</sup> position in alcoholism in European level. From 1970  
12 to 2002 we have a 51% increase, contrary to the wine producing countries,  
13 such as Spain, France, Italy, which demonstrate decrease, as the  
14 evidence of the World Health Organisation and European  
15 Monitoring Center for Drugs [and Drug Abuse] reveal. ...
- 16 ... the psychiatrist-psychoanalyst Theodosios Christodoulakis, also specialised in  
17 addiction issues.
- 18 Abuse and addiction
- 19 Before you start to worry, let's make some necessary  
20 distinctions. When are we talking about alcohol abuse and when about addiction,  
21 i.e. alcoholism? Abuse is done by the person who consumes often  
22 large quantities of alcohol ... This means that the person can  
23 restrict it when they want ... On the contrary, the person who suffers from addiction,  
24 even  
25 when he or she wants to, they cannot restrict the quantity nor the frequency.
- 26 Why do some people become alcoholics and some don't?
- 27 When drinking becomes self-therapy
- 28 Drinking, our "medicine". Our "tranquiliser" – legal, unrestricted and  
29 timelessly in fashion. You find it everywhere, it helps you get rid of the tension of a  
30 pressing  
31 day, it helps you flirt, get the limelight, get rid of  
your inhibitions.
- 31 Why do women drink more and more?

[Problems alcohol causes to women and young people]

32 What can you do?

33 As history has shown, every kind of prohibition rather leads to the  
34 opposite results. So, observe your behaviour. If, for  
35 example, you are steadily increasing the frequency and the quantities, you have a first  
36 reason to worry. “Then it is a good point for you to get in touch with  
37 people who have the disease, are recovering, or with places  
38 for information in order for them to discuss things with you and for you to see if you  
are identifying with them.  
39 To see if these preliminary symptoms of yours are symptoms of the disease of  
40 alcoholism or not”, says Mr Christodoulakis.  
41 Addiction therapies everywhere in the world are group therapies...  
42 One of these [groups] globally is the [association] of AA, with very good  
43 results, according to the specialists’ estimations. ...

Text B, *Marie Claire*, Feb. 2006, pp. 74-77

- 1 Τι δείχνουν τα μαλλιά σου για σένα;
- 2 Ποια από εμάς ύστερα από ένα χωρισμό δεν έχει καταφύγει στο κομμωτήριο  
3 για να ανανεωθεί; Έχεις αναρωτηθεί τι σημαίνει για σένα η επιλογή της κόμμωσής  
4 σου και τι εντύπωση δημιουργεί στους άλλους; Ένας hair stylist, μία ψυχολόγος  
5 και ένας άνδρας δίνουν τη δική τους ερμηνεία. Πόσο μέσα έπεσαν; Από τις Νίκη  
6 Πηλείδου, Ανδριάνα Σακκά. Φωτογραφίες: Νίκος Οικονομόπουλος.

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## 7 Her hair

[text 'embedded' in the text]

- 8 Θέλεις να δείχνεις δυναμική, σεμνή ή σέξι; Η ψυχολόγος δρ Κατρίνα Κείς λέει ότι  
9 ο τρόπος που χτενίζεσαι αποκαλύπτει την προσωπικότητά σου, αλλά και μπορεί να  
10 περάσει το μήνυμα που θέλεις...
- 11 ❖ Το κοντό κούρεμα θεωρείται συνώνυμο εξυπνάδας, ειλικρίνειας και  
12 ευθύτητας. Γενικά, τα κοντά μαλλιά κάνουν τις νεότερες γυναίκες να  
13 μοιάζουν πιο ώριμες και σοφιστικές.
- 14 ❖ Τα μεσαίου μήκους μαλλιά δίνουν την εντύπωση μιας γυναίκας κομψής και με  
15 ισχυρή θέληση. Πρόκειται για άτομο δυναμικό, που συνδυάζει την ομορφιά με  
16 την εξυπνάδα.
- 17 ❖ Τα μακριά, περιποιημένα μαλλιά δείχνουν αυτοπεποίθηση και αισθησιασμό.  
18 Ωστόσο, τα ατημέλητα μακριά μαλλιά στέλνουν ένα τελείως διαφορετικό  
19 μήνυμα: ότι το άτομο προσπαθεί να κρύψει κάποια σημεία του προσώπου ή του  
20 σώματος που θεωρεί προβληματικά.
- 21 ❖ Τα κυματιστά μαλλιά δίνουν ένα παιχνιδιάρικο και ανέμελο αέρα στην  
22 εμφάνιση. Τα ίσια μαλλιά, από την άλλη, δείχνουν αυτοκυριαρχία, στίλ και  
23 φινέτσα.
- 24 ❖ Η κλασική αλογοουρά χαρίζει άνεση και αέρα – το ιδανικό χτένισμα για να  
25 γνωρίσεις τους γονείς του φίλου σου ή να κάνεις μια παρουσίαση στον  
26 προϊστάμενό σου. Η αλογοουρά ψηλά στο κεφάλι σε κάνει να δείχνεις πιο χαλαρή  
27 και δραστήρια.

Text B, *Marie Claire*, Feb. 2006, pp. 74-77, English translation

1 What does your hair show about you?

2 Which one of us, after a break-up, has not resorted to the hair salon  
3 in order to refresh herself? Have you wondered what the choice of your hairstyle  
4 means for you  
5 and what impression it creates to others? A hair stylist, a psychologist  
6 and a man give their own interpretation. How spot-on were they? By Niki  
Pileidou, Andriana Sakka. Photos: Nikos Oikonomopoulos.

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7 Her hair

[text 'embedded' in the text]

8 Do you want to look dynamic/active, modest or sexy? Psychologist Dr. Katrina  
9 Case says that  
10 the way you do your hair reveals your personality, but can also  
pass the message you want...

11 ❖ The short haircut is considered synonymous of intelligence, honesty and  
12 directness. In general, short hair makes younger women seem more mature and  
13 sophisticated.

14 ❖ Hair of average length gives the impression of a woman elegant and with  
15 strong will. It is about a dynamic/ active person, who combines beauty with  
16 intelligence.

17 ❖ Long, groomed hair shows self-confidence and sensuality.  
18 However, unkempt long hair sends a completely different  
19 message: that the person is trying to hide certain points of the face or the  
20 body [she/he] considers problematic.

21 ❖ Wavy hair gives a playful and carefree air to  
22 the appearance. Straight hair, on the other hand, shows self-control, style and  
23 finesse.

24 ❖ The classic ponytail gives ease and attitude - the ideal hairdo for  
25 meeting your boyfriend's parents or to make a presentation for  
26 your [manager/ boss]. The ponytail high on the head makes you look more relaxed  
27 and active.

Text C, *Madame Figaro*, February 2006, pg. 62

1 sex diary

2 σεξουαλικές αποφάσεις 2006

3 Είμαστε ακόμα στην αρχή. Ώρα να βάλουμε σε εφαρμογή τις sexolutions της νέας  
4 χρονιάς.

5 Θέλω φέτος να ξεκινήσω τη σεξουαλική μου ζωή από την αρχή, με μια δόση  
6 ωριμότητας και σωφροσύνης, που μου ορίζουν οι μέχρι στιγμής σεξουαλικές μου  
7 εμπειρίες, και με μια μεζούρα χιούμορ και ελαφρότητας, για να πηδάω σαν την  
8 πεταλούδα από το ένα λουλούδι στο άλλο. Μια ολοκαίνουργια χρονιά – φρέσκια  
9 και δροσερή σαν την πρωινή αυγή -, με πολύ σεξ, αγάπη και έρωτα. Πριν σας  
10 ανακοινώσω τα σχέδιά μου θα κάνω μια μικρή σεξουαλική ανασκόπηση:  
11 Ξεκίνησα την περσινή χρονιά σινγκλ και η φετινή πάλι μόνη με βρίσκει. Είχα  
12 πολλά φλερτ, πήρα και έδωσα χυλόπιτες, ερωτεύτηκα ταυτοχρόνως δυο άντρες,  
13 έκανα το πρώτο μου ερωτικό τρίγωνο, φιλήθηκα με πολύ κόσμο, ντύθηκα  
14 μαθητριούλα για έναν εραστή και νοσοκόμα για κάποιον άλλον, έκανα cybersex  
15 και μπήκα στον πειρασμό να το κάνω με μια γυναίκα. Βέβαια, όσο εξωτικά και  
16 περιπετειώδη κι αν ακούγονται όλα αυτά, υπήρξαν και πολλές μοναχικές νύχτες.  
17 Βάσει αυτών, τα sexolutions μου για το 2006 είναι τα ακόλουθα:

18 1. Θα μείνω κι άλλο σινγκλ. Ενώ όλοι ταυτίστηκαν με τη σειρά στο Mega και  
19 ψάχνουν εναγωνίως να βρουν το «ταιριαστό» ταίρι τους, εγώ προσπαθώ να  
20 ανακαλύπτω τρόπους και τεχνάσματα να μείνω μόνη. Η μοναξιά μπορεί να είναι  
21 δημιουργική και απελευθερωτική. Μου αρέσει η ελευθερία να κάνω ό,τι θέλω,  
22 χωρίς να δεσμεύομαι από τα «πρέπει» μιας σχέσης. Θέλω να βγαίνω και να κάνω  
23 σεξ με όποιον μου αρέσει και όπως μου αρέσει. Το ότι έχω περάσει τα τριάντα  
24 και σκέφτομαι αργά ή γρήγορα να κάνω παιδί, δε μου απαγορεύει τις περιπέτειες.

25 2. Δε θα χάνω ευκαιρίες για σεξ. Δε θα σκέφτομαι «πρέπει να το κάνω στο  
26 δεύτερο ραντεβού» ή «δεν πρέπει να απατήσω τον άλλον». Δεν προτείνω να  
27 πηγαίνουμε με τον κάθε τυχόντα, αλλά να μη χάνουμε εκείνους που μας  
28 γοητεύουν. Για παράδειγμα, πέρσι είχα την ευκαιρία να κάνω σεξ μ' ένα σταρ του  
29 Χόλιγουντ, αλλά επειδή ήμουν με ένα αγόρι υπερίσχυσε η ηθική (δες τεύχος  
30 Νοεμβρίου). Μην αφήνεις τέτοιες ευκαιρίες να περνούν ανεκμετάλλευτες. Θα  
31 μπορούσα τώρα να ζω στο Λος Άντζελες. Ο συντηρητισμός μπορεί να είναι  
32 επικίνδυνος, πρόσεχε.

33 3. Δεν θα είμαι τόσο επιλεκτική με τον «τύπο» μου. Το λέω ξανά, για όλες  
34 εκείνες που ψάχνουν ακόμα τον πρίγκιπά τους. Που ο ένας τούς «μυρίζει» κι ο  
35 άλλος τους «ξινίζει». Κάποτε ήμουν κι εγώ λίγο σνομπ. Έψαχνα τον  
36 ιντελεκτουέλ, τον μποέμ, το ζωγράφο ή οποιονδήποτε με καλλιτεχνικές  
37 ικανότητες. Είναι ωραίο να ανοίγεις τον εαυτό σου σε καινούριους ανθρώπους  
38 και κόσμους. Μ'ενοχλούν τα άτομα που κατηγοριοποιούν τους άλλους και  
39 σκέφτονται με στερεότυπα.

40 4. Θα συνδυάσω το σεξ με τον τουρισμό. Ψάξε στην ατζέντα σου και βρες

41 πρώην αγαπημένους σε διάφορες πόλεις του κόσμου: Νέα Υόρκη, Λονδίνο,  
42 Βερολίνο, Τόκιο. Και, φυσικά, μόλις βρεθείς στην αλλοδαπή, θα βρεις  
43 καινούριους παρτενέρ. Έχεις την εποχή με το μέρος σου: Οι Ελληνίδες αυτή τη  
44 στιγμή είναι χοτ και τοπ στη λίστα των ωραιότερων γυναικών του κόσμου.  
45 Βοήθησαν και οι Ολυμπιακοί.

46 5. Θα δοκιμάσω κάτι που δεν έχω ξανακάνει. Δεν πρέπει να έχει κανείς  
47 ερωτικά αποθημένα. Γι' αυτό θέλω να δοκιμάσω νέα πράγματα ή να εκπληρώσω  
48 ανεκπλήρωτες φαντασιώσεις. Παρότι έχω πολλές σεξουαλικές συνευρέσεις, δεν  
49 πάει να πει ότι τα έχω κάνει όλα. Ακόμη με προκαλεί το καινούριο, το  
50 διαφορετικό και η αίσθηση ότι ξεπερνάω τα όριά μου.

51 6. Θα εκτιμήσω άλλες μορφές ερωτισμού πέρα από το σεξ. Ακόμη νιώθω  
52 πεταλούδες στο στομάχι όταν γνωρίζω έναν καινούριο άντρα. Αναστατώνομαι  
53 όταν οι φίλοι μου μού στέλνουν ερωτικά mails με ακατάλληλες φωτογραφίες.  
54 Ανάβω όταν χορεύω ανατολίτικο χορό με μια Περσίδα από το Ιράν, όταν τα  
55 σώματά μας έρχονται επικίνδυνα κοντά και οι άντρες της παρέας μας κοιτάζουν  
56 φιλήδονα. Ένα μαύρο εφαρμοστό φόρεμα Moschino ακόμη μου φτιάχνει την  
57 ερωτική διάθεση και ανεβάζει τη λίμπιντό μου. Φέτος θα το φοράω πιο συχνά.

58 Άγιε Βαλεντίνε, σου' ρχομαι!

59 Virgin Mary

Text C, *Madame Figaro*, February 2006, pg. 62, English translation

1 sex diary

2 sexual resolutions 2006

3 We are still at the beginning. Time [for us] to put in practice the sexolutions of the  
new

4 year.

5 I want this year to begin my sexual life from scratch, with a dosage  
6 of maturity and prudence, which is defined by my sexual  
7 experiences so far, and with a nip of humour and lightness, so that I will jump like a  
8 butterfly from one flower to the other. A brand new year – fresh  
9 and cool like the morning dawn -, with a lot of sex, love and romance. Before

10 I announce to you my plans, I will make a short sexual review:

11 I started last year single and this year again finds me alone. I had  
12 many flirts, I got and gave the push, I fell in love with two men at the same time,  
13 I had my first love triangle, I kissed and was kissed by a lot of people, I dressed up as  
14 a schoolgirl for a lover and as a nurse for another, I had cybersex  
15 and I got tempted to do it with a woman. Of course, no matter how exotic and  
16 adventurous all this sounds, there have also been many lonely nights.

17 Based on the above, my sexolutions for 2006 are the following:

18 1. I will stay single longer. While everyone identified themselves with the  
series in Mega [Channel]<sup>7</sup> and  
19 are frantically looking to find their “suitable” mate, I am trying to  
20 discover ways and schemes to stay alone. Loneliness can be  
21 creative and liberating. I like the freedom to do whatever I want,  
22 without being restricted by the “musts” of a relationship. I want to go out and have  
23 sex with whoever I like and however I like. The fact that I am above thirty  
24 and am thinking sooner or later of having a child does not prohibit me from  
adventures.

25 2. I will not miss opportunities for sex. I will not think “I have to do it on  
26 the second date” or “I must not cheat on the other”. I am not suggesting that  
27 we go with every random guy, but not to miss the ones who  
28 charm us. For example, last year I had the opportunity to have sex with a Hollywood  
29 star, but because I was with a boy morality prevailed (see November  
30 issue). Don’t let such opportunities go unexploited. I could  
31 now live in Los Angeles. Conservatism can be  
32 dangerous, be careful.

33 3. I will not be so selective with my “type”. I say it again, for all  
34 those who are still looking for their prince. Who find that one [guy] ‘stinks’ to them  
and the  
35 other ‘is sour’ for them<sup>8</sup>. Once I used to be a little snobbish too. I was looking for

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<sup>7</sup> Greek sitcom entitled ‘Singles’



36 the *intellectual*, the boheme, the painter or whoever with artistic  
37 abilities. It is nice to open up yourself to new people  
38 and worlds. I am annoyed by the people who categorise others and  
39 think in stereotypes.

40           4. I will combine sex with tourism. Look in your address book and find former  
41 beloved ones in various cities of the world: New York, London,  
42 Berlin, Tokyo. And, of course, as soon as you find yourself abroad, you will find  
43 new *partenairs*. You have the time on your side: Greek women right  
44 now are hot and top in the list of the most beautiful women of the world.  
45 The Olympics helped, too.

46           5. I will try something I have never done before. One must not have  
47 repressed sexual desires. So I want to try new things or fulfil  
48 unfulfilled fantasies. Although I have many sexual encounters, it doesn't  
49 mean that I have done everything. I am still provoked/ challenged by the new, the  
50 different and the sense that I am crossing my limits.

51           6. I will appreciate other forms of eroticism apart from sex. I still feel  
52 butterflies in my stomach when I meet a new man. I get excited  
53 when my friends send me erotic e-mails with x-rated photos.  
54 I get turned on when I dance an oriental dance with a Persian woman from Iran, when  
55 our bodies come dangerously close and the men of the [group] look at us  
56 sensually . A black closely fitting Moschino dress still makes my  
57 erotic mood and raises my libido. This year I will be wearing it more often.

58 St Valentine, here I come!

59 Virgin Mary

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<sup>8</sup> Conventional informal Greek expression to indicate that they are not happy with anything, they are difficult.

## Editors

**Majid KhosraviNik** is a Research Associate and Teaching Assistant at the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University. He has been working on the ESRC project: *RASIM* in the department as well as teaching on a number of modules including; 'Understanding Media', 'Discourse Analysis: analysing language in use' and 'Sociolinguistics'. Majid is also working towards a PhD on Critical Discourse Analysis and the discursive strategies of 'self' and 'other' representation in news discourses. His research interests include: Critical Discourse Analysis; theory and application, discourse and racism/discrimination, discourse and politics, language and identity, language and gender, and language policy. [www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/profiles/856.m.khosravinik@lancaster.ac.uk](http://www.ling.lancs.ac.uk/profiles/856.m.khosravinik@lancaster.ac.uk).

**Alexandra Polyzou** is a research student at the Department of Linguistics and English Language, Lancaster University. For the past 3 years she has been teaching seminars on the module 'Understanding Media' at the same Department. She has written and held conference presentations on language, gender and sexuality in Greek lifestyle magazines, genre analysis and presupposition. Her research interests include Cognitive Linguistics, especially Frame Semantics and Cognitive Metaphor Theory, issues of language, gender and sexuality, and Critical Discourse Analysis. The focus of her PhD Thesis is on the manifestation of gender ideologies in Greek lifestyle magazines. [a.polyzou@lancaster.ac.uk](mailto:a.polyzou@lancaster.ac.uk).

## Contributors

**Dawn Atkinson** is a Ph.D. student within the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University. Her interest is in the study of expertise, as well as the writing of teaching materials – textbooks in particular. In her post-graduate research she is examining the way expert, or experienced, ESL/EFL textbook writers engage in the textbook-design process. Prior to studying in the U.K., Dawn completed B.A. degrees in history and English, as well an M.A. degree in journalism, at the University of Montana, U.S.A. [d.perkins@lancaster.ac.uk](mailto:d.perkins@lancaster.ac.uk).

**Justin Charlebois** is an assistant professor at Aichi Shukutoku University, Japan. He teaches a variety of courses such as gender and discourse, discourse analysis, and sociolinguistics. He received an MA in applied linguistics from Columbia University and is currently working on his doctorate from Lancaster University. His research interests are in the areas of gender and discursive psychology. [justinc@asu.aasa.ac.jp](mailto:justinc@asu.aasa.ac.jp).

**Michael Chiou** has recently finished his PhD at the University of Reading titled '*NP-anaphora in Modern Greek: A neo-Gricean pragmatic approach*'. He has also received an MA in Linguistic Science (Reading) and a BA in English Language, Linguistics and Literature (Athens). His main research interests are in pragmatics, syntax and the pragmatics-syntax interface with special reference to the phenomenon of anaphora. In his thesis, he proposes that NP-anaphora patterns in Modern Greek can be partially accounted for by the employment of a pragmatic apparatus formulated upon the neo-Gricean pragmatic principles (as in Huang 2000 and Levinson 2000).

**Reyhan Funda Isbuga-Erel** is a lecturer at the University of Hacettepe, Turkey. She completed her PhD in January 2008 at the University of East Anglia, England. She earned her MA in Translation Studies from Hacettepe University in Turkey where she taught translation theory and translation practice. In her PhD dissertation she explored the possibility of juxtaposing Translation Studies with Critical Discourse Analysis with an emphasis on translation of taboos in literary texts within the framework of ideology. Her research interests include ideology and translation, translational norms, and translation of political, religious and sexual taboos. [ferel@hacettepe.edu.tr](mailto:ferel@hacettepe.edu.tr); [fundaerel@yahoo.co.uk](mailto:fundaerel@yahoo.co.uk).

**Rachele Lawton** is a PhD student in the Department of Linguistics and English Language at Lancaster University. She is researching language policy, language ideology and attitudes towards English and Spanish in the United States of America, with a specific focus on the English Only movement. She holds an MA in TESOL and Applied Linguistics from The University of Leicester (UK) and an MA in Liberal Studies/English from The College of Notre Dame of Maryland (USA). She is the Department Chair for English for Speakers of Other Languages (ESOL), Foreign Languages and Reading at The Community College of Baltimore County in Baltimore, Maryland (USA). She also teaches advanced academic reading and writing courses to ESOL students. [r.lawton@lancaster.ac.uk](mailto:r.lawton@lancaster.ac.uk).