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3RD
EDITION

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS

AN INTRODUCTION

Brian Paltridge

BLOOMSBURY

Discourse Analysis

BLOOMSBURY DISCOURSE

Series Editor: Professor Ken Hyland, University of East Anglia, UK

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Preface to the third edition

The third edition of this book is an updated and expanded version of the second edition that was published in 2012. In my revisions, I have taken account of feedback from reviews of the second edition that were commissioned by the publisher as well as reviews of the book that have been published in academic journals. Each of these has been extremely helpful to me in thinking about this new edition of the book. More recent research has also been added to each of the chapters. I have updated examples, and there is a new chapter on discourse and digital communication in the book. In addition, I have added discussions of English as a lingua franca, translanguaging, linguistic landscapes, gender-neutral language, metapragmatics, ethnographic perspectives on discourse and narrative analysis to the book. The sections on grammatical differences between spoken and written discourse, lexical bundles, and appraisal theory have been removed as the reviewers felt they were making the chapters in which they were placed overly long. This material is still available, however, on the companion website to the book. In-text references have also been updated, and I have added sample studies at the end of each chapter as a way of illustrating work that has been done on the particular topic. As with the second edition, there are PowerPoint slides on the companion website as well as suggestions for further readings related to the topic of each of the chapters.

Brian Paltridge

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What is discourse analysis?

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This chapter provides an overview of *discourse analysis*, an approach to the analysis of language that looks at patterns of language across texts as well as the social and cultural contexts in which the texts occur. The chapter commences by presenting the origins of the term ‘discourse analysis’. It then discusses particular issues which are of interest to discourse analysts, such as the relationship between language and social context, culture-specific ways of speaking and writing, and ways of organizing texts in particular social and cultural situations.

The chapter continues with a discussion of different views of discourse analysis. These range from more textually oriented views which concentrate mostly on language features of texts, to more socially oriented views which consider what the text is doing in the social and cultural setting in which it occurs. This leads to a discussion of the *social constructionist* view of discourse, that is, the ways in which what we say as we speak contributes to the construction of certain views of the world, of people and, in turn, ourselves. The relationship between language and identity is then introduced. This includes a discussion of the ways in which, through our use of language, we ‘display’ not only who we are but also how we want people to see us. This includes a discussion of the ways in which, through the use of spoken and written discourse, people both ‘perform’ and ‘create’ particular social, and gendered, identities.

The ways in which ‘texts rely on other texts’ is also discussed in this chapter, that is, the way in which we produce and understand texts in relation to other texts that have come before them as

well as other texts that may follow them. This chapter, then, introduces notions and lays the ground for issues that will be discussed in greater detail in the chapters that follow.

1.1 What is discourse analysis?

Discourse analysis examines patterns of language across texts and considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. Discourse analysis also considers the ways that the use of language presents different views of the world and different understandings. It examines how the use of language is influenced by relationships between participants and the effects the use of language has upon social identities and relations. It also considers how views of the world, and identities, are constructed through the use of discourse.

The term ‘discourse analysis’ was first introduced by Zellig Harris (1952) as a way of analysing connected speech and writing. Harris had two main interests: the examination of language beyond the level of the sentence and the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour. He examined the first of these in most detail, aiming to provide a way for describing how language features are distributed within texts and the ways in which they are combined in particular kinds and styles of texts. An early, and important, observation he made was that

connected discourse occurs within a particular situation – whether of a person speaking, or of a conversation, or of someone sitting down occasionally over the period of months to write a particular kind of book in a particular literary or scientific tradition. (3)

There are, thus, typical ways of using language in particular situations. These *discourses*, he argued, not only share particular meanings, but also have characteristic linguistic features associated with them. What these meanings are and how they are realized in language is of central interest to the area of discourse analysis.

1.1.1 The relationship between language and context

By ‘the relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic behaviour’, Harris means how people know, from the situation that they are in, how to interpret what someone says. If, for example, an air traffic controller says to a pilot, *The runway is full at the moment*, this most likely means it is not possible to land the plane. This may seem obvious to a native speaker of English but a non-native speaker pilot, of which there are many in the world, needs to understand the relationship between what is said and what is meant in order to understand that he/she cannot land the plane at that time. Harris’s point is that the expression *The runway is full at the moment* has a particular meaning in a particular situation (in this case the landing of a plane) and may mean something different in another situation. If I say, *The runway is full at the moment*, to a friend who is waiting with me to pick someone up from the airport, this is now an explanation of why the plane is landing late (however, I may know this) and not an instruction to not land the plane. The same discourse,

thus, can be understood differently by different language users as well as understood differently in different contexts (van Dijk 2011).

Van Dijk provides two book-length accounts of the notion of context. He argues that context is a subjective construct that accounts not only for the uniqueness of each text but also for the common ground and shared representations that language users draw on to communicate with each other (van Dijk 2008). Van Dijk (2009) argues, further, that the link between society and discourse is often indirect and depends on how language users themselves define the genre or communicative event in which they engaged. Thus, in his words, '[i]t is not the social situation that influences (or is influenced by) discourse, but the way the participants *define* (original emphasis)' the situation in which the discourse occurs (van Dijk 2008: x). In his view, contexts are not objective conditions but rather (inter)subjective constructs that are constantly updated by participants in their interactions with each other as members of groups or communities.

The relationship between language and context is fundamental to the work of J. R. Firth (1935, 1957a, 1957b), Michael Halliday (1971, 1989) and John Sinclair (2004), each of whom has made important contributions to the area of discourse analysis. Firth draws on the anthropologist Malinowski's (1923, 1935) notions of *context of situation* and *context of culture* to discuss this relationship, arguing that in order to understand the meaning of what a person says or writes we need to know something about the situational and cultural context in which it is located. That is, if you don't know what the people involved in a text are doing and don't understand their culture, 'then you can't make sense of their text' (Martin 2001: 151).

Halliday (1971) takes the discussion further by linking context of situation with actual texts and context of culture with potential texts and the range of possibilities that are open to language users for the creation of texts. The actual choices a person makes from the options that are available to them within the particular context of culture, thus, take place within a particular context of situation, both of which influence the use of language in the text (see Hasan 2009; Halliday 2009; van Dijk 2011 for further discussion of the relationship between language and context). The work of J. R. Firth has been similarly influential in the area of discourse analysis. This is reflected in the concern by discourse analysts to study language within authentic instances of use (as opposed to made-up examples) – a concern with the inseparability of meaning and form and a focus on a contextual theory of meaning (Stubbs 1996). Sinclair (2004) also argues that language should be studied in naturally occurring contexts and that the analysis of meaning should be its key focus.

Discourse analysis, then, is the analysis of language in use. Discourse analysis considers the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used and is concerned with the description and analysis of both spoken and written interactions. Its primary purpose, as Chimombo and Roseberry (1998) argue, is to provide a deeper understanding and appreciation of texts and how they become meaningful to their users.

1.1.2 The discourse structure of texts

Discourse analysts are also interested in how people organize what they say in the sense of what they typically say first, what they say next and so on in a conversation or in a piece of writing. This

is something that varies across cultures and is by no means the same across languages. An email, for example, to me from a Japanese academic or a member of the administrative staff at a Japanese university may start with reference to the weather, saying immediately after *Dear Professor Paltridge* something like *Greetings! It's such a beautiful day today here in Kyoto*. I, of course, may also say this in an email to an overseas colleague but is it not a ritual requirement in English, as it is in Japanese. There are, thus, particular things we say and particular ways of ordering what we say in particular spoken and written situations and in particular languages and cultures.

Mitchell (1957) was one of the first researchers to examine the *discourse structure* of texts. He looked at the ways in which people order what they say in buying and selling interactions. He looked at the overall structure of these kinds of texts, introducing the notion of *stages* into discourse analysis, that is, the steps that language users go through as they carry out particular interactions. His interest was more in the ways in which interactions are organized at an overall textual level than the ways in which language is used in each of the stages of a text. Mitchell discusses how language is used as, what he calls, *co-operative action* and how the meaning of language lies in the situational context in which it is used and in the context of the text as a whole.

If, then, I am walking along the street in Shanghai near a market and someone says to me *Hello Mister, Rolex*, I know from the situation that I am in that they want to sell me a watch. If I then go into a market and someone asks what seems to me to be a very high price for a shirt, I know from my experience with this kind of interaction that the price they are telling me is just a starting point in the buying and selling exchange and that I can quite easily end up buying the shirt for at least half the original price. I know from my experience how the interaction will typically start, what language will typically be used in the interaction and how the interaction will typically end. I also start to learn other typical characteristics of the interaction. For example, a person will normally only say *Hello Mister, Rolex* (or *Hello Mister, Louis Vuitton*, etc.) when I am between stalls, not when I am in a stall and have started a buying and selling interaction with someone.

A greeting such as *Hi, how are you?*, further, is not always necessary at the start of a service encounter in English when someone is buying something at the delicatessen counter in a busy supermarket. However, a sales request such as *Can I have* [250 grams of olives] or *Give me* [three slices of ham] and so on, where you say what you want to buy, is necessary. There are, further, many possible ways in which the stages in a service encounter (and indeed many genres) can be realized in terms of language. For example, a request for service might be expressed as *Could you show me* [a size 4] or *Have you got* [any Spanish leg ham] (etc.). Or, someone might make the request even more indirectly as in *I might* [take a brownie] which a native speaker sales assistant would typically interpret as a sales request. A non-native speaker sales assistant, however, might find it confusing when a sales request is expressed indirectly and not be sure if it is a sales request, or not.

The ways in which the elements of a service encounter are expressed will vary, further, depending on where it is taking place, that is, whether it is in a supermarket, at the post office or at a travel agent and so on. It will also vary according to variables such as the age of the people involved in the interaction and whether the service encounter is face to face or on the phone, and so on. There is, thus, no neat one-to-one correspondence between the structural elements of texts and the ways in which they are expressed through language.

Félix-Brasdefer (2015) uses techniques of conversation analysis (see Chapter 5) in his examination of service encounters in the United States and Mexico but takes his analysis further by combining different approaches to discourse analysis as well in his research. He examines speech acts, such as requests, offers and greetings, in service encounters in the two different settings then examines sequential patterns in the talk to see how the speech acts are jointly produced by the customer and the server. He then considers differences in service encounter interactions across the two cultural settings, finding, for example, that US customers have a preference for indirectness in requests (e.g. 'I'll take three-quarters of a pound of Over Gold turkey breast') while Mexican customers often used a request without a verb (e.g. *Pechuga de pavo San Rafael bien delgadito por favour* [San Rafael turkey breast 300 grams very thinly sliced please]). He also found that US customers frequently placed their request in the second turn of the interaction, whereas there was more variation in where the request was placed for the Mexican speakers. In addition, requests for availability of the product (e.g. *¿tienes jamón de pavo de pierna?* [Do you have turkey leg ham?]) before a request is made were more frequent with the Mexican than with the US customers.

1.1.3 Cultural ways of speaking and writing

Different cultures, then, often have different ways of doing things through language. This is something that was explored by Hymes (1964) through the notion of the *ethnography of communication*. Hymes's work was a reaction to the neglect, at the time, of speech in linguistic analyses and anthropological descriptions of cultures. His work was also a reaction to views of language which took little or no account of the social and cultural contexts in which language occurs. In particular, he considered aspects of speech events such as who is speaking to whom, about what, for what purpose, where and when, and how these impact on how we say and do things in culture-specific settings.

There are, as discussed earlier, particular cultural ways of buying and selling things in different cultures. How I buy my lunch at a takeaway shop in an English-speaking country, for example, is different from how I might do this in Japan. In an English-speaking country, there is greater ritual use of *Please* and *Thanks* on the part of the customer in this kind of interaction than there is in Japan. How I buy something in a supermarket in an English-speaking country may be more similar to how I might do this in Japan. The person at the cash register in Japan, however, will typically say much more than the customer in this sort of situation, who may indeed say nothing. This does not mean that by saying nothing the Japanese customer is being rude. It simply means that there are culturally different ways of doing things with language in different cultures. The sequence of events I go through may be the same in both cultures, but the ways of using language in these events and other sorts of non-linguistic behaviour may differ.

A further example of this can be seen when companies decide to set up a branch of their business overseas. A number of years ago, the Japanese department store Daimaru opened a branch in Melbourne. Each year the store had a spring sale and sent out circulars to its customers to let them know about it. It was interesting to see how differently the company wrote their promotional materials for their Japanese-speaking and their English-speaking customers. The Japanese texts

commenced with ‘seasonal greetings’ referring to the warm spring weather and the sight of fresh flowers in the gardens, whereas the English texts went straight to the point of the message, the sale that would be starting shortly. In the Japanese texts, it would have been impolite not to do this, whereas in the English texts it would have been unnecessary and, indeed, may have hidden the point of the text for the English readers if they had done this.

I noticed similar cultural differences when I was shopping recently at the American clothing store, Abercrombie & Fitch, in Tokyo. The Japanese salesperson who was dealing with me and my friends spoke very good English. While my friends were trying on clothes, I noticed how she seemed to be interacting differently with her Japanese- and English-speaking customers. I asked her about this, and she said that English was easier for her than Japanese in terms of dealing with customers even though she was a native speaker of Japanese. With Japanese, she said, she had to guess the level of politeness required, whereas with English it was much more straightforward for her. She said:

Politeness in Japanese is very complicated. It is hard to explain. I always have to speak from below the customer as the customer is always more important than me. With English it’s more direct. When an English speaking customer comes out of a fitting room I can say ‘Is it okay? Do you like it?’ But with a Japanese customer I can’t ask them directly. I have to guess if it’s what they want or whether they want another size.

1.2 Different views of discourse analysis

There are in fact a number of differing views on what discourse analysis actually is. Social science researchers, for example, might argue that all their work is concerned with the ‘analysis of discourse’, yet often take up the term in their own, sometimes different, ways (Fairclough 2003). Mills (1997) makes a similar observation showing how through its relatively short history the term ‘discourse analysis’ has shifted from highlighting one aspect of language usage to another, as well as being used in different ways by different researchers. People working in the area of Foucauldian discourse analysis (Cheek 2012), for example, pay particular attention to matters of power, arguing that power is always present in the use of discourse. Foucauldian discourse analysis, further, challenges ‘ways of thinking about aspects of reality that have come to be viewed as being natural or normal and therefore taken for granted’ (Cheek 2012: 356). Foucault’s view that discourse produces ways of thinking and views of reality, and shapes people’s identities and practices underlies *post-structural* and *social constructivist* views of discourse; this is a position that underlies much of the work on discourse and society presented in this book (see Chapter 2). Foucault also rejects the notion of absolute truth, arguing that meaning is something that is always shifting and unstable. Foucauldian discourse analysis, however, pays less attention to language than most of the approaches covered in this book so, in this way, is different from them (see McNamara 2019 for a discussion of Foucault’s use of the term ‘discourse’ and how it is more generally used in linguistics).

Fairclough (2003) contrasts what he calls ‘textually oriented discourse analysis’ with approaches to discourse analysis that have more of a social theoretical orientation. He does not see these two

views as mutually exclusive, however, arguing for an analysis of discourse that is both linguistic and social in its orientation. Cameron and Kulick (2003) present a similar view. They do not take these two perspectives to be incompatible with each other, arguing that the instances of language in use that are studied under a textually oriented view of discourse are still socially situated and need to be interpreted in terms of their social meanings and functions.

David Crystal's (2008) analysis of Barack Obama's victory speech on the occasion of his win in the US presidential election is an example of textually oriented discourse analysis. One of the features Crystal notes in Obama's speech is the use of *parallelism*, where he repeats certain grammatical structures for rhetorical effect. In the following extract from the opening lines of his speech, Obama repeats 'who clauses' (highlighted in the following text), lowering the processing load of the speech so that listeners will focus on the content of each the clauses that follow. Crystal also shows how Obama follows the rhetorical 'rule of three' in this section of his speech in a way that mirrors the speeches of former political leaders such as Winston Churchill.

If there is anyone out there *who still doubts* that America is a place where all things are possible, *who still wonders* if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, *who still questions* the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (CNNPolitics.com 2008)

Obama also uses lists of pairs in his speech to rhetorical effect, as in:

It's the answer spoken by young and old, rich and poor, Democrat and Republican, black, white, Hispanic, Asian, Native American, gay, straight, disabled and not disabled. (CNNPolitics.com 2008)

Higgins's (2008) analysis of Obama's speech is an example of more socially oriented discourse analysis. Higgins traces Obama's speech back to the oratory of the ancient Greeks and Romans showing how the use of the 'tricolon' (series of threes), as in the aforementioned example, was one of Cicero's, as well as Julius Caesar's, rhetorical techniques, as in Caesar's 'Veni, vidi, vici' (I came, I saw, I conquered). In doing this, Obama recalls both the politics and traditions of ancient Athens where oratory was 'the supreme political skill, on whose mastery power depended' (2008, online). Williams (2009) discusses Obama's speech within the context of the political (and economic) moment of his victory, highlighting the central message of optimism in his speech captured in the repetition of the refrain 'Yes, we can'. Higgins (2008) also discusses how this 'Yes, we can' relates, intertextually, to the call-and-response preaching of the American church and the power that effective preachers have on their congregations. Obama's reference in his speech to previous leaders, thus, draws on the *social stock of knowledge* (Luckmann 2009) he shares with his audience and their social and cultural histories.

We can see, then, that discourse analysis is a view of language at the level of text. Discourse analysis is also a view of language in use, that is, how people achieve certain communicative goals through the use of language, perform certain communicative acts, participate in certain communicative events and present themselves to others. Discourse analysis considers how people manage interactions with each other, how people communicate within particular groups and societies as well as how they communicate with other groups, and with other cultures. It also focuses on how people do things beyond language and on the ideas and beliefs that they communicate as they use language.

1.2.1 Discourse as the social construction of reality

The view of discourse as the *social construction of reality* recognizes the relationship between language and thought and the power of language to construct different perspectives on things as well as ‘to establish ideas about which perspective is the “normal” one’ (Goddard and Carey 2017: 29). The words of the German philosopher Ludwig Wittgenstein (1992) ‘The words of my language are the limits of my world’ reflect an early view on the relationship between language and thought, suggesting that there are limits to what language can do, leading to the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis (Sapir 1958; Whorf 1940) that language controls our perceptions, thinking and behaviour. This has now moved, however, to a view of the role of language in ‘constructing ideas about the nature of things’ (Goddard and Carey 2017: 26), that is, how, through the use language, we construct certain realities and views of the world.

The social constructionist view see texts as communicative units which are embedded in social and cultural practices. The texts we write and speak both shape and are shaped by these practices. Discourse, then, is both shaped by the world as well as shaping the world. Discourse is shaped by language as well as shaping language. It is shaped by the people who use the language as well as shaping the language that people use. Discourse is shaped, as well, by the discourse that has preceded it and that which might follow it. Discourse is also shaped by the medium in which it occurs as well as it shapes the possibilities for that medium. The purpose of the text also influences the discourse. Discourse also shapes the range of possible purposes of texts (Johnstone 2018).

Wetherell’s (2001) analysis of the BBC interview with the late Diana, Princess of Wales (BBC 1995) provides an example of the role of language in the construction (and construal) of the social world. Wetherell shows how, in the interview, Diana’s social world is construed through the use of discourse. Diana is presented as a sharing person and Prince Charles as ‘a proud man who felt low about the attention his wife was getting’ (Wetherell 2001: 15). Thus, as the interview proceeds, a view is presented of the Princess and the world in which she lives that takes on a particular reality. As Wetherell points out:

As Diana and others speak, on this and many other occasions, a formulation of the world comes into being. The world as described comes into existence at that moment. In an important sense, the social reality constructed in the Panorama interview and in other places of Diana’s happy marriage bucking under media pressure did not exist before its emergence as discourse. (16)

A further example of the social constructivist view of discourse can be seen in the use by President Donald Trump of the term ‘fake news’ to describe media reports that he is not happy with and to position himself as the only reliable source of truth (Ross and Rivers 2018). Trump’s repeated use of the term ‘fake news’ is a trick, Rossman (2017) argues, that comes from advertising where it is used to persuade consumers to buy products, and it has worked as many people have come to see the media the way Trump does. The term ‘fake news’, however, has expanded dramatically since its use by President Trump, and is now a widespread term in mainstream media and on social networking sites (Al-Rawi 2019) where it is often used to undermine people’s faith in mainstream media reporting. The use of the term ‘fake news’ has also been used by other world leaders to

justify the suppression of speech that they don't like (Schwartz 2018). Ross and Rivers (2018) argue, however, that given the contestable nature of 'truth', people such as Trump who use this term so frequently could be considered serial offenders in the spreading of misinformation in the same way that they accuse the media of (see Block 2019 for further discussion of fake news).

Smart (2011) provides an example of how the use of the term 'climate change' and accompanying arguments create different realities for different people. He demonstrates how both advocates and sceptics of climate change draw on their own particular take on the work of the same person, Dr James Hansen, an outspoken climate change researcher to argue both for (the advocates) and against (the sceptics) climate change. Smart shows how advocates draw on Hansen's credentials as a leading climatologist with NASA and the standing of the journal in which he has published, *Science*, to support his argument for the irreversibility of climate change. The sceptics, however, make connections between Hansen's arguments, fiction and horror movies to argue against his point of view. Here, we have opposing discourses on the same person's work to make cases both for and against the same phenomenon.

Cameron and Kulick (2003: 29) in their discussion of the history of the terms 'gay', 'lesbian' and 'queer' provide a further example of the connections between words and the meanings that become associated with them. As they argue:

words in isolation are not the issue. It is in *discourse* – the use of language in specific contexts – that words acquire meaning. Whenever people argue about words, they are also arguing about the assumptions and values that have clustered around those words in the course of their history of being used. We cannot understand the significance of any word unless we attend closely to its relationship to other words and to the discourse (indeed, the competing discourses) in which words are always embedded. And we must bear in mind that discourse shifts and changes constantly, which is why arguments about words and their meanings are never settled once and for all.

The same could be said for words such as 'migrant' and 'refugee', which in the past have had positive connotations when they have been seen as contributing to building a country or part of a response to a humanitarian crisis. Nowadays, however, these terms often have negative connotations especially when used by the media and in certain sections of the press. A study carried out of representations of refugees and asylum seekers in the UK press from 1996 to 2005, for example, found strongly negative representations of refugees through the use of (non-sensical) terms such as 'illegal refugee' and 'bogus migrants'. The use of these terms dropped, however, in 1999 at the time of conflicts in Kosovo and East Timor when the status of refugees could not be disputed but rose to its highest level in 2001 to 2003 as the result of a peak in asylum applications in the United Kingdom as well as a more general reaction to the 9/11 attacks in the United States (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008). And, of course, discussions of migrants and migration increased in negative ways in discussions of Brexit and the vote for Britain to leave the European Union (see Buckledee 2018; Koller, Kopf and Miglbauer 2019 for further discussions of this).

Indeed, as Firth argued, 'the complete meaning of a word is always contextual' (Firth 1935: 37). These meanings, however, change over time in relation to particular contexts of use and changes in the social, cultural and ideological background/s to this use. The use of language, further, shapes our thinking, even if we are not aware of it, and produces ways of seeing people and the world

(Hayakawa and Hayakawa 1991) which, again, change over time in response to changes in norms and values in particular social and cultural settings.

1.2.2 Discourse and socially situated identities

When we speak or write, we use more than just language to display who we are, and how we want people to see us. The way we dress, the gestures we use and the way/s we act and interact also influence how we display social identity. Other factors which influence this include the ways we think, the attitudes we display and the things we value, feel and believe. As Gee (2011a) argues, the ways we make visible and recognizable *who* we are and *what* we are doing always involve more than just language. They involve acting, interacting and thinking in certain ways. They also involve valuing and talking (or reading and writing) in appropriate ways with appropriate ‘props’, at appropriate times and in appropriate places.

The Princess of Wales, for example, knew in the *Panorama* interview not only how she was expected to speak in the particular place and at the particular time but also how she should dress, how she could use body language to achieve the effect that she wanted, as well as the values, attitudes, beliefs and emotions that were appropriate for her to express (as well as those that were not appropriate for her to express) in this situation. That is, she knew how to enact the *discourse* of a princess being interviewed about her private life in the open and public medium of television. This *discourse*, of course, may be different from, but related to, the *discourses* she participated in in her role as mother of her children, and the public and private roles and identities she had as wife of the Prince of Wales. A given discourse, thus, can involve more than just the one single identity (Gee 2011a).

Discourses, then, involve the *socially situated identities* that we enact and recognize in the different settings that we interact in. They include culture-specific ways of performing and culture-specific ways of recognizing identities and activities. Discourses also include the different styles of language that we use to enact and recognize these identities, that is, different *social languages* (Gee 1996). Discourses also involve characteristic ways of acting, interacting and feeling, and characteristic ways of showing emotion, gesturing, dressing and posturing. They also involve particular ways of valuing, thinking, believing, knowing, speaking and listening, reading and writing (Gee 2011a).

1.2.3 Discourse and performance

As Gee (2011a) explains:

a Discourse is a ‘dance’ that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, deeds, values, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places in the here and now as a performance that is recognizable as just such a coordination. Like a dance, the performance here and now is never exactly the same. It all comes down, often, to what the ‘masters of the dance’ will allow to be recognised or will be forced to recognize as a possible instantiation of the dance. (36)

This notion of performance and, in particular, *performativity*, is taken up by authors such as Butler (1990), Cameron (1999), Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), Hall (2000) and Pennycook (2004, 2007). The notion of performativity derives from speech act theory and the work of the linguistic philosophers Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). It is based on the view that in *saying* something, we *do* it (Cameron and Kulick 2003). That is, we bring states of affairs into being as a result of what we say and what we do. Examples of this are *I promise* and *I now pronounce you husband and wife*. Once I have said *I promise* I have committed myself to doing something. Once a priest, or a marriage celebrant, says *I now pronounce you husband and wife*, the couple have ‘become’ husband and wife. Performance, thus, brings the social world into being (Bucholtz and Hall 2003) and produces a series of effects (Butler 2018).

Butler, Cameron and others talk about doing gender in much the way that Gee talks about discourse as performance. Discourses, then, like the performance of gendered identities, are socially constructed, rather than ‘natural’. People ‘are who they are because of (among other things) the way they talk’, not ‘because of who they (already) are’ (Cameron 1999: 144). We, thus, ‘are not who we are because of some inner being but because of what we do’ (Pennycook 2007: 70). It is, thus, ‘in the doing that the identity is produced’ (Pennycook 2011) and reproduced (Butler 2018).

Social identities, then, are not pre-given, but are formed in the use of language and the various other ways we display who we are, what we think, value and feel, and so on. The way, for example, a rap singer uses language, what they rap about and how they present themselves as they do this, all contribute to their performance and creation of themselves as a rap singer (Pennycook 2007). They may do this in a particular way on the streets of New York, in another way in a show in Quebec and yet another way in a night club in Seoul. As they *do* being a rap singer, they bring into existence, or repeat, their social persona as a rap singer.

Similarly, when a baby is born and someone says ‘It’s a girl!’, they are not simply reporting on a fact but also, through the use of discourse, assigning a gender category to the child (Salih 2002). From here, the girl will start to learn expected ways of being a girl in the particular social and cultural setting, from the way she dresses, the way she styles herself, to the way she walks, talks and smiles (Livia and Hall 1997). Gender, thus, is culturally formed and becomes naturalized (Butler 2018). A girl may, of course, as she gets older resist all this but it will be against the backdrop of socially expected gendered norms and ways of being a girl in the particular setting that she does this.

We are not who we are, however, because of how we (physically) look or where we were originally born. Otsuji (2010: 189) gives the example of asking a student (in a Japanese class) with an Indonesian name and Indonesian appearance ‘How is it in Indonesia?’, to which the student simply replies (in Japanese), ‘I am Australian’. Similarly, she asks another student ‘Where are you from?’, to which the student replies, ‘Well, maybe China . . . my parents are from Shanghai but I don’t know much about China. Cause I grew up here.’ Otsuji’s parents are ethnically Japanese. She was born, however, in the United States. She has lived in Japan, as well as in Scotland, Singapore, Holland and Australia. When she tells this to a Japanese person in a casual meeting, a frequent reply is, ‘Then you are not Japanese.’ Otsuji, however, is Japanese in appearance, she speaks Japanese, she has lived in Japan and she has strong family connections in Japan. So what, then,

does it mean ‘to be Japanese’, or to have a ‘Japanese’ identity? (See Choi 2010, Otsuji 2010 for further discussions of this.)

Princess Mary of Denmark is a further example of this. Princess Mary was born in Australia and met the Prince of Denmark when he was in Sydney for the 2000 Olympic Games. She knows (or rather she has learnt) not only how she is expected to speak in a particular place and at a particular time, but also the values, attitudes, beliefs and emotions that are appropriate for her to express (as well as those that are not appropriate for her to express) at particular times and in particular places. On one of her visits to Australia, members of the crowd said, ‘Welcome to Australia’ (Connolly 2008; AAP 2011), ascribing to her the identity of a foreign royal without realizing that, until she married Prince Frederik and was given Danish citizenship (standard procedure for new foreign members of the Danish royal family), she had held Australian citizenship, and in many people’s eyes she still is Australian. So, a person cannot, technically, be a member of particular national group but for many people still be one. This becomes even more complicated when Princess Mary refers to herself as a foreigner in relation to her Danish identity in interviews and magazine articles when she is not, from a citizenship point of view, a foreigner in Denmark.

1.2.4 Discourse and intertextuality

All texts, whether they are spoken or written, make their meanings against the background of other texts and things that have been said on other occasions (Lemke 1992). Texts may more or less implicitly or explicitly cite other texts; they may refer to other texts, or they may allude to other past, or future, texts. We thus ‘make sense of every word, every utterance, or act against the background of (some) other words, utterances, acts of a similar kind’ (Lemke 1995: 23). All texts are, thus, in an intertextual relationship with other texts. The notion of *intertextuality* draws from the work of Bakhtin, who presents the following view:

The linguistic significance of a given utterance is understood against the background of language, while its actual meaning is understood against the background of other concrete utterances on the same theme; a background made up of contradictory opinions, points of view, and value judgements. (Bakhtin 1935/1981: 281)

The actual term ‘intertextuality’, however, is usually attributed to Julia Kristeva (1980), who brought the work of Bakhtin to the West. Kristeva argues that a text is kind of a ‘productivity’ in which various semiotic codes, genres and meaning relations are both combined and transformed.

Umberto Eco (1987) provides an interesting discussion of intertextuality in his chapter ‘Casablanca: Cult movies and intertextual collage’. Eco points out that the film *Casablanca* was made on a very small budget and in a very short time. As a result, its creators were forced to improvise the plot, mixing a little of everything they knew worked in a movie as they went. The result is what Eco describes as an ‘intertextual collage’. For Eco, *Casablanca* has been so successful because it is not, in fact, an instance of a single kind of film genre but a mixing of stereotyped situations that are drawn from a number of different kinds of film genres. As the film proceeds, he argues, we recognize the film genres that they recall. We also recognize the pleasures we have

experienced when we have watched these kinds of films. *Casablanca*, thus, is an example of *recontextualization* in which prior texts are shaped into new texts in new contexts. Meaning, thus, it is not the product of a single, isolated event, but ‘a complex of relationships linking’ (Tannen 2007: 9) with past (or future) discourse (Hodges 2015).

Wang’s (2007) study of newspaper commentaries in Chinese and English on the events of September 11 provides an example of how writers in different languages and cultural settings draw on intertextual resources for the writing of their texts and how they position themselves in relation to their sources. One of the most striking differences Wang found was that in the Chinese texts he examined the writers often drew their views from other sources but made it clear they were not the authors of the texts. They did not attempt to endorse these views or take a stance towards them, thereby keeping a distance from the views that they had presented. In the English-language texts, however, the writers took the points of view they were presenting as widely held within the particular community and did not try to distance themselves from them. Wang then discusses how many of the differences he observed can be traced back to the different sociocultural settings in which the texts occurred, and especially the role of the media in the two different settings. Thus, while media discourses are often global in nature, they are, at the same time, often very local (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007) and draw on other texts for different purposes and often in rather different ways (see Paltridge and Wang 2015 for further discussion of this study).

Sealy (2020), in an introductory chapter to Hart’s (2020) *Researching Discourse*, discusses intertextuality in relation to the writing of academic books. As she points out, any academic work (including this book) has strong intertextual connections with other work on similar topics, such as when, in her chapter, she cites the second edition of this book (Paltridge 2012) as well as other books that have been written on the topic of discourse analysis. Beyond this, however, there are many other spoken and written texts which impact on the writing and production of an academic book. This includes communications with (and between) the series and publishing editor of the book, comments made by reviewers on the proposal for the book, the author’s response to the reviewers’ comments, the publishing house’s meeting (at which the author is never present) which approves the contracting of the book, the actual contract itself, and the publisher’s style guidelines that authors are required to follow. In addition, there are copyright matters which need to be followed and permissions that need to be obtained for reproducing extracts from other publications which will change parts of the book if they cannot be obtained. There are also, in some cases, reviewers’ comments on the final version of the manuscript that need to be addressed by the author/s. In the final stages of the book, copy editors are involved and there are people responsible for the physical (and electronic) production of the book who will interact with the author/s to clarify matters and ask for particular changes. All of this illustrates Sealey’s point that

the ways in which discourse is produced are multifaceted, complex and rarely, if ever, reducible to the intentions and actions of single individuals. (2020: 12)

That is, there are always traces of previous texts in published texts, as well as unseen people, other than the author/s, who have impacted on the writing of the text.

1.2.5 Research perspectives and discourse analysis

The claims that can be made in discourse analytic research are a result of the approach to analysis that has been taken, the data drawn on for the analysis and the underlying view of reality which underlies the approach to research, that is, the *research perspective* and theoretical stance that are adopted in the study. As Braun and Clarke (2006: 81) point out: 'Any theoretical framework carries with it a number of assumptions about the nature of the data, what they represent in terms of the world, reality and so forth.'

If the study has a *qualitative* orientation, the data will have been collected as it naturally occurs. The aim will not be for large-scale quantification, although there may be some sort of counting in order to see, within the context of the data, how often something occurs. The research is locally situated, examining how people use discourse in natural settings and conditions. It is context sensitive and does not study isolated aspects independently of the situation in which they occur. The view of reality which underlies this perspective is that there are multiple realities which are constructed by local and specific conditions. Meaning, thus, is subjective and context dependent (Twining et al. 2017).

If the study is *quantitative* in its orientation, the research will draw on numeric data, variables will be defined and the data will generally be analysed using statistical methods. The view of reality which underlies this research is that there is a single objective reality, and the researcher's goal is to uncover this reality and provide an explanation for it. A researcher might, however, mix methods, collecting and analysing both quantitative and qualitative data in order to achieve a fuller understanding of an issue and to verify one set of findings against the other. It is important, however, to be aware of the research perspective which underlies the particular approach being used as this will impact directly on the claims that can be made for the research, as well as the way in which the research contributes to knowledge on the topic (see Twining et al. 2017 for further discussion of this).

1.3 Summary

Discourse analysis, then, considers the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. It considers what people mean by what they say, how they work out what people mean and the way language presents different views of the world and different understandings. This includes an examination of how discourse is shaped by relationships between participants and the effects discourse has upon social identities and relations.

Discourse analysis takes us into what Riggensbach (1999) calls the 'bigger picture' of language description that is often left out of more micro-level descriptions of language use. It takes us into the social and cultural settings of language use to help us understand particular language choices. That is, it takes us beyond description to explanation and helps us understand the 'rules of the game' that language users draw on in their everyday spoken and written interactions. There are many ways in which one could (and can) approach discourse analysis. What each of these ways

reveals is, in part, a result of the perspective taken in the analysis, and the questions that have been asked. The aim of this book is to provide an introduction to some of these perspectives.

1.4 Discussion questions

- (1) Think of examples of how people recognize your socially situated identity through your use of language. For example, in what ways does your use of language reflect your age, social class, gender, ethnic background or nationality? This might be through your use of vocabulary, your accent or the things you talk about and how you talk about them. Try to think of specific examples of each of these.
- (2) Think of a situation you have been in where someone has meant more than what they said in their use of language. For example, you may have asked someone a favour and not got a direct answer from them. How would the other person have expected you to work out their answer to your request? Or perhaps someone wanted to complain to you about something but thought it would not be polite to do this directly. How did they do this indirectly, yet still feel sure you would get the point of what they are saying?
- (3) Think of rules of communication that people seem to follow when they are using language. For example, what are some of the rules that students follow when talking to their teachers? Do they use a typical level of formality and typical forms of address (such as 'Sir' and 'Miss') when they speak to their teachers? Are there typical topics they talk to their teachers about, and some topics they do not talk about? Are there typical ways they start and end a conversation with a teacher? Do some of these depend on the setting in which the conversation takes place, such as in a classroom or in the teacher's office?
- (4) Think of some of the kinds of spoken or written discourse that you participate in, such as lunch-time conversations with your friends, tutorial discussions with other students and social media interactions with people. What are some of the characteristic ways in which you interact in this kind of situation? How do you typically express yourself in these situations? Is the way in which you communicate the same or different in each of these situations? Why do you think this is the case?

1.5 Exercise

1.5.1 Exercise 1: Definitions of discourse analysis

Following are a number of definitions of the term 'discourse analysis'. Read each of these definitions and summarize the main features they list as being characteristic of discourse analysis:

Discourse analysis examines how stretches of language, considered in their full textual, social, and psychological context, become meaningful and unified for their users. (Cook 1989: viii)

Discourse analysis is concerned with the study of the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used . . . Discourse analysis is not only concerned with the description and analysis of spoken interaction . . . discourse analysts are equally interested in the organisation of written interaction. (McCarthy 1991: 12)

Discourse analysis is the analysis of language in use. Better put, it is the study of language at use in the world, not just to say things, but to do things. (Gee 2011b: ix)

While some discourse analysts focus on how meaning and structure are signaled in texts, others, especially since the early 1990s, have used discourse analysis more critically to examine issues relating to power, inequality and ideology. (Baker and Ellece 2011: 32)

Discourse is language use relative to social, political and cultural formations – it is language reflecting social order but also language shaping social order, and shaping individuals' interaction with society. (Jaworski and Coupland 2014: 3)

Discourse analysis refers to the close reading of actual use of language along with other multimodal resources for the purpose of dissecting its structures and devising its meanings. (Waring 2018: 9)

Discourse analysis is not just one approach, but a series of interdisciplinary approaches that can be used to explore many different social domains in many different types of studies. (Phillips and Jorgenson 2002: 1)

1.6 Directions for further reading

1.6.1 Further reading

Paltridge, B. and Wang, W. (2015), 'Researching discourse', in B. Paltridge and A. Phakiti. (eds), *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 205–24.

This chapter presents an overview of key approaches and areas of influence in discourse analysis. A sample study of newspaper commentaries in Chinese and English on the events of September 11 is provided. The study examines not only discourse features of the texts but also considers reasons for why the texts have been written as they have.

1.6.2 Additional reading

Goddard, A. and Carey, N. (2017). *Discourse: The Basics*. London: Routledge. Chapter 1. Defining discourse.

Chapter 1 of Goddard and Carey's book discusses the meaning of the term 'discourse', discourse and its relationship with text, and discourse and communities of practice. It gives examples of discourse data which illustrate the points being made.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

1.7 Sample studies

Hyland, K. (ed.) (2013). *Discourse Studies Reader. Essential Extracts*. London: Bloomsbury.

This book is a collection of chapters from the Bloomsbury Discourse series, which contains sample studies in a range of areas, giving a view of the potential of discourse analysis for examining different kinds of communications. There are studies which focus on school discourse, workplace discourse, professional discourse, academic discourse, news discourse, the discourse of blogs and wikis, the discourse of text messaging and the discourse of twitter and social media.

Discourse and society

Chapter Outline

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The previous chapter discussed the social situatedness of discourse, that is that spoken and written discourse occurs in particular social and cultural settings and is used and understood in different ways in different social and cultural settings. This chapter will discuss, in more detail, important aspects of the social and cultural settings of spoken and written discourse. It will start with a discussion of the notions of *discourse communities* and *communities of practice*. It will then discuss the various ways we express our *social identity* through discourse. One of the identities we express is our *gendered identity*. This is a topic that has been discussed at great length (and in changing ways) in the area of discourse analysis and is discussed along with *discourse and identity* in this chapter. The issue of *ideology and discourse*, a further important topic in the area of discourse analysis, is also discussed in this chapter.

2.1 Discourse communities and communities of practice

Two key notions in the area of discourse analysis are the concepts of *discourse community* and *communities of practice*. Swales (1990) provides a set of characteristics for identifying a group of people as members of a particular discourse community. The group must have some set of shared common goals, some mechanisms for communication and some way of providing the exchange of information among its members. The community must have its own particular genres, its own set of specialized terminology and vocabulary and a high level of expertise in its particular area. These goals may be formally agreed upon (as in the case of clubs and associations) or they may be more tacit. The ways in which people communicate with each other and exchange information will vary according to the group. This might include meetings, newsletters, casual conversations or a range of other types of written and/or spoken communication. That is, the discourse community will have particular ways of communicating with each other and ways of getting things done that have developed through time. There will also be a threshold level of expertise in the use of the genres the discourse community uses for its communications for someone to be considered a member of that community.

Swales (2016), more recently, has added two further features to his definition of discourse communities. A discourse community, he argues, develops a sense of ‘silential relations’ (Becker 1995), in that there are things that do not need to be said or spelt out between members of the group. A discourse community, further, develops ‘horizons of expectation, defined rhythms of activity, a sense of its history, and value systems for what is good and less good work’ (Swales 2016: 9). For example, somebody might be responsible for clearing out the office fridge on a regular basis, or a stock-take will be carried out at an appointed time every year.

A telephone call centre is an example of a discourse community. Cameron’s (2000) study of telephone call centres in the UK suggests what some of the characteristics of this kind of discourse community might be. She found, for example, that the telephone operators in the call centres were trained to communicate with customers on the phone in very particular ways, often following scripts. The workers were trained to answer the phone ‘with a smile in their voice.’ They were asked to pay attention to the pitch of their voice so that they conveyed a sense of confidence and sincerity in what they said. They were required to talk neither too loudly nor too quietly. They were trained not to drag out what they said, or to speed through what they were saying. They were also required to provide sufficient feedback to their callers so that the callers knew they had been understood. These requirements are imposed on workers, ‘top-down’ (Cameron 2008), although call centre workers also adapt and deviate from the scripts they have been given while ‘creatively complying’ with the call centre’s expectations (Woydack 2019).

Call centre workers have common goals, that of providing the service or making the sales for which the centre is set up, and common ways of sharing information among telephone workers, their own particular service call genres and their own terminology and vocabulary for the product or service they are dealing with. There is also a specific level of expertise required for successful call centre workers,

both in the knowledge of the product or service, the way call centre workers deal with their callers, and in the level of detail needed (or not) to communicate with other workers on job-related matters which are shared by members of the group. There are, further, certain expectations in terms of the quality of record-keeping of calls as well as regular performance reviews of the call centre operators' work. Workers' calls, further, are closely monitored as is every click they make on their computers (Woydack 2019). New workers may be hired for a probationary period, for example, until it is clear that they have met the threshold level of performance required to be members of the particular call centre discourse community. If they do not meet this threshold level, their position with the company may be terminated with some call centres having a high turnover of staff (Woydack 2019).

People, further, have different degrees of membership of discourse communities, and at times the borders between them may not always be clear cut. That is, discourse communities may consist of close-knit networks of members such as writers of poetry and their readers, or loose-knit groups of members such as advertising producers, consumers and contributors to online discussion boards. Discourse communities may also be made up of several overlapping groups of people. People, further, may be (and normally are) members of more than just the one single discourse community. A person, thus, may be a call centre operator, a member of a poetry group, a member of a school parent-teacher group and a contributor to an online discussion board. A person may also have to operate in a number of different roles in the same discourse community. For example, a person be working towards a doctoral degree in one part of a university and in another part of the university be a new (or indeed long-standing) member of academic staff. The 'ways of belonging' may be quite different in each of these parts of the discourse community, as may be the genres that people use and the social relations within the different parts of the discourse community (see Ohashi, Ohashi and Paltridge 2008 for an example of this).

Some people, however, prefer the term 'communities of practice' (King 2019; Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) to the term 'discourse community'. Madsen (2012, 2015), in her study of members of a multi-ethnic martial arts club in Denmark, explains how the notion communities of practice was helpful for describing the group she was examining. Following Wenger (1998), she describes a community of practice as a

collective of people engaging in doing something together. It is defined by participation, through mutual engagement in a joint enterprise and the development of a shared repertoire of resources over time. (Madsen 2012: 50)

In terms of the martial arts group, the enterprise the members shared was practising taekwondo. They had a shared repertoire of resources such as belt colours and the club logo, shared expressions such as names for martial arts techniques and commands, shared norms such as standing in line in a particular order and keeping silent during practice, and shared rituals such as greeting the Danish and Korean flag at the beginning and end of practice and bowing when greeting the taekwondo master. People who were new to the group developed, learned and adopted the shared practices and repertoires and learned what they meant to the group. Beyond this, however, Madsen shows how members of the group, which was linguistically diverse, developed affiliations and relations with each other through their use of discourse, in this case through Danish.

Devitt (2004: 42–4) proposes a further way of describing groups of language users. These are *communities*, *collectives* and *networks*. Communities are ‘groups of people who share substantial amounts of time together in common endeavours’, such as a group of people who all work in the same office. Collectives are groups of people that ‘form around a single repeated interest, without the frequency or intensity of contact of a community’, such as people who are members of a bee-keeping group, or voluntary members of a community telephone advice service. Networks are groups of people that are not as tightly knit as speech communities with connections being made by one person ‘who knows another person, who knows another person’, such as connections that are made through email messages sent and received by people who may never have met each other (and perhaps never will) but are participating in a common discourse.

A further kind of community is what Gee (2004, 2005) terms ‘affinity spaces’. An affinity space is a place where people come together because of a strong and shared interest in a common activity and where informal learning is a common outcome. In these spaces people connect with each other based primarily ‘on shared activities, interests, and goals, not shared race, class, culture, ethnicity, or gender’ (Gee 2004: 67). These spaces often occur online such as is the case with fan fiction groups, that is, groups of people who are fans of particular works of fiction such as novels, films, television shows or video games (Tagg 2015). Another example of an affinity space is a group of people who share an interest in a particular kind of music, such as J-pop (Japanese pop music) fans. In these groups, members might communicate with each other through English, but they might also do this in their first language where there are other members of the group that share the language. Lam (2000, 2004), for example, discusses the case of a Hong Kong Chinese teenager who joined an online J-pop group where he used his first language and English in his communications. As a result of his success in using English, his motivation for learning English increased (Hafner and Miller 2019) (see Tagg 2015 for a discussion of different kinds of virtual communities, how they are constructed, how people participate in them and the key role language plays in establishing and maintaining relationships within these communities).

Each of these notions reflect different ways of viewing people as groups. ‘Discourse community’ focuses on ways of belonging to groups, whereas ‘communities of practice’ extends the discussion to the process by which people, through the notion of *situated learning* and *legitimate peripheral participation* (Lave and Wenger 1991), become members of groups, that is, how they move from being newcomers to becoming experienced members and, in turn, old-time members of the group. Madsen’s (2015) study of young people in a martial arts club described earlier shows how, through interactions with longer-term members, the newcomers achieved membership of the group. Karin Tusting (2005) discusses how much of this is done through language and how relationships and values within communities of practice are constructed, shared and aligned to through the use of language.

2.2 Language as social and local practice

Speakers, then, often have a repertoire of social identities and discourse community memberships. They may also have a *linguistic repertoire* that they draw on for their linguistic interactions. That is, they may have a number of languages or language varieties they use to interact in within their

particular communities. This kind of situation is common in many parts of the world. The choice of language or language variety may be determined by the domain the language is being used in, such as with family, among friends and in religious, educational and employment settings. Social factors such as who we are speaking to, the social context of the interaction, the topic, function and goal of the interaction, social distance between speakers, the formality of the setting or type of interaction and the status of each of the speakers are also important for accounting for the language choice that a person makes in these kinds of settings.

An example of the connection between language variation and group membership that can be seen is Qing Zhang's research (2005, 2008) into the language of managers in state-owned and foreign-owned businesses in Beijing. In her (2005) paper 'A Chinese yuppie in Beijing', she identifies a number of pronunciation features in the use of language by managers of the foreign-owned companies that, she argues, are signs of the development of a cosmopolitan variety of Mandarin Chinese that is associated with a new transnational professional identity. She argues that the possession of this variety gives the speakers *linguistic capital* that, in turn, brings them both material and symbolic rewards in their particular setting.

Zhang (2012) further discusses emerging varieties of Chinese in her study of the use of language by Chinese television talk show hosts. She shows how, through the use of innovative phonological, lexical and syntactic features, as well as a mixing of English and Mandarin, a new cosmopolitan style of Mandarin is employed. This particular style indexes (see in the following text) the cool, trendy and cosmopolitan personae of the two hosts, something that is a key part of the symbolic repertoire of people who are part of this new cosmopolitan Chinese lifestyle.

Dong and Blommaert (2009) and Dong (2011) examine language variation in China in the context of mass internal migration and the way in which this sheds light on the construction of migrant identities. They show how limitations in workers' proficiency in Putonghua often present obstacles for them, giving an example of a worker who developed a linguistic repertoire which drew on a typical Beijing accent, near-Putonghua, and an accent from Southern China, in order to navigate these obstacles, as well as to 'avoid being misrecognized or silenced' (Dong and Blommaert 2009: 20). In another example they cite, migrant workers were not permitted to board a bus because of the way they were dressed, showing how clothing, as a mode of communication, can send just as strong a message as language in terms of what can (and cannot) be done in particular social and cultural settings and how people can belong (or not) to particular groups.

Each of these examples highlights the point made by Litossoleti (2006), Eckert (2008) and Pennycook (2010) that language is both a social (Litossoleti and Eckert) and a local (Pennycook) practice, and the meanings that are made through the use of language are based in the ideologies, activities and beliefs of what it means to be in a particular place, at a particular time and in a particular setting. In the words of Eckert:

people fashion their ways of speaking, moving their styles this way or that as they move their personae through situations from moment to moment, from day to day, and through the life course. (2008: 463)

In this process, she argues, 'people do not simply use social meaning – they both produce and reproduce it' (2008: 463). An example of this is how gender categories are produced and reproduced through language, the subject of the next section of this chapter.

2.3 Discourse and gender

Early work in the analysis of gender and discourse looked at the relationship between the use of language and the biological category of sex. This has now moved to an examination of the ways language is used in relation to the *socially constructed* category of gender. Gender, then, is not just a natural and inevitable consequence of one's biological sex (Weatherall 2002). It is, rather, 'part of the routine, ongoing work of everyday, mundane, social interaction', that is, 'the product of social practice' (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003: 5). Gender, further, as Swann (2002: 47) has pointed out,

has come to be seen as highly fluid, or less well defined than it once appeared. In line with gender theory more generally, researchers interested in language and gender have focused increasingly on plurality and diversity amongst female and male language users, and on gender as performativity – something that is 'done' in context, rather than a fixed attribute.

Performativity is based on the view that in saying something, we do, or 'become' it. A person learns, for example, how to do and, in turn 'display', being a woman in a particular social setting, of a particular social class. People perform particular identities through their use of language and other ways of expressing themselves in their interactions with each other. Mostly, this is done unconsciously as we 'repeat acts' such as gestures, movement and ways of using language that signify, or index a particular identity. These acts are not, however, natural, nor are they part of the essential attributes of a person. They are part of what people acquire in their interactions with each other.

Hall's (1995) study of the use of language by telephone sex workers in the United States provides a further example of how speakers perform particular gendered identities through their use of language. Not all of the sex workers in Hall's study were heterosexual, although this was the persona they were projecting; nor were they all female. One was a male Mexican American who took pride in being able to 'replicate' Asian, Latina and Black women's personas though his use of accent, intonation, voice quality and choice of vocabulary. The workers, thus, used 'gendered styles to construct sexual meaning' (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 59).

Gender, then, is 'not something a person "has", but something that a person does' (Cameron 2005a: 49). Gender (and in turn other identities) is not a result of what people (already) are but a result of, among other things, the way they talk and what they do.

As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003: 4) argue:

gender doesn't just exist, but is continually produced, reproduced, and indeed changed through people's performance of gendered acts, as they project their own claimed gender identities, ratify or challenge other's identities, and in various ways support or challenge systems of gender relations and privilege.

Young girls in Japan that adopt what is called a *burriko* style (Miller 2004) when they go out are a further example of people *doing* gender identity. These girls dress in a cute and childlike manner and use a speech style, such as extremely high pitch, 'baby-talk' words and sentences which they do not complete and drift off into inaudibility, all which comes together to suggest non-assertiveness

and a certain vulnerability (Simpson 2019). They do this particular gendered identity, further, not only in the way they talk but also in the way they dress and the way they behave as they speak to each other and to other people. What they do, then, is perform 'a set of repeated acts' with an accompanying 'repeated stylization of the body' (Butler 1990: 33). These gendered identities are then 'reaffirmed and publicly displayed by repeatedly performing particular acts' (Cameron 1999: 444) in accordance with shared views which define this (particular type of) femininity. The performance of this identity, further, is recognized by people in the community, even if they are not aware of the label for it.

Gendered identity can, equally, be conveyed through writing as well as through speech. Richardson's (2000) study of the use of disparaging language and sexually humiliating formulae by male members of an Australian cricket club in their newsletter to talk about women provides an example of this. Richardson found that the men in her study used their language and the traditional 'women only' discourse of gossip to create solidarity as a group, and to construct their heterosexual masculinity, as did Cameron (1999) in her study of talk between fraternity brothers in the United States. The students writing in Richardson's cricket club newsletter used a language they called 'Dross' as a way of creating an in-group identity as members of the club. One of the members she interviewed said, 'It's the one thing that really does set [the Club] apart from other Clubs' (60). The members also gossiped about women, sex and alcohol in the newsletter as a way of creating solidarity among themselves. This was often done through the use of formulaic language such as *Rumour has it that . . .* to indicate that what was about to be said was gossip and may not necessarily be true. Richardson argues that the members' identities presented in the newsletter are constructed through differentiation. That is, the members of the cricket club defined themselves 'by that which they are not' (65). They wrote, they said, in ways that are different from members of other cricket clubs. They also described the club as a heterosexual-only zone by using terms such as 'poofter' and 'poofs' (derogatory terms for gay men) as out-group naming strategies, reinforcing the expectation that members of the club will be heterosexual and that the identity of homosexual male is not appropriate for membership of the club. The following extract from the newsletter illustrates this:

[The Cricket Club]'s Presentation Night for 97/98 will be at the MCG [a cricket stadium] on April 3. Players, partners, parents, patriarchs, presenters, poofs (sorry, no poofs) are all welcome to attend. (Richardson 2000: 70)

And, of course, many people avoid using language in a way that indicates a particular gender, such as saying 'people' or 'individuals' rather than 'man' or 'mankind'. A person, further, may use the singular 'they' to avoid making assumptions about someone's gender (American Psychological Association 2020), as in the following example:

Look for the rental car company's representative at the airport exit; they will be holding a sign with your name on it. (The Writing Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill nd)

The use and interpretation of these items, however, will often depend on a person's attitude towards gender equality (Eckert and McConnell-Genet 2003), which will influence their willingness to use and accept this sort of *gender-neutral language*, or not. In addition, there are broader community expectations of what is acceptable and what is not in the use of gender-neutral language. The

Washington Post, for example, has recently endorsed the generic singular *they* referred to above but with the caveat to avoid using it if possible, while the *Oxford Modern English Grammar* supports its usage (University of Chicago 2017).

Gender identity, then, is a complex construction. All levels of language and discourse as well as aspects of non-verbal and other kinds of behaviour are involved in doing gender (Butler 2004). Gender, further, interacts with other factors such as social class and ethnicity (Eckert 2011). As Holmes observes:

gender is only one part of a person's social identity, and it is an aspect, which will be more or less salient in different contexts. In some contexts, for example, it may be more important to emphasise one's professional expertise, one's ethnic identity, or one's age than one's gender. (1997: 9)

As Cameron and Kulick (2003: 57) argue, 'the relationship between language and gender is almost always indirect, mediated by something else'. The ways that people speak are, in the first instance, associated with particular roles, activities and personality traits, such as being a mother, gossiping and being modest (Cameron and Kulick 2003). The extent to which these roles, activities and personality traits become associated in a particular culture with being *gendered* lead to these ways of speaking pointing to, or *indexing* (Ochs 1992; Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Bucholtz 2009), a particular gender in the same way that particular ways of speaking may point to, or index, a person's social class or ethnic identity (Litosseliti 2006; Baker 2008).

The notion of indexicality originates in the work of Pierce (1955) who argues that

anything that calls attention, for example, a rap at the door, a bolt of lightning, is an indication of something, whether we know what that something is or not. (Hughes and Tracy 2015: 2)

Indexical signs, thus, are 'clues, traces, and symptoms of referential objects' (Hughes and Tracy 2015: 2) such as smoke indexing fire and a woman holding a baby suggesting she is the mother of the baby (Hughes and Tracy 2015: 2). The features of language use which index a particular identity are not at a single level such as a particular vowel quality, choice of vocabulary item, grammatical structure or language variety, however. This occurs, rather, at multiple levels, all at the same time, evoking certain identities through their connections with them (Strauss and Feiz 2014). The use of language may be, in part, intentional, and it may, in part, be habitual. Identity, further, is not something that is pre-assigned in fixed social categories. It, rather, is something that emerges in practice, and is achieved interactionally through the use of discourse (Bucholtz 1999; Bucholtz and Hall 2005; McNamara 2019).

In some cases, further, a person's different identities may be difficult to separate. As Cameron and Kulick (2003: 58) point out:

The actual balance between them is not determined in advance by some general principle, but has to be negotiated in specific situations, since meaning is not only in the language itself, but also in the context where language is used by particular speakers for particular purposes.

A person, then, will have a *multiplicity of identities* (Eckert 2002), which may be at play all at the same time, at different levels of prominence. They may not all be equally salient at a particular moment (Sunderland and Litosseliti 2002). Rather, one or more of these identities may be foregrounded

at different points in time and for different (conscious or unconscious) reasons. Different aspects of identity, further, may be inseparable from each other (Bucholtz 2011). Cameron's (2000) study of the use of language in telephone call centres in the UK is an example of this. Here there is a mix of both professional and gendered identities, both of which are salient at the same time. Cameron talks about a process of styling the worker where male and female workers are trained to use what is popularly thought of as a feminine communication style and expressive intonation to project rapport and to establish empathy with their callers. The worker's supervisors, managers and 'mystery outside callers' in some cases use checklists as they listen to the workers' calls to ensure the training they have been given is producing a particular gendered style of speech.

The point here, then, is that

no way of speaking has only one potential meaning: the meanings it conveys in one context are not necessarily the same ones it conveys in another, and it may also acquire new meanings over time. (Cameron and Kulick 2003: 57)

People, further, '*do* perform gender differently in different contexts, and do sometimes behave in ways we would normally associate with the "other" gender' (Cameron 1999: 445) such as the case of the workers in Cameron's call centre study and the telephone sex workers in Hall's (1995) study. In all cases, however, for a gendered (or any identity) performance to be successful, it needs recognized by others, a point that is discussed in the next section of this chapter.

2.4 Discourse and identity

A person may have a number of *identities*, each of which is more important at different points in time. They may have an identity as a woman, an identity as a mother, an identity as someone's partner and an identity as an office worker, for example. The ways in which people display their identities includes the way they use language and the way they interact with people. Identities are not natural, however. They are constructed, in large part, through the use of discourse. Identities, further, are not fixed and remain the same throughout a person's life. They are constantly constructed and reconstructed as people interact with each other. Part of having a certain identity is that it is recognized by other people. Identities, thus, are two-way constructions.

The earliest studies into the relationship between language and identity were based on a variationist perspective, that is, they looked at the relationship between social variables such as social class in terms of variation in the use of linguistic variables such as certain features of pronunciation, or the use of non-standard grammar. More recent work, however, has taken a *post-structural* perspective on language and identity, seeing identity 'as something that is in constant process' (Swann et al. 2004: 140–1), arguing that it is through language, or rather through discourse, that identity is principally forged.

The information a person 'gives off' about themselves, and, in turn, their identity, depends very much on the context, occasion and purpose of the discourse. It also depends on the 'space' and 'place' of the interaction (Blommaert 2005). Cameron (1999) gives an example of this in her

discussion of how a group of male US college students construct heterosexual masculinity through the talk that they engage in while watching TV in their college dorm. Richardson (2000) shows something similar in her analysis of the language male cricket club members use to talk about women in the cricket club newsletter they contribute to. In both these studies, the men involved perform and enact particular gendered (and sexual) identities which for that moment in time are, for them, socially salient.

It is not just through the performance of identities that they are created, however. It is also by the fact that they are recognized by other participants in the interactions. In Blommaert's (2005: 205) words, 'a lot of what happens in the field of identity is done by others, not by oneself'. In some cases, this identity may only be temporary. Equally '[n]ot every identity will have the same range or scope' (211) nor be the same across time and physical space. As Blommaert says, people speak both in and from a place. Place, he argues, 'defines people, both in their eyes and in the eyes of others' (223) as well as attributes certain values to their interactions. People can (and do) he argues, shift places 'frequently and delicately, and each time, in very minimal ways, express different identities' (224). No single aspect of identity (such as gender, race and ethnicity), further, is independent of other aspects of identity (such as social class, occupation and sexuality). Identity, rather, is a social accomplishment that 'operates as a repertoire of styles, or ways of doing things that are associated with culturally recognized social types' (Bucholtz 2011: 2).

Thomas (2007) has explored the issues of language and identity in online chat environments, a very particular place and space. In a virtual community called a palace, she examines how girls use words and images to establish online identities which reflect both their fantasies and their desires in the particular setting. She does an analysis of both the words and the images that they use to create their identities. In their online environment, the cybergirls interacted with words, symbols for words, as well as various other symbols such as emoticons and 'avatars' (visual characters which express a certain identity) in order to establish their online identities. One of her participants, Violetta, talked about how she wrote online to convey a particular persona:

Violetta: i'd have whole typing styles for people. like, if i were trying to trick someone i knew into thinking i was someone else, i'd type a lot differently than i do normally. a person's typing style can give them away like their voice does. (114)

Thomas found that 'the girls who gain and exercise power in their online worlds are those who know how to use and manipulate words, images and technology' (Thomas 2004: 359), which gave them authority and a sense of belonging to the group. A boy who was a member of the group, *Face Off*, spent days away from the palace preparing highly complex images for the site so that he could project an identity as a highly capable online participant to new people in the group. On his return the other members noticed he had been away and on seeing what he has done described him as a 'Paint master', saying they wanted to work him as a team on creating new scripts for the palace.

The shared sense of belonging in the online community was also created by the use of screen names and emoticons to express emotions such as laughing, smiling, amazement and excitement. At points in their interactions some members in Thomas' study, however, switched identities. *Face off*, for example, took on the identity of his mother on one occasion. Here, he adopted a voice of authority and control, saying:

Face Off: i hear you want to interview my son
 well i give you my upmost permission
 nobody talk
 ok now ask me questions

The other members of the group fell in with the game and changed the way they interacted with him, while he was being 'his mother'.

Thomas observes that to speak (or in this case to write) in an online environment is to have an identity and to not write is not to have an identity. In this setting, she argues, to write is to exist, and that writing is an essential component for identity construction. As one of her participants commented:

Violetta : to make friends online you need to be around a lot and be willing to
 talk . . . to be 'real' in a virtual kind of way

The people in the group, further, played with the rules of grammar, punctuation, capitalization and abbreviations to find an individual style to fit their purpose, as in:

HeY! wUtz uP wit U??

As Thomas comments, the ways in which children establish friendships and identities offline is very different from how they do it online. Online, it is very much through the use of discourse and proficiency in use of the online environment. The discourse of this environment is very much a multimodal one, using not just words, but also images, layout, design, a different view of grammar, spelling and punctuation, and a different way of reading texts. She found, further, that some of what the children did online reflected the kind of 'learned social accomplishments' that researchers in the area of language and gender have referred to. Some of what they did, however, reflected fantasies they had about themselves and their desired personae, the online medium giving them a safe and private place to establish these fantasized-about identities.

The identities that people establish online, then, provide an interesting example of how people create identities through their use of language (and other visual devices) that may, in some cases, be separate and distinct from their offline identity. Each of these identities is part of the ongoing process of establishing who we are, and who we want (at least at certain times) to be. It is for this reason that authors such as Thurlow, Lengel and Tomic (2004) prefer to talk about *identity online* rather than *online identity*. Some people communicating online may, indeed, change essential characteristics about themselves (such as their age, ethnicity, race or physical appearance) in order to present an identity online that will be more appealing to the audience they are wanting to communicate with. Others, however, may write in a way that re-enacts their offline identity (Tagg 2015).

Often, however, there is a merging of online and offline identities (Tagg 2015). Celebrity blogs, such as Nigella Lawson's blog¹ where she shares recipes, cooking advice and information on her latest books, are an example of this. In both her blog and her offline activities, Nigella's identity as

¹ <https://www.nigella.com/>

a celebrity chef is highlighted. A further example of the merging of online and offline identities is Toronto-based fashion designer Kamilla Osman's Instagram posts. Kamilla Osman looks remarkably like Kim Kardashian and styles herself like Kim Kardashian in her posts to exploit this similarity. We assume (or, rather, she wants us to assume) that the identity she is showing online is the same as her life and identity offline.

2.4.1 Identity and spoken discourse

A common way in which people create, express and establish social (and other) identities is through the genre of casual conversation. As Eggins and Slade (2005: 6) argue:

Despite its sometimes aimless appearance and apparently trivial content, casual conversation is, in fact, a highly structured, functionally motivated, semantic activity. Motivated by interpersonal needs continually to establish who we are, how we relate to others, and what we think of how the world is, casual conversation is a critical linguistic site for the negotiation of such important dimensions of our social identity as gender, generational location, sexuality, social class membership, ethnicity, and subcultural and group affiliations.

Eggins and Slade argue that people do not engage in casual conversations just to 'kill time', but rather to negotiate social identities as well as to negotiate, clarify and extend interpersonal relations. As they put it:

The apparent triviality of casual conversation disguises the significant interpersonal work it achieves as interactants enact and confirm social identities and relations. (16)

They describe this as the central paradox of casual conversation. As they argue, casual conversation is the type of talk in which people feel most relaxed, most spontaneous and most themselves, 'yet casual conversation is a critical site for the social construction of reality'. Casual conversations do a number of things which are crucial to discussions of language and identity. They establish solidarity 'through the confirmation of similarities', and they assert autonomy 'through the exploration of differences' (Eggins and Slade 2005). The way in which language is used in casual conversations, like all spoken interactions, is influenced by the relationship between the people speaking, the frequency with which they come into contact with each other, the degree of involvement they have with each other and their sense of affiliation for each other.

When we speak (or write), then, we are not only telling other people 'something about ourselves' (Cameron 2001: 170) but also relating to people in particular ways. Identity, thus, is a joint, two-way production. Identity, further, is not just a matter of using language in a way that reflects a particular identity. It is rather a socially constructed self that people continually co-construct and reconstruct in their interactions with each other. This leads to different ways of doing identity with different people in different situations. A person's identity, then,

is not something fixed, stable and unitary that they acquire early in life and possess forever afterwards. Rather identity is shifting and multiple, something people are continually constructing and reconstructing in their encounters with each other in the world. (Cameron 2001: 170)

Identity is a 'negotiated experience' in which we 'define who we are by the way we experience ourselves . . . as well as by the ways we and others reify ourselves' (Wenger 1998: 149). Identities are not fixed, but constantly being reconstructed and negotiated through the ways we do things and ways of belonging (or not) to a group (Casanave 2002). Our identities are further developed as we increase our participation in particular communities of practice. These identities, further, are based on shared sets of values, agreed-upon cultural understandings and the ideologies which underlie our use of spoken and written discourse.

These communities of practice, further, may be imagined (Anderson 1991) or they may be virtual (Meadows and Waugh 2010). Pavlenko and Norton (2007) discuss the notion of *imagined communities* in relation to English-language learners arguing that learners' desired memberships of imagined communities influence their motivation for learning and the investment they make in their learning. Meadows (2009) uses the notion of *imagined national communities of practice* in his discussion of the ways in which students may invest in this notion as a way of maintaining their position, and privilege, in their more local (and actual) community. Thomas's (2007) *Youth Online* provides many examples of how people in online worlds create and establish identities that may be quite different, at times, from their offline 'actual' identities (see Paltridge 2015a for further discussion of language, identity and communities of practice).

2.4.2 Identity and written discourse

Identity is as much an issue in written discourse as it is in spoken discourse. This is particularly the case in student academic writing. Hyland (2002b) discusses the view that is often presented to students that academic writing is faceless, impersonal discourse. Students are told, he says, 'to leave their personalities at the door' when they write and not use personal pronouns such as 'I' which show what is being said is the student's view or place in things. As Hyland (2002b: 352) argues, 'almost everything we write says something about us and the sort of relationship that we want to set up with our readers'. Indeed, one of the ways that expert academic writers do this, in some academic disciplines at least, is through the use of the pronoun 'I'.

Establishing writer identity is, however, something that is often difficult for second language writers. This is often complicated by students bringing a different writer 'voice' from their first language setting to the second language writing situation (Fox 1994). Students may come from backgrounds where they have considerable standing in their field of study and find it difficult to be told they need to take on the voice of a novice academic writer, and hide their point of view, as they write in their second language. Hirvela and Belcher (2001) argue that teachers need to know more about the ways students present themselves in their first language writing and about their first language and culture identities so they can help students deal with the issue of identity in their second language writing.

As Casanave (2002: 23) argues in her book *Writing Games*, learning to belong to a community of practice can take time and a great deal of effort. It can be filled with tensions and conflict. As she points out:

Newcomers inevitably feel the foreignness of unfamiliar practices, the unwieldiness of new forms and tools of communication, and relationships with more experienced practitioners that are not necessarily harmonious.

Work in the area of *academic literacies* (Lea and Street 2006; Lillis and Scott 2007; Blommaert, Street and Turner 2008; Street 2010; Wingate and Tribble 2011) provides a way of thinking about some of these issues. An academic literacies perspective on academic writing sees learning to write in academic settings as learning to acquire a repertoire of linguistic practices which are based on complex sets of discourses, identities and values. Here, students learn to switch practices between one setting and another, learning to understand, as they go, why they are doing this, and what each position implies. This means understanding what is required of writers at a particular level of study in terms of attitudes to knowledge and how this is revealed through language. This also involves how a writer, at the particular level, shows their command of their subject matter and their ability to critically reflect on it. That is, students need to show both their authorial identity and authority through the text they are writing in such a way that their reader will recognize and respond to this (see Paltridge and Starfield 2020; Paltridge et al. 2009, where this is discussed further).

Ivanić (1998) discusses the notion of self-representation in academic writing and, in particular, the concept of the *discoursal self*. As she points out, there are always a range of alternatives writers can choose from in order to represent themselves in a text, their relationship with their readers, and their relationship to the knowledge they are discussing. This can be through the use of *stance* features such as *self-mentions* (*I, we, my*), *hedges* (*might, perhaps*), *boosters* (*definitely, in fact*) and *attitude markers* such as *unfortunately* and *surprisingly*, which express their attitude towards a proposition (Hyland 2005a). Writers also draw on *engagement* strategies such as *reader pronouns*, *personal asides*, *appeals to shared knowledge*, *directives* and *questions*. Examples of each of these strategies are shown in Table 2.1. Through the use of these strategies, writers both acknowledge and recognize the presence of their readers at the same time as they position themselves in relation to the outcomes of their research (Hyland 2005a, 2005b).

In order to be successful, students need to represent themselves in a way that is valued by their discipline as well as adopt the values, beliefs and identity of a successful academic writer in their area of study (Hyland 2009a, 2012). It involves ‘negotiating a self which is coherent and meaningful to both the individual and the group’ (Hyland 2011: 11). This identity, further, is only successful by the extent to which it is recognized by the discipline and the group (Hyland 2010). Students, thus, need to choose ways of expressing themselves that will resonate with members of the group so that their claims to be one of them will be seen to be credible and valid (Hyland 2011). This kind of writing, thus, is highly situated (Barton, Hamilton and Ivanić 2000) and requires an in-depth understating of the values and ideologies of the discipline in which the student is working, the subject of the next section of this chapter (see Hyland 2012 for further discussion of identity and academic writing).

Translanguaging has been proposed in writing classrooms where multilingual students use the resources of more than one language or variety of language in their writing in the same way that bilingual families and communities communicate with each other (Creese and Blackledge 2018; García and Wei 2014). Canagarajah (2013) has argued that this kind of *code-meshing* can help academic writers project a more personalized authorial identity. It can also enable them to negotiate

Table 2.1 Examples of Stance and Engagement Strategies in Academic Writing

Strategy	Examples
<i>Stance</i>	
Hedges	<i>Our results suggest</i> that rapid freeze and thaw rates during artificial experiments in the laboratory <i>may</i> cause artificial formation of embolism.
Boosters	With a few interesting exceptions, we <i>obviously</i> do not see a static image as moving. This seems <i>highly</i> dubious.
Attitude markers	The first clue of this emerged when we noticed a <i>quite extraordinary</i> result.
Self-mentions	This experience contains ideas derived from reading <i>I</i> have done.
<i>Engagement</i>	
Reader pronouns	Although <i>we</i> lack knowledge about a definitive biological function for . . .
Personal asides	And – <i>as I believe many TESOL professional will readily acknowledge</i> – critical thinking has now begun to make its mark
Appeals to shared knowledge	Of course, <i>we know</i> that the indigenous communities of today have been reorganized by the catholic church . . .
Directives	<i>It is important to note</i> that these results do indeed warrant the view that . . .
Questions	<i>Is it, in fact, necessary to choose between nature and nurture?</i>

Source: Based on Hyland (2005b)

a translingual identity as academic writers as they ‘resist the marginalizing forces of standard written English’ (Gevers 2018: 73), especially if they are using their first language for the planning and conceptualizing of writing in their second language (see Canagarajah 2018 for an example of this). Not every second language student writer, however, might be in a position to code mesh in their writing ‘if they find themselves in an environment where they are perceived as cultural or linguistic outsiders’ (Gevers 2018: 76), and they project this identity through their use of language (see Wei 2018 for the theoretical background to translanguaging; Gevers 2018 for a critique of translanguaging; Schreiber and Watson 2018 for a response to Gever’s critique).

Translanguaging is also a feature of *linguistic landscapes* research (Landry and Bourhis 1997; Van Mensel, Vandenbrouke and Blackwood 2017) which examines the use of languages in public places such as on road signs, names of streets, buildings, places and institutions, billboards and shop signs. Multilingual signage is a common feature in countries such as Ireland and Hong Kong, for example, where shop signs often appear in two languages. In this case, the texts are not addressed to different audiences and there isn’t the expectation that readers will know both languages (Gorter and Cenoz 2015). The signs, rather, are ‘indexing the shop’s claim to be simultaneously global and modern as well as local and traditional’ (Kallen and Ni Dhonnacha 2010: 25) through their use of language. Landry and Bourhis (1997), who coined the term ‘linguistic landscapes’, argue that these signs don’t just provide information; they also communicate the relative power and status of linguistic communities in the particular community. This multilingual use of language also expresses values such as patriotism, national pride as well as promotes ethnic allegiances and

collective identities within the context of globalisation and multiculturalism (Ben-Rafael, Shohamy and Barni 2010).

Lou (2016), through an ethnographic examination of linguistic landscapes in Chinatown in Washington, DC, examines language choice in the Chinese stores' signage showing how they are 'simultaneously traditional and contemporary' (49) and how they have replaced monolingual Chinese signs that were the norm in the early twentieth century. She shows how Chinese stores in the area give greater prominence to Chinese signage, whereas non-Chinese stores place English in a more prominent position, reflecting different ethnic allegiances. She also shows how non-Chinese businesses (such as Starbucks) use the same colour in both the English and the Chinese components of their signs to reflect their corporate identity, whereas the colours in the Chinese signs are not chosen on the basis of corporate identity, with green, red and gold or yellow being the preferred colours for their signs. Through eighteen months of ethnographic fieldwork, the collection of photographs of street signs, interviews with neighbourhood residents, community organizers and workers, attendance at community meetings and the analysis of policy documents and promotional materials, Lou comes to understand the social, historical, political and economic factors which were behind the making of Chinatown's linguistic landscape, showing the value of going 'beyond the text' (Freedman 1999) in order to understand why texts are as they are and the processes that have led to their coming into being. In addition, she came to gain an understanding of Chinatown 'not being tied to Chinese people alone, as viewed by some older Chinese people' (Lou 2016: 135) but as a more inclusive place which included other Asian groups, such as Indian and Thai businesses, thereby broadening the category of 'Asian Americans' in the area.

2.5 Second language identities

Kanno and Norton (2003) and Norton and Toohey (2011) discuss identity in relation to second language learners' imagined communities, arguing that their desired memberships of imagined communities influence their motivation for learning and the investment they make in the learning. These imagined communities, Norton and Toohey (2011) argue, may have a greater impact on their investment in language learning than the contexts in which they are currently engaged. Teachers, however, need to learn more about their learners' imagined communities and 'who they want to become' – that is, their imagined identities – if they really want to help them achieve their long-term, rather than just their short-term, language learning goals (Belcher and Lukkarila 2011).

The issue of identity is complex, however, in an increasingly globalized world in that it is not always clear that, in the future, among the second language students who will need to be able to communicate with, native or native speakers of English. A Thai, for example, asking directions in Malaysia will probably make their first attempts at communication in English. Likewise, a Japanese businessman communicating with a South American company is most likely to do this in English. In this kind of situation, he has no need to draw on British, American or Australian, for example, cultural values or norms for the communication to succeed. It would, further, seem strange if either party behaved in a way – and adopted an identity – that was more characteristic of some

English-speaking group. Equally, for a student in China using an online chat platform to communicate with someone in Japan, the situation would be the same. English is the native language of none of these speakers, but it is the language they will most likely use to bridge the gap. It is the property of the user and not an imitation of the culture or identity of any English-speaking group. In these settings, they are using *English as a lingua franca* to communicate with each other.

English as a lingua franca, for many people, is their principal use of English whether the communication is between two non-native speakers or native and non-native speakers of English. Its use is the result of increased language contact between speakers of different languages as in the examples described earlier. English as a lingua franca, however, is not the language of any particular speech community in the traditional idea of a speech community described earlier in this chapter. It is the language of 'multifarious mobilities' (Mauranen 2018: 108) that is a characteristic of the contemporary world. English as a lingua franca communities are not based on physical closeness between speakers nor are they close-knit communities. The linguistic character of English as a lingua franca is not simple either with more variation among speakers than would be the case with speakers of a native variety of English. There is also more collaboration and accommodation in the use of language, so the discourse is mutually comprehensible between speakers (Mauranen 2018) as everyone involved in the communication works towards mutual understanding (Block 2007).

The use of English as a lingua franca is common in international business settings where boundaries between native speakers, second language speakers and foreign language users often become blurred (Nickerson 2013). English as a lingua franca is also a feature of international university education (Mauranen 2011; Jenkins 2014). Speakers using English as a lingua franca often use particular strategies for managing interactions. These include self-correction when a linguistic error has been made which might affect the communication, code-switching as a way of displaying the speaker's international identity as well as accommodating to the other speaker's cultural background (Taguchi and Ishihara 2018), and repeating what has just been said using a roughly synonymous expression in order to pre-empt a potential communication problem (Cogo and House 2017; Mauranen 2011).

And, of course, people can have different levels of membership of language communities. Julie Choi (2010) talks about her experience of having been born in the United States and of having lived also in Korea, China and Japan. She attended a year of junior high school in Korea, spent seven years in China attending high school and university, and worked in Japan for seven years. Even though she had native-like pronunciation in Korean by virtue of having acquired the language in her home, she found acquiring fluency in Korean intimidating, and worried that if she spoke *Konglish* (a mix of Korean and English), she would look unintelligent and a cultural misfit. When she went to Beijing, she found she wasn't accepted as a 'real Korean' because of her American citizenship but wasn't a 'real American' either because of her Asian appearance. In Japan, she found she wasn't seen as Korean because she spoke English and was born in America, but at the same time benefited from the rise in popularity of Korean popular culture which was at the time seen as something 'cool'. In Australia, where she now lives, she finds she is often positioned as Japanese because of the Japanese lunch box she carries, her make-up and her physical appearance. She, however, sees herself as 'Korean-American' even though she doesn't feel especially close to other

Korean-Americans or at home in a Korean-American neighbourhood. She describes this experience as 'living on the hyphen'. This hyphen, she says,

reminds me that the way others perceive or position me is out of my control but their positioning of me helps me to become more conscious of what I would or would not like to take on as I continue to negotiate my identity. (71)

2.6 Discourse and ideology

The values and ideologies which underlie texts tend to be 'hidden' rather than overtly stated. As Threadgold (1989) observes, texts are never ideology-free nor are they objective. Nor can they be separated from the social realities and processes they contribute to maintaining. For Threadgold, spoken and written genres are not just linguistic categories but 'among the very processes by which dominant ideologies are reproduced, transmitted and potentially changed' (107). In her view, a spoken or a written genre is never just the reformulation of a linguistic model, but always the performance of a politically and historically significant process.

An area of research where this has been taken up is the examination of media discourse. KhosraviNik (2005), for example, discusses discourses of refugees, asylum seekers and immigrants in the UK press. He shows how while *The Times* refrains from explicitly reproducing stereotypes in its discussion of these groups, the *Daily Mail*, in general, perpetuates existing stereotypes, thus reproducing negative attitudes among its readers. In KhosraviNik's view, while the *Daily Mail* reflects existing prejudices, *The Times* creates and introduces newer versions of prejudice.

Montgomery (2011) focuses on different representations of the 'war on terror', showing how in UK newspapers the expression *war on terror* is often cited in quotation marks, suggesting the newspapers treat the term as being somewhat problematic, attributing the term to leading politicians rather than taking it on as part of their own discourse. Kandil and Belcher (2011) examine reports on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict in CNN, BBC and Al-Jazeera web-based news pages. They found 'terrorism' to be a commonly occurring term in the web pages. Al-Jazeera, they observed, frequently problematized the term by prefacing it with *so-called* and *described as*. The BBC, like the newspapers in Montgomery's (2011) study, put the term in quotes, while CNN did not distance itself from the term in either of these ways, suggesting more support for this notion than the other two sources, and thereby encouraging their readers to view it this way as well.

Wang (2009) examines gender stereotypes in Taiwanese tabloid gossip columns showing how female performing artists are typically presented as being concerned with their appearance and social pressures in relation to marriage and sexuality, whereas portrayals of male performing artists in Taiwanese tabloids often focus on their (very many) love affairs. Wang conducted a survey in order to uncover the extent to which these values were representative of views that were held in the broader community. He found that many of the stereotypes he had identified in his analysis were

reflective of widely held views in the community, highlighting what he calls ‘the intense relationship between sensationalism and Taiwanese tabloid culture’ (768) and the connection between giving readers what they want to read and increasing the audience and market share of the newspaper.

Analyses of this kind, then, take us beyond the level of description to a deeper understanding of texts and provides, as far as might be possible, an explanation of why a text is as it is and what it is aiming to do. In doing so, they aim to provide a way of exploring and perhaps challenging some of the hidden and ‘out of sight’ social, cultural and political values that underlie the use of language and discourse.

2.7 Summary

This chapter has looked at discourse analysis from a number of social and other perspectives. It has introduced several notions that are important for discussions of language from a discourse perspective. It has also aimed to show how some of these notions have changed since they were first introduced (such as language and gender and language and identity) and how these notions are currently viewed in discussions of the use of spoken and written discourse. The chapter which follows looks at discourse from a *pragmatics* perspective and provides further detail on how language does what it does and means more than it says in the context of our day-to-day communications.

2.8 Discussion questions

- (1) What discourse communities are you a member of? Do any of these communities overlap? How similar, or different, is your use of language in each these communities? Complete the following chart as you carry out your discussion.

<i>Discourse community</i>	<i>Examples of the use of language</i>

- (2) What factors influence the way you use language when you speak? For example, is your use of language influenced by your ethnic identity, your level (or kind) of education, your age, your gender or your occupation? How do you think your use of language reflects these sorts of categories? Complete the following chart as you carry out your discussion.

Factor	Examples of the use of language
Ethnic identity	
Education	
Age	
Gender	
Occupation	
Other identity	

- (3) What are some of the ways you express yourself online?
Is this similar or different to how you do this offline?

2.9 Data analysis projects

- (1) Think of ways in which your use of language reflects the identity you have of yourself. Audio-record a conversation between you and someone else. Analyse your conversation and identify aspects of the conversation which you think reflect the way you are presenting yourself to the other person. These might, for example, include the use of particular vocabulary, the use of a particular voice quality or through the way in which you express a particular point of view.
- (2) Think of situations in which the way(s) you interact is influenced by your gender. Record a conversation between you and someone else where you think this is relevant. Analyse your conversation and identify aspects of the conversation which you think reflect your 'gendered identity'. This might, for example, be through the use of a particular voice quality, or the ways in which you interact linguistically with the person you are speaking to.
- (3) Think of a situation where your gender is less important than other factors in the way you interact. Record a conversation between you and someone else where you think this is relevant. Analyse your conversation and identify aspects of the conversation which you think reflect your most prominent identity in the conversation.

2.10 Exercises

2.10.1 Exercise 1: Discourse and gender

The following extract is from Holmes's (2006) *Gendered Talk at Work*. The context is a regular weekly meeting of an IT project team in a large commercial organization. There are six male speakers at the meeting. They are discussing a company dinner they will be holding soon. One of the speakers, Eric, has a reputation for getting drunk and misbehaving at company functions. There

is considerable overlap in this conversation, shown by the symbols / \. The symbols () indicate an unintelligible word or phrase. Paralinguistic features (e.g. laughing) are in square brackets, and colons indicate start/finish. In what ways do the speakers seem to be doing stereotypical masculinities in this interaction?

- 1 Callum you'll be off to the kitchen pretty quickly though, / won't you? \
- 2 Eric / yeah I \ know yeah
- 3 Barry Cooking
- 4 Eric after that third bottle of wine I'll be in there / () \
- 5 Barry / [laughs] \ [laughs]: making dinner: [laughs]
- 6 Eric / I haven't\ I haven't done that kitchen so / that'll \ be one
- 7 Callum / yeah\
- 8 Eric for the collection
- 9 Barry [laughs] [laughs] you /can't you can't\ remember it
- 10 Eric / () [laughs] \
- 11 Marco there's a lot of kitchens he doesn't remember

(Source: Holmes 2006: 196–7)

2.10.2 Exercise 2: Second language identities

The following extract is from Schmidt's (1983) classic study of Wes, a Japanese photographer living in Hawai'i. Wes is a capable second language speaker of English in that he is able to produce language that is sociolinguistically appropriate to a situation. He has few communication breakdowns and is able to negotiate most speech situations. There are some features of his speech that mark him as a second language speaker of English, however, notably his use of grammar and his pronunciation. There are, though, strategies that he employs that make up for this. Look at the following extract and identify what these strategies might be. (In this data / indicates the end of a chunk of talk, NS refers to the native speaker (Doug) Wes is talking to.)

- 1 Wes Doug / you have dream after your life?
- 2 NS whaddya mean?
- 3 Wes OK / everybody have some dream / what doing / what you want / after your life / you have it?
- 4 NS you mean after I die?
- 5 Wes no no / means next couple years or long time / OK / before I have big dream / I move to States / now I have it / this kind you have it?
- 6 NS Security I suppose / not necessarily financial / although that looms large at the present time

(Source: Schmidt 1983: 165)

2.10.3 Exercise 3: Identity in computer-mediated communication

The following extract is from Christopher Jenks's (2014) book *Social Interaction in Second Language Chat Rooms*. Winnie and Roci are talking on Skype, and Winnie is complementing Roci on his voice. In this extract, ↑ and ↓ indicate rising and falling intonation, : an extended vowel, (1.0) a one-second gap between utterances, [an overlap in speech.

How is language proficiency used in this extract as a way of establishing identity?

- 1 Winnie: no you got a rea↑lly↓ be:autiful voice.
 2 you should be a dee↑[jay↓ sometime.
 3 Roci: [yeah↓
 4 (1.0)
 5 Roci: u:h no↓ you know uh- i may- i- i- even
 6 tried to work at a call center here.
 7 (.) in the philippines but↑ you know↓
 8 (0.4) they think that my english is not
 9 yet too good so↓ i↑ was↓ not↑ hired↓
 10 Winnie: no it's pretty good t[o me.
 11 Roci: [yeah
 12 (1.0)
 13 Roci: alright thank you for that you↑ know↓
 14 because i have been practicing it here.
 15 i::n skype↓

(Source: Jenks 2014: 150, adapted)

2.10.4 Exercise 4: Academic writing and identity

Read the section in this chapter on academic writing and identify stance features such as *hedges*, *boosters*, *attitude markers* and *self-mention* in the following examples of academic writing.

1. We propose several possible reasons of this.
2. On this point, we must definitely follow Hegel's intuitions.
3. Still, I believe that Dworkin's investment model has remarkable resonance and extraordinary potential power.
4. What we found interesting about this context, however, is the degree of uniformity of their norms and attitudes.
5. There is a strong tendency for the bubbles to redissolve at the time of thaw.
6. Of course, I do not contend that there are no historical contingencies.

(Source: Hyland 2009a: 75–6)

2.11 Directions for further reading

2.11.1 Further reading

Goddard, A. and Carey, N. (2017). *Discourse: The Basics*. London: Routledge. Chapter 9.
Discourse and identity.

This chapter provides an overview of identity, academic definitions of identity and a brief overview of studies which examine language and identity.

2.11.2 Additional reading

Preece, S. (ed.) (2016), *The Routledge Handbook of Language and Identity*. New York: Routledge.

This handbook has specially written chapters on language and gendered identities, language, race and identity, language and ethnic identities, language and identity in the digital age, identity in language teaching and learning, and many other areas.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

2.12 Sample studies

De Fina, A. (2007), 'Code-switching and the construction of ethnic identity in a community of practice', *Language in Society*, 36: 371–92.

In this study, Anna De Fina examines the construction of Italian identity in the interactions of members of an all-male card playing club in the United States, finding code-switching between Italian and English a fundamental part of the process of the building of a collective identity among the group.

Holmes, J. and Marra, M. (2011), 'Harnessing storytelling as a sociopragmatic skill: Applying narrative research to workplace English courses', *TESOL Quarterly*, 45: 510–34.

Holmes and Marra examine stories told by non-English-speaking-background migrants during a workplace internship in New Zealand. They show how the interns use stories to build rapport with their fellow workers as well as to construct an identity of a skilled, informed worker.

Kendall, S. (2008), 'The balancing act: Framing gendered parental identities at dinnertime', *Language in Society*, 37: 539–68.

Kendall examines how a mother and father create gendered identities through their use of discourse during dinnertime interactions. As they do this, they create gendered parental identities as well as negotiate parental authority with their daughter and with each other.

Discourse and pragmatics

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This chapter presents an overview of research in the area of *pragmatics* that is of relevance to people interested in looking at language from a discourse perspective. It discusses the relationship between language and context, a key issue in the area of pragmatics as well as in the area of discourse analysis. It also looks at ways in which people typically perform *speech acts* (such as apologizing or requesting, etc.) in spoken and written discourse. The chapter discusses the reasons we choose to perform a speech act in a particular way such as, for example, reasons of *politeness*. The ways in

which people perform speech acts across cultures is also discussed, as well as what happens when people do not follow culture-specific expectations for performing particular speech acts.

3.1 What is pragmatics?

Pragmatics is the study of meaning in relation to the context in which a person is speaking or writing. This includes social, situational and textual context. It also includes background knowledge context, that is, what people know about each other and about the world. Pragmatics assumes that when people communicate with each other, they normally follow some kind of cooperative principle, that is, they have a shared understanding of how they should cooperate in their communications. The ways in which people do this, however, varies across cultures. What may be a culturally appropriate way of saying or doing something in one culture may not be the same in another culture. The study of this use of language across cultures is called *cross-cultural pragmatics*.

The relationship between linguistic form and communicative function is of central interest in the area of pragmatics and, as Cameron (2001) argues, is highly relevant to the field of discourse analysis. We need to know the communicative function of an utterance, that is, what it is 'doing' in the particular setting in order to assign a discourse label to the utterance in the place of the overall discourse. For example, if someone says, 'The bus was late', they may be complaining about the bus service (and so we label the stage of the conversation 'complaint'), they may be explaining why they are late as a follow up to an apology (and so we label the stage of the conversation 'explanation') or they may be doing something else. We also need to know what this meaning is in order to understand, at a broader level, what people typically say and do as they perform particular genres in particular social and cultural settings.

3.2 Language, context and discourse

An understanding of how language functions in context is central to an understanding of the relationship between what is said and what is understood in spoken and written discourse. The *context of situation* (see Chapter 1) of what someone says is, therefore, crucial to understanding and interpreting the meaning of what is being said. This includes the physical context, the social context and the mental worlds and roles of the people involved in the interaction. Each of these impacts on what we say and how other people interpret what we say in spoken and written discourse.

A conversation between two people in a restaurant, thus, may mean different things to the actual people speaking, something different to a 'side participant' in the conversation (such as someone sitting next to one of the speakers), something different to a 'bystander' (such as the waiter) and again something different to someone who may be eavesdropping the conversation (Verschuieren 1999). Equally, a student's assignment written for a law course takes on a different meaning if it is retyped on the letterhead of a law firm and addressed to a client. The text then takes on the status and function of 'a piece of legal advice' and the reader's interpretation of the text is significantly different from the way in which it would have been read by the student's professor (Freedman 1989). The linguistic context in terms of what has been said and what is yet to be said in the

discourse also has an impact on the intended meaning and how someone may interpret this meaning in spoken and written discourse.

There are, then, a number of key aspects of context that are crucial to the production and interpretation of discourse. These are the *situational context* in terms of what people know about what they can see around them, the *background knowledge context* in terms of what people know about each other and the world and the *co-textual context* in terms of what people know about what they have been saying (Cutting 2015). Background knowledge context includes cultural knowledge and interpersonal knowledge. That is, it includes what people know about the world, what they know about various areas of life, what they know about each other (Cutting 2015) and what they know about the norms and expectations of the particular *discourse community* (see Chapter 2) in which the communication is taking place. Contextual knowledge also includes social, political and cultural understandings that are relevant to the particular communication (Celce-Murcia and Olshtain 2000). As Thomas (1995: 22) explains:

meaning is not something that is inherent in the words alone, nor is it produced by the speaker alone or the hearer alone. Making meaning is a dynamic process, involving the negotiation of meaning between speaker and hearer, the context of utterance (physical, social and linguistic), and the meaning potential of an utterance.

Meaning, thus, is produced in interaction. It is jointly accomplished by both the speaker and the listener (or the writer and their reader). So, if person says, 'Sorry', it may be that they are apologizing for something they said and which may have offended the other person. However, if someone says, 'Sorry?' with rising intonation, they could be saying they hadn't understood what the other person had said and wanted them to repeat it. Or, 'Sorry!' could mean the person is expressing disbelief at what the other person has just said. Each of these would then be followed by a response which shows how the other person had interpreted the speaker's intention behind the 'Sorry'.

3.3 Speech acts and discourse

Two influential works in the area of pragmatics relevant to the area of discourse analysis are Austin's (1962) *How to Do Things With Words* and Searle's (1969) *Speech Acts*. Both philosophers of language, Austin and Searle argued that language is used to 'do things' other than just refer to the truth or falseness of particular statements. Their work appeared at a time when logical positivism was the prevailing view in the philosophy of language. The logical positivist view argued that language is always used to describe some fact or state of affairs, and unless a statement can be tested for truth or falsity it is basically meaningless. Austin and Searle observed that there are many things that we say which cannot meet these kinds of truth conditions but which are, nevertheless, valid and which do things that go beyond their literal meaning. They argued that in the same way that we perform physical acts, we also perform acts by using language. That is, we use language to give orders, to make requests, to give warnings or to give advice, or, in other words, to do things that go beyond the literal meaning of what we say.

A central issue which underlies this is the relationship between the literal meaning, or *propositional content*, of what someone says and what the person intends by what he/she says. Thus,

if someone says, 'It's hot in here', not only are they referring to the temperature, but may also be requesting someone to do something such as turn on the air conditioning. What we say, then, often has both a literal meaning and an *illocutionary meaning* (or *illocutionary force*), that is, a meaning that goes beyond what someone, in a literal sense, has said.

Austin argued that there are three kinds of acts which occur with everything we say. These are the *locutionary act*, the *illocutionary act* and the *perlocutionary act*. The locutionary act refers to the literal meaning of the actual words (such as 'It's hot in here' referring to the temperature). The illocutionary act refers to the speaker's intention in uttering the words (such as a request for someone to turn on the air conditioning). The perlocutionary act refers to the effect this utterance has on the thoughts or actions of the other person (such as someone getting up and turning on the air conditioning). The following example on a bus illustrates this.

Bus driver: This bus won't move until you boys move in out of the doorway.

Clearly, the bus driver is doing more than making a statement. He is also telling the boys to move. The locutionary act, in this case, is the driver saying that he won't start the bus with people standing in the doorway; the illocutionary act is an order; and the perlocutionary act is the boys moving inside the bus.

It is not always easy, however, to identify the illocutionary force of what someone says, as it may also depend on the stage in the discourse as well as the social context in which the person is speaking. An illocutionary force, further, might be spread over more than one utterance. The following example, where the sales request is spread over several utterances, illustrates this:

- A: Hello, welcome to Hungry Jack's. Can I take your order please?
 B: Can I have a Whopper with egg and bacon . . .
 A: Would you like cheese with that?
 B: Yes please . . . and a junior Whopper with cheese . . . and large fries please.
 A: Would you like any drinks or dessert with that?
 B: No thank you.
 A: OK . . . that's a Whopper with cheese, egg and bacon, a Whopper junior with cheese and large fries.
 B: Yes. Thank you.
 A: OK . . . Please drive through.

It is also not unusual for what someone says to have more than a single illocutionary force. For example, 'What are you doing tonight?' might be both a question and an invitation. A person might reply, 'I still haven't finished my homework', treating the utterance as both a question and invitation which they decide not to accept. They may equally reply, 'Nothing special. What do you feel like doing?', providing an answer to the question but this time accepting the (as yet unspoken) invitation.

3.3.1 Direct and indirect speech acts

Sometimes when we speak, we do mean exactly what we say. Often we do, however, say things indirectly. That is, we often intend something that is quite different from the literal meaning of what we say. For example, a common expression on an invitation to a party is 'to bring a plate'.

This may, to someone who is not familiar with this kind of cultural convention, be interpreted as a request to bring an (empty) plate to the party. In fact, it is asking someone to bring food to the party, not necessarily on a plate. Equally, if someone calls someone to ask them to come to their home for dinner and the person being asked says, 'Can I bring anything?', in many countries the host will say, 'No, just bring yourself', whereas, in fact, they expect the guest to bring wine (or in some countries something such as flowers for the host) with them to the dinner.

The aforementioned example of 'Can I have a Whopper with egg and bacon . . .?' also illustrates this. Here, the customer is not asking about their ability to buy a hamburger – the literal meaning of the sentence – but making a sales request. This is very common in service encounters where 'can' is often used to refer to something other than ability or permission.

3.3.2 Felicity conditions and discourse

An important notion in speech act theory is the concept of *felicity conditions*. For a speech act to 'work', Austin argued that there are a number of conditions that must be met. The first of these is that there must be a generally accepted procedure for successfully carrying out the speech act, such as inviting someone to a wedding through the use of a formal written wedding invitation, whether it is through the use of a formal printed invitation or a less formal email message. Also the circumstances must be appropriate for the use of the speech act. That is, someone must be getting married. The person who uses the speech act must be the appropriate person to use it in the particular context – such as the bride or groom's family, or, in some cases, the bride or groom, inviting the person to the wedding. A friend of the couple getting married cannot, for example, without the appropriate authority invite someone to the wedding.

Austin argued that this procedure must be carried out correctly and completely. And the person performing the speech act must (in most circumstances) have the required thoughts, feelings and intentions for the speech act to be 'felicitous'. That is, the communication must be carried out by the right person, in the right place, at the right time and, normally, with a certain intention or it will not 'work'. If the first two of these conditions are not satisfied, the act will not be achieved and will 'misfire'. If the third of these conditions does not hold, then the procedure will be 'abused'.

3.3.3 Rules versus principles

Searle took Austin's work further by arguing that the felicity conditions of an utterance are 'constitutive rules'. That is, they are not just something that can 'go right' (or wrong) or be 'abused' – which was Austin's view – but something which makes up and defines the act itself. That is, they are rules that need to be followed for the utterance to work.

Thomas (1995) critiques this notion of constitutive rules and suggests that the notion of *principles* is perhaps more helpful to this discussion. She points out that it is extremely difficult to devise rules which will satisfactorily account for the complexity of speech act behaviour. She presents five basic differences between rules and principles to support her argument. The first of these is that rules are 'all or nothing', whereas principles are 'more or less'. That is, rules are 'yes/no'

in their application, whereas principles can be applied partially. Thus, you can speak extremely clearly, fairly clearly or not at all clearly, rather than simply ‘clearly’.

Thomas also argues that rules are exclusive, whereas principles can co-occur. Thus, using one rule precludes another, whereas a number of principles (rather than rules) might apply at the same time. Rules aim to define a speech act, whereas principles describe what people do. Further, whereas rules are definite, principles are ‘probabilistic’, that is, they describe what is more or less likely to be the case, rather than something which either does or does not apply. Finally Thomas argues that rules are arbitrary, whereas principles are ‘motivated’. That is, people follow them for a reason, or purpose, to achieve a particular goal.

If, for example, someone apologizes for something (in English), there is the assumption that they were responsible for what has been done (or in a position to represent this on someone else’s behalf), have actually said, ‘I’m sorry’, are sincere in what they say and will do something to rectify the situation, if this is required (or possible). The person may not be completely responsible for what was done, however, so it is more helpful to see this as a case of more or less, rather than yes or no. Equally, an apology is often more ritual than ‘sincere’ but has been carried out for a very important reason, so that the person being apologized to will feel better about the situation and the tension that was there will be resolved. Taking a principles-based view of speech act performance, rather than a rule-based one, thus describes what people often do, or are most likely to do, when they apologize, rather than what they ‘must’ do.

3.3.4 Presupposition and discourse

A further important notion in the area of speech act theory and pragmatics is *presupposition*. Presupposition refers to the common ground that is assumed to exist between language users such as assumed knowledge of a situation and/or of the world. This may come from sources such as books, television and the internet, or through personal experiences with the world. A speaker says something based on their assumption (or presupposition) of what the hearer is likely to ‘know’, and what they will infer from what they say.

Two main kinds of presupposition are discussed in the area of pragmatics: conventional presupposition and pragmatic presupposition. Conventional presuppositions are less context dependent than pragmatic presuppositions and are typically linked to particular linguistic forms. For example, ‘Would you like *some* coffee?’ suggests the coffee is already prepared, whereas ‘Would you like *anything* to drink?’ does not suggest a drink has already been prepared (Lo Castro 2003).

Pragmatic presuppositions, however, are context dependent and arise from the use of an utterance in a particular context. The following example in the delicatessen section of a supermarket illustrates this. The customers know they need to take a ticket from the ticket machine and wait their turn to be served. The person with the ticket with ‘2’ on it is the next person to be served. B implicates what A has said as an offer of service to them (alone):

A: Customer number two!

B: Ah . . . could I have 250 grams of the honey smoked ham please?

Presuppositions are crucial to an understanding of what people mean by what they say in spoken and written discourse. Often, we presuppose a person will have a similar understanding to us in terms of what we mean by what we say. It is indeed because people make this assumption that discourse (normally) proceeds as smoothly as it does.

3.4 The cooperative principle and discourse

In his paper ‘Logic and conversation’, Grice (1975) argues that in order for a person to interpret what someone else says, some kind of *cooperative principle* must be assumed to be in operation. People assume, he argued, that there is a set of principles which direct us to a particular interpretation of what someone says, unless we receive some indication to the contrary. The cooperative principle says that we should aim to make our conversational contribution ‘such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction’ (45) of the exchange in which we are engaged.

Thus, when someone is speaking to us, we base our understanding of what they are saying on the assumption that they are saying what needs to be said rather than more than needs to be said (as in the aforementioned delicatessen example), they are saying it at an appropriate point in the interaction (such as when the person working in the delicatessen has finished serving one person and is ready to serve another), and they have a reason for saying what they say (as both an offer of service as well as to make it clear whose turn it is to be served). The person working in the delicatessen follows these assumptions, assuming that customers will follow them as well. In this way, both people involved in the service encounter cooperate in its production and interpretation.

Grice based his cooperative principle on four subprinciples, or *maxims*. These are the maxims of *quality*, *quantity*, *relation* and *manner*. The maxim of quality says people should only say what they believe to be true and what they have evidence for. Grice’s maxim of quantity says we should make our contribution as informative as is required for the particular purpose and not make it more informative than is required. The maxim of relation says we should make our contribution relevant to the interaction, or we should indicate in what way it is not. His maxim of manner says we should be clear in what we say, we should avoid ambiguity or obscurity and we should be brief and orderly in our contribution to the interaction.

In the following example, both speakers observe all of these maxims. Both say all that is required at the appropriate stage in the conversation. They both observe the purpose and direction of the conversation. What they say is relevant to the conversation, and they are each brief, orderly and unambiguous in what they say:

- A: Hi. What would you like?
B: Two hundred grams of the shaved ham thanks.

We, thus, expect a person’s contribution to an interaction to be genuine, neither more nor less than is required as well as being clear and appropriate to the interaction. Grice argues that we assume a speaker is following these maxims and combine this with our knowledge of the world to work out what they mean by what they say.

There are times, however, when being truthful, brief and relevant might have different meanings. Indeed different contexts and situations may have different understandings of what 'be truthful, relevant and brief' means. There are, further, occasions where we cannot be brief and true at the same time (Cook 1989). This leads us to the 'flouting' of the cooperative principle and its maxims.

3.4.1 Flouting the cooperative principle

On some occasions, speakers flout the cooperative principle and intend their hearer to understand this, that is, they purposely do not observe the maxim and intend their hearer to be aware of this. In the following example, a student goes to the library to collect books he had asked to be put on hold for him. The librarian knows, in his final line, what he is saying is not true (or physically possible), and intends the student to know this:

- Librarian: (raises his eyes, looks at the student with no facial expression)
 Student: Hi. Could you check for me whether I have any books to collect?
 Librarian: (swipes the student's card, clears his throat, wipes his nose with a tissue, glances at the computer screen, turns to the shelf to get a book, then another book)
 Student: Any more?
 Librarian: (turns and gets a third book, stamps them all with the return date)
 Student: Is that all?
 Librarian: Are you going to borrow all the books in the library?
 Student: Ah . . . no . . . thank you very much

People may also flout the maxim of relation, or be told they are flouting this maxim, in similar ways. The following extract is an example of this. An American student has asked a Chinese student directions to the station. As they are walking to the station, the following conversation occurs:

- Chinese student: What do you do in America?
 American student: I work in a bank.
 Chinese student: It's a good job isn't it?
 American student: Well, just so so.
 Chinese student: Then, how much is your salary every month?
 American student: Oh no
 Chinese student: What's wrong?
 American student: Why are you asking that?
 Chinese student: Just asking, nothing else . . .
 American student: The station isn't far is it?

Here, the question the Chinese student has asked does not observe the maxim of relation for an English conversation of this kind. He is not aware of this, although the American student clearly is. He then asks her if she is travelling alone and if she is married. The American student quickly hails a taxi and takes it to the station.

In the next example, the serving person politely suggests the customer is flouting the maxim of quantity, saying more than is necessary, as the ham is already thinly sliced.

A: Can I get six thin slices of Danish ham please?.

B: Six thin slices. . .

A: Yep.

B: They're all really thin, so. . . .

3.4.2 Differences between flouting and violating maxims

Thomas (1995) and Cutting (2015) discuss differences between flouting and violating maxims. A speaker is flouting a maxim if they do not observe a maxim but has no intention of deceiving or misleading the other person. A person is 'violating' a maxim if there is a likelihood that they are liable to mislead the other person. For example, 'Mummy's gone on a little holiday because she needs a rest' meaning 'Mummy's gone away to decide if she wants a divorce or not' violates, rather than flouts, the maxim of manner. Here, the speaker intends the hearer to understand something other than the truth, on purpose.

A speaker may also 'infringe' a maxim when they fail to observe a maxim with no intention to deceive, such as where a speaker does not have the linguistic capacity to answer a question. A speaker may also decide to 'opt out' of a maxim such as where a speaker may, for ethical or legal reasons, refuse to say something that breaches a confidentiality agreement they have with someone or is likely to incriminate them in some way (Thomas 1995; Cutting 2015).

3.4.3 Overlaps between maxims

There is also often overlap between each of Grice's maxims. An utterance may be both unclear and long-winded, flouting the maxims of quality and quantity at the same time. Equally, it may be socially acceptable, and indeed preferred, to flout a maxim (such as quality) for reasons of tact and politeness, such as when I ask someone if they like something I am wearing, and they don't.

It is important, then, for both the production and interpretation of spoken and written discourse to understand to what extent people are following these maxims, or not, in what they say. The interview with the Princess of Wales referred to in Chapter 1 is a good example of this. Diana's contribution to the conversation is cooperative in that she follows Grice's maxims (especially the maxims of quality and quantity) as she get her points across. Even when she paused, or remained silent in the interview, she observed the maxim of quantity, showing an appropriate reflectiveness and seriousness in her approach to the interview and not saying more than she should, or needs to (Kowal and O'Connell 2010). That is, she made her contribution 'such as was required, at the stage at which it occurred', by the purpose and direction of the conversation.

3.5 Metapragmatics and discourse

Metapragmatics refers to the ways in which speakers display their awareness of what they are saying in the discourse. This might be with reference to a particular speech act such as ‘Is that an apology?’, when they are referring to Grice’s maxim of quantity by saying, ‘Cut to the chase’, politeness as in ‘That’s so rude’, text structure as in ‘To conclude’, or turn taking as in ‘Don’t interrupt’ (Culpeper, Mackey and Taguchi 2018). Thus, when a person says something that could easily be interpreted as being rude, they may follow it with ‘Just kidding’ or ‘I’m only joking’, thus showing that they are aware of the potentially negative interpretation of what they have said and express their ‘non-serious intent’ (Haugh 2016) (and metapragmatic awareness) by adding this.

The use of metapragmatic expressions has been shown to be a common feature of business meetings where speakers do not share a common language and are using English as a lingua franca (see Chapter 2) in their interactions. For example, speakers might comment on what has just been said (e.g. That’s a great idea, That’s serious), they might describe a speech act (e.g. I’d like to make a comment, I will explain later), they may gloss what they have just said (e.g. I mean . . . The thing is . . .) or they may provide evidence (e.g. According to, Mr X said that) to achieve mutual understanding in their meetings. What makes the interactions succeed in these contexts is not a common language, discourse or values but the processes of negotiation the speakers engage in and an awareness of the pragmatics of their interactions (Liu and Liu 2017).

3.6 Cross-cultural pragmatics and discourse

The ways in which people perform speech acts, and what they mean by what they say when they perform them, often varies across cultures. One of my Japanese students complained, for example, that he had had work done by a local (English-speaking) builder that was unsatisfactory, and no matter how much he pushed the matter, he could not get the builder to apologize. On reflection, he realized that this was, in part, due to the different implications that might be drawn from an apology in English as opposed to an apology in Japanese. For my Japanese student, he expected the builder to apologize as a matter of course and he was very disturbed that the builder would not do this. This did not mean for him, however, that the builder would be taking responsibility for the unsatisfactory work, or that, having apologized, he would then be obliged to do anything about it. In English, he discovered, the apology, for the builder, would mean that he was both taking responsibility for the faulty work and agreeing to do something about it – a situation the builder was most likely keen to avoid given the financial, and other, implications this might have had for him. In Japan, the apology would not necessarily have had these implications.

3.6.1 Communication across cultures

Different languages and cultures, then, often have different ways of dealing with pragmatic issues, as well as different ways of observing Grice’s maxims (Wierzbicka 2003). For example, speakers of

different languages may have different understandings of the maxim of quantity in conversational interactions. Be'al (1992) found in a communication in the workplace study that communication difficulties occurred between English and French speakers because the English speakers saw questions such as 'How are you?' or 'Did you have a good weekend?' as examples of 'phatic' communication and expected short, standard answers such as 'Fine thanks'. The French speakers, however, saw the questions as 'real' requests for information and, in the English speakers' eyes, flouted the maxim of quantity, by talking at length about their health or what they did at the weekend.

Austin's (1998) discussion of letters of recommendation in academic settings is a further example of cross-cultural pragmatic differences. As she points out, in English academic settings letters of recommendation may vary in strength of recommendation. Readers also take into account the prestige of the person writing the letter, where they work and the content and tone of the letter. They might also notice 'what has not been said' in the letter. In Japanese academic settings, however, the situation is quite different. Japanese letters of recommendation are often much shorter than they are in English, and often there is no particular relationship between the length of the letter and the quality of recommendation. A reader may need to ask for more information about a candidate, rather than rely on the letter alone. An English-speaking academic, thus, may misread a Japanese letter of recommendation if he/she is not aware of the different pragmatic role and values these texts have in their particular cultural setting (see Bargiela-Chiappini and Harris 2006 for further discussion of issues that arise in multicultural and multilingual encounters).

3.6.2 Cross-cultural and intercultural pragmatics

The area of research which compares the use of language across cultures through 'aspects of language use, such as speech acts, behaviour patterns and language behaviour' (Kecskes 2018: 1) is commonly referred to as *cross-cultural pragmatics*. As Wierzbicka (2003) points out, different pragmatic norms reflect different cultural values which are, in turn, reflected in what people say and what they intend by what they say in different cultural settings. Wierzbicka gives the example of thanking in Japanese and English. The concepts encoded in the English word *thanks*, she argues, do not really fit Japanese culture. In English, she says, to thank someone means, roughly, to say we feel something good towards them because of something good they have done and we want them to feel good in return. But in Japanese culture with its stress on social hierarchy, moral duty and the repayment of favours, this situation is somewhat different. Japanese speakers of English, further, may frequently say *sorry* when they mean *thank you*, leading to a completely different interpretation of what they mean, from what they intend to mean (Ide 1998).

As Cameron (2001: 74) explains, the act of thanking is an expression of indebtedness in both English and Japanese. In the case of Japanese, however, 'a debt not yet repaid calls for an apology from the debtor'. Apologizing, thus, for a Japanese speaker is one way of expressing indebtedness and thanking someone. Some years ago, I was walking down a street in Tokyo when I saw a man at an ATM drop his credit card without realizing it. I tapped him on the shoulder to show him he has dropped his card. Instead, however, of saying *arigato* (thank you in Japanese), he said *sumimasen*, which literally means 'I'm sorry'. His use of *sumimasen*, however, indicated that he was indebted to

me for having pointed this out, whereas *arigato* would have been, from a Japanese point of view, lacking in gratitude in the particular situation.

The following extract from a telephone conversation shows how denial is also part of a thanking routine in Japanese. In this extract, A has known B for more than ten years. B came to see A and his wife a few days earlier. A's family needed a car for a long trip. B offered his car. He cleaned and took it to A's family. A phoned B to say thank you before they headed off on the trip. In the conversation, the speakers perform an 'acknowledging benefit/debt-denigrating credit' routine before moving on to talk about the car and the trip. In the following extract, :: means an extended vowel sound, [] means overlap and = means latching, that is, there is no gap between speakers:

	Translation
A: moshi moshi doomo::	hello::
B: doomo	hello
A: Hontonni arigato ne=	really, thank you so much
B: =ie ie tondemonai	no no heavens no
A: un soide konaيدا wa arigato ne	and also the other day, thank you
B: iya iya i[ya]	no no
A: [tooi] tokoro kara kite kurete	for coming such a long distance
B: iya iya zenzen, de daijoobu soo? =	not at all. Is the car okay?
A: =kaiteki kaiteki	it's comfortable

(Ohashi 2013: 83–4).

This use of denial might seem excessive to an English speaker if the same routine were followed in English by a Japanese speaker when they called to say thank you. In English, 'You're welcome' is typically seen as sufficient when responding to thanking but for a Japanese speaker this might seem an abrupt way of responding to someone saying thanking them.

Kim (2008) shows how the term *mainhada* can also mean *sorry* and *thanks* in Korean. *Mainhada* is used less often than *sorry* in English, however, as South Koreans often express an apology implicitly or nonverbally. Also, *mainhada* is not the only way of thanking in Korean. If the speaker thinks they are not able to return the benefit they have received from the person they are thanking, they will say *mainhada*. If they think they can return the benefit, however, they will say *gamsahada*. *Mainhada* is also used for requesting in Korean. It is used within a group when the speaker thinks fulfilling the request will be difficult. It is also used with people outside the group to incorporate them into the group but an honorific will be added to the word (i.e. *mainhabnida*) to show particular respect to that person.

Researchers have also examined interactions where neither speaker is using their first language, for example, when they are using English as a lingua franca. Kecskes (2018: 1) calls this area of research *intercultural pragmatics*, that is, research which examines 'the speech production and comprehension of interlocutors who represent different cultures and languages and use a common language (a lingua franca) for communication'. In the following example, a Brazilian girl and a Polish woman are speaking in English. Neither of them is sure what the correct word is for the Polish woman's job but through a process of accommodation and negotiation the interaction proceeds smoothly:

- B: And what do you do?
 P: I work at the university as a cleaner
 B: As a janitor?
 P: No, not yet. Janitor is after cleaner.
 B: You want to be janitor?
 P: Of course.

B=Brazilian girl
 P=Polish woman

(Kecskes 2018: 12)

In the next example, one of the speakers is a native speaker of English, an American male student, and the other is a non-native speaker of English, a Korean female student both of whom are using English as a lingua franca for communication. In this exchange, there appears to be a contradiction when the Korean speaker says she doesn't like walking in winter because it is too cold yet she likes skiing. The American speaker notices this and gently refers to it by asking, 'So you ski?' The Korean speaker laughs to show she has recognized this and confirms what she had previously said, that she likes skiing (Kecskes 2018). Again, through negotiation and clarification, they understand each other:

- NS: But I've never skied before. Have you skied before?
 NNS: Oh yeah, in Korea.
 NS: Really?
 Are there a lot of places to ski in Korea?
 NNS: Actually in winter I don't like to go to gym.
 NS: Yeah
 NNS: So. And I don't like to walk because it's too cold
 NS: Yeah
 So you ski?
 NNS: (laughs) It kind've not – doesn't make sense but – skiis I like skiis
 NS: It's exercise, right?
 NNS: Yeah, exercise.

NS = native speaker
 NNS = non-native speaker

(Kecskes 2018: 16).

3.7 Conversational implicature and discourse

A further key notion in pragmatics which has implications for both the production and interpretation of discourse is the concept of *conversational implicature*. Conversational implicature refers to the inference a hearer makes about a speaker's intended meaning that arises from their use of the literal meaning of what the speaker said, the conversational principle and its maxims.

For example, if I say, ‘There’s nothing on at the movies,’ I do not mean ‘nothing at all,’ but rather ‘nothing that I’m interested in seeing.’ The person I am speaking to will assume this and ‘implicate’ my meaning. Implicature is not the same, however, as inference. As Thomas (1995: 58) explains, an implicature ‘is generated intentionally by the speaker and may (or may not) be understood by the hearer’. An inference, on the other hand, is produced by a hearer on the basis of certain evidence and may not, in fact, be the same as what a speaker intends.

To calculate an implicature, Grice (1975) argues, hearers draw on the conventional meanings of words, the cooperative principle and its maxims, the linguistic and non-linguistic context of the utterance, items of background knowledge and the fact that all of these are available to both participants and they both assume this to be the case. Given this basic process, implicature can be created in one of three ways. A maxim can be followed in a straightforward way and the hearer implicates what the speaker intends. The following example, where a customer orders a beer, illustrates this:

- A: What’d you like?
B: A beer thanks.

Here, B has followed the maxim of quality by saying what he wants, the maxim of manner by answering clearly, the maxim of quantity by saying enough and no more and the maxim of relation by providing an answer that is clearly relevant to the question. Here, no implicature is generated that is necessary for the interpretation of the utterance.

A maxim might also be flouted because of a clash with another maxim as in:

- A: What time did your flight get in this morning?
B: Seven (when it actually arrived at 7.04 am)

Here, B flouts the maxim of quality (the truth) in order to obey the maxim of quantity (be brief).

Or a maxim might be flouted in a way that exploits a maxim as in the following:

- A: How are we getting to the airport tomorrow?
B: Well . . . I’m going with Peter.

Here, B has given less information than is required and is flouting the maxim of quantity – from which B derives that he or she may have to make their own way to the airport.

3.7.1 Conventional and particularized conversational implicatures

Grice describes two kinds of conversational implicature: *conventional* and *particularized conversational implicatures*. With conventional implicatures, no particular context is required in order to derive the implicature. In the aforementioned example, the use of ‘well’ can conventionally implicate that what the speaker is about to say is not what the hearer is hoping to hear. Similarly, the use of ‘anyway’ conventionally implicates a return to the original topic of a conversation (Lo Castro 2003). The uses of ‘but’ and ‘on the other hand’ to express contrast, ‘even’ to suggest something is

contrary to expectation, and ‘yet’ to suggest something will be different at a later time are further examples of conventional implicatures.

Particularized conversational implicatures, however, are derived from a particular context, rather than from the use of the words alone. These result from the maxim of relation. That is, the speaker assumes the hearer will search for the relevance of what is said and derive an intended meaning. For example:

- A: You’re out of coffee.
 B: Don’t worry there’s a shop on the corner.

A derives from B’s answer that they will be able to buy coffee from the shop on the corner. Most implicatures, in fact, are particularized conversational implicatures.

3.7.2 Scalar implicatures

A further kind of implicature is *scalar implicature* (Horn 1972). These are derived when a person uses a word from a set of words that express some kind of scale of values. A speaker may choose one item from a scale, and then correct it while speaking to cancel out another item in the scale. In the following example, the scale is from *all*, *some*, through to *none*:

All of the students passed the exam, Well, *some* of the students passed the exam. Actually, *none* of the students passed the exam.

The quantifier *all*, then, is stronger than *some*, because *all* entails *some*. *None*, however, does not entail *all* or *some* so is at the bottom of the scale. Thus, in the aforementioned extract, *some* cancels out *all*, and *none* cancels out both *some* and *all* (Mazzaggio et al. 2021). Other examples of scalar implicatures are *must/should/may* and *always/often sometimes* (Horn 1984).

3.8 Politeness, face and discourse

Two further key notions in the area of pragmatics and discourse are *politeness* and *face*. The notion of ‘face’ comes from Goffman’s (1967) work on face and from the English ‘folk’ notion of face, which ties up with notions of being embarrassed, humiliated or ‘losing face’ (Brown and Levinson 1987). Politeness and face are important for understanding why people choose to say things in a particular way in spoken and written discourse. Politeness principles and cooperative principles, however, are often in conflict with each other. There are also situations in which one principle might become more important than another. In an emergency, for example, there is less need to be polite than, say, in a normal situation.

A key work in this area is Brown and Levinson’s (1987) *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Although Brown and Levinson’s work was published some time ago, it is still seen as fundamental to theories of politeness, even though it has been criticized for overstating its initial claims to universality, not sufficiently analysing interactions between participants, and not

examining how meaning is constructed over longer stretches of discourse. It has also been argued that their work does not take account of the perceptions of people involved in the interaction in terms of what they judge to be polite or not and overlooks the importance of culture in making politeness decisions. It is, further, important to consider the context in which the language occurs. Politeness, in addition, is dynamic rather than static, being assigned ‘to an utterance in the process of an interaction’ (Christie, 2015: 362). Mills (2003), for example, argues that politeness research needs to move ‘away from analyzing single utterances to analyzing politeness at the discourse level’ (Kadar and Mills, 2011: 12). That is, the analysis needs to focus less on the analyst’s notion of what politeness means (van der Bom and Mills 2015) and more on how individual speakers and hearers understand norms of politeness. This discursive approach to politeness is, van der Bom and Mills (2015: 187) argue,

a more localized, interactive and context-focused form of analysis which takes into account the interaction between participants, chooses longer stretches of discourse for analysis, and focuses on the perceptions of the individuals concerned in terms of what they judge to be polite and impolite.

This, they argue, is ‘concerned with a more contextualized, localized interpretation and a more socially focused approach’ (2015: 187) to the analysis of politeness. It is, for van der Bom and Mills (2015: 188), ‘the participants’ views of what constitutes directness and indirectness, rather than simply the theorists’ analytical views’ that matters in this research, suggesting that researchers might aim to get at this by asking participants about their analysis and what, in their view, constitutes politeness (or impoliteness) in particular interactions.

3.8.1 Involvement and independence in spoken and written discourse

Two further issues in discussions of face and politeness are the notions of *involvement* and *independence* (Scollon, Wong-Scollon and Jones 2012). The term ‘involvement’ refers to the need people have to be involved with others and to show this involvement, that is, a person’s right and need to be considered a normal, contributing, supporting member of society, or, in other words, to be treated as a member of a group. We might show this involvement by showing our interest in someone, by agreeing with them, by approving what they are doing or by using in-group identity markers such as given names, or nicknames. The independence part of face refers to a person’s right not to be dominated by others, not to be imposed on by others and to be able to act with some sense of individuality, or autonomy. We do this, for example, by not presuming other people’s needs or interests, by giving people options, by not imposing on other people and by apologizing for interruptions. In order to maintain social relationships, people acknowledge both of these aspects of a person’s face at the same time. People thus aim to build up closeness and rapport with each other, while at the same time trying to avoid being a threat to each other’s social distance, that is, maintaining each other’s involvement and independence (Scollon, Wong-Scollon and Jones 2012).

3.8.2 Choosing a politeness strategy

We draw on a number of considerations when we decide on a choice of politeness strategy. We may consider how socially close or distant we are from our hearer. For example, are we close friends, is the hearer older than I am and are we 'social equals'? We may consider how much or how little power the hearer has over us. For example, am I talking to my boss or to my employee, to a policeman, to a service employee or to a judge? We may also consider how significant what I want is to me, and to the person I am talking to. For example, am I asking for change, for a loan or to borrow a car? We may consider how much emphasis both of us (in our culture or cultures) place on involvement and independence in circumstances like the one we are in. And we may consider whether both of us would have the same answers to these questions (Gee 1993).

3.9 Face and politeness across cultures

It is important to point out that the specific nature of face and politeness varies from society to society and from culture to culture. For example, in some cultures the idea of personal space and independence may vary. In some societies, parents have more right to interfere in the domestic affairs of adult children than in others. In some cultures, a bedroom is private and cannot be entered and in others it is not. In some cultures, refusal of an offer may be merely polite (even if to an English speaker a refusal may seem like refusing involvement) and in others the opposite may be true (Cook 1989).

Gu (1990) discusses politeness in relation to Chinese culture, while Ide (1982) discusses politeness in Japanese. Gu sees politeness in Chinese not so much in terms of psychological wants, but rather in terms of social norms. Face is threatened, he argues, not when someone's needs are not met, but when someone fails to live up to social standards. Ide sees politeness in Japanese as something which helps to maintain communication. In Japanese, politeness is less strategic and more a matter of socially obligatory linguistic choices through which social harmony is achieved (Eelen 2001). It is important to remember, then, that the use of language will very often vary across cultures and in relation to the social realities of these cultures (Leech 2009).

Gift-giving is an example of a politeness strategy that varies across cultures. Brown and Levinson list gift-giving as a positive politeness strategy in English, or in Scollon, Wong-Scollon and Jones's (2012) terms an involvement strategy, that is, a strategy by which we show our closeness and rapport with someone else. We may spend a lot of time deciding what to buy for the gift, think about what the person receiving the gift will feel about what we have bought them and what their reaction to our gift might be. In Japanese culture, however, there are times when gift-giving may mean something quite different from this and be more of a social ritual rather than a positive politeness strategy. Japanese have many gift-giving occasions throughout the year that cover many events in Japanese life where gift-giving is more ritual, or an expression of duty. The gift-giving may still have the function of maintaining social relationships but be much less an expression of intimacy and rapport than it might be in an English-speaking country (Davies and Ikeno 2002).

The specific nature of face and politeness, then, varies from society to society, from culture to culture, within certain subgroups of societies, and between languages. As English and Marr (2015: 53) note, 'all cultures have strategies for performing politeness, sometimes encoded verbally and sometimes not.' While some of these strategies, they suggest, may appear rather complicated and others might seem rude, it is important to remember that, in cross-cultural contexts, strategies for performing politeness can easily be misread. They also point out the importance of not over-generalizing about politeness norms and strategies. Norms, they point out, are just that, norms. This does not mean, they say, 'that everyone abides by them or even follows them' (53). And, as Watts (2003: 252) observes, 'not everyone agrees about what constitutes polite language usage' and what does not.

3.10 Politeness and gender

Politeness strategies have also been shown to vary according to gender. Holmes (1995) discusses this at length, showing differences in the use of politeness strategies between men and women. Her work reveals that the relationship between gender, politeness and language is a complex one and that while research shows that, overall, women are more polite than men, it also depends on what we mean by 'polite' as well as which women and men are being compared and what setting or *community of practice* the interaction occurs, that is, the particular local conditions in which the man or woman is speaking (Cameron 1998).

In her book *Gender and Politeness*, Mills (2003) points out that context has an important role to play in terms of whether what someone says is interpreted as polite or not. She gives the example of 'street remarks' to illustrate this. If, for example, I say 'Hello gorgeous' to a long-time friend when I see her, this can be taken as an expression of intimacy and rapport, that is, as a positive politeness, or involvement strategy. If, however, someone calls this out from a building site to a woman walking by, this can have the opposite effect. For the woman, it may be an act of harassment. For the men on the building site, it may be an act which shows solidarity and rapport among the group. It is not always the case that 'Hello gorgeous' is a positive politeness strategy, at least for the person it is being said to. We need, then, to consider who is saying what, to whom, from what position, where and for what purpose in order to come to a closer understanding of this (Cameron 1998).

This communities of practice view of politeness and gender is also discussed by Christie (2002) and Mills (2008). Christie looks at politeness and gender in parliamentary debate in the UK. Christie argues that while there are many instances of men and women publicly criticizing, ridiculing and challenging each other in parliamentary debates, these are not so much instances of gender-specific impoliteness, but rather *politic verbal behaviour* (Watts 2003). In this case, Christie argues, the insults and so on are part of the discourse expectations of a good parliamentary speaker, regardless of whether they are male or female. She also found in her data that female Members of Parliament rarely apologize, a finding that runs counter to other, more general politeness and gender research that suggests that women apologize more than men. Indeed, as with the work on language and identity, politeness and gender research suggests that it may not always be a person's

gendered identity that is the most salient in a particular situation but perhaps some other aspect of their identity that more influences their linguistic behaviour (Mullany 2002). It is also important to remember that a community of practice does not exist in isolation from other cultural groups and cultural values. There are always connections between individuals, groups, social norms and communicative practices. None of these work in isolation from the other. There will, further, always be a range of norms and views on appropriateness within a community of practice and, indeed, within a culture as a whole (Mills 2008).

3.11 Face-threatening acts

Some acts, such as complaining, ‘threatens’ a person’s face. These are called *face-threatening acts*. In most circumstances, a person will want to minimize the threat of such an act. A person may, equally, employ a *face-saving act*. For example, if your neighbour is playing very loud music, you might say, ‘I’m going to go and tell them to stop that noise right now’, proposing a face-threatening act which imposes on the neighbour’s choice and freedom to act, as well as expresses no closeness or solidarity. Your partner, however, might propose a ‘face-saving act’ by saying ‘Perhaps you could just ask them if they’re going to stop soon because it’s getting late and people need to get to sleep’ (Yule 1996).

A person may, equally, feel that their face has been threatened and make this clear to their audience. An example of this is when the US secretary of state Hilary Clinton, on a visit to the Congo in 2009, was asked by a student what her husband thought of the issue she was discussing. (The student actually meant Mr Obama but the translator had mistakenly said Mr Clinton.) In her response, ‘Wait, you want me to tell you what my husband thinks? My husband is not the Secretary of State, I am’, she makes it clear that her face had been threatened. She was in the Congo as the secretary of state, not the wife of the former US president, and the question that she had been asked was inappropriate. This, of course, also led to loss of face for the student, having been reprimanded by the secretary of state in such a public setting. After the event, the student approached Hilary Clinton and explained the mistake. She smiled at the student, rather embarrassedly, and told him not to worry about it (Harnden 2009).

3.12 Politeness and cross-cultural pragmatic failure

It is important to remember that the particular nature of face varies across cultures and that politeness strategies are not necessarily universal. Equally, what may be a face-threatening act in one culture may not be seen the same way in another. Matsumoto (1989), for example, argues that the use of deference in Japanese is an indication of social register and relationship and not a politeness strategy. Gu (1990) and Mao (1994), equally, argue that the politeness model proposed

by Brown and Levinson (1987) in their *Politeness: Some Universals in Language Usage*, for example, does not suit Chinese. As Gu (1990: 256) observes, while politeness, of itself, may be a universal phenomenon, ‘what counts as polite behaviour (including values and norms attached to such behaviour) is . . . [both] culture-specific and language-specific.’ For example, in China and Japan it is polite to refuse a dinner invitation the first time it is made and impolite to accept it immediately. This refusal is made, however, with the expectation that the invitation will be made again and then it can be accepted. English, however, does not have this expectation, so if someone refuses an invitation in English it is very possible it will not be made again (and disappointing for someone from Japan or China who is expecting the invitation to be repeated).

In addition, the ways in which politeness is expressed is not the same across languages and cultures and might mean different things in different linguistic and cultural settings. For example, ‘Would you like a beer?’ in English is typically interpreted as an offer, whereas in Polish it is a question regarding preference. Equally, ‘Would you like to go to the cinema?’ is an invitation or proposal in English but a question regarding preference, not an invitation, in Polish. Similarly, ‘Can you’ in English is typically interpreted as a request but in French it is generally asking about ability (Wierzbicka 2003).

A lack of understanding of ways of expressing politeness in different languages and cultures can be a cause of cross-cultural pragmatic failure (Thomas 1983). As Tanaka (1997) and others have pointed out, native speakers of a language are often less tolerant of pragmatic errors in cross-cultural communication contexts than they are, for example, of grammatical errors. Different views of pragmatic appropriateness, then, can easily lead to misunderstandings and inhibit effective cross-cultural communication. In cross-cultural settings, in particular, people need an awareness as well as an expectation of sociopragmatic differences as much as they need an understanding of how these differences might be expressed linguistically.

3.13 Summary

This chapter has discussed key notions in the analysis of discourse from a pragmatics perspective. While many researchers discuss the importance of pragmatic competence, much of the research in the area of pragmatics and language learning has examined pragmatic development in terms of the acquisition of particular speech acts or issues of politeness, rather than some of the other issues discussed in this chapter. What research there is, however, shows that language learners have difficulties in the area of pragmatics, regardless of their level of grammatical ability. As Tanaka argues, the development of second language learners’ pragmatic competence needs to remain an important goal of language-learning classrooms as pragmatic failure can ‘deny learners access to valuable academic or professional opportunities’ (15). Pragmatic competence, then, ‘is not extra or ornamental, like the icing on the cake.’ It is a crucial part of discourse competence and, in turn, communicative competence (Kasper 1997).

It is important, however, not to take English as the default target language in second language pragmatics research (Lo Castro 2011). Communication between speakers of Asian languages such

as Chinese, Japanese and Korean can be as complicated, if not more so, than between English and one of these languages, especially when one thinks of the seemingly similar cultural values between these languages when this may not, indeed, be at all the case (see Lo Castro 2011 for further discussion of this, also Taguchi 2011 for a discussion of post-structural perspectives on pragmatics).

3.14 Discussion questions

- (1) Think of possible ways of performing speech acts for each of the following situations. Compare the three sets of speech acts. In what ways are they different and why? For example, is what you say influenced by your relationship with the person you are speaking to, their age or their gender? Or is it influenced by things such as how well you know the other person, or your view of their social position in relation to yours? If the person is your boss is that different, for example, than if the person you are speaking to is a co-worker? Or is what you say influenced by what you are talking about?
 - You and a close friend are having dinner together and you suddenly realize you have left your wallet at home. Ask your friend to lend you some money to pay for dinner.
 - You want to take a week off work to see a friend who is visiting you from overseas and you have no holidays owing to you. You go to your boss' office to ask for the week's leave.
 - You are in a restaurant. Your steak is overcooked. You wanted it cooked rare. Ask the waiter to bring you another steak.
- (2) Choose a speech act (such as asking someone for a favour) and discuss how it is performed in English and in another language. Discuss cross-cultural differences in the way the speech act is performed and how it is responded to, and why. For example, is what you say influenced by different views of politeness? Is it influenced by different views of appropriate social behaviour? Or is it influenced by different views of social relationships?
- (3) Think of a situation where you have experienced cross-cultural pragmatic failure, that is, a situation where you think there has been a misunderstanding and the reason for this is cross-cultural. Explain what happened, why you think it happened and what you would tell someone else who found themselves in a similar situation.
- (4) Think of examples of face-threatening acts, that is, acts such as complaining, or refusing someone who has asked you out on a date. What are some ways you might respond to these acts, and why?

3.15 Data analysis projects

Collect several examples of spoken or written language. In each case, try to collect a complete example of the text, rather than just a section of it. Transcribe (in the case of spoken texts) and analyse the data you have collected from one of the following perspectives:

- (1) Carry out a speech act analysis of your texts to identify direct speech acts and indirect speech acts. Analyse in what way the speakers 'mean more than what they say', that is, what is the difference between the literal meaning of what they say and what you think they mean by what they say. Why do you think they chose to use a direct or an indirect speech act?
- (2) Carry out an analysis of your sample texts concentrating on Grice's maxim of cooperative behaviour. Find examples where people are observing (or not) his maxims of quality (tell the truth), quantity (say no more than you need to), relation (be relevant in what you say) and manner (be clear and unambiguous in what you say).
- (3) Carry out an analysis of your sample texts concentrating on involvement and independence. That is, look for strategies which show closeness, intimacy, rapport and solidarity (involvement strategies) and strategies which give the other person choices and allow them to maintain their freedom (independence strategies). How do the speakers use language to do this?
- (4) Carry out a cross-cultural pragmatic analysis of a particular speech act. That is, look at how someone performs a particular speech act in English and in another language. In what way(s) are they similar and in what way(s) are they different? Why do you think this might be the case? Chapter 11 in Lo Castro (2003) is a useful starting point for this analysis.

3.16 Exercises

3.16.1 Exercise 1: Sentence types and speech acts

Analyse the following set of phone messages for kinds of speech acts (e.g. request, apology, etc.), and whether the speech acts are direct or indirect:

- A: This is 9457 1769. I can't answer the phone right now. Please leave a message after the tone.
 B: It's me again. I'm trying to organize the barbeque for John's birthday on Saturday. Can you give me a call and let me know if you'll be coming?

3.16.2 Exercise 2: Different meanings of the same utterance

The utterance 'Hello' can have different meanings in different contexts. Think of another utterance which can have different meanings depending on the context.

3.16.3 Exercise 3: Speech acts across cultures

Look at Wierzbicka's (2003: 157–8) analysis of thanking in English in Chapter 5 of her book *Cross Cultural Pragmatics: The Semantics of Human Interaction*. Discuss this analysis with a native speaker of a language other than English to see if this is the same or different in their language and culture.

3.16.4 Exercise 4: Indirect speech acts and Grice's maxims

- (1) Look at the following extract from a conversation in a coffee shop in the United States. Find examples of indirect speech acts in the conversation.

(In this extract, S = salesperson and C = customer.)

- 1 S: Hi. Can I help you?
- 2 C: Can I get a grande frappe with vanilla?
- 3 S: Did you want that blended or on the rocks?
- 4 C: Blended, I guess.
- 5 S: 2% or skimmed?
- 6 C: Uhm 2%
- 7 S: 2% OK. Any whipped cream?
- 8 C: Sorry?
- 9 S: Did you want whipped cream on that?
- 10 C: Yes.
- 11 S: Anything else?
- 12 C: No, that's it.

(Source: Bartlett 2006: 338)

- (2) Look at the conversation in a coffee shop again and find examples of where the speakers follow the maxims of *quality*, *quantity*, *relation* and *manner*.

3.16.5 Exercise 5: Flouting maxims

Think of situations in which Grice's maxims are flouted.

3.16.6 Exercise 6: Conversational implicature

Think of exchanges in which people understand each other because of conversational implicature.

3.17 Directions for further reading

3.17.1 Further reading

Celce-Murcia, M. and Olshtain, E. (2000), *Discourse and Context in Language Teaching. A Guide for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2. Pragmatics in discourse analysis.

This chapter of Celce-Murcia and Olshtain's book discusses central issues in the area of pragmatics. This includes contextual meaning, Grice's cooperative principle, the relationship between speech acts and social functions and politeness theory.

3.17.2 Additional reading

Cameron, D. (2001), *Working with Spoken Discourse*. London: Sage. Chapter 6. Doing things with words: Pragmatics.

This chapter discusses the history of speech act theory, the relationship between form and function, Grice's principles of cooperative communication, politeness and face. The chapter then takes one example of a speech act, complements and considers it from a politeness perspective. Challenges to the view that pragmatic strategies are universal are also discussed.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

3.18 Sample studies

Haugh, M. (2016), '“Just kidding”: Teasing and claims to non-serious intent', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 107: 1015.

In his paper, Michael Haugh provides an example of the discursive approach to pragmatics research by looking at how 'Just kidding/joking' is used in a conversation to show a speaker doesn't have serious intent in something they have said that could, otherwise, be seen as a provocation. The data were analysed from a conversation analysis perspective (see Chapter 5) in order to understand the sequential environment in which the claims to non-seriousness were made as well as how speakers retracted 'serious' interpretations of what they had said.

Ohashi, J. (2008), 'Linguistic rituals for thanking in Japanese: Balancing obligations', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 40: 2150–74.

Ohashi's paper investigates a Japanese way of thanking, *o-rei*. The data for the analysis are telephone calls made during the Japanese end-of-year gift-giving season, *seibo*. He shows, through his analysis, how speakers cooperate to achieve a debt-credit equilibrium which is necessary to care for the speakers' debt-sensitive face.

Walkinshaw, I. and Kirkpatrick, A. (2014), 'Mutual face preservation among Asian speakers of English as a lingua franca', *Journal of English as a Lingua Franca*, 3: 269–91.

This study examines how speakers of English as a lingua franca manage rapport in response to potentially face-threatening acts. Participants in the study are from Brunei, Myanmar, China, Laos, Malaysia, Pakistan, the Philippines, Thailand, Vietnam and Sudan.

4

Discourse and genre

Chapter Outline

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One of the key ways in which people communicate with each other is through the participation in communicative events, or genres. A business letter is an example of a genre. Business letters have distinctive and recognizable patterns of organization and structure. That is, they typically have the sender's address at the top, followed by the receiver's address. There is then a salutation, such as Dear Mr Jones, followed by the body of the letter with the name and signature of the writer of the letter at the end. Other examples of genres are news reports, business reports, parliamentary speeches, summing up in a court of law and weather reports. Each of these occurs in a particular setting, is organized in a particular way, and has a distinctive communicative function, or purpose.

4.1 What is a genre?

What indeed then are genres? Genres are ways in which people ‘get things done’ through their use of spoken and written discourse. Genres, thus, are activities that people engage in through the use of language. Academic lectures and casual conversations are examples of spoken genres. Newspaper reports and academic essays are examples of written genres. Instances of a genre often share a number of features. They may be spoken or written in typical, and sometimes conventional, ways. They also often have a common function and purpose (or set of functions and purposes). Genres may typically be performed by a particular person aimed at a particular audience, such as an academic lecture being delivered by a lecturer to a group of undergraduate students. There may be certain contexts in which a genre typically occurs, such as a lecture taking place in a university lecture theatre, and certain topics that are typically associated with the use of a genre, such as particular academic course content. Genres change through time. This may, for example, be in response to changes in technologies or it may be as a result of changes in values underlying the use of the particular genre. The office memo is an example of a genre that has changed in response to technological changes. An office meeting may change when a new person takes over chairing the meeting who has a different idea from their predecessor as to how the meeting should be run, what is important to discuss and how this should be discussed.

We use language in particular ways according to the content and purpose of the genre, the relationship between us and the person we are writing or speaking to, that is, the audience of our text. The way we use language in a particular genre also depends on whether the text is written or spoken, and the social and cultural context in which the text occurs. When we do this, we draw on our previous experience with the genre to know how we should normally do this. This does not mean, however, that every instance of a genre is the same, nor that genres do not change. Genres, further, vary in terms of their typicality. That is, a text may be a typical example of a genre, or a less typical one, but still be an example of the particular genre.

Examples of genre change can be seen in the way the internet has influenced existing forms of communications such as the internal office memo and has introduced new forms of communication such as internet chat rooms, blogs and online discussion forums. The introduction of new technologies can also bring with it new genres (Miller and Shephard 2009), such as the way mobile phones have introduced the new genre of text messaging (see Section 4.5 for further discussion of genre innovation and change)

4.1.1 Defining genre

Martin’s (1984: 25) definition of genre as ‘a staged, goal-oriented, purposeful activity in which speakers engage as members of our culture’ has been extremely influential in the work of the Sydney School of genre analysis. Martin and Rose (2007: 8), elaborating on this definition, add:

Social because we participate in genres with other people; goal-oriented because we use genres to get things done; staged because it usually takes us a few steps to reach our goals.

Swales (2004: 61) from the field of English for specific purposes says he prefers the notion of ‘metaphor’ for talking about genres, rather than ‘definition’, saying that definitions are often not ‘true in all possible worlds and all possible times’ and can ‘prevent us from seeing newly explored or newly emerging genres for what they really are’.

Miller’s (1984) notion of ‘genre as social action’ has been especially important in the area known as *rhetorical genre studies* (Artemeva 2008; Schryer 2011). In this view, a genre is defined, not in terms of ‘the substance or the form of discourse but on the action it is used to accomplish’ (Miller 1984: 151). This action is recognized by other people, and the genre is accepted, over time, as a way of doing something. Genre, thus, is a kind of ‘social agreement’ (Miller and Bazerman 2011) about ways of doing things with language in particular social and cultural settings. Miller also discusses the notion of *typification* in relation to genre. That is, there are typical forms a genre might take as well as typical content and typical action that the genre performs, all of which we recognize and draw on as we engage with the use of genres. A genre, then, is defined by ‘the expectations and motivations of its users’ (Miller and Kelly 2016: 280), a generalization about what a majority of people do (Herring et al. 2005), even though the particular instance of the genre might not necessarily fit with that.

4.1.2 The Sydney School of genre analysis

The notion of genre is important in the teaching of writing and reading (Martin and Rose 2007; Rose 2012; Rose and Martin 2012) in the work of the Sydney School of genre studies. Here, the term ‘schematic structure’ is often used to describe the discourse structure of texts. For Martin, the notion of genre corresponds to Malinowski’s (1923, 1935) notion of *context of culture* and is responsible for the schematic structure of a text. The *register* of the text (see in the following text), on the other hand, corresponds to Malinowski’s *context of situation* and is responsible for the language features of a text. In the view of systemic functional linguistics, the theory which underlies the Sydney School of genre studies, choices in meaning are selected from the linguistic system on the basis of the particular contextual configuration (Hasan 1989a, 2009) of the communicative event, or genre, that is, its register, which is made up of the *field* (the content and social activity) of the text, its *tenor* (the role relationships involved in the text) and its *mode* (the channel of communication of the text such as speaking or writing).

For Hasan (1989a), the terms ‘genre’ and ‘register’ are seen as being synonymous and interchangeable, while Christie (1991: 80) supports the position held by Martin (1984) (and others) (e.g. Eggins 2005; Rose 2012) in arguing that a distinction between genre and register enables her ‘to draw attention to the simultaneous sets of choices people must make in using language when they go about creating a text’. These choices relate to the structure of the text as an instance of the particular genre and the language of the text and other modalities of meaning as the realization of the particular register (Martin 2013). Thus, a research article is organized in a particular way which reflects discourse expectations for the particular genre. It is also written in a way which reflects

what it is about, the relationship between the writer and readers of the text, and the fact that it is a written rather than a spoken text, that is, in accordance with the expectations for the particular register.

4.1.3 Genre analysis and English for specific purposes

The approach to genre analysis commonly employed in the teaching of English for specific purposes is based on Swales's (1981, 1990, 2004) analyses of the discourse structure of research article introductions. Swales uses the notion of *moves* to describe the discourse structure of texts. In his book *Genre analysis*, Swales (1990) argued that communicative purpose was the key factor that leads a person to decide whether a text is an instance of a particular genre or not. He has since, however, revised this view, saying that it is now clear that genres may have multiple purposes and that these may be different for each of the participants involved (Askehave and Swales 2001). Also, instances of a genre which are similar linguistically and rhetorically may have 'startling differences in communicative purpose' (Swales and Rogers 1995: 223). The communicative purpose of a genre, further, may evolve over time. It may change, it may expand or it may shrink (Swales 2004). Communicative purpose, further, can vary across cultures even when texts belong to the same genre category.

4.1.4 Rhetorical genre studies

Researchers in rhetorical genre studies describe genres as part of the social processes by which knowledge about reality and the world are made. Genres, in this view, both respond to and contribute to the constitution of social contexts, as well as the socialization of individuals. Genres, then, are more than just socially embedded; they are socially constructive. Miller (1984: 165) argues that genres 'serve as keys to understanding how to participate in the actions of a community' and that the failure to understand genre as social action turns activities such as writing instruction from 'what should be a practical art of achieving social ends into an act of making texts that fit formal requirements', a view that has important implications for genre-based teaching (for further elaboration on Miller's view of genre, see Miller and Bazerman 2011, a set of YouTube questions and answers on genre).

4.1.5 Choice and constraint in the use of spoken and written genres

Drawing on the work of Devitt (1997), Swales (2004) discusses the view of genre in which there are both choices and constraints, regularity and chaos. Genres are dynamic and open to change, but it is not a case of 'free for all' or 'anything goes'. As Devitt (2004: 86) explains, conformity among genre users 'is a fact of genre, for genres provide an expected way of acting'. As she argues, there are often consequences for violating genre expectations, and these consequences cannot always

be predicted. Both constraint and choice, she argues, are necessary and positive components of genres. It is not necessarily the case that choice (or creativity) is good and constraint is bad. Both need to be valued. In Bhatia's (1998: 25–6) words:

Practicing a genre is almost like playing a game, with its own rules and conventions. Established genre participants, both writers and readers, are like skilled players, who succeed by their manipulation and exploitation of, rather than a strict compliance with, the rules of the game. It is not simply a matter of learning the language, or even learning the rules of the game, it is more like acquiring the rules of the game in order to be able to exploit and manipulate them to fulfil professional and disciplinary purposes.

4.1.6 Assigning a text to a genre category

A key issue underlying this discussion is how we define a text as an instance of a particular genre, or in other words, how we assign it to a 'genre category'. Cook (1989) argues that we draw on many aspects of language and context to do this. We may consider the author (or speaker) of the text and the intended audience of the text. We may also consider the purpose of text, the situation in which the text occurs, the physical form and, in the case of written texts, the title of the text. We may be influenced by a pre-sequence to the text, such as 'Once upon a time' as well as the discourse structure of the text. Other factors that might help us decide what genre the text is an instance of may include the content of the text, the level of formality of the text, the style or register of the text and whether it is a spoken or a written text. Some of these may be more important than others in helping us to decide what the genre category is that a text belongs to. Some may also be difficult to determine, such as the purpose (or purposes) of the text.

Linguists such as Hasan (1989a) have suggested that the crucial properties of a genre can be expressed as a range of possible textual structures. Martin (1992), equally, puts forward the view that genres can be defined in terms of similarities and differences in the discourse structures of the texts. While discourse structure is clearly a characterizing feature of some genres, it is not always the case that every instance of a particular genre will have exactly the same discourse structure (nor indeed the same communicative purpose) (Askehave and Swales 2001). An academic essay, for example, may be an 'explanation-', 'evaluation-' or 'argument'-type text, or a combination of these, as indeed may be a summing up in a court of law. Equally, advertisements may serve not only to inform but also to persuade, cajole, frighten, shock, worry or arouse (Cook 1989).

Communicative purpose is an important (although complex) criterion for deciding whether a text is an instance of a particular genre. That is, a text may be presented in an unusual way (for that particular genre) but still have the same communicative aim as other instances of the particular genre. In some cases, the text might be considered a 'best example' of the particular genre, and in others, it might be so atypical as to be considered a 'problematic' example of the genre. Shopping lists, responses to letters of recommendation and company brochures, for example, may have more than a single communicative purpose (Askehave and Swales 2001). A book review may describe and evaluate a book but may also 'promote' the book. Book introductions which introduce the work may also promote it (Bhatia 1997).

The issue of genre identification is, thus, a complex one and requires a flexible rather than a static view of what it is that leads users of a language to recognize a communicative event as an instance of a particular genre. A key factor in this process lies in a perspective on genre based on the notion of prototype (Rosch 1978, 1983) rather than on sets of defining features. Genres are most helpfully seen, then, as resources for making meaning rather than systems of rules. There may be typical ways in which they are organized at the discourse level, typical situations in which they occur and typical things they 'aim to do'. It is not always the case, however, that these will necessarily be the same in every instance, even though they may be in the majority of cases.

Assigning a text to a genre category, then, does not necessarily involve an exact match in terms of characteristics or properties. Rather, it involves the notion of 'sufficient similarity' (Swales 1990) to have a relationship with other examples of the genre in the particular genre category.

4.2 Relationships between genres

A recent development in genre theory has been the notions of *genre networks*, *genre chains*, *genre sets* and *repertoires of genres* (Tardy 2003; Devitt 2004; Swales 2004). A key issue here is the way the use of one genre may assume or depend on the use of a number of other interrelated genres. An example of this is the academic essay which may draw from and cite a number of other genres such as academic lectures, specialist academic texts and journal articles. Academic essays also interrelate closely with assignment guidelines, statements of assessment criteria, tutorial discussions and teacher–student consultations.

Uhrig (2012) carried out a study in which he examined the relationship between genres that graduate law and MBA students at a major US university engaged in as they worked towards meeting the assessment requirements for their courses. He found these genres differed for each of the students he looked at, as well as across the two areas of study. He also found that the ways in which they prepared for their assessments were quite different. In law, for example, he found that informal study group sessions and hornbooks (summaries of legal cases) were especially important, whereas for MBA students class discussions and oral presentations of business cases made important contributions to their assessment outcomes. Uhrig argues that in order to assist students in these situations it is not sufficient to examine just the final assessments that are required of them. We also need to find out more about the genres they take part in as they prepare for these assessments.

Cope (2009) carried out an analysis of the genres that students need to interact with in order to apply for admission to vocational colleges. She found that the application process was much more complicated than she has expected. The students had to engage in a range of spoken and written genres each of which was interconnected with the other, as well as have almost an insider's understanding of how to stand the greatest chance of being admitted to their preferred course of study. Some of the courses, she found, had 'walk-in' enrolment where students are allocated a place on a first-come, first-served basis. The students she spoke to told her that in order to get into these courses they had to be in the queue early in the morning, at 6.00 am or so, or they stood no chance

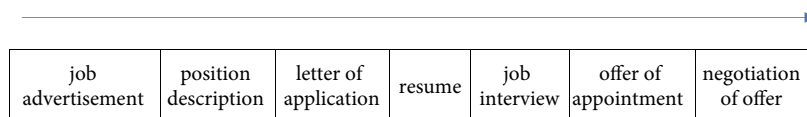


Figure 4.1 A genre chain: Applying for a job.

of being admitted to the course, no matter how well they had read the course guide, how well they had sought advice from the student counsellor or how well they had completed the application form.

A further example of the interrelatedness of genres can be seen in the job interview which interacts with a number of other genres in a particular genre network which includes the job advertisement, the position description, the letter of application and the resumé. The job interview may then be followed by an offer of appointment and, perhaps, a negotiation of offer, each of which interrelate closely with the genres which precede them. The typical sequence for these genres is shown in Figure 4.1.

At times, people may draw on a repertoire of genres to carry out a particular task. A company may, for example, seek further information on a job applicant by means of a telephone call, an email, a letter, a fax or (in some circumstances) a casual conversation. Further information may also be sought by asking a question in passing at lunch or dinner, over a drink, or in a casual corridor conversation with the applicant. In some countries, the genre network for job applications may be more complex than this. When applying for certain jobs in Italy, for example, it is often helpful to have someone who knows you and who can ‘put in a word for you’ when you apply for the position, that is, what in Italian is called a ‘raccomandazione’. Some public positions in Italy, including very senior ones, also require the applicant to take part in a public written examination, or ‘concorso’, something which occurs much less often in English-speaking job application settings.

Knowledge about genres, thus, includes an understanding of ‘the totality of genres available in the particular sector’ (Swales 2004: 22), how these genres interact with each other, which genres a person might choose to perform a particular task and what the typical sequence and hierarchy of these genres might be, that is, which genres might have the most value in the particular setting. In Italy, for example, a ‘raccomandazione’ may have higher value than a letter of recommendation, or public examination, in the job application process. In other cultures, someone ‘putting in a word’ for a job applicant may have much less influence or, indeed, a negative effect.

4.3 Written genres across cultures

The area of research known as contrastive rhetoric (Connor 1996) or, more recently, *intercultural rhetoric* (Connor 2004), which looks at the use of genres across cultures, also has implications for discussions of genre. Many studies in the area of contrastive and intercultural rhetoric have focused on the discourse structure of academic writing in different languages and cultures.

Contrastive rhetoric has its origins in the work of Kaplan (1966), who examined different patterns in the academic essays of students from a number of different languages and cultures.

Although Kaplan has since revised his strong claim that differences in academic writing in different languages are the result of culturally different ways of thinking, many studies have found important differences in the discourse structure of academic texts in different languages and cultures. Other studies, however, have found important similarities in the discourse structure of academic writing across cultures. Cahill (2003), for example, argues that in Chinese and Japanese essay writing, for example, the discourse structure is not always as different from English essay writing as is sometimes supposed. Some Western teachers, he argues, influenced by contrastive rhetoric discussions may expect to see 'Asian ways of writing' in their Asians students' essays 'when they are in fact not there at all' (Cahill 2003: 187). Kubota (1997) argues that just as Japanese expository writing has more than one typical discourse structure so too does English, and that it is misleading to try to reduce discourse types to the one single norm and to overgeneralize the cultural characteristics of academic writing from a few specific examples.

Leki (1997) argues that many stylistic and discourse devices that are said to be typical of Chinese, Japanese and Thai writing, for example, also occur in certain contexts in English. Equally, features that are said to be typical of English writing appear, on occasion, in other languages as well. Contrastive rhetoric, she argues, can most usefully be seen, not as the study of culture-specific thought patterns, but as the study of 'the differences or preferences in the pragmatic and strategic choices that writers make in response to external demands and cultural histories' (244).

Canagarajah (2002: 68) argues that contrastive rhetoric research needs 'to develop more complex types of explanation for textual difference' if it is to enjoy continued usefulness in the teaching of academic writing. Genre analysis, he suggests, is able to help provide some of this explanation, as long as it keeps away from normative, rule-governed and 'value-free' descriptions of genre-specific discourse patterns. This call has been taken up by Connor, Nagelhout and Rozycki (2008) in their book *Contrastive Rhetoric: Reaching to Intercultural Rhetoric*, where they draw on theories in composition studies, cultural anthropology, translation studies and text linguistics to address this issue. Pedagogical implications of this are outlined in Connor's (2011) *Intercultural Rhetoric in the Writing Classroom*. Wang (2007), in his book *Genre across Languages and Cultures*, also, makes a case for further complexifying contrastive genre studies. By drawing together research in intercultural rhetoric, rhetorical genre studies, the systemic functional view of genre and critical discourse analysis, he examines the relationship between texts and the sociocultural contexts in which they are produced in order to gain an understanding of why the texts have been written as they are (see Paltridge and Wang 2015 for further discussion of this work).

4.4 Spoken genres across cultures

Much less attention has been given, however, to differences in spoken genres across cultures. One interesting study that does do this is Nakanishi's (1998) examination of 'going on a first date' in Japanese, which in his study meant mostly having dinner with someone for the purpose of getting to know them better. Nakanishi collected data from sixty-one Japanese women and sixty-seven Japanese men. He then compared his findings with similar research carried out in the United

States. Nakanishi was interested in the typical sequence of events in the lead up to, the carrying out and the closing of this genre in Japanese. He was also interested in how Japanese men and women acted during, and at the end of, the first date. He found the way men and women conceptualized this genre in Japanese was very similar. He found, however, gender-specific behaviour in the performance of this genre such as the Japanese women avoiding silence during the date and asking a lot of questions to find out more about their dating partner. The Japanese women were also much less hesitant in expressing their ideas and feelings on a first date than they would be in many other genres in Japanese. This was especially interesting as in other genres silence and reticence are perfectly acceptable in Japanese and, indeed, quite normal. He found that if the Japanese women had been silent, they often thought the date had not been a success. What is especially interesting about this study is that the women in Nakanishi's study behaved in a way during the date that is not typical of what someone familiar with Japanese culture and communication styles might expect.

In the US study, the men took proactive roles in setting up the date and deciding where it would be, as they did in the Japanese study. The men in both sets of data were also more proactive and the women more reactive in the closing of the date. The role of conversation in the two sets of data differed remarkably however. In the US data, the women saw their role as following their dating partner's lead in the conversation, and helping to keep the conversation going, whereas the Japanese women much more often initiated the conversation and the choice of topics in the conversation. There was also an important role for non-verbal behaviour during the date in the Japanese data that was quite different from the US data. The Japanese women observed their dating partner's behaviour as a way of finding out more about them. They looked at the way the men ate (my Japanese students tell me that they can tell a lot about a person's upbringing from the way they eat) and their use of eye contact. The American women commented more on what the men physically did, or did not do, on the date, saying things such as, 'He lost points for not opening my car door' and 'He never touched me the whole night . . . I began to wonder about him' (my Japanese female students tell me that they would be horrified if a boy touched them on the first date). The role of conversation and non-verbal behaviour in the two settings, thus, was quite different. It is important to remember, then, that while there may be ways of performing the same genre across cultures that are quite similar, there may also be parts of the genre that are significantly (and importantly) quite different.

4.5 Digital genres

The development of new technologies has changed the ways in which many genres are produced and consumed, as well as led to the development of new genres such as blogs, shopping websites such as eBay and Amazon, user review sites such as Trip Advisor, wikis and digital platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, Skype, Snapchat and YouTube. Communicating with smartphones, such as text messaging, and computer-based communication platforms, such as Skype and Zoom, are further examples of how digital media has enabled these sorts of changes. Miller (2017) discusses how blogs emerged with dramatic rapidity as a new genre as new technologies and the affordances of these technologies allowed this form of communication to develop. She discusses

how blogs maintained some of the features of their more traditional predecessors such as diaries, server logs, clipping services, books and other genres and how they brought a particular mixing of the public and the private, and genres. So, while blogs are connected to genres that preceded them, they are also different in distinctive ways, in terms of content, form and purpose. The blog, then, can be seen as a case of *genre emergence, evolution and innovation*, in the same way that that the *Transactions of the Royal Society of London* that emerged in 1665 as a way of documenting medical research evolved to become the scientific research article as we know it today (Miller 2017). As Frow (2015: 150) has pointed out:

No genre comes from nowhere; for every genre there is one or more antecedent genres which are transformed as new occasions and purposes arise.

The internet, Frow points out, has allowed for the proliferation of ways of communicating that were previously unimagined. In many cases, however, he adds, it is not always clear if we are looking at a minimal adaptation of an existing genre such as when a research article is published online, a remixed form or a completely new genre. This leads to complications in some cases, in identifying a genre and deciding in what way/s it is different from other genres. An example of this is the email which, at times, carries many of the features of more traditional letters but other times does not. Frow suggests that one way of dealing with this is to think of the different levels at which computer-mediated communication works, even though relations between the levels may, at times, be blurred and difficult to distinguish from each other. These levels are, he proposes,

- *Hardware and regulatory infrastructures*, such as servers, cables and Wi-Fi
- *Platforms and software systems*, such as operating systems, processing languages, web browsers
- *Digital sites and digital platforms*, such as websites, peer-to-peer file transfer sites, mail management sites
- *Genres*, such as text messages, tweets, Facebook posts and YouTube comments.

Digital communication, Tagg (2015: 6) argues, however, is not most usefully defined by the technology it employs, but by its practices, that is, 'by how people choose to exploit the affordances that they perceive a technology to have and what they subsequently do with the technology' (see Chapter 9 for further discussion of digital genres).

4.6 Genre and academic writing

The notion of genre is especially important for the teaching of academic writing. This has been taken up, however, in different ways in different parts of the world. In Britain and the United States, for example, English for specific purposes genre work has focused mostly on second language graduate student writing (see Bawarshi and Reiff 2010; Cheng 2018; Paltridge 2001, 2014; Hyland 2004a, for reviews of this work). Work in rhetorical genre studies has focused on first language academic and professional writing in North American colleges and universities (although, increasingly, beyond) (see e.g. Artemeva and Freedman 2008; Bazerman et al. 2009). Genre-based

teaching in Australia, on the other hand, has had a rather different focus. This, in part, draws from the underlying concern in the Australian work with empowering underprivileged members of the community and providing them with the necessary resources for academic success. While initially focusing on writing in elementary and secondary school settings, the Australian genre work (often known as the ‘Sydney School’) has now moved to writing in higher education as well (Humphrey et al. 2010).

4.6.1 Discourse and academic writing

Many of the analyses of the discourse structure of academic texts have been based on Swales’s (1981, 1990) work in this area. These studies have examined, for example, the discourse structures of research articles, master’s theses and doctoral dissertations, job application and sales promotion letters, legislative documents, the graduate seminar, academic lectures, poster session discussions and the texts that students read in university courses. One model that has had a particular impact in this area is what has come to be known as the Create a research space (CARS) framework (see Feak and Swales 2011). This framework describes the typical discourse structure of the Introduction section of research articles. Swales shows how in this section of research article introductions, authors establish the territory for their research by showing how it is important and relevant in some way, indicate the gap in previous research that the study aims to address, and show how the study being described will fill the gap that the earlier sections of the Introduction have identified. This model has since been applied to the Introduction section of other genres such as theses and dissertations (see e.g. Bunton 2002; Paltridge and Starfield 2020). Other analyses have focused on how *micro-genres* such as arguments and descriptions, and so on come together in the writing of *macro-genres* (Martin 1995; Martin and Rose 2007) such as student assignments and essays, and so on (see Paltridge 1996, 2002; Paltridge et al. 2009; also Section 4.9 on the discourse structure of genres).

4.6.2 Language and academic writing

There have been a number of views on the nature of genre-specific language. Hutchinson and Waters (1987), for example, made a distinction between the language of an area of specialization and the language of the genres found in these particular areas. They argued that the main way in which language varied between areas of specialization was in the use of technical and specialized vocabulary rather than in its use of genre-specific language. More recent developments in the area of corpus studies, however, have disputed this view.

Biber (1988), for example, in an important study found a wide range of linguistic variation within the particular genres that he examined, some of which he describes as surprising and contrary to popular expectation. His conclusion is that different kinds of texts are complex in different ways and that many earlier conclusions that have been reached about specific purpose language reflect our incomplete understanding of the linguistic characteristics of discourse complexity (Biber 1992). In his view, there clearly *are* language differences between genres. These

differences, however, can only be revealed through the examination of actual texts rather than through any intuitions we may have about them. This is an area where genre studies have already devoted a great amount of attention, from early frequency studies through to more recent corpus-based studies of the language of academic genres. Biber’s (2006) *University Language* and Hyland’s (2009a) *Academic Discourse* provide reviews of much of this work.

4.6.3 Academic writing and metadiscourse

The term ‘metadiscourse’ was first coined by the linguist Zellig Harris (1959) to describe the way in which a writer or speaker tries to guide their audience’s perception of their text (Hyland 2005a). As Hyland points out, however, different people have defined this term differently. Williams (1981), for example, describes metadiscourse as ‘writing about writing’, while Crismore (1983, 1989) describes metadiscourse as ‘discourse about discourse’, defining the term as ‘the author’s intrusion into the discourse, either explicitly or inexplicitly’ (Crismore 1983: 2). Hyland (1998a) describes metadiscourse as ‘aspects of a text which explicitly refer to the organization of the writer’s stance towards either its content or the reader’ (438). This includes *interactive* rhetorical features which reflect the writer’s awareness of their audience, its interests and expectations and *interactional* rhetorical features which include the ways in which authors convey judgements and align themselves with their readers (Hyland 2005a).

4.6.4 Interactive rhetorical resources

Interactive metadiscourse resources, then, help guide readers through a text. This includes ways of expressing relations between clauses, the stages of the text, information that is in other parts of the text, information that has been drawn from other texts and ways of elaborating on meanings in the text. These resources aim to lead readers to the author’s preferred interpretation of their text. Examples of interactive rhetorical resources and their functions are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Interactive Metadiscourse Resources in Academic Writing

Category	Function	Examples
<i>Interactive</i>	<i>Help to guide the reader through the text</i>	<i>Resources</i>
Transitions	Express relations between main clauses	in addition; but; thus; and
Frame markers	Refer to discourse acts, sequences or stages	finally; to conclude; my purpose is
Endophoric markers	Refer to information in other parts of the text	noted above; see Fig; in Section 2
Evidentials	Refer to information from other texts	according to x; z states
Code glosses	Elaborate propositional meanings	namely; e.g.; such as; in other words

Based on Hyland (2005a).

Table 4.2 Interactional Metadiscourse Resources in Academic Writing

Category	Function	Examples
<i>Interactional</i>	<i>Involve the reader in the text</i>	<i>Resources</i>
Hedges	Withhold commitment and open dialogue	might; possible; about
Boosters	Emphasize certainty or close dialogue	in fact; definitely; it is clear that
Attitude markers	Express writer's attitude to proposition	unfortunately; I agree, surprisingly
Self-mentions	Explicit reference to author(s)	I; we; my; me; our
Engagement markers	Explicitly build relationship with reader	consider; note; you can see that

Based on Hyland (2005a).

The following extract from an undergraduate essay shows how a student has used interactive metadiscourse markers in their writing:

To conclude [frame marker], forcing students to take some subjects which are little relevant to their major, *not only* [transition marker] reduces their time concentrating on major study, *but also* [transition marker] harms one's learning motivation. To a large extent, I disagree with the adoption of *the above* [endophoric marker] practice. (Ho and Li 2018: 56)

4.6.5 Interactional rhetorical resources

Interactional metadiscourse resources include the ways in which writers express their *stance* towards what they are saying as well as how they explicitly engage with or address their readers in their texts (Hyland 2005a). Stance is the ways in which writers present themselves and convey their judgements, opinions and commitments to their own and other people's work. In doing this a writer may either 'intrude to stamp their personal authority onto their arguments, or step back and disguise their involvement' (176). *Engagement* is the strategy writers use to acknowledge and recognize the presence of their readers, 'pulling them along with their argument, focusing their attention, acknowledging their uncertainties, including them as discourse participants and guiding them to interpretations' (Hyland 2005a: 176). The key ways in which academic writers do this are shown in Table 4.2.

A further analysis of the example of student writing shown earlier illustrates how they have used interactional metadiscourse markers in their writing:

To conclude, forcing students to take some subjects which are little relevant to their major, not only reduces their time concentrating on major study, but also harms one's learning motivation. *To a large extent* [hedge], *I* [self mention] *disagree* [attitude marker] with the adoption of the above practice. (Ho and Li 2018: 56)

4.7 Steps in genre analysis

Bhatia (1993) and Bawarshi and Reiff (2010) present steps for carrying out the analysis of genres, in their case-written genres. It is not necessary to go through all the stages that they list, nor in the

order in which they are presented. For example, we may decide to take a ‘text-first’ or a ‘context-first’ approach to the analysis of a particular genre (J. Flowerdew 2002, 2011). That is, we may decide to start by looking at typical discourse patterns in the texts we are interested in (a text-first approach), or we may decide to start with an examination of the context of the texts we want to investigate (a context-first approach). The steps, then, should be used flexibly and selectively depending on the starting point of the analysis, the purpose of the analysis, the aspect of the genre that we want to focus on and the level of prior knowledge we already have of the particular genre. These are steps Bhatia proposes for carrying out a genre analysis:

- Collect samples of the genre you are interested in. Bhatia suggests taking a few randomly chosen texts for exploratory investigation, a single typical text for detailed analysis, or a larger sample of texts if we wish to investigate a few specified features. Clearly, the more samples you can collect of the genre, however, the better you will be able to identify typical features of the genre.
- Consider what is already known about the particular genre. This includes knowledge of the setting in which it occurs as well as any conventions that are typically associated with the genre. For information on this, we can go to existing literature such as guidebooks and manuals as well as seek practitioner advice on the particular genre. It is also helpful to look at what analyses have already been carried out of the particular genre, or other related genres, by looking at research articles or books on the topic.
- Refine the analysis by defining the speaker or writer of the text, the audience of the text and their relationship with each other. That is, who uses the genre, who writes in the genre, who reads the genre and what roles the readers perform as they read the text.
- Consider the goal, or purpose, of the texts. That is, why do writers write this genre, why do readers read it and what purpose does the genre have for the people who use it?
- Consider typical discourse patterns for the genre. That is, how are the texts typically organized, how are they typically presented in terms of layout and format and what are some language features that typically reoccur in the particular genre?
- Think about what people need to know to take part in the genre, and what view of the world does the text assume of its readers. That is, what values, beliefs and assumptions are assumed or revealed by the particular genre?
- Think about the networks of texts that surround the genre (see Section 4.2) and to what extent knowledge of these is important in order to be able to write or make sense of a particular genre.

4.8 The social and cultural context of genres

An important stage in genre analysis, then, is an examination of the social and cultural context in which the genre is used. In the case of a written text, factors that might be considered include:

- The setting of the text;
- The focus and perspective of the text;

- The purpose(s) of the text;
- The intended audience for the text, their role and purpose in reading the text;
- The relationship between writers and readers of the text;
- Expectations, conventions and requirements for the text;
- The background knowledge, values and understandings it is assumed the writer shares with their readers, including what is important to the reader and what is not;
- The relationship the text has with other texts.

These aspects of a genre, of course, are not as distinct as they appear in this kind of a listing. As Yates and Orlikowski (2007) point out, they are deeply intertwined and each, in its way, has an impact on what a writer writes, and the way they write it.

4.8.1 A context analysis of theses and dissertations

Figure 4.2 is an analysis of the social and cultural context of theses and dissertations. It shows the range of factors that impact on how the text is written, how it will be read and, importantly, how it will be assessed.

It is crucial, then, not just to analyse the discourse structure of texts, but also to gain an understanding of the socially situated nature of texts and the role they are playing in their particular setting. Lillis (2008: 353), in her discussion of strategies for ‘closing the gap between text and context’, suggests ways in which researchers may contextualize their research as a way of ‘adding value’ to their studies. These include what she terms ‘ethnography as method’, ‘ethnography as methodology’ and ethnography as ‘deep theorizing’.

An example of ethnography as method is ‘talk around text’. Talk around texts aim to get writers’ perspectives on texts they have produced. Often this involves carrying out text-based interviews or using survey data to supplement the textual analysis. Peng (2010) did just this when she combined text analysis with talk around text in her genre study of Chinese PhD students’ acknowledgements texts. She carried out an analysis of eighty acknowledgements sections from PhDs submitted at a major Chinese university in the areas of classic Chinese, computer science, genetic engineering and world economics. She examined how the writers drew on their genre knowledge of acknowledgements texts and the disciplinary community in which they were writing to accommodate their audience’s expectations. In order to find out reasons for the textual choices that the students made, she interviewed students, their supervisors, as well as the other people that were referred to in the texts.

Ethnography as methodology involves using multiple data sources as well as a period of sustained involvement in the context in which the texts are produced to try to gain an understanding of the ‘dynamic and complex situated meanings and practices that are constituted in and by the writing’ (Lillis 2008: 355). Lillis and Curry’s (2010) book *Academic Writing in a Global Context*, where they employed text analysis, interviews, observations, document analysis, written correspondence, reviewers’ and editors’ comments to examine second language writers’ experiences of getting published in English, is an example of this. A further example of the use of multiple data sources is the study by Paltridge et al. (2011a, 2011b) into doctoral writing in the visual and

Setting of the text	The kind of university and level of study, the kind of degree (e.g. honours, master's or doctoral, research or professional) Study carried out in a 'hard' or 'soft', pure or applied, convergent or divergent area of study
Focus and perspective of the text	Quantitative, qualitative or mixed method research Claims that can be made, claims that cannot be made Views on what is 'good' research
Purpose of the text	To answer a question, to solve a problem, to prove something, to contribute to knowledge, to display knowledge and understanding, to demonstrate particular skills, to convince a reader, to gain admission to a particular area of study
Audience, role and purpose in reading the text	To judge the quality of the research Primary readership of one or more examiners, secondary readership of the supervisor and anyone else the student shows their work to How readers will react to what they read, the criteria they will use for assessing the text, who counts the most in judging the quality of the text
Relationship between writers and readers of the text	Students writing for experts, for admission to an area of study (the primary readership), students writing for peers, for advice (the secondary readership)
Expectations, conventions and requirements for the text	An understanding and critical appraisal of relevant literature A clearly defined and comprehensive investigation of the research topic Appropriate use of research methods and techniques for the research question Ability to interpret results, develop conclusions and link them to previous research Level of critical analysis, originality and contribution to knowledge expected Literary quality and standard of presentation expected Level of grammatical accuracy required How the text is typically organized, how the text might vary for a particular research topic, area of study, kind of study and research perspective What is typically contained in each chapter The amount of variation allowed in what should be addressed and how it should be addressed The university's formal submission requirements in terms of format, procedures and timing
Background knowledge, values, and understandings	The background knowledge, values, and understandings it is assumed students will share with their readers, what is important to their readers, what is not important to their readers How much knowledge students are expected to display, the extent to which students should show what they know, what issues students should address, what boundaries students can cross
Relationship the text has with other texts	How to show the relationship between the present research and other people's research on the topic, what counts as valid previous research, acceptable and unacceptable textual borrowings, differences between reporting and plagiarizing

Figure 4.2 The social and cultural context of theses and dissertations.

performing arts. Here, text analysis was combined with surveys, text-based interviews with students and their supervisors, the examination of university prospectuses, published advice to students, previous research into visual arts PhD examination, books and journals on visual and performing arts research, analysis of in-house art school publications and attendance at students' exhibition openings.

Ethnography as deep theorizing takes these approaches a step further by considering how the use of language and orientation of the texts index and connect to certain social structures, values and relations in the same way that particular ways of speaking may point to, or index, a person's gender, social class or ethnic identity. Starfield (2002, 2011, 2015) does this, for example, in her examination of first-year students' writing in a former whites-only university in South Africa, as do Lillis and Curry (2010) in their study of second language scholars negotiating the peer-review and writing for publication process.

These studies parallel what Berkenkotter (2009: 18) calls a context-based, rhetorically oriented, 'wide-angle' approach to genre analysis that moves beyond solely text-based analysis to explore factors that influence the creation and reception of genres in particular social, cultural and political settings. Indeed, as Devitt (2009) argues, the forms of genres are only meaningful within their social, cultural (and individual) contexts. That is, forms in genres 'take their meaning from who uses them, in what ways, with what motives and expectations' (35) (see Paltridge and Wang 2011 for further discussions of contextualized genre studies, Bucholtz 2011 for examples of ethnographically situated spoken discourse studies).

4.9 The discourse structure of genres

There are a number of ways in which the discourse structure of genres can be analysed. One of these is by identifying its structure based on its genre category membership such as letter to the editor, doctoral dissertation, and so on. Another is to examine the micro-genres such as argument, description and problem–solution that occur within the text. The text shown in Figure 4.3 of an abstract from a doctoral thesis is analysed in terms of both its structure as an example of a thesis abstract and a problem–solution text.

Two different perspectives, thus, can be offered on the structure of texts: one that identifies the text's structure based on its (everyday) genre category and another that describes the micro-genres in the text based on their patternings of rhetorical organization. These micro-genres together make up larger, more complex texts, or genres, showing how texts can have complex internal patterns of organization, even if their overall 'common sense' structure might seem simple. The answer to Exercise 1 at the end of the book is an example of this. It shows how a genre – an academic essay – can be made up of more than a single micro-genre. Both of these views are helpful for giving us guides to a genre's structural organization from a rhetorical perspective.

<i>Newspaper commentaries on terrorism: A contrastive genre study</i>		
Abstract		
Background	This thesis is a contrastive genre study which explores newspaper commentaries on terrorism in Chinese and Australian newspapers.	Situation
Aim of the Study	The study examines the textual patterning of the Australian and Chinese commentaries, interpersonal and intertextual features of the texts as well as considers possible contextual factors which contribute to the formation of the newspaper commentaries in the two different languages and cultures.	Problem
Method	For its framework for analysis, the study draws on systemic functional linguistics, English for specific purposes, rhetorical genre studies, critical discourse analysis, and discussions of the role of the mass media in the two different cultures.	Solution
Results	The study reveals that Chinese writers often use explanatory rather than argumentative expositions in their newspaper commentaries. They seem to distance themselves from outside sources and seldom indicate endorsement to these sources. Australian writers, on the other hand, predominantly use argumentative expositions to argue their points of view. They integrate and manipulate outside sources in various ways to establish and provide support for the views they express. These textual and intertextual practices are closely related to contextual factors, especially the roles of the media and opinion discourse in contemporary China and Australia.	
Conclusion	The study, thus, aims to provide both a textual and contextual view of the genre under investigation in these two languages and cultures. In doing so, it aims to establish a framework for contrastive rhetoric research which moves beyond the text into the context of production and interpretation of the text as a way of exploring reasons for linguistic and rhetorical choices made in the two sets of texts.	Evaluation

Figure 4.3 Abstract of a thesis abstract/problem–solution text (based on Wang 2006: iv).

4.9.1 An example: The discourse structure of theses and dissertations

Figure 4.4 is an analysis of the typical generic structure of theses and dissertations. This analysis comes from a study that examined theses and dissertations written in a range of different study areas. The texts were collected and analysed in terms of the overall organizational structure of each of the texts. A comparison was then made between the texts in order to see if there was a recurring pattern of structural organization across the set of texts. The study showed that, rather than there being just the one single type of discourse pattern that is typical for theses and dissertations, there are at least four different types of pattern that writers typically choose from depending on the focus and orientation of their thesis or dissertation. Following previous research on the topic, these four thesis and dissertation types were labelled ‘simple traditional’, ‘complex traditional’, ‘topic-based’ and ‘thesis by publication’. These four types are shown in Figure 4.4. The sequence of items in the chart shows the typical sequence in the sections of the texts. The sections in brackets are ‘optional’ in the texts. That is, they occurred in some instances of the genre, but not in all of them.

Each of these sections of a thesis or dissertation will have its own typical discourse structure (see Paltridge and Starfield 2020 for further discussion of this). There will also often be a number of micro-genres which combine together in each section of the text. A Literature Review, thus, will have sections based on previous research on the topic, as well as, for example, combinations of descriptions, explanations, evaluation and argument-type texts.

4.10 Applications of genre analysis

Writers such as Hammond and Macken-Horarick (1999) argue that genre-based teaching can help students gain access to texts and discourses which will, hopefully, help them participate more successfully in second language spoken and written interactions. Other writers, such as Luke (1996), argue that teaching ‘genres of power’ (such as academic essays or dissertations) leads to uncritical reproduction of the status quo and does not necessarily provide the kind of access we hope it might provide for our learners. Others, such as Christie (1993) and Martin (1993), argue that not teaching genres of power is socially irresponsible in that it is the already-disadvantaged students who are especially disadvantaged by programmes that do not address these issues.

Other issues that have been raised include the extent to which the teaching and learning of genres might limit student expression if this is done through the use of model texts and a focus on audience expectations. This is clearly something teachers need to keep in mind in genre-based teaching. Teachers equally need to think about how they can help students bring their own individual voices into their use of particular genres (Swales 2000). Students also need to be careful not to overgeneralize what they have learnt about one genre and apply it inappropriately to their use of other genres (Hyon 2001; Johns 2008). As Devitt (2004) points out, the ways in which students draw on prior genre knowledge to create a further instance of the particular genre are not

<i>Traditional: simple</i>	<i>Topic-based</i>
Introduction	Introduction
Literature review	Topic 1
Materials and methods	Topic 2
Results	Topic 3 etc
Discussion	Conclusions
Conclusions	
<i>Traditional: complex</i>	<i>Thesis by publication</i>
Introduction	Introduction
Background to the study and review of the literature (Background theory) (General methods)	Background to the study
Study 1	Research article 1
Introduction	Introduction
Methods	Literature review
Results	Materials and methods
Discussion and conclusions	Results
	Discussion
	Conclusions
Study 2	Research article 2
Introduction	Introduction
Methods	Literature review
Results	Materials and methods
Discussion and conclusions	Results
	Discussion
Study 3 etc.	Conclusions
Introduction	Research article 3 etc.
Methods	Introduction
Results	Literature review
Discussion and conclusions	Materials and methods
Discussion	Results
Conclusions	Discussion
	Conclusions
	Discussion
	Conclusions

Figure 4.4 The discourse structure of theses and dissertations (Paltridge and Starfield 2020: 97–8).

at all straightforward and may take place in a number of different ways (see Reiff and Bawarshi 2011 for further discussion of this).

Kay and Dudley-Evans (1998) discuss teachers' views on genre and its use in second language classrooms. Some of the teachers Kay and Dudley-Evans spoke to were concerned that a genre-based approach may become too prescriptive. The teachers pointed to the need to highlight the kind of variation that occurs in particular genres as well as consider why this might be. Care, then, needs to be taken to avoid a reductive view of genres and the textual information that is given to students about them.

The teachers Kay and Dudley-Evans spoke to also stressed the importance of contextualizing genres in the classroom by discussing purpose, audience and underlying beliefs and values before moving on to focus on the language features of a text. They said that learners should be exposed to a wide range of sample texts and that these should be both authentic and suitable for the learners. They also felt that a genre-based approach should be used in combination with other approaches, such as process and communicative approaches to language teaching and learning. They said, however, that they thought a genre-based approach was especially suitable for beginner- and intermediate-level students in that the use of model texts gave them confidence as well as something to fall back on. They concluded that genre provided a useful framework for language teaching and learning as long as it was made clear that the examples of genres they presented with were just possible models and not rigid sets of patterns.

Scott and Groom (1999) and Frow (2015) present a similar view, saying that genres are not fixed and are better thought of as performances, rather than reproductions. Genres are, Scott and Groom argue, just one of the resources students need for the expression and communication of meaning. The teaching of generic forms, then, does not discount the use of models, but rather sees models as part of a wider repertoire of resources that students can draw on and adapt, as appropriate, to support their meaning making.

Tardy (2006) examines the research into genre-based teaching, in both first and second language contexts. As she points out, genre theory has gone beyond looking at genres as just 'text types' to considerations of genre as 'a more social construct which shapes and is shaped by human activity' (79). The work of Cheng (2006a, 2006b, 2007, 2008a, 2008b, 2018) is especially important in discussions of genre-based teaching and learning. Cheng (2008a) discusses how his students found genre 'a supportive, explicit tool of learning' (68), which he felt helped address other researchers' concerns about the product-oriented nature of ESP genre-based teaching. Dressen-Hammouda's (2008) study of a geology student's experiences in learning to write showed how he benefited from a focus on genre, especially in relation to the acquisition of disciplinary identity. She argues, along with others, that the teaching of genres should include more than just linguistic and rhetorical features of genres. It should also focus on the disciplinary community's ways of perceiving, interpreting and behaving, that is, the 'ways of being, seeing and acting' (238) that are particular to the student's disciplinary community.

Other research that has examined genre-based teaching include Bax's (2006) examination of the role of genre in language syllabus design in a secondary school in Bahrain and Kongpetch's (2003, 2006) examination of genre-based writing teaching in a Thai university. Kongpetch found that the genre-based approach she employed had a significant impact on the quality of her students' writing.

While she was only looking at a single case, her study does suggest that this approach can have many benefits for students. Johns (2008) points out, however, that in all this students need to develop both genre awareness and rhetorical flexibility. That is, they need to learn the expectations of particular genres in particular settings, as well as remain flexible when applying this knowledge to the requirements of the particular text they are producing.

Genres, then, provide a frame (Swales 2004) which enables people to take part in, and interpret, particular communicative events. Making this genre knowledge explicit can provide learners with the knowledge and skills they need to communicate successfully in particular situations. It can also provide learners with access to socially powerful forms of language (see Cheng 2018; Hyon 2018; Tardy 2016, 2019 for further discussion of the teaching and learning of genres).

4.11 Summary

This chapter has provided definitions as well as examples of genre analysis. It has outlined features of Sydney School, English for specific purposes and rhetorical genre studies analysis. It has discussed the issue of choice and constraint in the use of spoken and written genres and the complex issue of assigning a text to a genre category. It has argued that genre identification is a complex one and requires a flexible rather than a static view of what it is that leads users of a language to recognize a text as an instance of a particular genre. The chapter has also argued that genre is an extremely useful notion of pedagogic purposes. It has cautioned, however, against using descriptions of genre in the classroom simply as rules that need to be followed, that is, being careful not to mistake the 'stabilized for now' (Schryer 1993) nature of the genre, as a template that needs to be adopted in order for a text to be considered a successful instance of a particular genre.

4.12 Discussion questions

- (1) Bazerman (1988: 7) argues that 'attempts to understand genre by the texts themselves are bound to fail'. Select several examples of a genre. Consider what there is 'beyond the text' (Freedman 1999) that you need to know about in order to fully understand the texts. For example, what is it you need to know about the social and cultural setting of the text, the people involved in the text or the social expectations and values which underlie the particular text? Read Paltridge (2004) for an example of an analysis which examines some of these issues.
- (2) Read Johns (1993) on genre and audience. Consider what Johns has to say about audience in relation to a genre that is important for university students. How might the notion of

audience help the students with their written work? For example, how useful is it for students to think about who they are writing for, and what that person expects of them?

- (3) Look at a number of newspaper reports in several different newspapers which are all on the same topic. What background knowledge do the reports assume? That is, what do they expect you already know (and don't know) about the topic of the article? Also, in what way is each of the newspaper reports different? That is, how does the intended readership of the newspaper effect how the article is written? How can you explain these differences?
- (4) Find several instances of a genre which seem to you to be prototypical of the particular genre. What are some features of the genre that seem to you to be typical for the particular genre? Then find one text which is not so typical for the genre. Try to explain these differences.

4.13 Data analysis projects

- (1) Look at examples of essays written in different subject areas. Have a look for similarities and differences in the way they are written. For example, are they all laid out the same way? Do they use headings or are they just continuous text? How do the writers support their arguments? Do they refer to published sources, or do they refer to their own personal experiences? Consider what the reason might be for these differences.
- (2) Collect a number of examples of a genre that has developed or changed in response to changes in technology. For example, look at email messages and consider what some of the characteristics are that are particular to them. Consider why they are written this way.
- (3) Do a context analysis of a spoken or written genre based on the following set of headings:
 - The setting of the genre;
 - The focus and perspective of the genre;
 - The purpose(s) of the genre;
 - The intended audience for the genre;
 - The relationship between participants in the genre;
 - Expectations, conventions and requirements for the genre;
 - The background knowledge, values and understandings it is assumed genre participants will share with each other, including what is important to them and what is not;
 - The relationship the genre has with other texts and genres.

Look at a number of sample texts to help you with this. Also interview people who take part in the genre and ask them about each of these points.

- (4) Collect a number of examples of a particular genre and analyse the schematic structure of each text. Look at Chapter 2 in Hyland (2004a) for suggestions on how to do this. What is common to all of the texts and what is not? Why might some of the texts be different?

4.14 Exercises

4.14.1 Exercise 1: Discourse structures: A student essay

Look at the following example of a student essay/problem–solution-type text.

This is the typical structure of a problem–solution text:

Situation ^ Problem ^ Response/Solution ^ Evaluation (Hoey 1983, 2001) (^ indicates ‘followed by’)

Identify:

- The structure of the text as an instance of a student essay.
- The structure of the text as an instance of a problem–solution text.

The kakapo, which is found in the remote and inhospitable south of Stewart Island, is one of New Zealand’s most highly endangered birds.

Kakapos are flightless but good climbers, and usually live in native forests, subalpine zones. Leaves, stems roots and fruits are their main food. They were once described as the most beautiful birds in the world. But nowadays there are only about fifty left.

Because of developments of human beings such as removing soil and grass, cutting the forest for new roads, houses or factories, the kakapo has lost its habitat and food resources. Huge numbers of them have died from starvation or hunting.

A recovery programme has been launched to save the kakapo from extinction. In this programme, they are attempting to raise kakapos in captivity. Nests have been located, and several chicks have been hatched.

To conclude, the kakapo is nearly extinct. We have to protect the rest of them and try our best with the recovery programme. We do not want to lose this gentle friend, which is part of New Zealand’s heritage.

4.14.2 Exercise 2: Discourse structures: An acknowledgements text

Look at the acknowledgements section of a PhD dissertation in the following text. Acknowledgements texts are often made up of a *reflecting move*, *thanking moves*, an *announcing move* in which the student accepts responsibility for flaws or errors and a *dedication move*. Identify these moves in the text. In particular, how many *thanking moves* are there and how are they different from each other?

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4.14.3 Exercise 3: Metadiscourse

Look at the acknowledgements text in Exercise 4.14.2 as well as Tables 4.1 and 4.2 in this chapter. Identify examples of interactional metadiscourse features in the text.

4.15 Directions for further reading

4.15.1 Further reading

Hyon, S. (2018), *Introducing Genre and English for Specific Purposes*. London: Routledge.

Chapter 1. Introducing genre in English for specific purposes

In the opening chapter of her book, Sunny Hyon provides a clear overview of genre, starting with the English for specific purposes view of genre, then moving on to rhetorical genre studies and the Sydney School of genre. Following chapters in her book discuss analysing genre moves, genre-specific language and genre contexts.

4.15.2 Additional reading

Hyland, K. (2018), 'Genre and second language writing', in J. I. Liantas (ed.), *The TESOL*

Encyclopedia of English Language Teaching. Malden, MA: Wiley.

Ken Hyland makes a case for focusing on genre in the teaching of second language writing, summarizing pedagogical strategies and advantages of focusing on genre in language-learning classrooms.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

4.16 Sample studies

Pho, P. D. (2008), 'Research article abstracts in applied linguistics and educational technology: A study of linguistic realizations of rhetorical structure and authorial stance', *Discourse Studies*, 10: 231–50.

In this study, Pho carries out an English for specific purposes analysis of research article abstracts. She does a move analysis to examine the discourse structures of the texts and examines language features, such as choice of verb tense and active and passive voice, in the various stages of the texts.

Watanabe, H. (2017), 'An examination of written genres in English language textbooks in Japan', *The Journal of Asia TEFL*. 14 (1): 64–80.

In his study, Hideo Watanabe takes a Sydney School approach to analysing the written genres that typically occur in English-language textbooks that are used in Japanese schools to prepare students for university entrance examinations. He looks at the genres in terms of their frequency in the books as well as their typical discourse structures. He found that commercial textbooks focused on a very limited range of genres, mostly expositions, whereas government-produced textbooks covered a wider range of genre types.

Morton, J. (2009), 'Genre and disciplinary competence: A case study of contextualization in an academic speech genre', *English for Specific Purposes*, 28: 217–29.

Drawing on the work of Miller (1984) and others, Janne Morton examined the rhetorical strategies that successful architecture students employed to persuade their audience of the value of their design in a manner that is valued by experts in their discipline. She found, in particular, differences between how first-year and final-year students did this, showing how disciplinary socialization proceeds in tandem with genre acquisition as students learn the 'ways of doing and being' of their area of study.

Discourse and conversation

Chapter Outline

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A major area of study in the analysis of discourse is *conversation analysis*. Conversation analysis is an approach to the analysis of spoken discourse that looks at the way in which people manage their everyday conversational interactions. It examines how spoken discourse is organized and develops as speakers carry out these interactions. Conversation analysis has examined aspects of spoken discourse such as sequences of related utterances (adjacency pairs), preferences for particular combinations of utterances (preference organization), turn taking, feedback, repair, conversational openings and closings, discourse markers and response tokens. Conversation analysis works with recordings of spoken data and carries out careful and fine-grained analyses of this data.

Conversation analysis looks at ordinary everyday spoken discourse and aims to understand, from a fine-grained analysis of the conversation, how people manage their interactions. It also looks at how social relations are developed through the use of spoken discourse. This chapter discusses the principles underlying conversation analysis. It then outlines procedures in transcribing and coding data. The chapter gives examples of the kinds of conversational strategies speakers use as well as providing examples of these in a number of different kinds of conversational interactions.

5.1 Background to conversation analysis

Conversation analysis originated in the early 1960s at the University of California, Los Angeles. It has its origins in the ethnomethodological tradition of sociology and, in particular, the work of Garfinkel (e.g. 1967) and Goffman (e.g. 1981). Following on from this work, Sacks (e.g. 1992) and his colleagues developed conversation analysis as

an approach to the study of social action which sought to investigate social order as it was produced through the practices of everyday talk. (Liddicoat 2011: 4)

Sacks had a particular interest in the orderly nature of talk and the ways in which there might be systematic commonalities in spoken interactions that occur across participants and contexts (Liddicoat 2011).

Conversation analysis started with the examination of telephone calls made to the Los Angeles Suicide Prevention Centre. This work then continued with the examination of more ‘ordinary’ telephone calls and conversations and has since been extended to include spoken interactions such as doctor–patient consultations, legal hearings, news interviews, psychiatric interviews and interactions in courtrooms and classrooms.

Conversation analysis takes less of a ‘linguistics’ view of spoken discourse than some other forms of discourse analysis. Conversation analysts are interested, in particular, in how social worlds are jointly constructed and recognized by speakers as they take part in conversational discourse.

5.1.1 Issues in conversation analysis

A key issue in conversation analysis is the view of ordinary conversation as the most basic form of talk. For conversation analysts, conversation is the main way in which people come together, exchange information, negotiate and maintain social relations. All other forms of talk-in-interaction are thus derived from this basic form of talk. It is not the case that other forms of talks are the same as ordinary conversation. They do, however, exploit the same kinds of resources as ‘ordinary conversation’ to achieve their social and interactional goals.

A further key feature of conversation analysis is the primacy of the data as the source of information. Analyses, thus, do not incorporate speakers’ reflections on their interactions, field notes or interviews as ways of gathering information about the discourse. In the view of conversation analysts, the use of this kind of data represents idealizations about how spoken discourse works

and is, thus, not valid data for analysis. Conversation analysis, thus, focuses on the analysis of the text for its argumentation and explanation, rather than consideration of psychological or other factors that might be involved in the production and interpretation of the discourse.

One of the aims of conversation analysis is to avoid starting with assumptions about analytical categories in the analysis of conversational data. Conversation analysts, rather, look for phenomena which regularly occur in the data and then make that the point of further investigation. Interest is, in particular, in fine-tuned analysis of the sequence, structure and coherence of conversations.

In this view, conversation is seen as being ‘context-shaped’ and ‘context-renewing’ in the sense that ‘anything anyone says in conversation both builds on what has been said or what has been going on . . . [as well as] creates the conditions for what will be said next’ (Gardner 1994: 102). Conversation analysts, thus, aim to demonstrate how participants both produce and respond to evolving social contexts, using conversational, rather than contextual data, as the source for the claims it wishes to make.

5.2 Transcribing and coding conversation analysis data

In conversation analysis, the transcription of the data is also the analysis. Texts are, thus, recorded (either audio or video) then analysed at the same time as they are transcribed. If a particular feature such as the use of increased pitch, or particular sequences of utterances, becomes apparent in the analysis, this then becomes the starting point for further analysis. The analyst listens and transcribes to see how frequently this aspect of the conversation occurs and, importantly, if speakers respond to it in the same way each time it occurs. In this way, the analysis aims to understand how speakers manage their conversational interactions.

Particular transcription conventions are used in conversation analysis. The following extract from a neighbourhood dispute session (Stokoe and Hepburn 2005) illustrates some of these. There are two mediators at the session and a married couple. M1 is one of the mediators and FC is a member of the married couple. The couple are complaining about the noise their next-door neighbour’s children are making. The transcription conventions that are used in this analysis are based on the work of Jefferson (2004) and are shown as a key to the analysis at the end of the conversation:

- | | | |
|---|----|---|
| 1 | FC | Bu’ they seem to have the music (0.7) s(h)o lo:ud it |
| 2 | | Just (0.4) <u>BQ</u> oms through the <u>wa:ll</u> |
| 3 | | (0.2) |
| 4 | M1 | ° Mmm. ° |
| 5 | FC | An’ whereas: (0.3) normally you’d think ° “oh god ° |
| 6 | | you know they’re having it loud tonight.” .hhh (.) |
| 7 | | ↑ Night after night it <rea:lly begins> to grate on yer |
| 8 | | Nerves. |

(Stokoe and Hepburn 2005: 664)

Key

(0.7)	the time elapsed (by tenths of seconds) between the end of the utterance or sound and the start of the next utterance or sound
(h)	plosiveness – the sound associated with laughing, crying, breathlessness etc
::	prolongation of the immediately prior sound
<u>o</u>	stressed sound
BO	especially loud sound relative to the surrounding talk
° Mmm °	sounds are softer than the surrounding talk, even whispered
(.)	a brief interval (about a tenth of a second) within or between utterances
.hhh	an inbreath – the more hs, the longer the inbreath. The . preceding the hhh indicates it is inaudible
↑	shift onto especially high pitch
< really >	bracketed material is slowed down compared to the surrounding talk

In this extract, FC stresses the loudness of the children's noise by stressing and extending the vowel in 'loud' and making the first part of 'booms' louder than the second part of the word. The mediator waits two tenths of a second before simply saying, 'Mmm', which is much softer than FC's talk. When FC continues, she lowers her volume when she comes to 'oh god' as she reports on what she would normally think, has an inbreath (.hhh), then shifts into especially high pitch (↑) when she says, 'Night after night' to emphasize the continual nature of the problem (see Clift 2016, Chapter 2, for a discussion of Jefferson's transcription system and developments of it).

5.3 Sequence and structure in conversation

A particular interest of conversation analysis is the sequence and structure of spoken discourse. Aspects of conversational interactions that have been examined from this perspective include conversational openings and closings, turn taking, sequences of related utterances ('adjacency pairs'), preferences for particular combinations of utterances ('preference organization'), feedback and conversational 'repair' (Clift 2016).

5.3.1 Opening conversations

One area where conversational openings have been examined in detail is in the area of telephone conversations. Schegloff analysed a large data set of telephone openings to come up with the following 'canonical opening' for American private telephone conversations (= indicates a latched utterance – there is no break or gap between the stretches of talk).

	((ring))	Summons/ answer sequence
Recipient:	Hello	
Caller:	Hi Ida?	Identification/recognition sequence
Recipient:	Yeah	
Caller:	Hi, this is Carla=	Greeting sequence
Recipient:	=Hi Carla.	
Caller	How are you.	How are you sequence
Recipient:	Okay..	
Caller:	Good.=	
Recipient:	=How about you.	
Caller:	Fine. Don wants to know ..	Reason for call sequence

(Schegloff 1986: 115)

A study carried out by O'Loughlin (1989) in Australia found a similar pattern for opening telephone conversations, except that in the Australian data the caller most frequently self-identified in their first turn after they had recognized their recipient rather than in the second turn, as in the American data.

In a study of telephone openings in Mandarin Chinese, Yang (1997) found that the speakers in her study also began their calls with summons/answer and identification/recognition sequences. The greeting and 'how are you' sequences found in American and Australian phone calls, however, were less common or even absent in her data. The majority of the telephone openings she examined went straight from the identification/recognition sequence to the first topic of the conversation. Following is a typical example of the opening of telephone calls in Chinese. The double brackets surrounding the ring of the telephone indicates a sound that is not transcribed:

	((ring))		summons
Recipient:	Wei?	(Hello)	answer
Caller:	Jinghong	(Jinghong)	identification
Recipient:	Ei	(Yes)	recognition

(Yang 1997: 25)

The following example from a radio call-in programme illustrates a further way of opening a conversation:

Announcer:	For husband Bruce of twenty-six years Carol has this dedication (.) So how are things going.
Caller:	Absolu::tely wonderful.
Announcer:	That's great to hear you're still happy.
Caller:	Oh yes (.5) very much so.
Announcer:	And what's your dedication all about for Bruce.
Caller:	Well:: we're going away tomorrow to the Whitsundays (.) and (.5) umm:: I'm looking forward to it very much and I know he is too:: for a break.

In this conversation, the announcer opens the conversation by saying who is on the line and what the conversation will be about. That is, his utterance introduces the caller to the listening audience and readies the speaker for being on-air and for discussing the topic of the call. The middle stage of the conversation is devoted to the topic of the call, finding the dedication that the caller will make. The conversation ends when the caller has provided the dedication and all the information that was asked for, completed a syntactic unit, and employs falling intonation as a signal that she has completed her turn. The announcer does not take the opportunity to take another turn but instead plays the music dedicated to the caller's husband as his way of closing the conversation. He, thus, constrains what the caller can say, excluding the possibility of her bringing up other things that would cause a delay in moving on with the programme (Thornborrow 2001).

5.3.2 Closing conversations

Schegloff and Sacks (1973) have also looked at conversational closings. This work has since been continued by Button (1987), who, in his discussion of telephone closings, points out that telephone closings usually go over four turns of talk, made up of preclosing and closing moves. The preclosing is often made up of two turn units consisting of items such as 'OK' and 'all right' with falling intonation. The closing is made up of two further units, such as 'bye bye' and 'goodbye.' Button (1987) calls this an archetype closing. In this closing, both speakers mutually negotiate the end of the conversation. Other material, however, in the form of an insertion sequence, can be introduced between the two units which make up these turns, before the closing finally takes place.

The closing may also be preceded by a number of pre-sequences (Clift 2016), such as the making of an arrangement, referring back to something previously said in the conversation, the initiation of a new topic (which may not be responded to), good wishes (such as 'give my love to Jane'), a restatement of the reason for calling and thanks for calling. Sometimes, however, the closing may be foreshortened when the archetype closing is skipped over and a foreshortened closing takes place. Equally, the closing may be extended by continued repetition of preclosing and closing items (such as 'bye', 'bye', 'love you', 'love you', 'sleep well', 'you too', etc.). Closings are, thus, complex interactional units which are sensitive to the speaker's orientation to continuing, closing (or not wanting to close) the conversation (Button 1987; Thornborrow 2001).

5.3.3 Turn taking

Conversation analysis has also examined how people take and manage turns in spoken interactions. The basic rule in English conversation is that one person speaks at a time, after which they may nominate another speaker, or another speaker may take up the turn without being nominated (Sacks et al. 1974; Sacks 2004). There are a number of ways in which we can signal that we have come to the end of a turn. This may be through the completion of syntactic unit, or it may be through the use of falling intonation, then pausing. We may also end a unit with a signal such as 'mmm' or 'anyway', and so on, which signals the end of the turn. The end of a turn may also be signalled through eye contact, body position and movement and voice pitch.

By contrast, we may hold on to a turn by not pausing too long at the end of an utterance and starting straight away with saying something else. We may also hold on to a turn by pausing during an utterance rather than at the end of it. We may increase the volume of what we are saying by extending a syllable or a vowel, or we may speak over someone else's attempt to take our turn.

The previous examples of conversational openings show how speakers give up turns by the completion of syntactic units and falling intonation. The final utterance in the telephone call-in extract shows how the speaker holds on to her final turn, until she has said everything she wants to. She lengthens the syllable in 'well' and 'umm', pauses during her utterance and lengthens the vowel in 'too'. She then indicates she is ready to end her turn.

When speakers pause at the end of a turn, it is not always the case, however, that the next speaker will necessarily take it up. In this case, the pause and the length of the pause become significant (in English, at least). In the following example of a university tutorial discussion, the nominated speaker, Wong Young, does not respond; so, after a one-second pause the lecturer asks again. Wong Young pauses again before he actually takes the turn, during and at the end of the turn. He then extends the syllable in 'uh' and the vowel in 'so', when the lecturer overlaps with 'comments?' as her way of insisting he provide a response to her question. Here the square brackets [] indicate the point of overlap in the utterances. The normal brackets indicate barely audible speech, and the symbol ° indicates speech that is noticeably quieter than the surrounding talk:

- Lecturer: Okay, let's move on, =Tadashi: and (.) Wong Young can you,
(1.0)
- Lecturer: The last, (.) Eleven,
(0.6)
- Wong Young: What is a profession. (0.3) What distinguishes profession from trade, (0.2)
What does it mean to be a professional? (0.4) Does being a pro- professional affect the
way you dress (0.2) speak behave towards others at work?
(0.7)
- Wong Young: Uh: ° [(so:)] °
- Lecturer: [Comm]ents?

(Nakane 2007: 132)

A speaker may also use overlap as a strategy for taking a turn, as well as to prevent someone else from taking the turn. The following example, from the same data set, shows this. Here, the lecturer has asked Tadashi a question but another student, Kylie, wants to take the turn and constantly uses overlap to do this:

- Lecturer: There are hundred and forty nine HSC courses, how many languages cour[ses].
- Kylie: [thi]rty ei[ght]?
- Tadashi: [uh:]
- Kylie: [thir]ty eight?
- Tadashi: [uh:]
(0.3)
- Lecturer: no there are thirty eight langu[ages],
- Tadashi: [(lan]gauge)=

- Lecturer: =but each language is more than one [cour]se.
 Tadashi: [ye:h]
 Kylie: ah [that's right. Yeah that's right yeah]
 Lecturer: [many languages ha[ve mo]re than one]
 Tadashi: [uh:]
 Kylie: [that's]
 Lecturer: [course.]
 Kylie: right.=
 Tadashi: =uh huh huh=
 Lecturer: =all right? (.) do you remember?
 Tadashi: I don't remember.= ((giggling))
 Lecturer: =no? (0.2) okay.

(Nakane 2007: 126–7)

Turn taking, then, varies according to particular situations. In a classroom, for example, it is often the teacher who nominates who can take a turn. A student may, or may not respond, or students may compete to take the turn (as in the above example). Students may also put up their hand to ask permission to take a turn. Turn taking may also depend on factors such as the topic of the conversation, whether the interaction is relatively cooperative, how well the speakers know each other, and the relationship between, and relative status of, the speakers.

A turn constructional unit, further, can be made up of a single word such as in the above example where the lecturer simply says, 'Comments?', or it may be an extended multi-unit turn. The unit may, simply, be a sound such as 'uh' or it may be made up of a word, a phrase, a clause or a sentence with change between speakers occurring at the end of any of these units or during them if another speaker succeeds in taking the floor (see Clift 2016: Chapter 4 for an extended discussion of turn taking).

5.3.4 Adjacency pairs

Adjacency pairs are a fundamental unit of conversational organization and a key way in which meanings are communicated and interpreted in conversations. Adjacency pairs are utterances produced by two successive speakers in a way that the second utterance is identified as related to the first one as an expected follow-up to that utterance. The following example, again from a radio call-in programme, illustrates speakers using adjacency pairs in a typical and expected way. In each of the pairs of utterances in this interaction, the first speaker stops and allows the second speaker to produce the expected second part to the pair of utterances:

- Announcer: Sharon Stone's on the phone. (.) how are yo::u
 Caller: very good
 Announcer: I bet you get hassled about your surname
 Caller: yes I do::
 Announcer: and what do you want to tell Patrick
 Caller: umm that I love him very much (.5) and I (.5) and I wish him a very happy birthday for today

Arguments show a similar pattern in that once a point of view has been expressed, a possible follow-up is a 'challenge' followed by a 'response'. The following examples from an argument about the need for a bouncer at a party show this:

Ryan:	I'm gonna have to get Peter ta come over too (0.1)	Point of view
Marie:	why=	Challenge
Ryan:	=so people don't crash the pa::rddy	Response

(Orr 1996: 35)

.....

Marie:	Oh they won't crash the [pardy sweetheart]	Challenge
Ryan:	[OH YEAH (.) YEAH] Maybe twenty years ago mmm (.) you know (0.2) like today I-I- (.) th-there be ea-easy another forty people if ya didn't have a person at the gate	Response

(Orr 1996: 36)

5.3.5 Adjacency pairs across cultures

It is important to point out that what is an expected follow-up to a seemingly everyday utterance in one language and culture might be quite different in another. Be'al's (1992) study of communication problems in a workplace setting between French and English speakers provides an example of this. Be'al found that the French workers often responded to the everyday greeting 'Did you have a good weekend?' by stopping and telling the English-speaking workers all about their weekend. The English-speaking workers were irritated by this and did not realize that a French speaker would not ask this question if they did not want a real (and complete) answer. They did not realize, further, that this is not a typical question French speakers would ask each other in an everyday conversational situation, and, even though they sometimes responded by telling them about their weekend, they also saw the question as an invasion of their privacy. Expected follow-ups in the use of adjacency pairs, then, varies across language and cultures.

5.3.6 Adjacency pairs and stage of the conversation

The particular context and stage of the conversation are especially important for assigning an utterance the status of a particular pair part. For example, ‘Hello’ can perform many different functions in a conversation. It can be a summons in a telephone call, and it can be response to a summons in a telephone call. It can also be a way of greeting someone in the street, although clearly not the only way. An utterance such as ‘thanks’ equally can be a response to a compliment, a congratulation or a response to an offer of service. An utterance, thus, may play more than one role in a conversation.

5.4 Preference organization

The basic rule for adjacency pairs, then, is that when a speaker produces a first pair part, they should stop talking and allow the other speaker to produce a second pair part. There is, however, a certain amount of freedom in responding to some first pair parts. For example, a compliment can be followed by an ‘accept’ or a ‘reject’. Thus, some second pair parts may be preferred and others may be dispreferred. For example, a question may be followed by an expected answer (the preferred second pair part) or an ‘unexpected or non-answer’ (the dispreferred second pair part). When this happens, the dispreferred second pair part is often preceded by a ‘delay’, a ‘preface’ and/or an ‘account’. The following example illustrates this:

- A: Are you going out with anyone at the moment? (Question)
- B: Uhhh . . . (Delay)
Well, kind of . . . (Preface)
There is someone I met a while back . . . (Account) Actually, I’m getting married at the end of the year (Unexpected answer)

Table 5.1 is a summary of some common adjacency pairs, together with typical preferred and dispreferred second pair parts.

A study carried out by O’Shannessy (1995) looked at preference organization in barrister–client interactions where the barrister was collecting his clients’ history in preparation for presenting

Table 5.1 Common Adjacency Pairs and Typical Preferred and Dispreferred Second Pair Parts

First pair parts	Second pair parts	
	Preferred	Dispreferred
Request	Acceptance	Refusal
Offer/invite	Acceptance	Refusal
Assessment	Agreement	Disagreement
Question	Expected answer	Unexpected answer or non-answer Blame
Blame	Denial	Admission

Source: Levinson (1983)

their case in court. O'Shannessy found there was a preference for 'other-correction' (rather than 'self-correction') in these interactions. That is, when one of the speakers said something that contained an inaccuracy, it was corrected by the other person rather than the person who had made the error. If an inaccuracy was not corrected, it formed the basis of an inference – that the information provided was correct. The following example shows 'other correction' by the client. The barrister follows the correction with a 'correction accept', then a 'correction confirm', again, preferred responses:

- Barrister: the twins Michael and Allan (.) live with the
wife (1.0) Michael in employed as an apprentice
butcher.=
- Client: oh not MIChael, ALLan=
- Barrister: ALLAN. Ye:s.
- Solicitor: alrigh.
- Barrister: (0.1) ALLAN is employed as an apprentice
but[cher]

(O'Shannessy 1995: 56)

The following example, a continuation of the above extract, shows an example of the client not providing an expected answer to the solicitor's question. The solicitor asks his question again to try to get his preferred response, his 'expected answer'. The client does not want (or is unable) to provide the detail the solicitor asks for and draws the set of pairs to a close with 'just leave it that's fine':

- Solicitor: [How] long has he been an apprentice
butcher.=
- Client: not very long.
- Solicitor: ° how long. °
- Client: maybe three four months I'm not sure=
- Solicitor: is now employed?
- Client: no just leave it that's fine

(O'Shannessy 1995: 56)

5.4.1 Insertion sequences

Sometimes speakers use an insertion sequence, that is, where one adjacency pair comes between the first pair and the second pair part of another adjacency pair. In the following example, Ryan asks his mother, Marie, if he can have a DJ for his party. She doesn't reply but, by means of an insertion sequence, passes the question on to her husband, John:

Ryan: and (0.2) can I have a DJ too (0.1) is that OK
(0.2)
 Marie: John
 John: What
 Marie: can he have a DJ (.) DJ=
 Ryan: =cause you won't be spending much on
 foo:d so I thought (0.2)
 John: well how much does a DJ cost
 Ryan: yeah I've got to find out

(Orr 1996: 59)

5.5 Feedback

Another aspect of spoken interactions that have been examined by conversation analysts is the ways speakers provide each other with feedback, that is, the ways in which listeners show they are attending to what is being said. This can be done, for example, by the use of 'response tokens' such as 'mmm' and 'yeah', by paraphrasing what the other person has just said, or through body position and the use of eye contact. In the following example from the tutorial discussion, the students, Tadashi and Kylie, provide feedback to each other by use of the token 'yeah', the repetition of key words, falling intonation and latched utterances:

Lecturer: And the middle one (.) i:s:
 Tadashi: Co[mmunity ?] community.
 Kylie: [community] ?
 Kylie: Community, I think it is?
 Tadashi: ° Yeah ° =
 Kylie: =Yeah,=
 Tadashi: = ° Oh yeah °
 (0.4)
 Kylie: Communi – self community. [yeah] . =
 Tadashi: ° [yeah] ° =
 =Community French community

(Nakane 2007: 183)

It is not always the case, however, that items such as 'yeah' and 'mm' perform an acknowledging function in a conversation. Gardner (2001), for example, shows that the item 'mmm' can perform many other functions as well. Where it does provide an acknowledging function, it may also serve to prompt a topic change, a recycling of a topic, or it may solve a dispreferred action, for example. The function response items such as 'mmm', 'yeah' and 'OK' perform are also influenced by the intonation, place and timing of the utterance.

5.6 Repair

An important strategy that speakers use in spoken discourse is what is termed ‘repair’, that is, the way speakers correct things they or someone else has said and check what they have understood in a conversation. Repair is often done through self-repair and other-repair. The following example from O’Shannessy’s study of barrister–client interactions shows an instance of self-repair. In this case, there was no apparent error to the other speaker that needed to be corrected in what had been said:

Client: because (1.0) he’s got a girlfriend – oh (0.5) a
 woman and ah (0.5)

Other-repair occurs where the error is apparent to the other speaker. The following example from the same data set shows this:

Barrister: Michael is employed as an apprentice
 butcher.=
Client: =oh not MIChael, ALLan

5.7 Discourse markers

Discourse markers (Fraser 1990, 1999; Schiffrin 1987) are items in spoken discourse which act as signposts of discourse coherence. This includes interjections such as *oh*, conjunctions such as *but*, adverbs such as *now*, and lexical phrases such as *y’know*. They can be at the beginning, middle or end of an utterance and can serve both as anaphoric (pointing back) and cataphoric (pointing forward) reference in the discourse (Mendoza-Denton 1999).

Oh can be a marker of information management where it indicates an emotional state, as in:

Jack Was that a serious picture?
Freda Oh! Gosh yes!

(Schiffrin 1987: 73)

Oh can also initiate a self-repair, as in:

There was a whole bunch of oth – I was about – oh: younger than Robert. I was about uh . . . maybe Joe’s age, sixteen

(Schiffrin 1987: 76)

and it can act as other-initiated repair:

- Jack How bout uh . . . how bout the one . . . uh . . .
 Death of a Salesman?
 Freda Well that was a show, sure.
 Jack Oh that was a movie too

(Schiffrin 1987: 76)

But can be used to preface an idea unit, as in:

- Jack The rabbis preach “Don’t intermarry”
 Freda But I did- But I did say those intermarriages that
 we have in this country are healthy

(Schiffrin 1987: 57)

Now can indicate attention to an upcoming idea unit, as in:

- So I em . . . I think for a woman t’work, is entirely up t’her. If, she can handle the situation. Now
 I could not now : alone

(Schiffrin 1987: 230)

and it can be used to indicate a comparison, as in:

- a. It’s nice there
- b. Now our street isn’t that nice

(Schiffrin 1987: 231)

Y’know can be used (among many other things) to gain hearer involvement and consensus, as in:

- b. I believe . . . that . . . y’know it’s fate.
- s. So eh y’know it just s- seems that that’s how things work

(Schiffrin 1987: 54)

Fraser (1990, 1999) also discusses discourse markers. He defines discourse markers as items which signal a relationship between the segment they introduce and a prior segment in the discourse. He argues that they have a core meaning, but that their specific interpretation is negotiated by the linguistic and conceptual context in which the item occurs.

The use of some discourse markers can also carry social stigmas such as the use of *like* being associated negatively with California ‘Valley Girl’ speech (Bucholtz 2011; Mendoza-Denton 2007) and *or nothing* as in ‘I don’t know or nothing’ being stereotyped as an indicator of young working-class British speech (Mendoza-Denton 2008) (for further discussion of discourse markers, see Blakemore 2002; Fraser 1999; Jucker 1998; Maschler and Schiffrin 2015).

Fung (2003, 2011) examined the use of discourse markers by British and Hong Kong speakers of English. She found that British speakers of English use discourse markers for a variety of pragmatic functions, whereas the Hong Kong speakers in her study used a much more restricted range of discourse markers, mostly functional discourse markers such as *and*, *but*, *because*, *OK* and *so* and so on and, to a lesser extent, markers such as *yeah*, *really*, *sort of*, *I see*, *well*, *right*, *actually* and *you know* and so on. Fung and Carter (2007) argue that discourse markers should be explicitly taught to students in order to facilitate more successful language use as well as to prepare them to become interactionally competent speakers.

5.8 Gender and conversation analysis

Conversation analysis has, in recent years, made a major contribution to discussions of language and gender. With the move from the view of language as a reflection of social reality to a view of the role of language in the construction of social reality (and in turn identity), a number of researchers have examined the social construction of gender from a conversation analysis perspective.

Conversation analysis is able to reveal a lot about how, in Butler's terms, people 'do gender', that is, the ways in which gender is constructed, as a joint activity, in interaction. Weatherall (2002: 114) discusses the concept of gender noticing for accounting for gender when 'speakers make it explicit that this is a relevant feature of the conversational interaction'.

The analysis of data from a conversation analysis perspective can help reveal aspects of gendered interactions that might, otherwise, not be considered. Stokoe (2003), for example, does this in her analysis of gender and neighbour disputes. Using membership categorization analysis (Prior and Talmy 2019), she shows how, in the neighbourhood disputes she examined, the category woman was drawn on by people engaged in the interactions to legitimate complaints against their neighbours as well as to build defences against their complaints. The following examples from her data illustrate this. In these examples, Edgar and Vernon are talking about their neighbours for a television documentary called *Neighbours at War*. In their view, 'bad' women are foul mouthed, argue in the street and are bullies. Edgar and Vernon, thus, engage in 'gender noticing' in their negative evaluation of their female neighbours:

- Edgar: well (.) she just flew at me (.) and (.) the language it was and er oh it was incredible for a lady I mean she's only a small (.) old lady (.) I really couldn't believe what was happening (.) and then
- Vernon: she's a bully (0.5) that's the best word a bully (.) and she's a foul mouthed woman (.) she's got nothing going for her as far as I'm concerned (.) she wants to get herself sorted out

(Stokoe 2003: 337)

5.9 Conversation analysis and second language conversation

While most studies in the area of conversation analysis have examined native speaker talk, in recent years attention has also shifted to non-native speaker talk. Markee (2000), for example, shows how conversation analysis can be used as a tool for analysing and understanding the acquisition of a second language. He discusses the importance of looking at 'outlier' data in second language acquisition studies pointing out that, from a conversation analysis perspective, all participants' behaviour makes sense to the individuals involved and must be accounted for, rather than set aside, in the analysis.

Storch (2001a, 2001b) carried out a fine-grained analysis of second language learner talk as her students carried out pair work activities in an ESL classroom. She found that this analysis allowed her to identify the characteristics of the talk and the nature of the interactions they engaged in that contributed to, or impeded, their success in the acquisition of the language items they were focusing on. She also found how the grouping of pairs in the class were important for the nature of their discourse and the extent to which the discourse was collaborative and facilitated their learning or not (see Wong and Waring 2020 for a discussion of how conversation analysis can be drawn on in second language teaching and learning).

5.10 Criticisms of conversation analysis

While conversation analysis has very many strengths, it has also attracted criticism. Baxter (2002: 853), while describing conversation analysis as an invaluable tool for the analysis of spoken discourse, also describes it as somewhat 'monolithic'. Hammersley (2003) argues that conversation analysis' view of itself as self-sufficient research tool is problematic, that is, the view that it does not need data other than the conversation to explain and justify its claims. In Hammersley's view, the rejection in conversation analysis of what people say about the world they live in and their conversational interactions as sources of insight into the data is a major weakness. He suggests that when we analyse data from a conversation analysis perspective, we are working as 'spectators' and not 'participants' in the interaction. It is, thus, not really possible for us to know how the participants view the conversation unless we ask them. It is also not, in reality, possible for an analyst to start on the analysis of their text, completely unmotivated, that is, just looking at the text to see 'what's there' without any preconceived notions of what this might be.

A debate (Billig 1999) that took part in the journal *Discourse & Society* on the relationship between conversation analysis and critical discourse analysis further illustrates these points. In this debate, Schegloff criticizes critical discourse analysis (see Chapter 8 of this book) for relying on the analyst's view of what is happening in the text rather than looking at how the participants 'take up' what is said in a text. Schegloff also criticizes critical discourse analysts for drawing on what they know about people engaged in an interaction for their interpretation of the data. As Hammersley points out in this debate, however, even Schegloff does this to some extent in his analyses. He gives

the example of a study by Schegloff of two parents in a strained relationship, either separated or divorced, talking about their son on the telephone. As Hammersley shows, there is no information about the relationship between the people involved in the conversation in the transcript. This information is, however, crucial to an understanding of the conversation and is, in fact, implicitly drawn on by Schegloff in his analysis and interpretation of the data. Just because something is not observable in the data, then, does not mean that it is not relevant. Hammersley's view is that conversation analysis could be more usefully combined with other qualitative, and even quantitative, approaches to discourse analysis to help us further understand how people use conversation to engage in, and construct, their social lives. Conversation analysis, on its own, he argues, does not tell us all there is to know about human social life.

Bucholtz (2003) argues that conversation analysis severely limits what she calls 'admissible context' (52). She argues that it needs to draw on the contextual groundings that ethnography has to offer, citing the work of Goodwin (1999) and Mendoza-Denton (1999) as studies which do just this. Moerman's (1988) *Talking Culture* and Phillips's (1983) *The Invisible Culture* are also works that draw together conversation analysis and ethnography. Bucholtz's (2007) study into branding, consumption and gender in American middle-class young people's interactions is a further example of this. Here, she combines a fine-grained analysis of high school students' talk about where they shop and what they buy with observations of their interactions gained over a year-long study. Mori (2002), in an example of 'applied conversation analysis', aims to expand the notion of context in her study of interactions in a Japanese language classroom by drawing on applied linguistics literature on language pedagogy and second language acquisition to help explain and draw pedagogical implications from her observations.

Wooffitt (2005) in his book *Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis* outlines further criticisms of conversation analysis. The first of these is conversation analysis' lack of attention to issues of power, inequality and social disadvantage. The second is the lack of attention in conversation analysis studies to wider historical, cultural and political issues. Wetherell (1998) argues that conversation analysis would benefit from considering post-structuralist views on discourse, such as agency and the subject positions speakers take up in the discourse, rather than just looking at the text itself. That is, the analyses would be enhanced by considering the positions speakers take and the social and cultural values that underlie how they perform in the discourse. Post-structuralist discourse analysis, equally, she adds, would be improved by greater attention to the details of conversational interaction that is typical of work in the area of conversation analysis.

Feminist researchers such as Kitzinger (2000, 2008), however, argue that conversation analysis is not incompatible with work that examines issues of power and the wider social and political implications of discourse. She argues that if researchers want to 'understand what people are saying to each other, and how they come to say it, and what it means to them' (Kitzinger 2000: 174), they have to attend to the data at the same level of detail and attention that the speakers do in their talk. She is optimistic, then, of the potential of conversation analysis for feminist and other forms of socially engaged discourse analysis research. Kitzinger (2008) argues that it is legitimate to draw on information that is 'outside the data' such as follow-up interviews and observations to inform the discussion of the analysis. Indeed, in her words, 'this is not only inevitable, but also often desirable for competent conversation analysis' (187).

5.11 Summary

Conversation analysis, then, provides a way of carrying out fine-grained analyses of spoken discourse which can help not just describe the social world, but understand how, through the use of language, it is constructed. There are differing views, however, as to whether looking at the data alone is sufficient to explain what is going on in conversational interactions. Many conversation analysts would argue that it is. Others, however, suggest combining conversation analysis with more ethnographic descriptions in a kind of 'multi-method/multi-level' analysis which combines the strengths of the insights that can be provided by conversation analysis with data that can be gathered using procedures such as interviews, questionnaires and participant observations (Wodak 1996). Cicourel (1992) supports this view, arguing that what is most important is for researchers to justify explicitly what has been included and what has been excluded in an analysis and how this relates to their particular theoretical and analytical goals.

5.12 Discussion questions

- (1) Read Schegloff (2004) on answering the phone in English. How do you typically answer a phone call in English? How similar or different is this to Schegloff's 'canonical opening' for telephone conversations? Why do you think this might be the case?
- (2) Think of ways in which you signal that it is someone else's turn to speak in a conversation. Do you finish a syntactic unit and pause? Do you use falling intonation to show you are coming to the end of what they are saying? Do you look at the person you want to take up the turn? What do you do if the other person does not take up the turn?
- (3) If you have learnt a second language, think of an example of the kinds of things that conversational analysis looks at that you have found difficult in your second language. For example, have you found refusing an offer of food difficult in your second language? Have you sometimes not been sure how to participate in a conversation? Why do you think this might be the case?

5.13 Data analysis project

Collect one or two minutes of naturally occurring spoken data and carry out a conversation analysis of it. Look at Jefferson (2004) for guidance on how to write up your transcription. The main categories you could explore in your analysis, depending on your interests, and the texts, are adjacency pairs, sequence organization, turn taking, feedback, repair organization, openings, preclosings and closings. Look for regular patterns in what you observe in your analysis. What could your analysis explain about the particular interaction?

5.14 Exercises

5.14.1 Exercise 1: Keeping the floor, giving up the floor and claiming the floor

Analyse the following conversational extracts and indicate how the speakers keep the floor, give up the floor, claim the floor and signal the end of a turn. (In this extract = indicates a 'latched' utterance. That is, there is no gap between the end of one utterance and the start of another. A full stop at the end of the first utterance indicates falling intonation, and ? at the end of the second utterance indicates rising intonation.)

- A: Twelve pounds I think wasn't it. =
 B: =//Can you believe it?
 C: Twelve pounds on the Weight Watchers' scale.

(Source: Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 16)

5.14.2 Exercise 2: Turn taking

How is turn taking managed in the following extract? (In this extract, the number in brackets indicates the length of a pause in seconds. Brackets around text indicate that the analyst was unsure of what was said.)

- A: Well no I'll drive (I don't mi//nd)
 B: hhh
 (1.0)
 B: I meant to *offer*:
 (16.)
 B: Those shoes look nice

(Source: Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 25)

5.14.3 Exercise 3: Self-repair and other-repair

Find examples of self-repair and other-repair in the following extracts:

- (i)
 A: I'm going to the movies tomorrow . . . I mean, the opera.
 (ii)
 A: I'm going to that restaurant we went to last week. You know, the Italian one in Conduit St.
 B: You mean Store St, don't you?
 A: Yeah. That's right. Store St.

(iii)

A: What would happen if you went back home and didn't get your diploma?

B: If I didn't get my *degree*?

A: Yeah. B: Well . . . it wouldn't be too serious really . . . No . . . actually . . . I'd get into a lot of trouble . . . I don't know what I'd do.

(Adapted from Hatch 1992)

5.14.4 Exercise 4: Preferred and dispreferred responses

Identify preferred and dispreferred responses in the following extracts:

(i) A: That's a nice shirt

B: Oh thanks

(ii) A: Would you like to come to the movies on Friday?

B: Uhhh . . . I don't know for sure. I think I might have something on that night.
Can we make it another time?

5.14.5 Exercise 5: Closing a conversation

How do the speakers in the following extract indicate they are about to close the conversation?

A: Why don't we all have lunch?

B: Okay so that would be in St Jude's would it?

A: Yes

(0.7)

B: Okay so:::

A: One o'clock in the bar

B: Okay

A: Okay?

B: Okay then thanks very much indeed George =

A: = All right

B: //See you there

A: See you there

B: Okay

A: Okay // bye

A: Bye

(Source: Levinson 1983: 316–17, modified)

5.15 Directions for further reading

5.15.1 Further reading

Waring, H. Z. (2021), 'Conversation analysis' in K. Hyland, B. Paltridge and L. L. C. Wong (eds), *Bloomsbury Handbook to Discourse Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 21–34.

Waring's chapter provides an accessible introduction to conversation analysis as an approach to discourse analysis. It reviews the kinds of questions that might be asked in a conversation analytic study, what kinds of data are considered admissible, how analysis is conducted and how issues such as generalizability, validity and reliability are addressed. A sample study exemplifying these features is included to illustrate these points.

5.15.2 Additional reading

Clayman, S. E. and Gill, V. T. (2012), 'Conversation analysis', in J. P. Gee and M. Handford (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Routledge, pp. 120–34.

This chapter discusses matters such as sampling, recording and transcribing data, then moves on to discuss the stages in carrying out a conversation analysis of spoken data.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

5.16 Sample studies

Stokoe, E. H. and Hepburn, A. (2005), '“You can hear a lot through the walls”: Noise formulations in neighbour complaints', *Discourse & Society*, 15: 647–73.

Stokoe and Hepburn's paper gives examples from their neighbourhood dispute data, all analysed from a conversation analytic perspective. They are particularly interested in 'noise' as a breach of everyday good neighbour activity and how, through their orientation to it in the talk, it is shown to be of particular concern to the speakers.

Kendall, S. (2008), 'The balancing act: Framing gendered parental identities at dinnertime', *Language in Society*, 37: 539–68.

In her study, Kendall examines how gender is performed in dinnertime conversations, showing how the parents created particular gendered parental identities at the same time as they negotiated

their parental authority with their daughter and with each other. She does this by examining the speakers' positions and the various frames they evoke in their talk.

Nguyen, H. T. and Nguyen, M. T. T. (2017), "Am I a good boy?" Explicit membership categorisation in parent-child interaction', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 121, 25–39.

In this paper, Nguyen and Nguyen employ membership categorization and conversation analysis to examine how children in two Singaporean families are socialized into understanding the category of 'good boy/girl'. This category is mentioned often in the parents' interactions with their children and in prayers before breakfast or bedtime, showing how the children both affiliate with and resist it.

6

Discourse grammar

Chapter Outline

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In recent years, discussions of grammar have moved from sentence-based perspectives to more of a discourse-based perspective. McCarthy (2020), for example, has argued that traditional explanations of grammar do not adequately capture grammatical selection in longer, real-world texts. As he has shown, a number of linguistic items show quite different patterns of use when looked at from a discourse perspective. Linguists such as Halliday and Hasan have also done work in the area of discourse grammar, although from a rather different perspective. Their interest has been in patterns of grammar and vocabulary that combine to tie meanings in the text together as well as connect the text to the social context in which it occurs, that is, items that combine together

to make the text cohesive and give it unity of texture. This chapter discusses both these views of discourse grammar, starting with the first of these perspectives.

6.1 Grammar from a discourse perspective

Some linguistic items have different patterns of use when looked at from a discourse rather than a sentence perspective. Examples of this are items such as *it*, *this* and *that*. McCarthy (2020) has found that *it* often signals reference to a continuing or ongoing topic in a text, rather than just something inside or outside the text, as more traditional explanations might suggest. *This* often indicates the raising of a new topic or a new focus in the current topic, and *that* has a distancing or marginalizing function in a text, rather than just demonstrative functions. McCarthy (1998) has also found similar differences in relation to the use of tenses such as the past perfect, the use of *be to* with future meaning, and other language items such as *wh*-cleft constructions (as in ‘What you need is . . .’).

Celce-Murcia (1997) has, for some time, argued for contextual analyses that look at grammatical form in relation to where, why and how frequently it is used in written and spoken discourse rather than in isolated sentences. She makes a similar argument to McCarthy about *this* and *that* showing how, in extended texts, *this* and *that* function in ways other than just pointing to something. She also shows how tense and aspect choices differ in extended discourse. Celce-Murcia and Olshtain (2000) discuss how *be going to* and *will*, when looked at from a discourse perspective, show different functions other than just the expression of future time. They found ‘be going to’ is typically used when English speakers narrate future scenarios, which they then follow with a contracted form of ‘will’, for example. They also found that the present simple is often used alongside ‘will’ to add descriptive details to the future event being recounted.

Hughes and McCarthy (1998) make a helpful comparison between discourse- and sentence-based grammars. A discourse-based grammar, they argue, makes a strong connection between form, function and context and aims to place appropriateness and use at the centre of its descriptions. Larsen-Freeman and Celce-Murcia (2015) make a similar argument in their view that form, meaning and use need to be at the basis of all grammatical descriptions. A discourse-based grammar, Hughes and McCarthy continue, acknowledges language choice, promotes awareness of interpersonal factors in grammatical choice and can provide insights into areas of grammar that, previously, lacked a satisfactory explanation. Aspects of language they feel are especially suitable to this view include ellipsis and tense–function correlations. Discourse-based analyses are also useful for looking at the relationship between vocabulary items in texts, the relationship between items such as ‘it’ and ‘others’ and the items they are referring to inside or outside of the text, and conjunction.

6.2 The texture of a text

A key feature of a text is its *texture*, that is, how the text holds together in terms of its patterns of organization as well as relations between lexical items in the text. Hasan (1989a, 1989b) refers to

these as *unity of structure* and *unity of texture*. Unity of structure refers to patterns which combine together to create information structure, focus and flow in a text, including the schematic (or discourse) structure of the text (see Chapter 4). This also includes patterns of *theme*, *rheme* and *thematic progression* in texts, another way in which information flow and focus take place in texts (see Section 6.10 ‘Theme and rheme’). *Patterns of cohesion* are a further way in which unity of texture is achieved in a text (see Section 6.3 ‘Cohesion and discourse’).

6.2.1 Unity of texture

As Jones (2018: 6) explains, a language speaker’s ‘ability to discriminate between a random string of sentences and one forming a discourse is due to the inherent texture in the language and to [their] awareness of it’ (Halliday 1968: 210). Unity of texture refers to the way in which resources such as patterns of *cohesion* create both cohesive and coherent texts. Texture results where there are language items that tie meanings together in the text as well as tie meanings in the text to the social context in which the text occurs. An example of this is where the meaning of items that refer outside of the text, such as ‘it’ and ‘that’, can be derived from the social context in which the text is located.

Texture, then, is a result of the interaction between language features in a text. Hasan (1989b: 71) describes texture as being ‘a matter of meaning relations’. A crucial notion in this discussion is that of a *tie* which connects the meanings of words to each other as well as to the world outside the text. The basis for cohesion, and in turn texture, thus, is semantic. It can be both explicit and implicit and is based in the ways in which the meanings of items are tied in a semantic relationship to each other. The interpretation of these items is found by reference to some other item, or source, within or outside the text. In the following sentence, for example, I use my knowledge of the text and the context in which it is located to work out what ‘it’ (in this case, *gravy*) is referring to in the text:

Waiter:	Where would you like <i>it</i> sir?
Customer:	Just a little on the meat thanks.

6.3 Cohesion and discourse

An area of language in which grammar and discourse are highly integrated is in patterns of *cohesion* in texts. This is important as it shows us how words in a text are related to each other and how we draw on this knowledge as we both read and write texts.

Cohesion refers to the relationship between items in a text such as words, phrases and clauses and other items such as pronouns, nouns and conjunctions. This includes the relationship between words and pronouns that refer to that word (*reference* items). It also includes words that commonly co-occur in texts (*collocation*) and the relationship between words with similar, related and different meanings (*lexical cohesion*). Cohesion also considers semantic relationships between clauses and

the ways this is expressed through the use of *conjunctions*. A further aspect of cohesion is the ways in which words such as ‘one’ and ‘do’ are used to substitute for other words in a text (*substitution*) and the ways in which words or phrases are left out, or ellipsed, from a text (*ellipsis*). All of this contributes to the *unity of texture* of a text and helps to make the text cohesive.

6.4 Reference

Reference refers to where the identity of an item can be retrieved from either within or outside the text. The main reference patterns are anaphoric, cataphoric, exophoric and homophoric reference.

6.4.1 Anaphoric reference

Anaphoric reference is where a word or phrase refers back to another word or phrase used earlier in a text. In the following example, from a review of the book *He’s Just Not That Into You: The No-excuses Truth to Understanding Guys* (Behrendt and Tuccillo 2004), examples of anaphoric reference are shown in italics in the text. The identity of ‘the’ and ‘it’ are retrieved by reference to an earlier mentioned item (the name of the book) in the text:

It seems everyone’s read that self-help book: Greg Behrendt and Liz Tuccillo’s *He’s Just Not That Into You* . . . First in the US, then all over the world, women became converts to *the* book’s tough-love message. When *it* was published late last year, Oprah sang *its* praises, tearful women called *it* ‘the Bible’, and others declared *it* had changed their lives forever. (Cooper 2005: S38)

Once the title of the book has been mentioned, the author assumes that the reader will be able to work out what she is referring to in her use of ‘it’ further on in the text. Equally, she assumes the reader will know ‘which book’ she is referring to when she says, ‘the book’s tough-love message’. If a reader is not sure what is being referred to, they will typically read back in the text to find the answer.

6.4.2 Cataphoric reference

Cataphoric reference describes an item which refers forward to another word or phrase which is used later in the text. In the following example, from the same extract, the identity of the italicized item follows, rather than precedes, the reference item. It is thus an example of cataphoric, rather than anaphoric, reference:

It seems everyone’s read *that* self-help book: Greg Behrendt and Liz Tuccillo’s *He’s Just Not That Into You*. (Cooper 2005: S38)

In this case, the reader knows the item being referred to is yet to come in the text and reads forward to find the meaning of ‘that’.

6.4.3 Exophoric reference

Exophoric reference looks outside the text to the situation in which the text occurs for the identity of the item being referred to. In the following conversation, a customer is asking a sales assistant about *Monica's Story* (Morton 1999), a book about Monica Lewinsky who was an intern in the White House in the 1990s. Both speakers clearly know what book is being referred to in the conversation so they don't need to repeat the name of the book. 'You' and 'her' are also examples of exophoric reference. Both speakers know from the situation they are in who these items are referring to:

Customer: What kind of book would *you* say *this* is?

Sales assistant: Well . . . I suppose *you'd* call *it* a biography because *it's* got some of *her* earlier life in *it*.

6.4.4 Homophoric reference

Homophoric reference is where the identity of the item can be retrieved by reference to cultural knowledge, in general, rather than the specific context of the text. An example of this, again from the review of *He's Just Not That Into You*, follows:

First in *the* US, then all over *the* world, women became converts to the book's tough-love message. (Cooper 2005: S38)

The use of 'the' in 'in the US' and 'all over the world' is different from the final use of 'the' in 'the book's tough-love message'. To answer 'which book', we know it is the one being discussed in the text. We know, however, from our cultural knowledge 'which' United States and 'which' world are being referred to in the text.

6.4.5 Comparative and bridging reference

Further types of reference include *comparative* and *bridging* reference. With *comparative reference*, 'the identity of the presumed item is retrieved not because it has already been mentioned or will be mentioned in the text, but because an item with which it is being compared has been mentioned' (Eggins 2005: 35). 'Others' and 'opposite' in the following extracts are examples of this:

When it was published late last year, Oprah sang its praises, tearful women called it 'the Bible', and *others* declared it had changed their lives forever.

The book assumes all men are confident, or that if they really like a girl, they'll overcome their shyness. The *opposite* is true. (Cooper 2005: S38)

These are a little more complex than the other kinds of reference just described. The author proceeds, however, on the assumption that we will know 'which' people and 'which' opposite she is referring to.

A *bridging reference* (Martin and Rose 2007) is where an item refers to something that has to be inferentially derived from the text or situation, that is, something that has to be presumed indirectly.

In the following example, we are not told which ‘blokes’ Stuart is referring to. The author presumes that we can indirectly derive this:

Stuart agrees. ‘I was hopeless’, he says with a laugh. ‘I’m just not one of *those* blokes that finds approaching women easy.’ (Cooper 2005: S38)

The following extract is from the blurb for a book titled *How to Write an Autobiographical Novel* by the Korean American author Alexander Chee (2018a). This is Chee’s first published set of essays and is described in highly glowing terms in the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*, as well as in many other publications. Reading this text successfully requires an understanding of how reference works in text and what items such as *his*, *he* and *the* are referring to. In each case, *his* and *he* are examples of anaphoric reference, referring back to the author’s name, Alexander Chee. *The* in both *the New York Times* and *the Washington Post* are instances of homophoric reference as it is assumed that we know, from our cultural knowledge, which newspapers are being referred to. *We* and *our* are examples of exophoric reference as we know from the situation we are in – as readers of the blurb – who is being referred to.

As a novelist, Alexander Chee has been described as ‘masterful’ by Roxane Gay, ‘incendiary’ by *the New York Times*, and ‘brilliant’ by *the Washington Post*. With *How to Write an Autobiographical Novel*, *his* first collection of nonfiction, *he* secures *his* place as one of the finest essayists of *his* generation.

By turns commanding, heartbreaking and wry, *How to Write an Autobiographical Novel* asks questions about how *we* create ourselves in life and in art, and how to fight when *our* dearest truths are under attack. (Bloomsbury 2018)

Each of these forms of reference makes a contribution to the texture of the text and the ways in which we interpret the text as we read it. The same is true of the relationship between vocabulary items in the text, that is, lexical cohesion, the subject of the next section.

6.5 Lexical cohesion

Lexical cohesion refers to relationships in meaning between lexical items in a text and, in particular, content words and the relationship between the words. Examples of this are when different words are used to refer to the same thing (such as ‘cinema’ and ‘movie theatre’) and when certain words go together such as ‘fresh fruit’.

The main kinds of lexical cohesion are *repetition*, *synonymy*, *antonymy*, *hyponymy*, *meronymy* and *collocation*. These are each discussed in the sections which follow.

6.5.1 Repetition

Repetition refers to words that are repeated in a text. This includes words which are inflected for tense or number and words which are derived from particular items such as ‘Stuart’ and ‘Stu’ in the

following example. Although the form of these two items is (slightly) different, the author is certain that it will be clear that she is still referring to the same person:

Jen Abydeera, 27, and *Stuart* Gilby, 22 . . . are convinced they wouldn't be a couple if Jen had done things the [He's Just Not That Into You] way when they first met. '*Stu* was quiet and shy, while I was more confident and forward,' says Jen. 'He was more reluctant than I was to ask questions or to initiate a date. I would be the one to say to him: "When do you want to go out, then?"' (Cooper 2005: S38)

Thus, as she writes, Cooper (the author) exploits the readers' understanding of patterns of cohesion in her text.

6.5.2 Synonymy

Synonymy refers to words which are similar in meaning such as 'date' and 'go out' in the above example and 'blokes' and 'men' in the following example:

I'm just not one of those *blokes* that finds approaching women easy. The book assumes all *men* are confident, or that if they really like a girl, they'll overcome their shyness. The opposite is true. (Cooper 2005: S38)

In English it is not good style to continuously repeat the same word in a text. Both 'blokes' and 'men' are referring to the same concept but in a different way.

6.5.3 Antonymy

Antonymy describes opposite or contrastive meanings such as 'shy' and 'forward' in the earlier text and 'women' and 'men', 'real players' and 'boofheads' in the following text:

Andy Stern, 28, a builder, says he's worried the book will drive *women* towards dodgy *men*. 'Only *real players* do full-on charm,' he says. 'The rest of us are *boofheads*. We often do nothing at all, and just hope girls notice that we like them.' (Cooper 2005: S38)

We know as we read the text which meanings contrast with each other. Part of their meaning, indeed, derives from this contrast.

6.5.4 Hyponymy and meronymy

Halliday (1990) describes two kinds of *lexical taxonomies* that typically occur in texts: *superordination* and *composition*. These are words which are in a 'kind of' relationship with each other (superordination) and words that are in a 'whole-part' relationship with each other (composition). In the previous texts, Jen and Stuart are 'part of' the lexical item 'couple', whereas *He's Just Not That Into You* is a 'kind of' self-help book. The relationship between 'Jen' and 'couple'

is an example of *meronymy*. The relationship between ‘self-help book’ and *He’s Just Not That Into You* is one of *hyponymy*.

6.5.5 Hyponymy

Hyponymy, then, refers to classes of lexical items where the relationship between them is one of ‘general-specific’ and ‘an example of’ or in a ‘class to member’-type relationship. This relationship could be represented diagrammatically, as shown in Figure 6.1. In this example, *He’s Just Not That Into You*, *I’m Okay, You’re Okay*, *You Can Let Go Now: It’s Okay to Be Who You Are* and *Ready or Not, Here Life Comes* can also be described as *co-hyponyms* of the *superordinate* term ‘self-help books’.

6.5.6 Meronymy

Meronymy is where lexical items are in a ‘whole to part’ relationship with each other, such as the relationship between ‘Jen’ and ‘Stuart’ in relation to the item ‘couple’. ‘Jen’ and ‘Stuart’ are *co-meronyms* of the superordinate item ‘couple’. These relationships could be represented diagrammatically as in Figure 6.2.

Further examples of these kinds of relationships, drawn from research reports in the area of environmental studies, are shown in Figures 6.3 and 6.4.

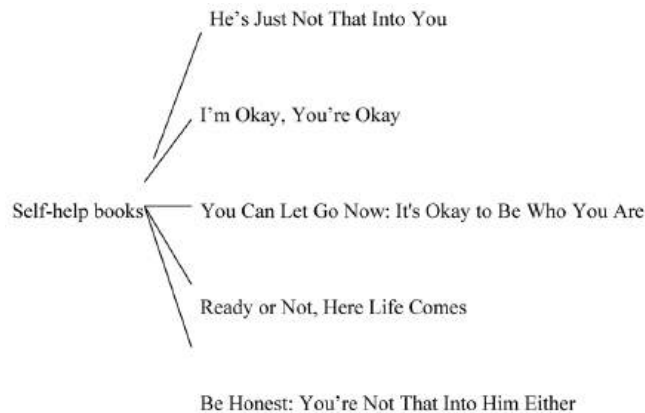


Figure 6.1 Hyponymy.

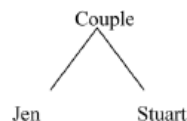


Figure 6.2 Meronymy.

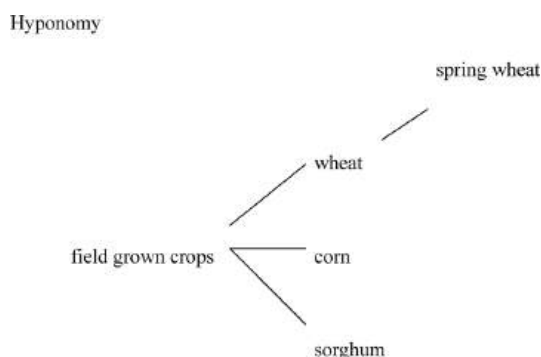


Figure 6.3 Further example of hyponymy.

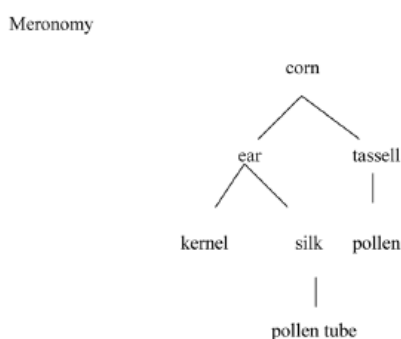


Figure 6.4 Further example of meronymy.

In each kind of relationship, an understanding of one item in the taxonomy may depend on an understanding of other items and on the organization and relationship between the items in the taxonomy. As Halliday (1990: 19) points out, these taxonomies ‘can become very complicated, with many layers of organisation built into them.’ There is also the problem that these relationships are usually not made explicit with the result that, if someone does not already know the relationship between the items, they are left to work it out from the text. An example of such a taxonomy, again from the field of environmental studies, is shown in Figure 6.5. The relationship between some of these items is extremely complex and depends on a specialized knowledge of the subject being discussed, without which it could be hard to make complete sense of the text this analysis is drawn from.

The following extract from the opening essay in Alexander Chee’s (2018b) book provides further examples of lexical cohesion which depend on the reader understanding relations between lexical items in order to understand the text:

I spent the summer I turned fifteen on an exchange program in *Tuxtla Gutiérrez*, the capital of the state of *Chiapas*, in *Mexico*, some three hundred miles north of the Guatemalan border. My host family was named *Gutiérrez*, and I never asked them if the town took its name from their forebears, but if it did, they wore their fame lightly, though they were a powerful and prosperous family. The father, *Fernando*, had been a *stevedore*, of the kind who worked for him now, and the mother, *Cela*,

(pronounced *Che-la*), was a *dance teacher*. They lived like *people* who felt lucky to be alive, and I loved them right away. (Chee 2018b: 1)

In this extract, there are examples of repetition in that ‘Gutiérrez’, ‘family’ and ‘name’ are repeated in the text. There is also some use of synonymy in that ‘town’ and ‘name’ are synonyms for ‘Tuxtla Gutiérrez’, and ‘father’ and ‘Fernando’ are referring to the same person, as is the case with ‘mother’ and Celsa. There are, however, numerous examples of meronymy in the text. For example, ‘forebears’, ‘father’, ‘mother’ and ‘people’ are in a part–whole relationship with ‘family’, and ‘Tuxtla Gutiérrez’, ‘Chiapas’ and ‘Mexico’ are in part–whole relationships with each other. There is also an example of hyponymy in the text where ‘stevedore’ and ‘dance teacher’ are both members of the class of ‘occupations’ – although the actual item ‘occupation’ does not occur in the text.

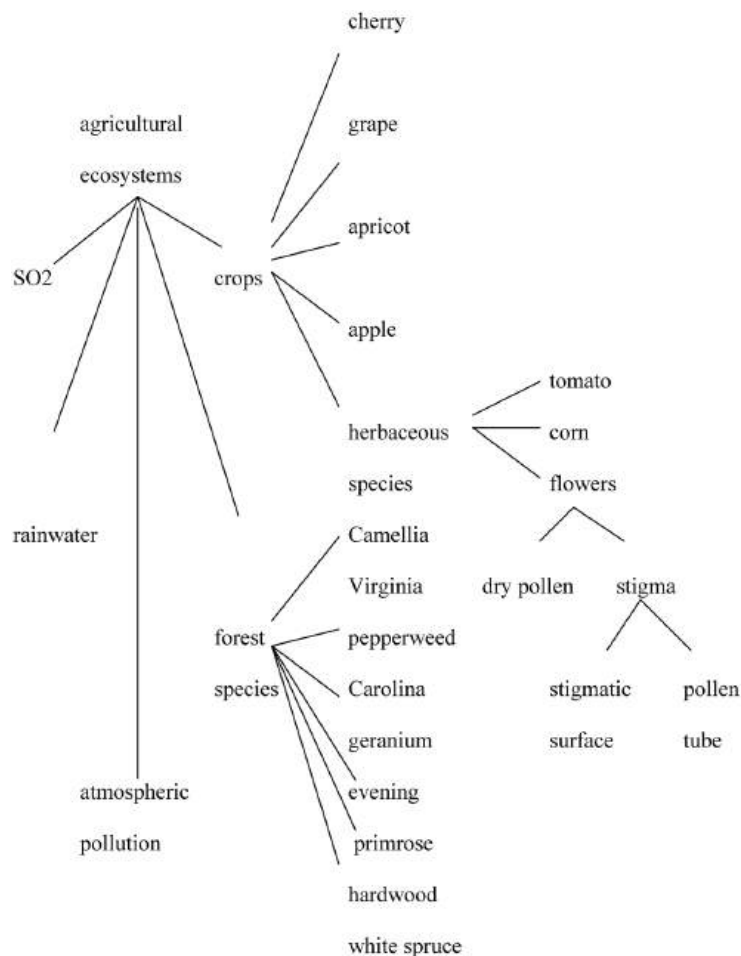


Figure 6.5 Taxonomical relationships.

6.6 Collocation

Collocation describes associations between vocabulary items which have a tendency to co-occur, such as combinations of adjectives and nouns, as in ‘real-estate agent’, the ‘right direction’ and ‘Aussie men’ in the following example. Collocation includes the relationship between verbs and nouns such as ‘love’ and ‘book’ and ‘waste’ and ‘time’ also in the following example:

Sarah Hughes, 21, a *real-estate agent*, agrees that *Aussie men* need more help than most when it comes to romance. ‘They’re useless! They need a good push in the *right direction*. I *loved* the *book* and its message about not *wasting* your *time* – but if a man’s shy there’s no way it’ll happen unless you do the asking.’ (Cooper 2005: S38)

In the following are examples of collocations from endorsements of Alexander Chee’s book which appear on the publisher’s website and in the book:

Alexander Chee is one of the best living writers of today. If he’s not already a *household name*, he needs to be . . . Powerful, *powerful essays* with powerful, *powerful words* – BuzzFeed’s Isaac Fitzgerald, on NBC’s Today. (Bloomsbury 2018)

Collocation is not something that is restricted to a single text, however, but is part of textual knowledge in general. A writer and speaker of a language draws on their knowledge of collocations as they write and speak. Expert writers (and readers) know that only certain items collocate with each other. This knowledge of collocation is another way in which a text has the property of texture.

6.6.1 Expectancy relations

A further kind of relationship, related to collocation, is *expectancy relations*. This occurs where there is a predictable relationship between a verb and either the subject or the object of the verb. These relations link nominal elements with verbal elements (e.g. love/book, waste/time) as in the previous example. They can also link an action with a participant (e.g. ask/guy) or an event with its location (e.g. dating/sites) as in the following examples. Expectancy can also refer to the relationship between individual lexical items and the composite nominal group that they form (e.g. art/classes, life/drawing, online/ dating):

Art classes

You can do just about anything in the name of art. Try *asking* a *cute guy* to sit as your model, and if he still doesn’t take the hint, you can literally draw him a picture. Take a free *life-drawing* class at the ArtHouse Hotel.

Online dating

Hand out as many kisses as you like – virtual ones, that is. *Dating sites* are all about being proactive and choosing your best match.

(*Sun-Herald*, 6 February 2005: S38)

6.7 Conjunction

A further way in which language contributes to the texture of a text is through the use of *conjunction*. Conjunction refers to words, such as ‘and’, ‘however’, ‘finally’ and ‘in conclusion’, that join phrases, clauses or sections of a text in such a way that they express the ‘logical-semantic’ relationship between them. They are a further important part of discourse knowledge that both speakers and writers, and readers and listeners, draw on as they both produce and interpret spoken and written discourse.

Conjunctions are described by Halliday and Hasan (1976) under the groupings of additive, adversative, causal and temporal conjunctions. Martin (1992), and Martin and Rose (2007), extending Halliday and Hasan’s work in this area, discuss conjunctions under the categories of *additive*, *comparative*, *temporal* and *consequential* conjunctions. Martin and Rose’s work on conjunction is summarized in Table 6.1.

Additive conjunctions include ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘moreover’, ‘in addition’ and ‘alternatively’. That is, they draw on the notion of ‘addition’ in both a positive and a contrastive sense.

Comparative conjunctions include ‘whereas’, ‘but’, ‘on the other hand’, ‘likewise’ and ‘equally’, drawing on the notion of comparison in both a positive and a negative sense. Temporal conjunctions include items such as ‘while’, ‘when’, ‘after’, ‘meanwhile’, ‘then’, ‘finally’ and ‘at the same time’. Consequential conjunctions include items such as ‘so that’, ‘because’, ‘since’, ‘thus’, ‘if’, ‘therefore’, ‘in conclusion’ and ‘in this way’.

The following extracts, from the review of *He’s Just Not That Into*

You, show ‘but’ being used to express a comparative point of view, ‘because’ to express a consequential relationship between clauses and ‘and’ to express addition:

When it was published late last year, Oprah sang its praises, tearful women called it ‘the Bible’, and others declared it had changed their lives forever. *But* now the initial fuss has subsided, women are examining the book’s philosophy a little more closely – *and* many don’t like what they see.

‘When a guy is really into you’ says Behrendt . . . ‘he lets you know it. He calls, he shows up, he wants to meet your friends. Why would you think we would be as incapable as something as simple as picking up the phone and asking you out?’ *Because*, of course, the dating game is a clumsy dance of blunders and misunderstandings. *And* sometimes, romantically challenged men really do need a helping hand from women. (Cooper 2005: S38)

Table 6.1 Basic Options for Conjunction

Logical relation	Meaning	Examples
Addition	Addition	<i>and, besides, in addition</i>
Comparison	Similarity	<i>like, as if, similarly</i>
	Contrast	<i>but, whereas, on the other hand</i>
Time	Successive	<i>then, after, subsequently, before</i>
Consequence	Cause	<i>so, because, since, therefore</i>
	Means	<i>by, thus, by this means</i>
	Condition	<i>if, provided that, unless</i>

Source: (Martin and Rose 2007: 122) © 2016 Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Used with Permission.

The following extract from Alexander Chee's (2018b) essay, *The Curse*, contains further examples of the contrastive use of conjunctions:

I was one of twelve students in Chiapas from my high school that summer, on what now seems like an odd program: we lived there with the Mexican students who lived with us during the year, *but unlike them*, we did not attend any classes One teacher came with us as chaperone *but* he did not each us. (Chee 2018b: 2–3)

Not all authors, however, see conjunction in this way. Vande Kopple (1985), for example, talks about *text connectives*, rather than conjunctions, which are used to indicate how parts of the text are connected to each other. Crismore et al. (1993) discuss *textual markers* which help to organize discourse. Hyland (2005a) adds the category of *frame markers* to the discussion. Frame markers are items which sequence the material in a text (such as 'first' and 'next'), items which label the stages of text (such as 'in conclusion' and 'finally'), items which announce the goal of the discourse (such as 'my aim here is to . . .') and items which announce a change in topic (such as 'well' and 'now'). Frame markers, along with conjunction and other markers of this kind, lead the reader of a text to 'preferred interpretations' of the text as well as help form convincing and coherent texts 'by relating individual propositions to each other and to other texts' (Hyland 1998a: 442).

6.8 Substitution and ellipsis

A further way in which texture is achieved in a text is through the use of substitution and ellipsis.

6.8.1 Substitution

With *substitution*, a substitute form is used for another language item, phrase or group. It can involve substituting an item for a noun. In the following example, 'one' substitutes for the noun 'book':

Try reading this book. That *one's* not very good.

It can involve substituting an item for a verb. In this example, 'done' substitutes for the verb group 'had dinner':

A: Has he had dinner yet?

B: He must have *done*. There's no food in the fridge.

An item may also substitute for a clause. In the following example, 'so' substitutes for the clause 'you're still happy':

A: That's great to hear you're still happy.

B: Oh yes very much *so*.

Substitution is much more common in spoken discourse than it is in written discourse. The following are examples of substitution from an interview with Alexander Chee about his book

How to Write an Autobiographical Novel. In the first example, ‘one’ substitutes for ‘essay’ and in the second example ‘one’ substitutes for ‘silence’.

My essay ‘Girl’ was *one* that I actually workshopped initially at Iowa.

There is also the silence of my father’s death, which is certainly a profound *one* for me – I’ve spent a lot of time in relationship to my memories of him and my imagination of him. (Gall 2018)

6.8.2 Ellipsis

With *ellipsis* some essential element is omitted from the text and can be recovered by referring to a preceding element in the text. Ellipsis may involve the omission of a noun or noun group, a verb or verbal group, or a clause. In the following extract, from a radio call-in show, there are examples of ellipsis in each of the caller’s responses. In the caller’s first response, the main clause ‘I want to say’ is ellipsed. In the second response, ‘It was over’ is ellipsed. In the final response, a whole clause is omitted (‘they usually are silly’) and the main clause of the next two dependent clauses (‘I want to say’) are omitted. These are ellipsed as the caller’s responses build on the content of what has been said before and are, thus, not necessary for an understanding of what the caller wants to say. Indeed, including these items would be unnatural in this kind of interaction:

Announcer: Gary, what did you want to say to Allison tonight?

Caller: [I want to say] that I’m very sorry for the fight we had the other night.

Announcer: What was that over?

Caller: [It was over] something rather silly actually

Announcer: They usually are, aren’t they?

Caller: Yeah [they usually are silly] and [I want to say] that I love her very much and [I want to say that] we’ll have to stick it through, you know?

Ellipsis is a common feature of book endorsements such as the following which appear on the back cover of Alexander Chee’s book:

[Alexander Chee’s book is] Urgent and insightful – Viet Thanh Nguyen, Guardian Summer Reads

[Alexander Chee’s book] Pulses with urgency . . . [Alexander] Chee has written a moving and personal tribute to impermanence, a wise and transgressive meditation on a life lived both because of and in spite of America – New York Times Book Review.

[Alexander Chee’s book is] A knowing and luminous self-portrait” – O, the Oprah Magazine

[These are] Heartfelt, writerly essays . . . powerful [essays] – Alex Preston, Spectator.

(Bloomsbury 2018)

6.8.3 Differences between reference, ellipsis and substitution

It is important to point out differences between reference, ellipsis and substitution. One difference is that reference can reach a long way back in the text, whereas ellipsis and substitution are largely

limited to the immediately preceding clause. Another key difference is that with reference there is a typical meaning of co-reference. That is, both items typically refer to the same thing. With ellipsis and substitution, this is not the case. There is always some difference between the second instance and the first. If a speaker or a writer wants to refer to the same thing, they use reference. If they want to refer to something different, they use ellipsis–substitution (Halliday 1985).

6.9 Patterns of cohesion: A sample analysis

The following conversation at a coffee cart was presented in Chapter 3. Here, the conversation is analysed in terms of lexical chains, reference and ellipsis. The conversation works because both speakers are aware of relations between lexical items in the text, what is being referred to in items such as *I* and *you*, and what is left out of the conversation, or ellipsed.

- S: Hi. Can I help you?
 C: Can I get a grande frappe with vanilla?
 S: Did you want that blended or on the rocks?
 C: Blended, I guess.
 S: 2% or skimmed?
 C: Uhm 2%
 S: 2% OK. Any whipped cream?
 C: Sorry?
 S: Did you want whipped cream on that?
 C: Yes.
 S: Anything else?
 C: No, that's it.
 S: Salesperson
 C: Customer

(Source: Bartlett 2006: 338)

As can be seen in Figure 6.6, there are four main lexical chains in the text. The first is the subject of the text: coffee. In this case, a grand frappe is a kind of coffee and, thus, is an example of hyponymy. The interesting thing here is that the lead item in the chain, coffee, is not actually mentioned but both speakers are aware that this is what they are talking about. The items in the second chain are 'kinds of' milk and so are also instances of hyponymy. Again, both speakers are aware that they are talking about milk so do not need to mention it. The kinds of milk in the second chain are also instances of meronymy in that they are in a 'whole-part' relationship with items in the first chain, coffee. That is, milk (when someone has it in their coffee) is part of the drink called coffee, which may also include water, sugar and, of course, coffee itself. The third and fourth chains are both examples of repetition.

The reference items *I* and *you* work in the text because both speakers know who is being referred to in the use of these items. In the first example in Figure 6.7, *I* and *you* are examples of exophoric reference as the things (in this case, the people) being referred to are outside the text and are

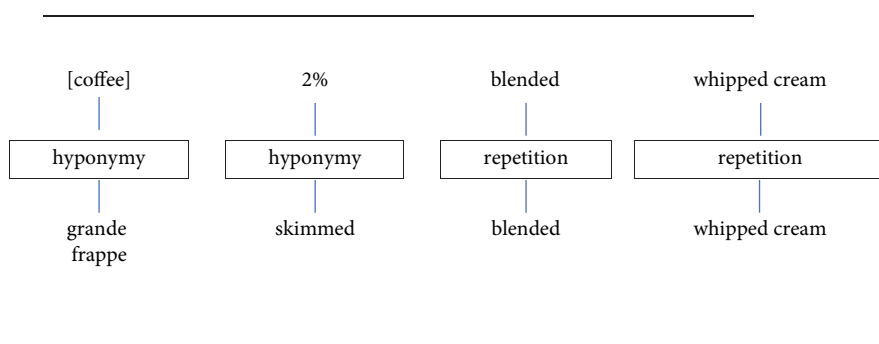


Figure 6.6 Lexical chains: At the coffee cart.

Can *I* [exophoric reference] help *you* [exophoric reference]?

Can *I* [anaphoric reference] get a grande frappe with vanilla?

Did *you* [anaphoric reference] want *that* [anaphoric reference] blended or on the rocks?

Blended, *I* [anaphoric reference] guess.

Did *you* [anaphoric reference] want whipped cream on *that* [anaphoric reference]?

Figure 6.7 Examples of reference: At the coffee cart.

derived from the situation of the text and the people involved in it. After this, *I* and *you* become examples of anaphoric reference as who they are can be derived from looking backwards in the text. *That*, in ‘Did you want that blended or on the rocks?’ and ‘Did you want whipped cream on that?’ are both referring backwards to the coffee being ordered so are also examples of anaphoric reference.

There are numerous examples of ellipsis in the text. These are illustrated in Figure 6.8. Here, parts of the text are omitted as both speakers are aware of what they are talking about and so they are not necessary to the success of the conversation. This use of ellipsis makes the text both economical and sufficient for achieving its goal, that is, ordering a cup of coffee. This, together with lexical chains and referring expressions, as Cook explains,

fulfil a dual purpose of unifying the text (they depend on some of the subject matter remaining the same), and of economy because they save us from having to repeat the identity of what we are talking about again and again. (Cook 1989: 18)

[I'd like it] blended, I guess

[Do you want] 2% or skimmed [milk]?

[I'd like] 2% [milk]

Did you want whipped cream on that?

Yes [I'd like whipped cream]

[Do you want] anything else?

Figure 6.8 Examples of ellipsis: At the coffee cart.

6.10 Theme and rheme

Two further elements that contribute to the texture of a text is the relationship between *theme* and *rheme* in a clause and its contribution to the *focus* and *flow of information* in a text. An understanding of this is important, especially for the writing of successful student texts.

6.10.1 Theme

Theme is the starting point of a clause, that is, what the clause is 'about'. The remainder of the clause is the *rheme*. Thus, in the sentence 'Hiragana represents the 46 basis sounds of the Japanese language' (see Section 6.11.3), the theme is 'Hiragana'. The rest of the sentence is the rheme, that is, what the sentence has to say about Hiragana. In this instance, 'Hiragana' is a *topical theme*. Conjunctions such as 'and' or 'but' when coming at the beginning of a clause are examples of *textual theme*. An item that expresses a point of view on the content of the clause, such as 'of course', is an *interpersonal theme*.

Halliday (1985: 38) describes *theme* as 'the element which serves as the point of departure of the message'. Theme also introduces 'information prominence' into the clause. For example, in the sentence in Table 6.2 from *A Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (Swann et al. 2004: 123), 'genre' is the theme of the clause and the rest of the sentence is its *rheme*. The rheme is what the clause has to say about the theme – what it has to say about genre. The theme in this sentence is a *topical theme*, in contrast with a structural element such as a conjunction (such as 'and' or 'but'), which is a *textual theme*.

An example of a textual theme can be seen in the final sentence of the text, shown in Table 6.3, where 'but' joins two clauses together. The rest of the themes in this extract are topical themes.

Table 6.2 Theme and Rheme

Theme	Rheme
'Genre'	is a term in widespread use to indicate an approach to communication which emphasizes social function and purpose.

Table 6.3 Textual Examples of Theme and Rheme

Topical theme	Textual theme	Topical theme	Rheme
'Genre'			is a term in widespread use to indicate an approach to communication which emphasizes social function and purpose.
Significant debate			surrounds the definition of genre, particularly the extent to which it refers to texts or activities in which texts are embedded.
It			is often vaguely defined
	but	several uses of the term	can be identified which are illustrated in different types of genre analysis.

Table 6.4 Examples of Textual Theme

Textual theme	Interpersonal theme	Topical theme	Rheme
However . . .	it seems unlikely that	Descartes	would deliberately challenge the church.

6.10.2 Interpersonal theme

Interpersonal theme refers to an item that comes before the rheme which indicates the relationship between participants in the text, or the position or point of view that is being taken in the clause. The example in Table 6.4 from a student essay (North 2005) shows an example of a textual theme, an interpersonal theme and a topical theme. Here, the interpersonal theme expresses uncertainty about the proposition that follows.

An interpersonal theme can express probability (e.g. perhaps), usuality (e.g. sometimes), typicality (e.g. generally) or obviousness (e.g. surely). It can also express opinion (e.g. to my mind), admission (e.g. frankly), persuasion (e.g. believe me), entreaty (e.g. kindly), presumption (e.g. no doubt), desirability (e.g. hopefully) or prediction (e.g. as expected) (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004).

6.10.3 Multiple theme

The extract in Table 6.5 from the review of *He’s Just Not That Into You* shows a further example of textual, interpersonal and topical themes. It is an example of *multiple theme*. That is, there is more than a single thematic element in the Theme component of the clause.

6.11 Thematic progression

The notions of theme and rheme are also employed in the examination of *thematic progression* (Egins 2005), or *method of development* of texts (Fries 2002). Thematic progression refers to the way in which the theme of a clause may pick up, or repeat, a meaning from a preceding theme or rheme. This is a key way in which *information flow* is created in a text. There a number of ways in which this may be done. These are discussed in the following text.

6.11.1 Constant theme

One example of thematic progression is *theme reiteration* or *constant theme*. In this pattern, ‘Theme 1’ is picked up and repeated at the beginning of next clause, signalling that each clause will have something to say about the theme. In Table 6.6, there are two sets of constant themes. The thematic progression of this text is shown in Figure 6.9.

Table 6.5 Multiple Themes

Textual theme	Interpersonal theme	Topical theme	Rheme
Because,	of course,	the dating game	is a clumsy dance of blunders and misunderstandings.

Table 6.6 Theme Reiteration/Constant Theme (based on Cornbleet and Carter 2001: 3)

Theme	Rheme
Text	can be used for both spoken and written languages.
It	usually refers to a stretch, an extract or complete piece of writing or speech.
‘Discourse’	is a much wider term.
It	can be used to refer to language in action, such as legal discourse, which has characteristic patterns of language.

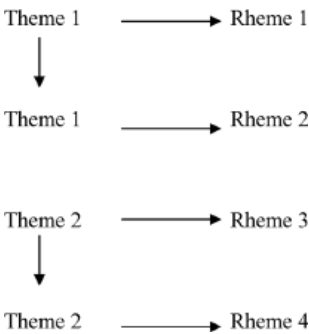


Figure 6.9 Thematic progression: Theme reiteration/constant theme (based on Table 6.6).

6.11.2 Linear theme

Another common pattern of thematic progression is when the subject matter in the rheme of one clause is taken up in the theme of a following clause. The text analysed in Table 6.7 shows an example of this kind of progression. This is referred to as a *zig-zag* or *linear pattern* theme. This pattern is illustrated in Figure 6.10.

6.11.3 Multiple/split theme

Texts may, equally, include other kinds of progression such as a ‘multiple-theme’ or ‘split rheme’ patterns. In ‘multiple theme’/‘split rheme’ progression, a rheme may include a number of different pieces of information, each of which may be taken up as the theme in a number of subsequent clauses.

The analysis of the text in Table 6.8 and the illustration of its thematic progression in Figure 6.11 include an example of ‘multiple theme’/‘split rheme’ progression. In this text, the two pieces of

Table 6.7 Theme and Rheme: A Zig-zag/Linear Theme Pattern (based on Knapp and Watkins 2005: 55)

Theme	Rheme
The term ‘modality’	describes a range of grammatical resources used to express probability or obligation.
Generally, obligation	is used in speech, especially when wanting to get things done such as, ‘You should keep your room tidy’.

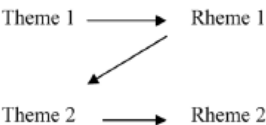


Figure 6.10 Thematic progression: Zig-zag/linear theme (based on Table 6.7).

Table 6.8 Theme and Rheme: A Multiple/Split Theme Pattern (based on Nesbitt et al. 1990: 21)

Theme	Rheme
When Japanese people	write their language
They	use a combination of two separate alphabets as well as ideograms borrowed from Chinese.
The two alphabets	are called hiragana and katakana.
The Chinese ideograms	are called Kanji.
Hiragana	represents the forty-six basic sounds that are made in the Japanese language.
Katakana	represents the same sounds as hiragana
but (Katakana)	is used mainly for words borrowed from foreign languages and for sound effects.
Kanji	are used to communicate an idea rather than a sound.

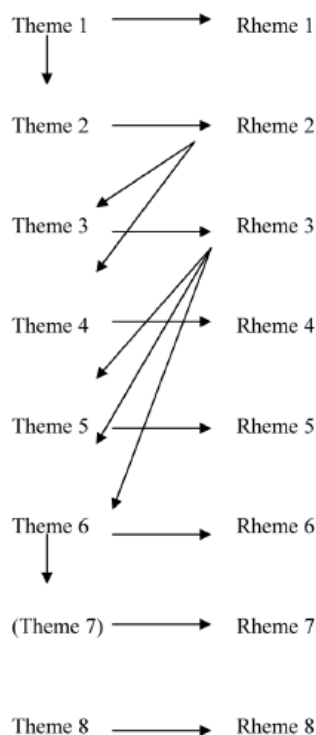


Figure 6.11 Thematic progression: Multiple theme/split theme (based on Table 6.8).

information in Rheme 2 ('two alphabets' and 'Chinese ideograms') are picked up in Themes 3 and 4, respectively. Also, 'Hiragana' and 'Katakana' in Rheme 3 are picked up in Themes 5 (Hiragana), 6 and 7 (Katakana), respectively (although in the case of Theme 7 'Katakana' is ellipsed). This text also includes examples of 'theme reiteration'/'constant theme' between the first two clauses and the sixth and seventh clauses and a zig-zag/linear theme pattern between a number of rhemes and subsequent rhemes.

6.12 Summary

This chapter has discussed grammar from a discourse perspective. It has shown how individual linguistic features work together in whole texts. This includes how interpersonal factors result in the use of certain grammatical choices as well as ways in which the use of particular items provide texture to texts. The repetition and collocation of lexical items has been discussed, as has patterns of progression in texts. The ways in which attitude is expressed through grammar has been given particular attention, as have grammatical differences between spoken and written discourse. The chapter has argued that there is no simple, one-dimensional difference between spoken and written discourse but, rather, these differences are most usefully seen as being on a scale, or continuum.

6.13 Discussion questions

- (1) Think of an experience you have had reading or listening to someone speak where you haven't understood a vocabulary or a reference item. How can the theory of cohesion help explain how you resolved this situation?
- (2) Hasan says that unity of structure and unity of texture are two crucial attributes of texts. Think of a text you have just written. In what way does it have unity of structure and unity of texture?

6.14 Data analysis projects

- (1) Read Hilles (2005) and carry out a contextual analysis of a language feature you think may be useful to consider from a discourse perspective. Compare what you have found to a description of this language feature in a grammar book you are familiar with. In what way/s is it similar and in what way/s is it different?
Reference: Hilles, S. (2005), 'Contextual analysis a la Celce-Murcia', in J. Frodesen and C. Holten (eds), *The Power of Context in Language Teaching and Learning*. Boston, MA: Thomson/Heinle, pp. 3–12.
- (2) Choose a text you have written and analyse it in terms of patterns of cohesion. Refer to Bloor and Bloor (2013) Chapter 5 for help with your analysis. How do you think your text could be improved from the point of view of cohesion?
Reference: Bloor, T. and Bloor, M. (2013), *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (3rd edn). London: Arnold.
- (3) Choose a text you have written and analyse it in terms of conjunction. Read Eggins (2005) Chapter 2, pp. 47–51, for help with your analysis. Are there any ways in which you could improve the use of conjunction in your text?
Reference: Eggins, S. (2005), *An Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2nd edn). London: Bloomsbury.
- (4) Read Bloor and Bloor (2013) Chapter 5 for a discussion of thematic progression. Then do a thematic progression analysis of a text you have written. How do you think your text could be improved from this point of view?
Reference: Bloor, T. and Bloor, M. (2013), *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (3rd edn). London: Arnold.

6.15 Exercises

6.15.1 Exercise 1. Reference and lexical chains

Analyse the following text in terms of *reference chains* and *lexical chains*.

FLAN (Caramel-coated custard)

Ingredients

Caramel

1/2 cup sugar

2 tablespoons water

Custard

2 cups milk

1/2 cup sugar

4 eggs

1 teaspoon vanilla

Pinch of salt

Method

1. Choose a four-cup mould with a smooth inside surface, or use six individual moulds.
2. To caramelize mould: In a small saucepan, over high heat, boil 1/2 cup sugar with two tablespoons of water. When golden, pour into mould, turning quickly in all directions to coat bottom and sides.
3. Custard: In a blender, put milk, sugar, eggs, vanilla and salt. Blend for three minutes on a medium speed.
4. Pour into mould. Place the mould in a larger pan. Pour warm water into the larger pan halfway up to the sides of the mould. (In Spanish this is a *Bano de Maria*, Mary's bath).
5. Bake at 325 degrees Fahrenheit (160 degrees Celsius) in a preheated oven for about one hour. Check occasionally during the baking to be sure the Bano de Maria does not boil. If it should, reduce oven heat slightly; however, do not reduce below 300/150 degrees.
6. Test for doneness by inserting a kitchen knife only halfway into the custard. (Do not pierce bottom.) If the knife comes out clean, it's done. Cool for one hour and refrigerate for three hours.
7. Unmould by running a kitchen knife around the edge. Place a serving dish over the mould and flip.

6.15.2 Exercise 2. Theme and rheme

Identify the *theme* and *rheme* in each clause in the following text.

A person may have a number of *identities*, each of which is more important at different points in time. They may have an identity as a woman, an identity as a mother, an identity as someone's partner and an identity as an office worker, for example. The ways in which people display their identities include the way they use language and the way they interact with

people. Identities are not natural, however. They are constructed, in large part, through the use of discourse. Identities, further, are not fixed and remain the same throughout a person's life. They are constantly constructed and reconstructed as people interact with each other. Part of having a certain identity is that it is recognized by other people. Identities, thus, are two-way constructions.

6.15.3 Exercise 3. Thematic progression

Identify patterns of *thematic progression* in the text shown in Exercise 6.15.2.

6.16 Directions for further reading

6.16.1 Further reading

Bloor, T. and Bloor, M. (2013), *The Functional Analysis of English: A Hallidayan Approach* (3rd edn). London: Arnold. Chapter 5. Grammar and text. Chapter 4. Information structure and thematic structure.

This book is a very accessible introduction to functional grammar. Chapter 5 discusses patterns of cohesion and thematic progression. Chapter 4 provides a clear outline of theme and rheme. There are examples and practice exercises in both chapters.

6.16.2 Additional reading

Eggins, S. (2005), *Introduction to Systemic Functional Linguistics* (2nd edn). London: Bloomsbury. Chapter 2. What is (a) text?

Eggin's book is a comprehensive overview of systemic functional grammar. Chapter 2 discusses patterns of cohesion in texts and gives examples from both spoken and written texts.

6.17 Sample studies

Liu, D. (2000), 'Writing cohesion: Using content lexical ties in ESOL', *English Teaching Forum*, 38 (1): 28–35.

Liu's article gives examples of student writing that are problematic in terms of their use of patterns of cohesion. Liu analyses their texts and suggests ways in which they could be improved. He then gives suggestions for focusing on patterns of cohesion in language-learning classrooms.

Johnson, M. (2017), 'Improving cohesion in L2 writing: A three-strand approach to building lexical cohesion', *English Teaching Forum*, 55 (4): 2–13.

In this article, Mark Johnson provides a clear discussion of patterns of cohesion. He analyses sample texts and shows how these analyses can be drawn on to improve student writing.

Yin, Z. (2018), 'Principles of teaching cohesion in the English language classroom', *RELC Journal*, 49: 290–307.

Yin compares linking adverbials, such as *however* and *for example*, in published textbooks and in a large-scale corpus of English use, finding differences in the two sets of data. She then makes proposals for teaching linking adverbials based on the findings of her study.

Yin, Z. (2015), 'The use of cohesive devices in news language: Overuse, underuse or misuse?' *RELC Journal*, 46: 309–26.

In this paper, Yin examines the use of linking adverbials in news discourse from a corpus studies perspective (see Chapter 7). She then proposes teaching materials design based on her analysis.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

7

Corpus approaches to discourse analysis

Chapter Outline

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There are a number of advantages in using corpora to look at the use of language from a discourse perspective. One of these is that, if a large data set has been used, and the corpus is representative of the area of language use, the findings of the study will more generalizable. It is not always the case, however, that the data set will be large or that it will be representative. Even in these cases the research can be valuable if there is a clear rationale for the collection and analysis of the data. These are some of the matters that are discussed in this chapter.

7.1 What is a corpus?

Before discussing corpus-based approaches to discourse analysis, it is necessary to define what a corpus actually is. A corpus is a collection of spoken or written authentic texts that is representative of a particular area of language use, by virtue of its size and composition. It is not always the case, however, that the corpus is representative of language use in general, or even of a specific language variety, as the data set may be very specialized (such as material collected from the internet), and it may not always be based on samples of complete texts. The data may also be only of the spoken or written discourse of a single person, such as a single author's written work. It is important, then, to be aware of the specific nature and source of corpus data so that appropriate claims can be made from the analyses that are based on it (Tognini-Bonelli 2004).

A corpus is usually computer-readable and able to be accessed with tools such as concordancers which are able to find and sort out language patterns. The corpus has usually (although not always) been designed for the purpose of the analysis, and the texts have been selected to provide a sample of specific text types, or genres, or a broad and balanced sample of spoken and/or written discourse.

Corpus studies draw on collections of texts that are usually stored and analysed electronically. They look at the occurrence and reoccurrence of particular linguistic features to see how and where they occur in the discourse. They may look at words that typically occur together (collocations) or they may look at the frequency of particular items. Corpus studies may look at language use in general, or they may look at the use of a particular linguistic feature in a particular domain, such as spoken academic discourse, or use of the item in a particular genre, such as university tutorial discussions.

There are a number of ways in which corpora are useful. One important use of corpora is that they can tell us how people use language as opposed to how they think they use language. This is especially important for language teaching where, until the development of corpora, many of the choices course designers made were on the basis of intuition, rather than evidence. Corpus data can also tell us what words typically go together, or *collocate* (see Chapter 6) with each other, which is also extremely useful for language teaching. Corpus studies can also tell us how topics are treated in the media and what words are used to do this. An example of this is discussions of asylum seekers and the ways in which they are presented, often negatively, by certain parts of the media. Corpus studies, thus, can also tell us about the social nature of discourse. These are all topics that are discussed in this chapter.

7.2 Kinds of corpora

7.2.1 General corpora

Corpora may be general or they may be specialized. A *general corpus*, also known as a *reference corpus*,

aims to represent language in its broadest sense and to serve as a widely available resource for baseline or comparative studies of general linguistic features. (Reppen and Simpson 2010: 91)

One use of a general corpus, for example, might be to examine words that collocate with *man* and *woman* in English in general (Baker 2010) as opposed to words they collocate in particular domains of use, such as online personal advertisements. A further use of a general corpus might be to see to what extent hedges such as *sort of* and *kind of* are typical of English, in general, compared with what words these hedges typically collocate with in spoken academic discourse (Poos and Simpson 2002).

A general corpus, thus, provides sample data from which we can make generalizations about spoken and written discourse as a whole, and frequencies of occurrence, and co-occurrence, of particular aspects of language in the discourse. The Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA)¹ is a very good example of this. The COCA corpus contains more than 600 million words, and it is made up of spoken, fiction, magazine, newspaper and academic texts. The COCA corpus is freely available and has tens of thousands of users every month.

The Global Web-based English corpus (GLOWBE)² is a further example of a general corpus and is made up of about 1.9 billion words from texts in twenty different countries. The GLOWBE corpus enables users to compare different varieties of English for frequency of language features as well as language variation in terms of lexis, idioms, morphology, syntax and collocations. The corpus has shown, for example, how the suffix ‘-gate’ has developed in words such as ‘Watergate’ and ‘Twittergate’ to indicate some kind of scandal and how words such as ‘gay’ now collocate with ‘marriage’ and ‘adoption’ much more than they did in the past (Davies 2010). The GLOWBE corpus is also freely available.

A general corpus will not, however, tell us about the language and discourse of particular genres or domain of use (unless the corpus can be broken down into separate genres or areas of use in some way). For this, we need a *specialized corpus*.

7.2.2 Specialized corpora

A *specialized corpus*, as Hunston (2002: 14) explains, is

a corpus of texts of a particular type, such as newspaper editorials, geography textbooks, academic articles in a particular subject, lectures, casual conversations, essays written by students etc. It aims to be representative of a given type of text. It is used to investigate a particular type of language.

Specialized corpora are required when the research question relates to the use of spoken or written discourse in particular kinds of texts or in particular situations. A specialized corpus might be used, for example, to examine the use of hedges in casual conversation or the ways in which people signal a change in topic in an academic presentation. It might look at an aspect of students’ academic written discourse, and compare this with use of the same features in published academic writing, or it may look at discourse features of a particular academic genre such as theses and dissertations, or a discourse level aspect of dissertation defences.

¹<https://www.english-corpora.org/coca/>

²<https://www.english-corpora.org/glowbe/>

7.2.2.1 The Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English

In contrast to a general corpus, then, a specialized corpus is usually designed with a particular research project in mind. An example of this is the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE), which has data from a wide range of spoken academic genres as well as information on speaker attributes and characteristics of the speech events contained in the data. This is an open access corpus and is available without charge to people who wish to use it³.

One study carried out using the MICASE corpus was an investigation of the uses of hedges such as *sort of/sorta* and *kind of/kinda* in spoken academic discourse. These were found to be more common in some disciplines, such as the humanities, than in others, such as science (Poos and Simpson 2002). Other MICASE studies have examined the ways in which new episodes are flagged in academic lectures and group discussions by the use of frame markers such as *OK*, *so* and *now* (Swales and Malczewski 2001) as well as other aspects of spoken academic discourse such as hedging in the discourse of academic lectures (Mauranen 2001). In the following example from Mauranen's study, the hedging is in italics:

okay. okay, um, let me get into *sort of* the more serious stuff, and, um, what i'm hoping to do with the remainder of of this first hour, is *just* give you *some uh* bit of perspective, show where biology fits into, *sort of* the rest of your education, and *hopefully* i can, um begin this framework that we're gonna fill in in the rest of the term. so i i have entitled this lecture, philosophy of science . . . or at least that's the point i'm talking about now. (Mauranen 2001: 174)

Findings from MICASE projects have been integrated into training courses for international teaching assistants and for the teaching of oral presentations (Reinhart 2002). The MICASE data has also been used in the development of English-language tests.

7.2.2.2 The British Academic Spoken English corpus

A similar spoken corpus to the Michigan corpus, the British Academic Spoken English (BASE) corpus⁴, was developed at the University of Warwick and the University of Reading in the UK. One study based on the British corpus looked at the relationship between lexical density and speed in academic lectures (Nesi 2001). This study drew on data from thirty undergraduate lectures and found there was a range of speeds in the spoken discourse of the people delivering academic lectures. The lectures that were faster tended to be less lexically dense and the lectures that were slower tended to be more lexically dense. Lecturers spoke more quickly or were more lexically dense if they did not expect students to take notes, or if they were not presenting new content in their lecture. They also spoke more quickly if they were telling an anecdote that was an aside to the main content of the lecture. Nesi found, in looking at published coursebooks and on listening to lectures, that this range of speeds and ways of talking was not included in the books that she examined. Observations of this kind then have important implications for the development of

³<https://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micase/>

⁴http://www.reading.ac.uk/AcaDepts/ll/base_corpus/

English for academic purposes courses which aim to prepare students to study in English-medium universities.

7.2.2.3 The English as a lingua franca in academic settings corpus

There are many academic settings where speakers use English to communicate with each other but where English is not the native language of either speaker, that is, they are using *English as a lingua franca* to communicate with each other. This has led to interest in how these speakers use English and the development of the English as a lingua franca in academic settings (ELFA) corpus⁵ as a resource for examining this. The ELFA corpus consists of one million words drawn from 131 hours of record speech. The data on which the corpus is based is all authentic in that none of it was elicited for research purposes. The basic unit of sampling in the corpus was the ‘speech event type’, such as workshops, lectures and panels. The language backgrounds of speakers in the corpus varied widely, with forty-one languages being represented in the data. While some of the speakers were extremely fluent in English, others were more hesitant in their use of English, a situation many second language speakers of English find themselves in when they are using English with other non-native speakers of English (Mauranen 2006, 2011).

One of the features Mauranen (2011) has noticed in the use of English as a lingua franca in academic settings is that speakers tend to be emphatically explicit with each other to ensure that they understand each other. For example, they might bring the subject of a sentence forward in the clause to improve clarity in the discourse, as in *One of my friends, she tried to enter the university*. Speakers also tend to use a lot of metadiscourse (see Chapter 4) in their interactions, such as preceding a question with *What I want to ask you is* and *Okay, before we go on to the next topic* to signal where the conversation is going. Rephrasing and repetition are also common features of these kinds of communications.

On other occasions, speakers might regularize an irregular verb by inflecting it as if it were a regular verb, as in *I have just showed you*. Or speakers might omit an article as in *In Russia we have different system from here*, or an article might be included where it is not required, as in *It had a big importance*. The important point among this is that grammatical errors such as these do not inhibit communication and that the communication proceeds in spite of them.

The ELFA corpus has now being supplemented by a 1.5 million-word corpus of written academic English, the written ELF in academic settings (WrELFA) corpus⁶. This corpus is made up of data from PhD examiners’ reports, unedited research papers and research blogs. The corpus represents the English use of speakers of at least thirty-seven different languages and has found features of language use which are particular to the use of written English as an academic lingua franca (see Flowerdew 2019; Mauranen 2019; Rowley-Jolivet 2017 for discussions of research which draws on the two corpora).

⁵www.helsinki.fi/elfa/

⁶<http://www.helsinki.fi/elfa/wrelfa>

7.2.2.4 The British Academic Written English corpus

Specialized corpora may also be based on written discourse alone. An example of this is the British Academic Written English (BAWE) corpus (Nesi 2011) developed at the University of Warwick, the University of Reading and Oxford Brookes University in the UK⁷. This corpus examines students' written assignments at different levels of study and in a range of disciplines with the goal of providing a database for use by researchers and teachers to enable them to identify and describe academic writing requirements in British university settings. The BAWE corpus includes contextual information on the students' writing such as the gender and year of study of the student, details of the course the assignment was set for and the grade that was awarded to the piece of work so as to be able to consider the relationship between these variables and the nature of the students' written academic discourse.

7.2.2.5 The TOEFL Spoken and Written Academic Language corpus

A specialized corpus may include both spoken and written discourse. An example of a corpus which does this is the *TOEFL 2000 Spoken and Written Academic Language Corpus* (a specialized corpus). This corpus aimed to provide a comprehensive linguistic description of spoken and written registers in US universities, although not, in this case, examples of student writing. The TOEFL corpus was made up of 2.7 million words and aimed to represent the spoken and academic genres that university students in the United States have to participate in, or read, such as class sessions, office-hour conversations, study group discussions, on-campus service encounters, text books, reading packs, university catalogues and brochures. The corpus data was collected across four academic sites, each representing a different type of university: a teacher's college, a midsize regional university, an urban research university and a rural research university. The spoken data was mostly recorded by students, although academic and other staff recorded office hours material and service encounters. The spoken and written classroom material focused on the disciplines of business, education, engineering, humanities, natural and social science, at lower and upper undergraduate and graduate levels of study (Biber et al. 2002).

A key observation of the TOEFL study was that spoken genres in US university settings are fundamentally different from written genres. The study found, however, that classroom teaching in the United States was similar in many ways to conversational genres. It found that language use varied in the textbooks of different disciplines, but not in classroom teaching in different disciplines.

7.3 Corpus studies and academic writing

Corpora have been extremely useful for academic writing teachers in that they are able to show how language is used in particular academic genres. Hyland's (2002a) study of the use of personal

⁷<https://warwick.ac.uk/fac/soc/al/research/collections/bawe/>

pronouns in Hong Kong student's academic writing is an example of this kind, as are his (2008a, 2008b) analyses of word clusters in published research articles and graduate student writing. Hirsh's (2010) *Academic Vocabulary in Context* examines recurring patterns of vocabulary in academic texts in terms of both frequency and function. Thurstun and Candlin's (1997) *Exploring Academic English* is an example of a book that has been developed based on computer-generated concordancing of language items. Bennett (2010), Lynne Flowerdew (2011), Lee and Swales (2006) and Reppen (2010) provide examples of the use of corpus studies in the teaching of academic writing.

Biber's (2006) book *University Language* examines linguistic features of written (and spoken) academic genres as well as describes methodological tools for carrying out this kind of analysis. The Appendix in Biber and Conrad's (2019) *Register, Genre, and Style* provides an extensive summary of major corpus-based genre studies, approaches and methods of analysis used in the studies, and the findings of each of the studies, many of which are relevant to the teaching of academic writing.

Biber, Connor and Upton's (2007) *Discourse on the Move* describes studies that use corpus techniques to carry out discourse-oriented analyses of academic writing. They do this by employing both *top-down* and *bottom-up* approaches in their analyses. A top-down approach identifies the discourse structures first, and then examines lexical/grammatical characteristics of the units that make up the discourse structures. A bottom-up approach identifies discourse structures based on shifts in the repetition of vocabulary items and other linguistic features as indicators of the start of discourse unit boundaries in the texts. Organizational tendencies in the texts are then identified on the basis of this analysis. One way in which this can be done is through using a programme such as AntMover (Anthony and Lashkia 2003)⁸, a tool that that can be used to identify the text structure of particular genres.

Flowerdew (2012, 2019), drawing on Hyland (2009a), describes three main approaches to corpus-based discourse analysis that have been used in the study of academic writing. These are *textual*, *critical* and *contextual* approaches. Textual approaches include Biber et al.'s (2007) top-down and bottom-up approaches to corpus-based discourse analysis. These sorts of studies focus on, for example, language patterns in texts, often, although not necessarily, in relation to the discourse structures of texts (see Flowerdew and Forest 2010; Gledhill 2000 for examples of this). Critical approaches aim to draw together insights from critical discourse analysis (see Chapter 9) and the tools of corpus-based analyses (see Baker et al. 2008; Kandil and Belcher 2011 for examples of this). Contextual approaches take situational factors into account using, for example, interview data and other ethnographic techniques to try to gain an 'insider's view' of the worlds in which the texts are written. Hyland's (2002a) study of Hong Kong students' academic writing and Harwood's (2005) examination of personal pronouns in published research articles are examples of this.

⁸<http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antmover/>

7.4 Corpus studies and digital media

A number of researchers have applied corpus techniques to the study of digital media. Examples of this are the work on hashtags by Page (2012a), Lutzky and Lawson (2019) and Giaxoglou (2018). Hashtags, as Zappavigna (2021) explains, have a number of functions in digital texts such. They signal the topic of the post, they evoke some kind of evaluation on the topic, they link and reference ideas and they can make jokes. Hashtags also play an ‘audience selecting role’ in that they draw people’s attention with a similar interest to a post by clicking on the hashtag. This linking to other audiences can be seen in the set of hashtags from one of the Instagram posts Zappavigna (2021) discusses, each of which takes the reader to the original post:

#coffee #coffeecoffeecoffeecoffee #lifeiscoffee #letsgetthisdaystartednow #sunsoutgunsout #thursday
#thursdaymotivation #readytorealestate #realtorlife #niagarafalls #realestatewithcoffee #realestatewithcoffeebefore9

Page’s (2012a) study of the role of hashtags in self-branding and micro-celebrity on Twitter also uses corpus techniques. She discusses how hashtags promote the visibility of a Twitter update as well as create self-branding and micro-celebrity. Drawing on a data set of 90,392 tweets and 1,693,464 words (a relatively small data set for this kind of study), she looks at the relative frequency of hashtags in her data and which terms are most frequently made visible through the hashtags. In doing this, she identifies the contrasting ways in which corporations, celebrities and ‘ordinary’ Twitter users use hashtags to attract attention.

In their corpus linguistic analysis of hashtags, Lutzky and Lawson (2019) examine the hashtags #mansplaining, #manspreading, and #maninterruption as a way of presenting evaluations of ‘proper’ gendered behaviour (1). Their corpus study gave them insights into the use and distribution patterns of these hashtags as well as, more broadly, an understanding of gender politics on Twitter. Giaxoglou (2018), taking a different tack, shows how hashtags have a narrative function on Twitter, examining the hashtag #JeSuisCharlie as it was used at the time of the 2015 shooting at the Paris office of the satirical magazine *Charlie Hebdo*. She shows how the hashtag had the function of sharing updates and follow-up news relating to the attacks. Her work, thus, shows how hashtags can be used as resources for sharing and *storying* significant events, moments and positions towards events (see Chapter 9 for further discussion of discourse and digital media).

7.5 Corpus studies of the social nature of discourse

Corpus studies have also considered what the use of the discourse means in wider social terms. Using the MICASE corpus, Swales (2003), for example, asks whether the use of spoken language in academic settings can help us understand whether the university is a single community of practice or a set of ‘tribalized coteries’ of communities of practice. He found (as did Biber et al., in the TOEFL

study, although the framework for their analysis was quite different) that, in the area of academic speaking (in contrast to academic writing), there were fewer differences between disciplines than he had expected and that many spoken academic interactions had a lot in common with general conversational English. He found academic speaking across the university tended to be informal and conversational, guarded rather than evaluative and deferential rather than confrontational. He found spoken discourse to be unpretentious in terms of vocabulary choice. It also generally avoided name-dropping and the use of obscure references. He concludes, as a result of his analysis, that from a language point of view, there are fewer barriers to cross-disciplinary oral communication than there perhaps might be in written academic communication because of the convergence of spoken discourse styles. Swales found, for example, the same use of non-clausal units such as *um* and *uh* being used as fillers in spoken academic discourse as did Biber et al. (1999) in their study of conversational discourse. The following example from a research talk illustrates this:

You remember I mentioned *um*, that *uh* Sir William B. Hardy, in nineteen twenty-five or thereabout, *uh* did an experiment dropping fatty acid in water. (Swales 2003: 208)

Swales also found the same level of informality and casualness in academic speech as in conversational discourse. The following example from the opening of an ecology colloquium is an example of this. This example shows the extended co-ordination of clausal units by the use of *and* referred to earlier. The hedge *sort of* at the beginning is also typical of conversational discourse, as well as spoken academic discourse:

what we plan to here is *uh* i'll talk for a little bit, *um*, about *sort of* the underlying theoretical framework that we think we are operating under here *and* then when I finish that, there'll be just five minutes or so *and* then i'll talk about the work that we're doing in Nicaragua *and* when I finish talking about the work that we're doing in Nicaragua, why Ivette will talk about the work that we're doing in Mexico, *and* then finally when fe- she finished why i'll come back up here to talk *uh*, *um* a little bit s- more reflective about how the, *uh* theoretical framework fits into the work that we're doing *and* what we plan to do in the future *and* how people might be, might b- *uh* be wanting to join us, okay? (Swales 2003: 209)

Hyland's (2004b) study of the discourse structure of second language students' dissertation acknowledgements is a further example of a corpus study that examines the discourse structure of part of a genre, as well as the social role of this part of the discourse. His analysis shows not only the typical ways in which these texts are organized but also how students use their texts to display their disciplinary membership and networks at the same time as they express gratitude to the people that have helped them in their academic undertaking. As Hyland (2004b: 323) points out, these short and seemingly simple texts 'bridge the personal and the public, the social and the professional, and the academic and the moral'. Through these texts students balance debts and responsibilities at the same time as they give their readers 'a glimpse of a writer enmeshed in a network of personal and academic relationships'. The following is an example of how one of the students in Hyland's study expressed gratitude in their dissertation acknowledgements section:

The writing of an MA thesis is not an easy task. During the time of writing I received support and help from many people. In particular, I am profoundly indebted to my supervisor, Dr James Fung, who was

very generous with his time and knowledge and assisted me in each step to complete the thesis. *I am grateful to* The School of Humanities and Social Sciences of HKUST whose research travel grant made the field work possible. *Many thanks also to* those who helped arrange the field work for me. And finally, but not least, *thanks go to* my whole family who have been an important and indispensable source of spiritual support. However, *I am the only person responsible for errors in the thesis*. (Hyland 2004b: 309)

In this acknowledgements section, the student shows disciplinary membership and allegiances at the same time as thanking people for their support. The acknowledgement observes appropriate academic values of modesty (*The writing of an MA thesis is not an easy task*), gratitude (*I am profoundly indebted to, I am grateful to, Many thanks to, etc.*) and self-effacement (*I am the only person responsible for errors in the thesis*). This study then, as with the Swales study, reveals not only important characteristics of academic discourse, but also what the use of this discourse means in social and interpersonal terms.

7.5.1 A sample study: Academic writing and identity

Hyland (2008c, 2010) employed corpus techniques in his analysis of the writing of the applied linguist John Swales. Swales is a researcher who has been extremely influential in the area of teaching English for specific purposes and research related to that area. His research into genre analysis (e.g. Swales 1981, 1990, 2004) has been the basis for much research into the analysis of academic genres which is aimed at providing a research base for the teaching of academic writing. Swales has been described as having a distinctive prose style (Hyland 2008c) but until recently there had been little analysis of this aspect of his work. Hyland (2008c, 2010) studied Swales's writing using a corpus of 342,000 words made up of fourteen single-authored papers and most of the chapters from his books *Genre Analysis: English in Academic and Research Settings* (Swales 1990), *Other Floors, Other Voices: A Textography of a Small University Building* (Swales 1998) and *Research Genres: Explorations and Applications* (Swales 2004). He then compared the Swales corpus with a larger reference corpus of 750,000 words made up of 75 research articles and 25 chapters from books in the area of applied linguistics. Hyland used WordSmith Tools version 4 (Scott 2004) to search for the most frequent single words and multi-word clusters in Swales's writing. He then concordanced the more frequent items into categories to try to capture the central aspects of Swales's writing. In doing this, Hyland aimed to explore not only typical features of Swales's writing, but also what these revealed about Swales the person in terms of his identity as an academic writer, that is, how, through his use of language Swales both constructed and performed a particular academic identity.

Hyland found, beyond key content words such as *research, genre, English, discourse, language, academic* and *writing*, an extremely high level of *self-mention* (Hyland 2001) such as *I* and *my*, in Swales's texts. Swales used these items at nearly double the level of that found in the reference corpus, 9.1. times per 1,000 words in Swales's work compared to 5.2 times per 1,000 words in the reference corpus, suggesting a very high level of personal investment, personal conviction and human voice in Swales's writing (Hyland 2008c). This is in marked contrast with the common view that academic writers should not (or rather do not) use personal pronouns in their writing.

Hyland also found a respect for opposing views in Swales' writing by his use of *hedges* (Hyland 1998a) such as *suggest*, *probably* and *perhaps*. When Swales wants to make a claim, however, he does this unambiguously by using items such as *certainly* and multi-word groups such as *The key point I want to make*. Swales tends to evaluate issues positively using items such as *remarkable*, *proficient* and *dedicated*. He also engages his readers and draws them into his texts by addressing them as *the reader*, four times as often as in the reference corpus. Swales also commonly uses *we* to engage his readers as in *As we have seen* and *I think we know*. There is also a high level of *interactive metadiscourse* (Hyland 2005a) features in Swales's texts such as *in the next section* and *as we have seen* which aim to help readers follow his texts and the arguments he is making. What we see, then, in Swales's writing is a gentle, self-deprecating author (Hyland 2008c) who is aware, and considerate of, his readers, who considers others' points of view and, at times, understates his position, and contribution to the field.

What Hyland's study shows is how authorial identity is accomplished through sets of repeated acts (Butler 1993) on repeated rhetorical occasions (Hyland 2010), and that this is achieved through the use of discourse. As Hyland (2011) argues, every text projects an identity claim. We do not do this in a vacuum, however. We do this by drawing on the resources available to us on the particular occasion, in the particular setting, and within the particular community of practice. Corpus techniques, then, are able to help us understand what those resources are and how expert writers draw on them to construct representations of who they are and how they wish to be seen.

7.6 Design and construction of corpora

There are a number of already-established corpora that can be used for doing corpus-based discourse studies. These contain data that can be used for asking very many questions about the use of spoken and written discourse both in general and in specific areas of use, such as academic writing or speaking. If, however, your interest is in what happens in a particular genre, or in a particular genre in a setting for which there is no available data, then you will have to make up your own corpus for your study.

Hyland's (2002a) study of the use of personal pronouns such as *I*, *me*, *we* and *us* in Hong Kong student's academic writing is an example of a corpus that was designed to answer a question about the use of discourse in a particular genre, in a particular setting. The specific aim of his study was to examine the extent to which student writers use self-mention in their texts 'to strengthen their arguments and gain personal recognition for their claims' in their written discourse, as expert writers do (178). His question was related to issues of discourse and identity, and the place of this writing practice in a particular academic and social community. A corpus collected at another institution or in another country would not have told him what students at his institution did. He was, however, able to use an existing corpus to compare his findings with how published academic writers use personal pronouns in their writing as a reference point for his study. Thus, by using his own custom-made corpus and an existing corpus, he was able to compare the findings of his study

with the practices of the broader academic community and make observations about the way the students position themselves in the discourse, in particular, on the basis of this.

Harwood (2005) also compiled his own corpus for his study of the use of the personal pronouns *I* and *we* in journal research articles. For his study, Harwood selected research articles from electronic versions of journals as well as manually scanned articles and converted them to text format. His analysis of his data was both quantitative and qualitative. The quantitative analysis examined the frequency of writers' use of *I* and *we* in the texts and the disciplines in which this occurred. The qualitative analysis examined the use of *I* and *we* from a functional perspective, that is, what the function was of these items in the texts, as well as possible explanations for their use. He then compared his findings with explanations of the use of *I* and *we* in published academic writing textbooks.

A further example of a researcher-compiled corpus is Ooi's (2001) study of the language of personal ads on the World Wide Web (discussed later in this chapter). Ooi had to make up his own corpus to see how people use language in this particular genre. A large-scale corpus of language use on the World Wide Web, in general, would not have told him this. 'Off the shelf' corpora and custom-made corpora, then, each have their strengths and their limitations. The choice of which to use is, in part, a matter of the research question, as well as the availability, or not, of a suitable corpus to help with answering the question.

It is not necessarily the case, however, that a custom-made corpus needs to be especially large. It depends on what the purpose of collecting the corpus is. As Sinclair (2001) has argued, small manageable corpora can be put together relatively quickly and can be honed to very specific genres and very specific areas of discourse use. They can also be extremely useful for the teaching of particular genres and for investigating learner needs. Maggie Charles (2018), for example, has very successfully used student-created corpora in the teaching of academic writing.

7.7 Issues to consider in constructing a corpus

There are a number of issues that need to be considered when constructing a corpus. The first of these is what to include in the corpus, that is, the variety or dialect of the language, the genre/s to be included, whether the texts should be spoken, written or both, and whether the texts should be monologic, dialogic or multiparty. The next issue is the size of the corpus and of the individual texts, as well as the number of texts to include in each category. The issue is not, however, just corpus size, but also the way in which the data will be collected and the kinds of question that will be examined using the data (McCarthy and Carter 2001). Even a small corpus can be useful for investigating certain discourse features. The sources and subject matter of the texts may also be an issue that needs to be considered. Other issues include sociolinguistic and demographic considerations such as the nationality, gender, age, occupation, education level, native language or dialect, and the relationship between participants in the texts.

7.7.1 Authenticity, representativeness and validity of the corpus

Authenticity, representativeness and validity are also issues in corpus construction, as well as whether the corpus should present a static or a dynamic picture of the discourse under examination, that is, whether it should be a sample of discourse use at one particular point in time (a static, or sample corpus) or whether it should give more of a 'moving picture' view of the discourse that shows change in language use over a period of time (a dynamic, or monitor corpus).

7.7.2 Kinds of texts to include in the corpus

A key issue is what kind of texts the corpus should contain. This decision may be based on what the corpus is designed for, but it may also be constrained by what texts are available. Another issue is the permanence of the corpus, that is, whether it will be regularly updated so that it doesn't become unrepresentative, or whether it will remain as an example of the use of discourse at a particular point in time.

7.7.3 Size of the texts in the corpus

The size of texts in the corpus is also a consideration. Some corpora aim for an even sample size of individual texts. If, for example, the corpus aims to represent a particular genre, and instances of the genre are typically long, or short, this needs to be reflected in the collection of texts that make up the corpus.

7.7.4 Sampling and representativeness of the corpus

Sampling is also an issue in corpus design. The key issue here is defining the target population that the corpus is wishing to represent. Biber (1994: 378) points out that while any selection of texts is a sample,

Whether or not a sample is 'representative', however, depends first of all on the extent to which it is selected from the range of text types in the target population; an assessment of this representativeness thus depends on a prior full definition of the 'population' that the sample is intended to represent, and the techniques used to select the sample from that population.

The representativeness of the corpus further

depends on the extent to which it includes the range of linguistic distribution in the population. That is, different linguistic features are differently distributed (within texts, across texts, across text types), and a representative corpus must enable analysis of these various distributions. (Biber 1994: 378)

A corpus, then, needs to aim for both representativeness and balance, both of which, as Kennedy (1998) points out, are in the end matters of judgement and approximation.

All of this cannot be done at the outset, however. The compilation of the corpus needs to take place in a cyclical fashion with the original design being based on theoretical and pilot study analyses, followed by the collection of the texts, investigation of the discourse features under investigation, then, in turn, revision of the design (Biber 1994). As Reppen and Simpson (2010) explain, no corpus can be everything to everyone and any corpus, in the end, 'is a compromise between the desirable and the feasible' (Stubbs 2004: 113).

7.8 The Longman Spoken and Written English corpus

The *Longman Spoken and Written English* (LSWE) corpus is an important example of a large-scale corpus study. The LSWE was used at the basis for the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. The LSWE corpus is made up of forty million words, representing four major discourse types: conversation, fiction, news and academic prose, with two additional categories, non-conversational speech (such as lectures and public meetings) and general written non-fiction prose.

The main source of the conversational data in the corpus was British English, although a smaller sample of conversational American English data was added for comparison. The news data contained an almost equivalent amount of British English and American English data. The fiction sample drew on British English and American English, as did the academic prose. The non-conversational speech was all British English data, and the general prose contained both British English and American English data.

The study was designed to contain about five million words of text in each discourse category. Most of the texts in the corpus were produced after 1980 so the sample is mostly of contemporary British and American English usage. The corpus was made up of 37,244 texts and approximately 40,026,000 words. The texts in the corpus varied, however, in length. The newspaper texts tended to be the shortest while fiction, and academic prose were the longest.

The LSWE corpus aimed to provide a representative sampling of texts across the discourse types it contained. The conversational data in the corpus was collected in real-life settings and is many times larger than most other collections of conversational data. Both the British and the American conversational data were collected from representative samples of the British and US populations. The conversational data in the corpus aimed to represent a range of English speakers in terms of age, sex, social and regional groupings (Biber et al. 1999).

7.8.1 Discourse characteristics of conversational English

The major aim of the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, which was derived from the LSWE corpus, was to provide a grammar of English based on an analysis of actual language use.

The project has also made important observations about discourse characteristics of conversational English. Some of these characteristics are described in the following sections. The data used to illustrate these features is a family argument from a reality television show.

7.8.2 Non-clausal units in conversational discourse

A key observation made in the Longman grammar is that conversational discourse makes wide use of *non-clausal units*, that is, utterances which do not contain an explicit subject or verb. These units are independent or self-standing in that they have no grammatical connection with what immediately precedes or follows them. The use of these units in conversational discourse is very different from written discourse where they rarely occur. Conversation, as Biber et al. (1999) point out, is highly interactive and often avoids elaboration, or specification of meaning. The use of non-clausal units is, in part, a result of this. The non-clausal units in the following extract are in italics:

- Ryan: And . . . can I have a DJ too, is that OK?
 Marie: *John?*
 John: *What?*
 Marie: Can he have a DJ . . . *a DJ?*
 Ryan: Cause you won't be spending much on food so I thought . . .
 John: Well, how much does a DJ cost?
 Ryan: *Yeah*, I've gotta find out.
 Marie: [to Ryan] *The DJ*, why d'you have to have a DJ? What does he do? *Just plays records all night?*
 Marie: [to John] What d'you think about the DJ, is that OK with you?
 John: I just wanna know how much it is, first.
 Marie: [to Ryan] *Right*, that's what you've gotta do first, *right?*
 Ryan: I'm gonna have to get Paul to come over, too.
 Marie: *Why?*
 Ryan: So people don't crash the party.
 Marie: They won't crash the party, sweetheart, you can easily put them off.
 Ryan: *Oh yeah, yeah*, maybe twenty years ago, Mum, you know. Today . . . if . . . there'd be easy another forty people if you didn't have a person at the gate.
 John: [Quietly] *Bullshit*.

7.8.3 Personal pronouns and ellipsis in conversation

Conversational discourse also makes wide use of personal pronouns and ellipsis. This is largely because of the shared context in which conversation occurs. The meaning of these items and what has been left out of the conversation can usually be derived from the context in which the conversation is taking place. In the following example, which continues on from the previous extract, the identity of *I* (John) and *you* (Ryan) are clear from the situation in which the people are speaking and cannot be derived from the text alone:

- John: Look, *I* don't want [to be embarrassed . . .
 Marie: [But . . . Don't *you* think it's a little dramatic
 saying you've gotta have a bouncer at a private [person's party?
 Ryan: [OK . . . Fine . . .

Later in the conversation, Marie and John are alone. There is an ellipsis in John's reply to Marie as they both know what he is referring to in his reply. There is no need for him to repeat this. The ellipsis is in italics, in brackets:

- Marie: I hope you're gonna put that magazine down and give me a bit of hand in a minute.
 John: [*You want me to give you a*] Bit of a hand with what?

7.8.4 Situational ellipsis in conversation

Some of what speakers say in conversational discourse, thus, is predictable and does not need to be fully spelled out. Speakers often use *situational ellipsis* in conversation, leaving out words of low information value where the meaning of the missing item or items can be derived from the immediate context, rather than from elsewhere in the text. For example, John leaves out the subject and the verb in the following utterance when he sums up what he thinks about the number of people that might come to the party:

- John: We've only got room for thirty people here, maximum, so if you've invited thirty-seven and they're all going to bring friends, we haven't got enough room, have we? *Common sense*.

He does this again, later in the conversation:

- John: If you wanna have a party here, forty people is the limit. *Simple as that*.

7.8.5 Non-clausal units as elliptic replies in conversation

Non-clausal units as elliptic replies often occur in conversational discourse, as in the following example where Marie simply says, 'Why (do you have to get Paul to come over)?' In the shared social situation in which the conversation is taking place, both speakers know what she is asking about:

- Ryan: I'm gonna have to get Paul to come over, too.
 Marie: *Why?*

7.8.6 Repetition in conversation

Conversation also uses repetition much more than written discourse. This might be done, for example, to give added emphasis to a point being made in a conversation. One way that speakers

may do this is by echoing each other. An example from further in the conversation illustrates this. Marie's loud repetition of John's *I don't know why* emphasizes the point she wants to make:

Marie: It's more drama living in this house than out of it

John: (Quietly) *I don't know why*.

Marie: (Loudly) *I don't know why*.

Later in the conversation, Marie and John both make repeated use of parallel structures which is also typical of conversational discourse. In this case, their use of repeated structures gives emphasis to their disagreement with what Ryan has just said:

Ryan: *You guys are livin' in the past*, I think. John: No we're not. No we're not.

Marie: *We're living in our home*.

John: *We're living in our time*, right here and now.

Marie: *We're living in our home*. *We're living in our home*, Ryan

John: *We're not living in the past*.

7.8.7 Lexical bundles in conversational discourse

Conversational discourse also makes frequent use of lexical bundles, that is, formulaic multi-word sequences such as *It's going to be*, *If you want to* and or *something like that* (Biber et al. 2004). Research has shown that lexical bundles occur much more frequently in spoken discourse than they do in written discourse. Speakers may, for example, use them to give themselves time to think what they will say next. They do this as conversation occurs in real time, and speakers often take and hold on to the floor at the same time as they are planning what to say next. Ryan uses the lexical bundle *I'm just saying*, and then the utterance launcher *well*, to take and hold on to his turn while he plans what to say to Marie:

Marie: Why do you need a bouncer at the gate? Come on.

Ryan: *I'm just saying, well* say I invite three guys, they bring a friend along. He's . . . a guy that I don't like . . .

John gives himself thinking time with *All I'm saying is* in the following example:

John: *All I'm saying is* if you've invited thirty-seven people and . . . they're all going to bring friends, you can't bring friends

A speaker may also use lexical bundles to give the person they are speaking to time to process what they have just said. Ryan does this with his use of *you know* when he says:

Ryan: Maybe twenty years ago, Mum, *you know*. Today . . . if . . .

As does John in:

John: I don't want to be embarrassed, *you know*

Lexical bundles can also function as *discourse organizers* in conversation. Ryan uses the lexical bundle *Here we go again* to show that the conversation has gone back to the original topic in the following:

- John: Well, if you've got any idea that there's gonna be trouble here . . . then we don't want trouble.
 Ryan: Ah, *here we go again*. I didn't . . .

7.8.8 Performance phenomena of conversational discourse

The Longman grammar discusses performance phenomena that are characteristic of conversational discourse. Speakers need to both plan what they are going to say and speak at the same time as they are doing this, meaning that their speech contains pauses, hesitations and repetitions while this happens.

7.8.9 Silent and filled pauses in conversation

Performance phenomena that are characteristic of conversational discourse include silent and filled pauses, in the middle of a turn or a grammatical unit. In the following example, Marie uses a silent pause to hold on to her turn. As she has not completed a syntactic unit, she is less in danger of losing the turn than if she were to pause at the end of the unit:

- Marie: You are being . . . a sixteen-year-old twit. Sit down and write down your guests.

7.8.10 Utterance launchers and filled pauses

Filled pauses at transition points in conversational discourse typically use *utterance launchers* such as 'well', 'and' and 'right' as the speaker prepares what they will say. At the beginning of the conversation, Ryan uses 'and' as an utterance launcher:

- Ryan: *And* . . . can I have a DJ too, is that OK?

John and Marie both use *Well* as utterance launchers to take follow-up turns and fill potential pauses as they discuss how many people are coming to the party:

- John: How many people's coming?
 Marie: *Well*, he wrote the invitations yesterday
 John: *Well*, how many's he invited?
 Marie: I don't know.
 John: *Well*, find out how many he's invited!
 Marie: Will we need a bouncer?
 John: *Well*, we'll have to find out how many's comin'

Later, Marie uses *Right* as an utterance launcher to both take the turn, to fill a pause and to affirm the point she is about to make:

Marie: *Right*, so we get out there and we do the twist and the bop and the shimmy shimmy and whatever, do we?

7.8.11 Attention signals in conversation

Speakers often use another person's name as an *attention signal* to make it clear who they are speaking to as in:

Marie: *John*?
John: What?

7.8.12 Response elicitors in conversation

There are a number of typical ways of eliciting a response in conversational discourse. A question tag, for example, can function as a response elicitor as in:

Marie: We'll keep an orderly party for Saturday night . . . *All right?*

as can a single item as in the following example:

Marie: We had your damn party over at the park. We didn't have any gatecrashers.
Ryan: Party over at the park. How old was I Mum? *Eight?*
Marie: Six.

7.8.13 Non-clausal items as response forms

Non-clausal items such as *uh huh*, *mm*, *yeah* and *OK* often operate as response forms in conversation as in the following:

Marie: The DJ, why d'you have to have a DJ? What does he do? Just plays records all night?
Ryan: *Yeah*.

7.8.14 Extended co-ordination of clauses

Conversational discourse often includes long-extended turns. These turns may be extended by co-ordination where one clausal unit is added to another and then another with items such as *and* and *but*, or by the direct juxtaposition of clauses as in the following:

Ryan: We'll leave the gate open. We'll leave the pontoon there, *and* you'll see just see. You . . . you think I'm so stupid. *But* if you . . . you look around and open your eyes, you'll see.

7.8.15 Constructional principles of conversational discourse

The Longman grammar discusses three key principles which underlie the production of conversational discourse. The principle of *keep talking* refers to the need to keep a conversation going while planning for the conversation that is going on. The principle of *limited planning ahead* refers to human memory limitations on planning ahead, that is, restrictions on the amount of syntactic information that can be stored in memory while the planning is taking place. The principle of *qualification of what has been said* refers to the need to qualify what has been said 'after the event' and to add things which otherwise would have already been said in the conversation. This may be done by the use of digressions inserted in the middle of something else, or by the use of 'add-ons' to what has been said.

In the following example, a main clause is added on, retrospectively, to make the first part of the sentence a dependent clause:

Ryan: You guys are livin' in the past, *I think*.

7.8.16 Prefaces in conversation

In conversation, the main part of a speaker's message is often preceded by a *preface* which connects what they have to say to the previous utterance as well as giving the speaker time to plan what they will say next. Prefaces may include fronting of clausal units, noun phrase discourse markers and other expressions such as interjections, response forms, stance adverbs, linking adverbs, overtures, utterance launchers and the non-initial use of discourse markers. Following is an example of a noun phrase, the object of the sentence, used as a preface:

Marie: *The DJ*, why d'you have to have a DJ?

In the next example, Marie uses a single word (*Truly*) as a preface to orient John to what she is about to say:

Marie: *Truly*, it's more drama living in this house than out of it.

The following is an example of a lexical bundle (*All I'm saying is*) being used as an overture to preface what John wants to say:

John: *All I'm saying is*, if you've invited thirty-seven people . . . and they're all going to bring friends, you can't bring friends.

7.8.17 Tags in conversation

Speakers add tags in many ways as an afterthought to a grammatical unit in conversational discourse. They can do this by use of a question tag at the end of a sentence. The effect of this is to turn a statement into a question. Ryan does this in his reply to John and Marie:

- Marie: Well, there's not going to be any trouble.
 John: Well, Ryan seems to think there is.
 Ryan: Oh yeah, there's gonna be gang warfare in my backyard, *is there?*

A tag can also be added to the end of a statement to reinforce what has just been said. This can be done by repeating a noun phrase, by paraphrasing what has been said or by adding a clausal or non-clausal unit retrospectively to what has just been said. In the following example, Marie paraphrases *now* as *right this minute*:

Marie: You can cut it out now, *right this minute*.

Conversational discourse, then, has many features which are not typical of more formal kinds of spoken discourse, or of written discourse. Because conversation takes place in a shared context, and in real time there is often less specification of meaning than there is in other spoken and written genres. Also, because conversation takes place between people who usually know each other, it is less influenced by traditional views of accuracy and correctness that is associated with more publicly available texts. The need to keep talking while planning what to say next also has an influence on the nature of conversational discourse.

7.9 Collocation and corpus studies

Corpus studies have also been used to examine collocations in spoken and written discourse. Hyland and Tse's (2004) study of dissertation acknowledgements, for example, found that the collocation 'special thanks' was the most common way in which dissertation writers expressed gratitude in the acknowledgements section of their dissertations. This was followed by 'sincere thanks' and 'deep thanks'. They found this by searching their corpus to see how the writers typically expressed gratitude, and then what items typically occur to the left of the item 'thanks'. Through their use of language, Hyland and Tse (2004: 273) argue, dissertation students 'display their immersion in scholarly networks, their active disciplinary membership, and their observance of the valued academic norms of modesty, gratitude and appropriate self-effacement', as the example in the previous section shows.

Ooi (2001) carried out a corpus-based study of the language of personal ads on internet sites in the United States and in Singapore, while Bruhiaux (1994) carried out a corpus-based study of the language of ads in personal columns in the *LA Weekly*. Ooi used the concordance programme *WordSmith Tools* (Scott 2004) to examine word frequency and lexical and grammatical collocations in his sample texts. His interest was in how people in different cultures communicate on the internet on the same topic and in the same genre, as well as what gender differences there might be in the ways that they do this. He found, for example, that many US writers used the terms 'attractive' and 'great' as descriptive devices, whereas the Singaporean writers largely did not. When writers used the item 'old', many more men preceded this with a specification of age (as in '39 years old') than did women. The verb 'looking for' predominated the data and commonly collocated with an item which represented the writer's 'hope or dream', as in 'someone special', 'that special woman', 'a

discreet relationship' and so on. Ooi then goes on to suggest ways in which students can carry out studies of this kind, looking for features of the language of romance, dating, intimacy and desire.

Bruthiaux (1994) found in his study that writers frequently used *personal chaining* and *hyphenated items* in personal advertisements, that is, strings of adjectives and nouns such as *artistic, athletic, adorable 18–32 year old* (personal chaining) and hyphenated items such as *good-looking* (hyphenated items) that collocate with nouns such as *man* and *woman* and synonyms of these items. There was also a high use of conventionalized abbreviations for collocations such as *SAM* for single Asian male and *SWF* for single white female. The following contains an example of the use of a conventionalized abbreviation (*SWF*) and examples of personal chaining (in italics):

Serene, cerebral beauty, SWF, 34 journalist, wants to turn new page with *sage, intrepid, winsome, commitment-minded professional*. (Bruthiaux 1994: 149)

The genre of personal ads, further, commonly uses *linguistic simplification* and an economy of language that is characteristic of other discourse types, such as newspaper headlines, academic note taking and conversational discourse. The following example has an abbreviated 'heading' (*SWF*), personal chaining (*attractive, young 40, cool, off-beat guy 30–45*) and a non-clausal unit (*Secure and laid back*) as an add-on, a feature which is also characteristic of conversational discourse:

SWF, *attractive, young 40, seeks cool, off-beat guy 30–45* who likes film, literature, music, outdoors. *Secure and laid back*. (Bruthiaux 1994: 149)

7.10 Criticisms of corpus studies

There have, however, been criticisms of corpus studies. Flowerdew (2005) and Handford (2010) provide a summary of and response to some of these criticisms. One criticism is that the computer-based orientation of corpus studies is a bottom-up investigation of language use. A further criticism is that corpora are so large that they do not allow for a consideration of contextual aspects of texts (Virtanen 2009; Widdowson 1995, 2000, 2004). Tribble (2002) counters this view by providing a detailed discussion of contextual features, such as the social context of the text, communicative purpose of the text, roles of readers and writers of the text, shared cultural values required of readers and writers of the text and knowledge of other texts that can be considered in corpus studies to help address this issue. Each of these features, he argues, can be drawn on to locate the analysis and to give the findings a strong contextual dimension. As he argues, understanding language use includes understanding social and contextual knowledge, not just knowledge of the language system. Table 7.1 presents the contextual and linguistic components of Tribble's framework. This kind of analysis is especially suited to smaller, specialized corpora which have a genre focus (e.g. academic essays) rather than a register focus (e.g. academic discourse) (Handford 2010). Tribble suggests three stages for this kind of analysis: (1) choose a text which is considered an expert example of the particular genre, (2) compile contextual information about how the text was created and (3) carry out a corpus-assisted analysis of linguistic features of the texts that can then be integrated with the contextual analysis.

Table 7.1 Contextual and Linguistic Framework for Analysis

<i>Contextual analysis</i>	
Name	What is the name of the genre of which the text is an example?
Social context	In what social setting is this kind of text typically produced? What constraints and obligations does this impose on the text?
Communicative purpose	What is the communicative purpose of the text?
Role	What roles may be required of writers and readers/speakers and their audience in the use of this genre?
Cultural values	What cultural values are shared by writers and readers/speakers and their audience in the performance of this genre?
Text context	What knowledge of other texts may be required by writers and readers/speakers and their audience in this example of the genre?
Formal text features	What shared knowledge of written or spoken conventions are required to effectively use this genre?
<i>Linguistic analysis</i>	
Lexico-grammatical features	What lexico-grammatical features of the text are statistically prominent and stylistically salient?
Text relations/textual patterning	Can textual patterns be identified in the text? What is the reason for such textual patterning?
Text structure	How is the text organized as a series of units of meaning?

Based on Tribble (2002).

One way of gaining contextual information for an analysis is by the use of interviews and focus group discussions with users of the genre and consideration of the textual information revealed in the corpus study in relation to this information, as Hyland (2004c) did in his *Disciplinary Discourses*. The analysis can also be combined with other contextual information available on the data such as information on the speech event and speaker attributes and other information that is available on the data, such as the information that accompanies the MICASE and BAWE corpora. Each of these strategies can help offset the argument that corpus studies are, necessarily, decontextualized and only of interest at the item rather than the discourse level (see Handford 2010 for further discussion of this).

7.11 Summary

This chapter has outlined key issues in corpus-based approaches to discourse analysis. It has described different kinds of corpora as well as the role they play in corpus studies. It has given examples of both written and spoken corpora and provided details of how they can be accessed. The chapter has also discussed issues in the design and construction of corpora. It has then discussed the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*, using data for a reality television show to illustrate the observations it makes about conversational discourse. Corpus studies of the social nature of discourse have also been discussed as well as the ways in which corpus studies have

contributed to our understanding of academic writing. The chapter has concluded with a review of criticisms of corpus studies as well as suggestions for how these criticisms might be addressed (see Baker 2020 for further advice on how to carry out corpus-assisted discourse analysis).

7.12 Discussion questions

- (1) Make a note of how people around you speak. To what extent is how they speak typical of some of the features of conversational discourse described in this chapter, such as non-clausal units, ellipsis, repetition and lexical bundles (see Section 7.7)?
- (2) Choose a sample of a written text you often read. What are some discourse features that are typical of this kind of text? How could a corpus study help you examine this?
- (3) Have a look at the findings of a discourse-oriented corpus study. How do you think an ethnographic examination of the texts that were examined would help explain its findings? Read Tribble (2002) for suggestions on this.

7.13 Data analysis projects

- (1) Look at Bruthiaux's (1994) corpus-based study of personal advertisements in the *LA Weekly*. Collect a similar set of data from a newspaper, magazine or internet site. Carry out a similar kind of analysis of one or more of the features that Bruthiaux examined. In what ways are your results similar to his and in what ways are they different? Why do you think this might be the case?
- (2) Read Ooi's (2001) chapter on investigating genres using the World Wide Web. Think of a genre you would like to investigate and carry out a similar investigation. Use Tribble's (2002) framework for considering the contextual aspects of your analysis. Develop a set of interview questions from Tribble's framework, then interview people who you think could help explain the findings of your analysis.
- (3) Record and then analyse a conversation between yourself and a friend for features which are characteristic of it being an example of conversational discourse in the terms outlined in the *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* (Biber et al. 1999).

7.14 Exercises

7.14.1 Exercise 1 Spoken discourse

The *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English* describes discourse characteristics of conversational English. In the following are extracts from the family argument that was analysed in this chapter.

Look for examples in these extracts of *non-clausal units*, *personal pronouns*, *ellipsis*, *situational ellipsis* and *repetition* of utterances:

(i)

- Marie: But when they walk down the side and they're not meant to be here, can't you walk up and say "Listen mate you can't stay here"? Can't you do that? Isn't that what you normally do? If someone came to my front door to a party that weren't . . . wasn't meant to be here, I'd go and say "You can't come in". Can't you do that?
- Ryan: [Pause, shakes head] You guys are livin' in the past, I think.
- John: No we're not. No we're not.

(ii)

- Marie: We had your party over at the park. We didn't have gatecrashers.
- Ryan: [Looks at Marie] Party over at the park, how old was I Mum? Eight?
- Marie: Six.

(iii)

- Marie: Tell them not to bring friends.
- Ryan: Oh, how'm I gonna do that?
- John: Of course you are.
- Marie: It's by invitation only.

(iv)

- Marie: You wanted to go to Newington. You got to go to Newington. You get all the privileges that go with being in a private school.
- Ryan: Oh . . . er . . . OK . . . I'm spoilt rotten . . . I'm spoilt rotten.
- John: [Leaning forward] The way you spoke . . . last week . . . yes!
- Ryan: [Leans back, arm outstretched towards Marie] Mum, I have no time for this conversation.

7.14.2 Exercise 2 English as a lingua franca in academic settings

The following extract is from a meeting between a PhD student and the student's supervisor in which they are discussing reasons why a paper had been published in a journal using a particular model, whereas the student's paper, using the same model, had been rejected. Both the student and the supervisor are non-native speakers of English and are using English as a lingua franca to communicate with each other. Look at the interaction and make a note of non-standard uses of English in the discourse. To what extent do you think these non-standard uses inhibit communication between the two speakers?

- Sp: Hmmm I think all this their suggestions are quite not not it's critical but it's also good and because mostly I think they don't like your idea or your method to evaluate in this way actually from the beginning I also don't like @@@
- St: The method?
- Sp: Models one case only
- St: Then that's usually not very convinced to people because the model can be a little shift then (xx) system can't exactly corresponding to where the station really located
- Sp: Huhhuh
- St: Yeah but but we need . one of these paper if you that one with the paper that we have cited that is already published in the same journal
- Sp: Hmm
-
- Sp: I think maybe we tried (what is) people don't like that especially people who do these Modellings, they don't like that (xx) they like the map
- St: Hmm
- Sp: They like the whole region what the whole region looks like or even this kind of hmm how to say single curve plots it's better just regional information but not single model
- St: Hmm
- Sp: Because single model compared with grids or in the model it's not very appropriate way to do that we all know that problem
- St: Yeah
- Sp: We try not to use that kind [of method]
- St: [Hmm but I] think we
- Sp: And then also next time I think we just neglect that kind of significant or statistic test that one I think they also don't like that

Key:

- St = student
- Sp = supervisor
- , = pause 2–3 seconds
- . = pause 3–4 seconds
- @ = laughter
- (xx) = unidentifiable word/utterance
- < > = transcriber's comments

Source: Björkman (2017: 124)

7.14.3 Exercise 3 Written discourse

Hyland (2010) also analysed the writing of the linguist Deborah Cameron with the goal of exploring the ways in which her academic identity is revealed through her writing. Look at the following extracts from Hyland's data. Features that Hyland found salient in her writing are in *italics*. To what extent do these features reveal a particular academic identity?

(i)

... *gender is regulated* and policed by rather rigid social norms.

... *language is actually* the symbolic arena in which some other ideological contest is being fought out.

(ii)

It is important to distinguish between the ideological representations of gender found in texts like conduct books and the actual practice of real historical gendered subjects.

It is difficult to think of any human occupation whose performance does not depend on some kind of knowledge.

(iii)

It is my own view that generalization remains a legitimate goal for social science . . .

What has not changed is my conviction that theoretical arguments about meaning are not just a side issue in debates on sexism in language.

In this context *it is problematic that* unmarked or generic occupational terms are also often masculine.

(iv)

The specification just quoted attracted criticism in the mid-1990s as an instance of the “politically correct” impulse to dignify even the most menial positions by describing them in absurdly elevated terms. In my view, *however*, what it really illustrates is a more general discursive and rhetorical shift in the way experts think and talk about all kinds of work.

(v)

In most cases the styles of speech women are urged to adopt are presented as gender neutral; they are simply the most effective ways of using language in a particular domain, regardless of the speaker’s gender. *Arguably however*, this is only a subtler form of androcentrism. *Undoubtedly*, the call centre industry is a hi-tech service industry which deals in symbols (words and bits); but as I will shortly seek to demonstrate by describing their work regime, the suggestion that operators have to deploy high levels of knowledge or skill in order to perform their functions is extremely misleading.

7.15 Directions for further reading

7.15.1 Further reading

Flowerdew, L. (2012), ‘Corpus-based discourse analysis’, in J. P. Gee and M. Handford (eds), *The Routledge Handbook of Discourse Analysis*, London: Routledge, pp. 174–87.

Lynne Flowerdew’s chapter discusses textual and contextual approaches to corpus-based discourse analysis, as well as corpus-assisted discourse studies and corpus-informed critical discourse studies.

She ends the chapter with an overview of recent developments and new challenges in corpus-based discourse analysis, in particular, the move to employ multimodal data in corpus studies.

7.15.2 Additional reading

Gray, B. and Biber, D. (2021), 'Corpus approaches to the study of discourse', in K. Hyland, B. Paltridge and L. L. C. Wong (eds), *Bloomsbury Handbook to Discourse Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 97–110.

In this chapter Gray and Biber describe how corpus tools can be used to examine variation in linguistic forms across language varieties and discourse contexts. The nature and strengths of corpus-based studies are discussed. A sample study is provided which compares structural complexity and elaboration in conversation and academic writing.

7.16 Sample studies

Baker, P. and McEnery, T. (2019), 'The value of revisiting and extending previous studies: The case of Islam in the UK press', in R. Scholz (ed.), *Quantifying Approaches to Discourse for Social Scientists*, London: Palgrave, pp. 215–49.

Baker and McEnery examine reference to Islam and Muslims in the British press by contrasting results of a study which looked at articles published from 1998 to 2009 with a more recent study that examined newspaper articles published from 2010 to 2014. While they found that some references to Islam and Muslims remained the same across both time periods, they also found that some usages had changed, in some cases quite substantially.

Kandil, M. and Belcher, D. (2011), 'ESP and corpus-informed critical discourse analysis: Understanding the power of genres of power', in D. Belcher, A. M. Johns and B. Paltridge (eds), *New Directions in English for Specific Purposes Research*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, pp. 252–70.

In this chapter, Kandil and Belcher show how corpus studies can be combined with other views on the nature of discourse, in this case, critical discourse analysis. A sample study which examines news reporting on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict on CNN, the BBC and Al-Jazeera is provided as an illustration of this.

Lee, J. J., Bychkovska, T. and Maxwell, J. D. (2019), 'Breaking the rules? A corpus-based comparison of informal features in L1 and L2 undergraduate student writing', *System*, 80: 143–53.

This article compares informal features, such as first-person personal pronouns (e.g. *I, me, my*), second-person personal pronouns (e.g. *you, your*), split infinitives (e.g. *to constantly struggle*) and contractions (e.g. *wasn't, isn't*), in student essays written by native and non-native speakers

of English. The data consisted of two corpora, 101 essays written by native speaker students and 254 essays written by non-native speaker students. The results of the study showed that the non-native speaker students' essays contained more informal features than the essays written by native speaker students, with both groups of writers using informal features in different and distinctive ways.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

Multimodal discourse analysis

Chapter Outline

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Many texts are constructed not just by the use of words but by the combination of words with other modalities, such as pictures, film, video images and sound. *Multimodal discourse analysis* considers how texts draw on modes of communication such as pictures, film, video, images and sound in combination with words to make meaning. It has examined print genres as well as genres such as web pages, film and television programmes. It considers how multimodal texts are designed and how semiotic tools such as colour, framing, focus and positioning of elements of images contribute to the making of meaning in these texts. These are topics that will be discussed in this chapter.

8.1 Background to multimodal discourse analysis

Much of the work in multimodal discourse analysis draws from Halliday's (1978, 1989) social-semiotic approach to language, a view that considers language as one among a number of semiotic

resources (such as gesture, images and music) that people use to communicate, or make meaning, with each other. Language, in this view, cannot be considered in isolation from meaning but needs to be considered within the sociocultural context in which it occurs. Multimodal discourse analysis, thus, aims to describe the socially situated semiotic resources that we draw on for communication.

Halliday (2009) describes three types of social meanings, or functions, that are drawn on simultaneously in the use of language. These are *ideational* (what the text is about), *interpersonal* (relations between participants) and *textual* meanings (how the message is organized). In multimodal texts, these meanings are realized visually in how the image conveys aspects of the real world (the ideational, or representational, meaning of the image), how the images engage with the viewer (the interpersonal, or modal, meaning of the image) and how the elements in an image are arranged to achieve its intention or effect (the textual, or compositional, meaning of the image) (Kress and van Leeuwen 2021). Examples of multimodal discourse analysis that are influenced by this view include Kress and van Leeuwen's (2021) *Reading images: The grammar of visual design*, Kress's (2010) *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*, van Leeuwen's (2005a) *Introducing social semiotics*, O'Halloran's (2004a) *Multimodal discourse analysis* and painter, Martin and Unsworth's (2012) *Reading visual narratives*. Machin and van Leeuwen (2007) discuss multimodality in relation to global media discourse; Bednarek and Martin (2010) and Jewitt et al. (2016) discuss systemic functional perspectives on multimodality; and Bednarek and Caple (2012) examine multimodality and news discourse.

Jewitt (2017) describes four theoretical assumptions that underlie multimodal discourse analysis. The first is that language is part of an *ensemble* of modes, each of which has equal potential to contribute to meaning. Images, gaze and posture, thus, do not just support meaning, they each contribute to meaning. The second is that each mode of communication realizes different meanings and that looking at language as the principal (or sole) medium of communication only reveals a partial view of what is being communicated. The third assumption is that people select from and configure these various modes in order to make meaning and that the interaction between these modes and the distribution of meanings between them are part of the production of meaning. The fourth assumption is that meanings that are made by the use of multimodal resources are, like language, social. These meanings, further, are shaped by the norms, rules and social conventions for the genre that are current at the particular time, in the particular context.

8.2 Examples of multimodal discourse analysis

When people communicate with each other, they most typically draw on a number of modes simultaneously, such as images, gesture, gaze and posture – as well as language (Ledin and Machin 2020; Jewitt 2017). Each of these modes has particular *affordances* (Gibson 1977; Jewitt et al. 2016) within the particular context, that is, what it is possible to represent and express through a particular mode (Kress 1993). This *meaning potential* (van Leeuwen 2005a) of the particular mode is 'shaped by how the mode has been used, what it has been repeatedly used to mean and do, and the social conventions that inform its use in context' (Jewitt 2017: 26).

The ways in which people reacted to the September 11 attacks on the Twin Towers of New York's World Trade Center, for example, were very much affected by the images they saw on television as they were by verbal reports of the events. This use of *multimodal discourse* (Ledin and Machin 2020) both established a 'proximity' to the events and engaged people in the events. Street shots from Manhattan helped to create proximity and involvement with the events. They compressed distance and brought images and experiences into people's homes that would otherwise have been unavailable to them. This moved the viewer from a position of 'spectator' to a position of 'witness' of the events. The use of video footage to accompany the reports put the viewer 'right there' in the scene of suffering, as the events were unfolding. The viewers were 'both there' yet powerless to act (Chouliaraki 2004).

The multimodal use of discourse is as much a feature of print genres as it is of television genres. The presentation of women in magazines, for example, relies not just on words on the page but also as much on the images that are used to accompany the words. These representations are not necessarily just local, and, in the case of magazines with a worldwide network of distribution and publication, are just as much global. The magazine *Cosmopolitan* is a case in point. *Cosmopolitan* is published in forty-four different versions across the world in countries such as the United Kingdom, the Netherlands, Germany, Spain, Greece, Finland, India, Taiwan, the United States, Brazil and others. While there are local differences in these editions of the magazine, there is also a global brand to the magazine and presentation of women in the magazine (Machin and Thornborrow 2003). Indeed, local editors of *Cosmopolitan* go to New York to learn about *Cosmo* so they can each adopt an identical focus and format in the local editions of the magazine (Machin and van Leeuwen 2007).

Cosmopolitan, Machin and Thornborrow argue, is not just about selling magazines to its readers. It is also about selling values of independence, power and fun. The multimodal use of discourse in the magazine highlights this. Women appear in the magazine as playful fantasies. Images of the caf  s they go to and the clothes they wear are presented and discussed in the pages of the magazine. *Cosmopolitan*, thus, has a 'brand', which it promotes via the magazine, as well as through other products such as television programmes, clothes and fashion and *Cosmo* caf  s. Central to this branding are the discourses it draws on and the strategies it employs for the presentation of its view of women and its underlying values of independence, power and entertainment. It does this through the background, setting, use of colour and lighting in the images it displays.

Women, as they are presented in *Cosmopolitan*, are aligned with the values and views of the magazine as well as with the other products that it sells. These values are expressed not just in words, but through the clothes that *Cosmo* women wear, the lipstick they use, the way they do their hair, the places they shop and the places they go to for lunch (Machin and Thornborrow 2003). These are all presented to readers of the magazine through a range of multimodal discourse practices, each of which contributes to a particular reading of the text (see Machin and Mayr 2012 for further discussion of *Cosmopolitan* from a multimodal perspective).

Research into representations of women on the covers of Japanese lifestyle magazines, however, has found examples of different kinds positioning in their choice of images. In her examination of the covers of *Nikkei Woman* and *President Woman*, magazines aimed at professional women in Japan, Yamaguchi (2016) considered choices in the use of images from a

critical perspective, including how these images related to views of women in Japanese society and in the workplace. She found that the magazines presented an idealized and unrealistic world for Japanese working women. There was a close relationship projected on the covers between successful Japanese working women and conventional gender roles such as being a wife, childbirth and doing household chores, and a belief that 'staying beautiful' at work plays a significant role in Japanese women's existence and behaviour at work. Yamaguchi points out that, despite the Japanese government's attempts to promote the role of women in the workforce and to appoint women to managerial positions, the social position of female workers and their working environments do not seem to have changed to any great extent, and that the images of women on the covers of the magazines both reflect and contribute to this lack of change. Konstatinovskaia (2020) makes a similar observation about the use of stereotyped visions of femininity in portrayals of women in Japanese television beauty advertisements. She shows how traditional notions of female submissiveness, dependency and weakness are reproduced through the representations of women and the view of women as being inferior to men is constantly recycled in the advertisements.

Images, then, have been given special attention in much of the work in multimodal discourse analysis. These images may include photographs, diagrams, maps or cartoons. Images, further, can be seen as having a grammar of their own. For example, the social relationship between an image and its viewer is strongly influenced by whether the subject in the image establishes eye contact with the viewer or does not. Each of these possibilities could be seen as an example of *mood*, where eye contact could perhaps suggest a demand, whereas no eye contact might suggest an offer. The *point of view*, or perspective, of the image is also relevant. For example, a horizontal image suggests involvement as the viewer is on the same level as the subject of the image. A high-angle shot might suggest superiority and a low-angle shot may suggest respect. Other meanings are conveyed through the distance of a shot (close vs medium vs long), the lighting, colour and focus of the shot, and the extent to which the image in the shot aims to reflect reality, or not (Feez, Iedema and White 2010).

Kate Kirkpatrick's (2019) biography of the French writer and feminist Simone de Beauvoir, *Becoming Beauvoir*, carries a picture of Beauvoir on the cover (see Figure 8.1). The photo of Beauvoir on the cover was taken in Paris in 1957, and her clothes and styling are reflective of that time. In the image, Beauvoir looks straight at the camera, establishing eye contact with the reader. Her face occupies most of the cover providing a closeness which also involves the reader. Her face is well lit and is in focus. The shot is horizontal suggesting the reader is on the same level as the subject of the image. The image, thus, aims to be read as true and real, and one that connects with its readers. The layout of the page and the placement of the image on it are also significant in that they each convey a certain *information value* as well as communicate the *salience* of the message to the readers (Kress and van Leeuwen 2021). The image of Beauvoir is centrally placed on the cover so as to be most eye-catching. It, further, dominates the cover in a way that gives a particular weight to the image. The two key elements on the cover (the words and the image) come together to provide a strong *intermodal complementarity* (Painter and Martin 2011) to the message on the page. The image, further, makes a strong interpersonal connection with readers by its use of front-on angle (showing *involvement*) and clarity (creating close *social distance*) and her eyes making

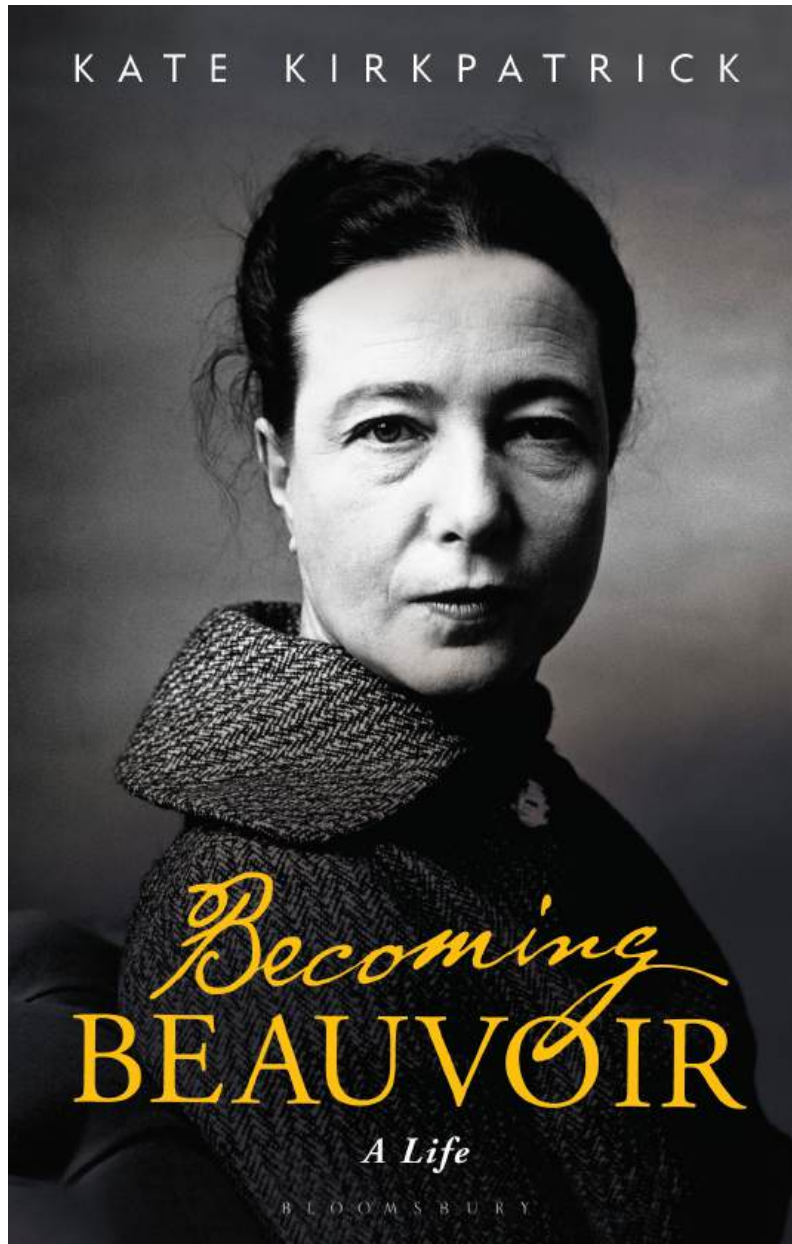


Figure 8.1 Cover of *Becoming Beauvoir* (Kirkpatrick 2019) © 2019 Bloomsbury Publishing. Plc. Used with permission.

direct contact with the readers (showing *visual focalization*). Each of the aspects of the *composition* of the page, *information value*, *salience* and *framing*, together with the *interpersonal* connection the image makes with its readers, thus, comes together to encourage a certain reading of the page. The image of Beauvoir, on the cover of *Becoming Beauvoir*, thus, aims to attract readers to buy the book and read about her in its pages.

Kress (2010), in *Multimodality: A social semiotic approach to contemporary communication*, provides a social-semiotic theory of multimodality. Among other things, a social-semiotic theory of multimodality asks are:

- *What meaning* is being made in a text?
- *How* is meaning being made in the text?
- What *resources* have been drawn on to make the meaning in the text?
- In what *social environment* is the meaning being made?
- *Whose interest* and *agency* is at work in the making of the meaning?

It does this by considering modes such as writing, images, colour and facial expressions and the relation between them. It considers which mode is foregrounded, which mode carries major informational weight and which mode has what function in the text (Kress 2010).

In the case of the cover of *Becoming Beauvoir*, the image of Simone de Beauvoir is foregrounded and carries the major informational load in the text. It aims to attract readers to buy the book and read about Simone de Beauvoir's life and how she 'became' who she was. The publishers of the book clearly have an interest in presenting an image which connects with readers and gives agency to the subject of the book as she is described by the author, Kate Kirkpatrick.

8.2.1 Genre, speech acts and multimodality

Van Leeuwen (2005a, 2005b, 2015) discusses speech acts and genre in relation to multimodality, using these two notions to capture the 'how' (vs the 'what') of multimodal communication. A key point he draws from speech act theory is how a speech act is both an *illocutionary act* (what the speech act is aiming to do) and a *perlocutionary act* (the effect it has on the thoughts and actions of people). An advertisement, thus, may aim to persuade a person to buy a particular product (the illocutionary act). If the person is convinced by the advertisement and buys the product, this is the effect, or *perlocutionary force*, of the advertisement. Texts, thus, draw on a range of modalities to create a perlocutionary effect. It is not just the words of the advertisement that persuade a person to buy the product. It is through the use of linguistic *and* visual resources in combination with other non-linguistic and contextual factors that this occurs (van Leeuwen 2005a).

Van Leeuwen discusses how genres provide resources, or templates, for doing things. The genre of service encounters, for example, and its accompanying 'stages' provide a conventionalized way of getting things done (in this case buying something) in a particular culture. Part of this will (or may) be done through language, as well as through actions such as handing goods and a credit card to a salesperson. With the case of other genres, such as taking money from an automatic teller machine, the verbal components of the interaction may be written and accompanied by visual components such as an image of how to insert the card and which buttons to press to complete the event. In some cases, both of these may be combined as in stores where customers are able to complete a purchase themselves by using a machine and without interacting with a salesperson at all. Throughout all of this, however, there will be routine ways in which the genre is performed and

often typical stages through which it moves, many of which may be multimodal, in order for the transaction to be successfully completed.

8.2.2 Multimodality and global media discourse

Machin and van Leeuwen (2007) discuss genre and multimodality in relation to global media discourse. Taking the example of advertisements in *Cosmopolitan* magazine, they show how their representations aim to create a certain perlocutionary effect on readers, that is, to use or purchase a particular service, or product. Using the example of an advertisement for a Health Diet Clinic, they show how the advertisement employs a ‘problem-solution’ rhetorical structure to do this. The problem presented in the advertisement is about skin problems. The solutions are in the Diet Clinic’s guidance and advice and the purchasing of a particular product, the Diet Clinic’s Skin Care System. The problems are expressed by use of strategies such as an image of blemished skin with accompanying texts such as, ‘Do you suffer from skin problems?’ The solution is a picture of the product for sale. The ‘result’ is a picture of unblemished skin. Both words and images, thus, interact in the advertisements to construct their particular message.

8.2.3 A genre and multimodality framework

Bateman (2008) discusses genre in relation to written genres, saying that nowadays

Text is just one strand in a complex presentational form that seamlessly incorporates visual aspects ‘around’, and sometimes even instead of, the text itself. (1)

Genre, he argues, plays a central role in all of this in that it is able to account for the range of possibilities for how multimodal texts are realized and the ways in which we interact with them. He proposes a *genre and multimodality framework* that provides several layers of description for multimodal texts. These are the *content structure*, the *genre structure*, the *rhetorical structure*, the *linguistic structure*, the *layout structure* and the *navigation structure* of the text. Each of these operates within the constraints of the physical nature of the text being produced (e.g. paper or screen size), constraints arising from production technologies (e.g. page limits, colour, size of graphics and deadlines) and consumption constraints (e.g. time, place and manner of obtaining and consuming the document, the ease with which the text can be read). A summary of Bateman’s framework can be seen in Table 8.1.

The cover of *Becoming Beauvoir* referred to earlier, thus, was constrained by the one-page limit for the cover and the need to produce a text that would be easily recognized and read. Colour is used simply, yet effectively, in the text. Even though the cover is in black and white, the image is clear suggesting accessibility of the subject matter of then book (see Kress and van Leeuwen 2021 for further discussion of colour in multimodal discourse). In terms of content structure, the text is equally simple. There is just the single image of Simone de Beauvoir, her family name, and a very brief title which gives a clue to the content of the book. In terms of genre structure, the image and the text appear simultaneously making up just a single ‘move’, a lead-in to the main text. The

Table 8.1 Bateman's (2008) Genre and Multimodality Framework

Structure	Description
<i>Content structure</i>	The content-related structure of the information to be communicated including propositional content
<i>Genre structure</i>	The individual stages or phases defined for a given genre: that is, how the delivery of the content proceeds through particular stages of the activity
<i>Rhetorical structure</i>	The rhetorical relationships between the content elements: that is, how the content is 'argued', divided into main and supporting material and structured rhetorically
<i>Linguistic structure</i>	The linguistic details of any verbal elements that are used to realize the layout elements of the page/document
<i>Layout structure</i>	The nature, appearance and position of communicative elements on the page, and their hierarchical interrelationships
<i>Navigation sequence</i>	The ways in which the intended mode(s) of consumption of the document is/are supported. This includes all elements on a page that serve to direct or assist the reader's consumption of the document

rhetorical structure is equally simple, made up of 'background' (the image) and 'elaboration' (the title of the article) which adds extra information to the image.

There is also a *Given-New* (Halliday 1985) arrangement to the cover of *Becoming Beauvoir*, where the image and Simone de Beauvoir's name is the information that is already known to readers, and the first word in the title of the book is what is not yet known by the them. This New element then becomes the Given component of a new Given-New relationship when the reader turns to the pages of the book to find out more. Similarly, the image might be called the Theme (see Chapter 6), or 'point of departure' of the message, while the title of the book is the Rheme, that is, what will be said 'about' the Theme, Simone de Beauvoir. The linguistic structures of the key verbal components of the text are just four words, the title of the book and a subtitle 'A Life', which suggest that this will be a biography. The layout structure follows a typical convention for book covers with the image being given central place, the title of the book above the image, and the author lower on the page, in what Kress and van Leeuwen (2021) term a 'vertical triptych' arrangement. The navigation structure for the written text requires the reader to consume the image and text on the cover before reading the full text of the book by opening its pages. The image and text, thus, set the scene for book. A summary of this analysis is presented in Table 8.2.

Figure 8.2 shows the cover to the first edition of this book, *Discourse Analysis* (Paltridge 2006). The layout of the cover is also a *vertical triptych*. The main Image is central with key text placed above and below the Image. The cover, thus, has a symmetrical and balanced arrangement. Kress and van Leeuwen (2021) describe the Image in this kind of layout as the *Centre* and the elements that are placed around it as the *Margins*. In this cover, the key informational content is in the Margins. The textual extracts that are part of the Image in the Centre are examples of spoken and written discourse. The Image, thus, is a visual representation of the theme of the book, discourse analysis. The key items in the Margins are the title of the book, the name of author, the name of the series the book belongs to, the name of the editor of the series, and the name and logo of the publisher. Most prominence is given to the title and author of the book. The text at the bottom of the page is given less prominence by the use of a smaller font and colours that have less salience

Table 8.2 An Analysis of the Cover of *Becoming Beauvoir* Using Bateman's Genre and Multimodality Framework

Structure	<i>Becoming Beauvoir</i> (Kirkpatrick 2019)
<i>Content structure</i>	Single-word title and name of the author give readers a clue to content of the book
<i>Genre structure</i>	Image and the text on the cover make up a single 'move', a lead-in to the full text of the book
<i>Rhetorical structure</i>	Given (image and Beauvoir's name) followed by New (Becoming). Theme (image of Beauvoir) and Rheme (title of the book).
<i>Linguistic structure</i>	Name of the author and publisher, plus noun groups
<i>Layout structure</i>	Image of Simone de Beauvoir dominates the page. Title and author of the book are in a prominent font
<i>Navigation sequence</i>	Reader consumes the image and the text on the cover before opening the pages of the book

than the text at the top of the page. The textual extracts that are part of the central Image are in smaller and less prominent fonts than the text at the top and bottom of the page and so have less salience than the text in the Margins. Most information value in this cover, thus, is given to the title of the book and the name of the author.

8.2.4 Multimodality and newspaper genres

Caple (2009, 2010) and Knox (2007, 2010) discuss newspaper genres from a multimodal perspective and how new technologies are leading to evolutions in these genres. Caple gives the example of *image-nuclear news stories*, that is, stories which comprise just a photograph and a heading, and/or a short caption (see Figure 8.3 for an example of an image-nuclear news story). Knox discusses *newsbites*, online newspaper texts which comprise a headline and an image with a hyperlink to a full story. Image-nuclear news stories, in contrast with newsbites, are independent texts in themselves and do not point to a fuller story elsewhere in the newspaper.

Newspapers often draw on the strength of visual images in image-nuclear news stories to capture and retain the interest of their readers (Caple 2009). In the majority of the texts Caple collected, she found that the headings that accompanied the images were an idiomatic expression that fitted with the subject matter of the photograph. For example, in an image-nuclear news story about drought in China there was an image of dry, cracked earth which had central prominence in the photo with a row of people in the background carrying work tools. The heading that accompanied the image, 'Dry hard with a vengeance', was a play on the 1995 American movie title *Die Hard: With a Vengeance*, the third in the *Die Hard* film series. In doing this, Caple argues, 'the newspaper is assuming knowledge on the part of the reader of the cultural allusions of the idioms, which in turn, enables the newspaper to express cultural and social solidarity with the readers' (250). The three components of this text are the *Heading*, which appears above the text, the *Image*, which has central place, and the *Caption*, which appears in a smaller font, usually beside the image. The Image orients the reader to the event being reported on and, together with the Heading, provides an intertextual reference to the reader's knowledge of idioms as well as the cultural and world knowledge required

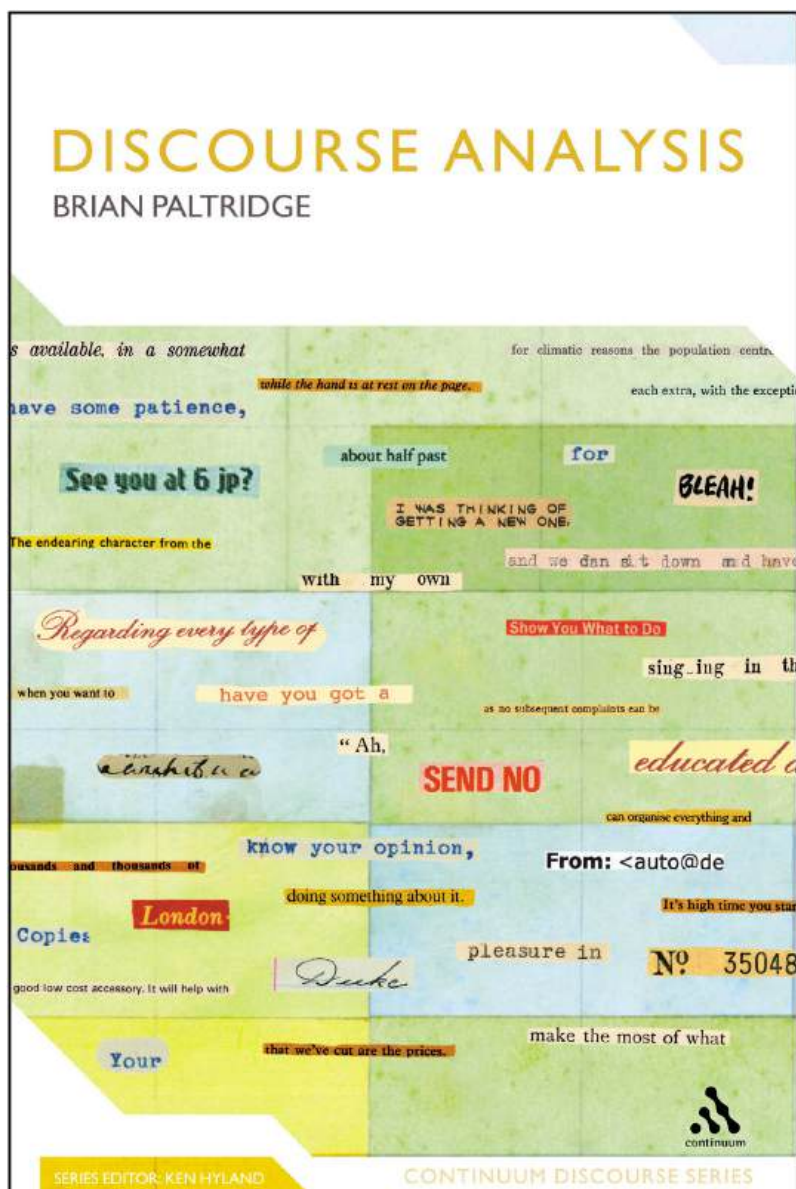


Figure 8.2 Cover of the first edition of *Discourse Analysis* (Paltridge 2006) © 2016 Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Used with permission.

for the particular reading of the text. This kind of allusion to films (as well as television, songs, literary works and sporting events etc.), she found, is common in these kinds of texts and often requires very specialized knowledge for the text–image relation to work (Caple 2010).

The artwork in the image-nuclear news story in Figure 8.3 is by the Chinese artist Sui Jianguo, a professor of sculpture at the Central Academy of Fine Arts in Beijing who creates (often very large) sculptures that reinterpret China's cultural symbols. The story has the three functional



Figure 8.3 An image-nuclear news story.

components that are typical of image-nuclear news stories: a Heading (Give the ladies a big hand), an Image and a Caption. The text below the Image (the Caption) contextualizes both the Image and the Heading, giving both the occasion (the women walking past the gallery) and location of the event (a former factory in Beijing that has been turned into an art gallery). The relationship between the text and the image in this story is typical of many image-nuclear news stories in that the Heading is a play on the expression 'to give someone a hand'. Here, the hand is enormous and the ladies, by comparison, are small creating a contrast between the two key components of the image. The aim is to create a humorous relationship between the words and the text. It does, of course, rely on the reader being familiar with both the literal and figurative meaning of the expression 'to give someone a hand' (in the singular, meaning the help someone, and in the plural, meaning to applaud someone). The hand is, literally, very big and is reaching out to the two women. The text also relies on the reader knowing who Chairman Mao is and his place in Chinese life (see Bednarek and Caple 2010, 2012; Knox 2007, 2009 for further discussion of online news genres).

8.2.5 Multimodality in film and television genres

Multimodality has also been discussed in relation to film and television genres. Iedema (2001) provides a framework for the analysis of films and television by drawing on work in film theory and

Table 8.3 Levels of Analysis for Television and Film Genres

Level	Description
Frame	A frame is a salient or representative still of a shot
Shot	In a shot, the camera movement is unedited (uncut); if the camera's position changes, this may be due to panning, tracking, zooming and so on, but not editing cuts
Scene	In a scene, the camera remains in one time-space, but is at the same time made up of more than one shot (otherwise it would be a shot)
Sequence	In a sequence, the camera moves with specific character(s) or subtopic across time-spaces; when it is hard to decide whether you're dealing with a scene (one time-space) or a sequence (multiple time-spaces), this is because editors may render time-space breaks as either more obvious (-> sequence boundary) or less obvious (-> scene boundary)
Generic stage	Roughly, stages are beginnings, middles and endings; each genre has a specific set of stages: narratives tend to have an orientation, a complication, a resolution and maybe a coda; factual or expository genres maybe have an introduction, a set of arguments or facts and conclusion or an introduction and a series of facts or procedures
Work as a whole	Depending on lower levels, the work will be more or less classifiable as a particular genre; the primary distinction is between 'narrative' (fictional, dramatic genres) and 'factual' (expository, thematic, issue-oriented genres); genres are predictable relations between social-cultural, industrial-economic and symbolic-mythic orders

Key:

-> : more obvious sequence boundary

-> : less obvious scene boundary

Source: Iedema (2001: 189)

genre theory. The levels of analysis he proposes are *frame*, *shot*, *scene*, *sequence* (from film theory), *generic stage* and *work as a whole* (from genre theory). These levels are summarized in Table 8.3.

To take the opening section of Barack Obama's victory speech when he won the presidential election in 2008, we may choose to look at a single *frame* from the event such as when he delivers his opening lines:

If there is anyone out there who still doubts that America is a place where all things are possible, who still wonders if the dream of our founders is alive in our time, who still questions the power of our democracy, tonight is your answer. (Williams 2009: 207)

At this moment, Obama is alone on the stage, looking at his audience, with a flag of the United States in the background (see Figure 8.4). The composition of the frame and the shot come together to provide both the orientation and the point of departure for the rest of the speech. In terms of distance, the *shot* is close, just his head and shoulders, suggesting close social distance between him and his viewers. The flag in the background of the shot reminds us of the context of the speech. In terms of perspective, the shot is horizontal with Obama at the centre of the frame. This, plus his manner, gaze and use of language aim to connect with his audience. This moment (and, in turn, the shot) is part of a larger *scene* which takes place at a very particular time (the evening of election day, 4 November 2008) and place (the victory rally in Grant Park in Chicago, Illinois, where Obama was a junior senator). In terms of *sequence*, the camera has moved from a shot of a waving US flag



Figure 8.4 Barrack Obama giving his victory speech in Grant Park, Chicago (Getty Images).

held by someone in the crowd and continues with Obama in centre frame until ‘tonight is your answer’. The camera then moves to a shot of Obama at the podium with a row of US flags in the background. The first rows of the crowd are in front of him, many of whom are taking photos of Obama on their cell phones. The *generic stage* is the Introduction to the speech and the *work as a whole* is very early classified as an expository genre, a victory speech, due to its rhetorical character, the place and occasion on which it occurs, as well as its intertextual relationship with previous victory speeches delivered by former presidents-elect (see Crake-Rossette 2019 for analyses of other political speeches).

Baldry and Thibault (2005) and O’Halloran (2004b, 2021) also discuss multimodal analyses of television and film genres. Baldry and Thibault relate the analysis of television genres to the notions of *context of culture* and *context of situation* (see Chapter 1, also Halliday 2009), highlighting the importance of relating the analysis to specific social and historical events, the time of day of the broadcast and the specific viewers the programme is aimed at. O’Halloran (2021) makes a similar point about context arguing that contextual considerations are an essential part of a multimodal analysis (see Bateman and Schmidt 2011 for further discussion of the multimodal analysis of film).

8.2.6 Multimodality and film trailers

Maier (2011) discusses multimodality in relation to film trailers. She describes trailers for comedies as typically having the stages shown in Table 8.4. The first stages she lists are *implicitly promotional*. These relate to information that is part of the story of the film (*diegetic information*). The next set of stages is explicitly promotional. These stages often mix together information about the story of the film and the information that is not part of the story of the film (*non-diegetic information*).

Table 8.4 Stages of Comedy Film Trailers and Their Functions

Types	Stages	Functions
Implicit promotional (diegetic information)	Prologue	Appetizer
	Orientation	Contextualization
	Complication	Introduction of disruptive action
	Evaluation	Interpretations of events/outcomes
Explicit promotional (non-diegetic and diegetic information)	Promotional identification	Foregrounds meaning of film company, directors and actors
	Promotional recapitulation	Introduces new orientative information from an evaluative point of view
	Promotional interpretation	Explains possible impacts of film upon viewers
	Promotional recommendation	Advises the viewers
	Promotional information	Introduces extra non-diegetic information about internet address, release dates, and so on

Source: Maier (2011: 147).

such as voice-over commentaries, evaluations and recommendations. Not all film trailers have all of these stages but most seem to contain a combination of them. Maier shows how the modes of voice, music, images and text all contribute to the goal, or *function*, of each section of the trailer. The fragments of the film that are presented in the trailer and the voice-over's commentaries on them, thus, combine to create the overall goal of the trailer, to promote the film.

8.3 Carrying out multimodal discourse analysis

The steps involved in carrying out multimodal discourse analysis are similar to those of any discourse analysis project (see Chapter 11). A difference does lie, however, in how the data are analysed and what aspects of the data are seen to contribute to the meaning of the text (see Jewitt et al. 2016 for a discussion of different approaches to multimodal discourse analysis). Whether it is spoken or written data, it first of all needs to be collected. The data then needs to be logged, that is, the data needs to be summarized in some way, with accompanying notes that will help to give a contextual understanding of the data. Additional commentary can be added here where first thoughts, or ideas, about the data can be recorded that can be pursued in greater depth in the analysis.

It is then necessary to repeatedly view the data (if it is in video format) focusing on both the sound and the vision of the data, the vision only and the sound only. If the data are print- or web-

based text, you should take a similar approach, considering what each mode that has been used (e.g. words, font, format and images) contributes to the overall meaning of the text and the ways in which each is doing this. These features can then be considered in relation to the contextual notes that were made when the data was first collected. From this data, the extract(s) need to be chosen that will be the focus of the analysis. In most cases there will be far too much data for analysis, so there is a need to be selective in terms of what will be examined. The focus could be on some aspect of the data that seems to stand out. You can then go back to the larger data set to see to what extent this is typical of the particular data set you have collected. You should then proceed to the more detailed analysis of the data which, as we have seen in this chapter, may be quite different in some ways from how you might analyse other data from a discourse analytic perspective.

Baldry and Thibault (2005) provide detailed guidelines for how to transcribe and analyse data from a multimodal perspective. They discuss printed texts such as advertisements and cartoons, web pages, as well as film and television genres. Baldry and Thibault use the idea of *cluster* to refer to groupings of items on print or web pages and *cluster analysis* to capture how these parts of texts are connected to other items, rather than separate from each other. These connections are important as, in the words of Baldry and Thibault (2005: 27),

It is the cluster and the relationship between clusters, rather than the individual parts of the individual clusters, that make meaning in a specific context.

In terms of film and television genres, Baldry and Thibault's discussion includes *shots*, *phases* and *transitions* between phases in these genres. They also discuss the relation between the soundtrack and images on the screen and the ways in which features of the soundtrack, such as music, provide *contextual ground* to the image. In all of this, their aim is to show the relationships between *context of situation*, *genre* and *context of culture* in multimodal genres.

Prior (2014) and Street, Pahl and Rowsell (2009) highlight the value of employing ethnographic research techniques as a way of helping us better understand the production and consumption of multimodal genres. Molle and Prior (2008), for example, collected assignments written in graduate courses in the areas of architecture, music and civil and environmental Engineering at a large US university. They interviewed students and teachers and collected course documents such as syllabi, handouts and course evaluations. They analysed the students' texts as well as observed classes. They found that many of the texts the students were producing were multimodal and could not be neatly divided into verbal and non-verbal sections. The visual elements in the students' texts, they found, often occurred within and were integral to the verbal texts and were not separate from them. The interviews and other data they obtained gave them important insights into how the students' texts were evaluated and the relations between the students' texts and other texts that they drew on. Molle and Prior conclude by arguing for the importance of examining multimodal texts in ways that help us understand not just what the final products look like, but also the processes through which they are produced and, in turn, read by their intended audience.

8.4 Limitations of multimodal discourse analysis

Iedema (2001) discusses limitations of multimodal discourse analysis. Among these is the amount of time it takes to do this kind of analysis. Also, he points out, while the analysis may at some stages be quite technical, it can also, like all discourse analysis, be very interpretative. Multimodal analyses also, less often, look at readers' or viewers' readings of texts. McHoul (1991), for example, has pointed out that analysts' readings are not always the same as actual readings of text. Multimodal texts, further, are often examined on the basis of the final product alone and are not considered in relation to the people who were involved in its creation.

Further limitations are tied up in the aims and scope of multimodal discourse analysis. While multimodal analyses pay attention to features of communication that are often left out of other approaches to discourse analysis, there is sometimes less attention given to aspects of language that approaches to discourse analysis might consider. There is also the issue of how the analyses can be linked to wider social issues (Jewitt 2017). This can, however, be dealt with by linking the analyses to wider social theories, such as in the work of Machin and van Leeuwen (2007), who connect multimodal analyses to discussions of global media communication and theories that inform that work. The use of ethnographic data to provide insights into the context of production and consumption of the texts can also be extremely useful for linking multimodal discourse analyses to broader social and contextual issues.

8.5 Summary

This chapter has provided an overview of multimodal discourse analysis, an approach which considers how texts that employ more than one mode of presentation, such as words and graphics, make meaning. It has provided the theoretical background to multimodal discourse analysis as well as given examples of analyses that have been carried out from this perspective. It has also discussed relations between genre, speech acts and multimodality. A genre and multimodality framework has then been presented as a proposal for examining layers of meaning in multimodal texts. A number of suggestions have been made for steps involved in carrying out multimodal discourse analysis. Limitations of multimodal discourse analysis have also been discussed.

8.6 Discussion questions

- (1) Find the front (or home) page of a newspaper you are familiar with. In what ways does the composition of the page – use of images, colour, font and text size – contribute to how you respond to the text?

- (2) Think of the cover of a magazine you have recently read. What strategies are used to give the images on the cover particular salience?
- (3) Find a YouTube video of a scene in a film that is particularly memorable to you. How does the use of colour, sound, costuming and setting contribute to the impact this scene has had on you?

8.7 Data analysis projects

- (1) Collect a set of magazine covers that regularly contain images of people. Analyse the covers in terms of Kress's (2010) questions:
 - What meanings are being made on the covers of the magazines?
 - How are meanings being made in the covers of the magazines?
 - What resources have been drawn on to make the meanings in covers of the magazines?
 - In what social environment are these meanings being made?
 - Whose interest and agency is at work in the making of the meanings?
- (2) Collect a set of image-nuclear news stories from the online version of a newspaper you are familiar with. Analyse the stories in terms of headings, images and captions. What is the relationship between the headings, images and captions in each of the texts? To what extent do the headings draw on the kinds of allusions Caple (2009) refers to in her discussion of image-nuclear news stories?
- (3) Collect examples of web pages from an internet site that you regularly visit. Analyse the pages using Bateman's (2008) Genre and Multimodality framework presented in this chapter.
- (4) Record a short television programme you watch regularly. Choose an extract from the programme and analyse it using Iedema's (2001) framework presented in this chapter.

8.8 Exercises

8.8.1 Exercise 1: An image-nuclear news story

Find an image-nuclear news story in a newspaper and identify the components of the text which are typical of image-nuclear news stories. What is the relationship between the text and the image in the story?

8.8.2 Exercise 2: A book cover

Look at the cover of Sumita Dawra's (2016) book *China: Behind the Miracle* in Figure 8.5.

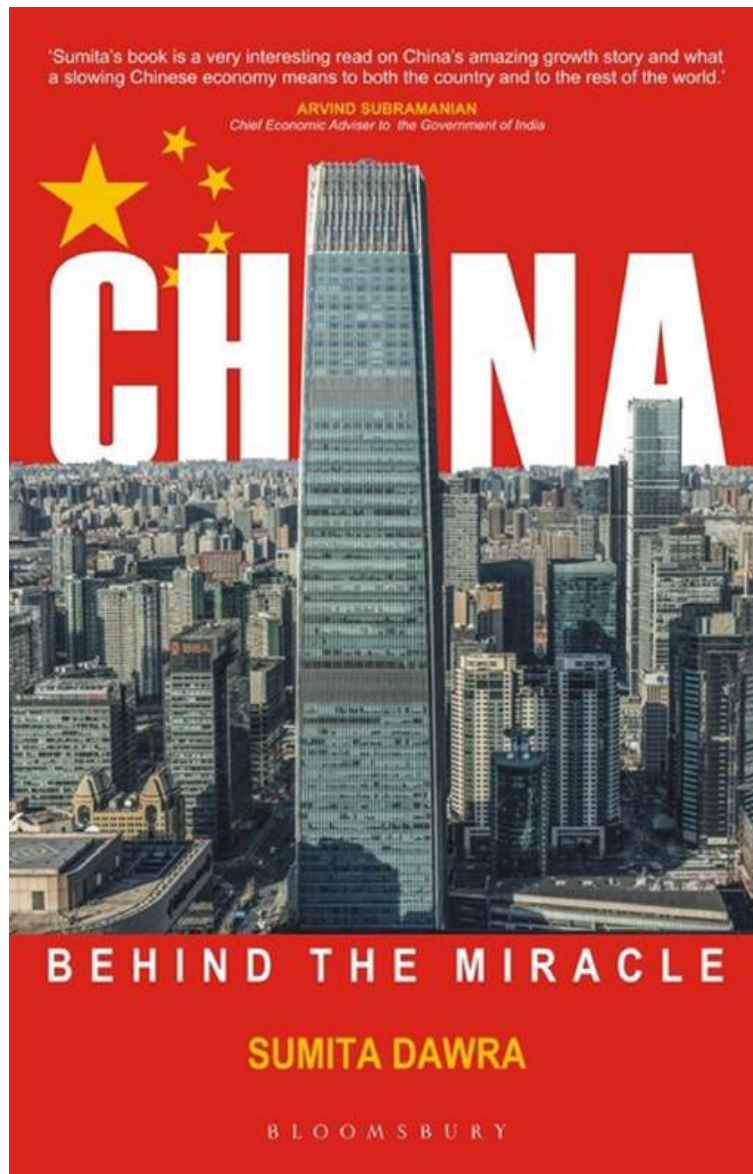


Figure 8.5 Cover of *China: Behind the Miracle* (Dawra 2016) © 2016 Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Used with permission.

The image in the centre of the cover is of the China World Tower in Beijing. It is the second-tallest building in Beijing and is part of the World Trade Centre complex in Beijing. It has seventy-four floors above the ground and five floors below the ground. The stars in the left-hand side of the cover and colours (yellow stars on a red background) are from the Chinese flag.

How would you describe the layout of the cover? Is it a horizontal triptych or a vertical triptych (Kress and van Leeuwen 2021)? What is the relationship between the words and the image on the cover? What is the information value of the different parts of the text on the cover? What prominence does the size and choice of fonts give to the various components of the cover?

8.8.3 Exercise 3: A film trailer

Find the trailer for a movie on the Internet and analyse it using the movie trailer structure shown in Table 8.4. Focus specifically on the Orientation section of the trailer, that is, the section of the trailer which contextualizes the story by introducing elements such as the opening situation, the main characters, and the relationship between them. What modes are used to suggest that this is the Orientation for the trailer? Use the following table to help with the analysis.

Name of film	
Opening situation	
Main characters	
Modes	

8.9 Directions for further reading

8.9.1 Further reading

Bezemer, J. and Jewitt, C. (2018), ‘Multimodality: A guide for linguists’, in L. Litosseliti (ed.), *Research Methods in Linguistics* (2nd edn). London: Bloomsbury, pp. 281–304.

This chapter is a very accessible summary of key issues in multimodal analysis. Background theories are discussed and a study which examines text making on *Facebook* is provided as an example of multimodal analysis.

8.9.2 Additional reading

Hart, C. (2020), 'Multimodal discourse analysis', in C. Hart (ed.), *Researching Discourse: A Student Guide*. London: Routledge, pp. 143–79.

Hart's chapter provides an overview of multimodal discourse analysis, advice on writing research questions for multimodal discourse projects, data collection and ethics, analysing and interpreting multimodal data, as well as issues and limitations of multimodal studies. The chapter includes a sample study as an illustration of a multimodal approach to examining discourse.

8.10 Sample studies

Caple, H. and Bednarek, M. (2012), 'Double-take: Unpacking the play in the image-nuclear news story', *Visual Communication*, 9: 211–29

This article examines *image-nuclear news stories* that were published in the *Sydney Morning Herald*. Examples are given of these stories and the authors' analysis of them.

Thurlow, C. and Jakowski, A. (2012), 'Elite mobilities: the semiotic landscapes of luxury and privilege', *Social Semiotics*, 22: 487–516.

In this visual essay, Thurlow and Jakowski examine multimodal representations of luxury tourism. They show how, through the use of images, different modes of luxury travel are presented to travellers. They discuss this further in their book *Tourism Discourse* (Thurlow and Jakowski 2010).

Wang, J. (2016), 'Multimodal narratives in SIA's "Singapore Girl" TV advertisements – from branding with femininity to branding with provenance and authenticity?' *Social Semiotics*, 26: 208–25.

This study examines Singapore Airlines' TV advertisements from a multimodal perspective. In particular, it focuses on how gendered representations of the Singapore Girl are manipulated in the advertisements to create a particular kind of branding.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

Discourse and digital media

Chapter Outline

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This chapter discusses how the use of digital media and developments in computer-mediated communication are changing the ways in which people connect with each other and, in turn, their discourse practices. Examples are drawn from social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter and YouTube. Text messaging by use of smartphone and computer applications is also being discussed as are the ways in which people use blogs and chat rooms to communicate and create affiliations with each other. And, of course, in many workplaces digital communication is now an essential rather than an alternative means of interacting with colleagues (Darics and Gatti 2019). Issues in the researching of digitally mediated communication are outlined and examples are provided of studies which investigate the use of discourse in digital contexts

9.1 Discourse and digital communication

Developments in digitization have dramatically changed how people communicate with each other as well as the discourse practices they engage in as they do this. Digital technologies, in the words

of Jones et al. (2015: 1), have ‘given rise to a host of new ways for people to communicate, manage social relationships, and get things done’. The ways in which people ‘get things done’ in the digital world is through their use of language, images, voice, music and other resources that are available to them on the particular platform or device. Digital communication, further, is highly situated and not limited to just online or onscreen communications but also involve the use of physical tools such as smartphones and tablets. The possibilities of digital communications, thus, create new forms of social interaction, new types of texts as well as new ways in which people use language in their everyday lives as they become competent in using new digital practices. An important feature of these practices, however, is that they always involve some form of technology that enables people to do things that they would not, otherwise, be able to do.

9.2 Examining digitally mediated discourse

Digitally mediated discourse has been examined in a number of ways. Herring (2004), for example, examines computer-mediated discourse focusing on online language as a social behaviour. She draws her research methods from areas such as linguistics, communication and rhetoric, using techniques such as surveys, interviews and ethnographic observations. The main focus of her work, however, is linguistic and what she terms ‘language-focused content analysis’ (4). The analysis may be qualitative employing discourse analysis as described in this book, multimodal discourse analysis (see Chapter 8) or conversation analysis (see Chapter 5) (Page et al. 2014). Or it may be quantitative where instances of phenomena are coded, counted and summarized in terms their relative frequencies (Herring 2004).

A further approach is discourse-centred online ethnography (Androutsopoulos 2008) which involves the observation of online activities as well as interviews and questionnaires with the people producing and consuming the texts. Researchers in this approach immerse themselves in the online community in order to better understand the behaviour they observe, aiming to gain an insider’s, or *emic*, view of the behaviour. The aim in doing this is to learn about both the processes and products of the discourse, that is, the communicative activities and artefacts produced through these activities. Androutsopoulos argues that the ethnographic framing of the data enhances contextualization of the research as well as the interpretation of findings.

Critical discourse analysis (see Chapter 10) has also been used to examine digitally mediated discourse. KhosraviNik and Unger (2016) point to issues which are particular to working with this kind of data. One of these is deciding on how to select data from the very wide amount of material that is often available in digital environments. Facebook, for example, at the end of 2019 had 1.66 billion daily users with 300 million photo uploads per day (Noyes 2020). It is, of course, impossible to look at all of these photos as well as the comments which accompany the images. A decision has to be made, then, what it is you are interested in and what you want to find out about it. A further matter is dealing with the non-linearity of the production and consumption of texts in online environments. People, for example, often do not make Facebook postings in a logical time-sequence way. Equally, people don’t read Facebook postings in a linear way and may go from one to another

depending on their particular interest and the time they have to look at the particular page. Another issue is the fleeting nature of the data. Blogs are a good example of this in that you may find something interesting on a blog and when go back to read it again it has gone. Ethical matters are also another important and particular to this kind of research in that it is not always clear who the author is of something online and who you should ask for permission to use it in a study. Other issues are the extent to which the data is public or private, the extent to which the data should be anonymized if it can be easily found through an online search, whether informed consent is required for the use of the data, and unintended effects of collecting and using the data in terms of how sensitive it is and what risks there might be to participants. Some people, for example, may be happy to post something to a closed group of users but be very unhappy if the post is then used in a research project for a wider audience than for which it was originally intended. Politeness is also something that is complicated in digital discourse (Darics 2010). In some cases, users may employ the same kind of politeness and face-saving strategies described earlier in this book but there are also occasions where digital discourse might appear impolite, anti-social or, indeed, aggressive, to some users (see Tagg 2015; McCulloch 2019 for further discussion of politeness and digital discourse).

9.3 Examples of digitally mediated discourse

9.3.1 Social media

Social media platforms such as Facebook, Twitter, YouTube and Instagram are examples of digitally mediated discourse. They share and evaluate texts, images, video and other multimedia and promote collective, networked participation among their users. Much of the research into discourse practices on these platforms has been corpus-based, but there has recently been an increase in multimodal studies in this area as well (Zappavigna 2021). Studies in this area have also used conversation analysis, critical discourse analysis and discourse-centred online ethnography as the point of departure for their analysis.

9.3.2 Facebook

Facebook is an example of a digital social media platform which enables networking through the sharing of news, photos and other artefacts with 'Friends' and 'Followers'. Users can make their site fully visible to others or limit who they allow to see it (and thereby interact with). The ways in which people perform identity on Facebook is interesting in that the resources they have to do this are somewhat different from those they use in face-to-face interactions, largely using a set of text-based visual resources to do to present a particular identity. Also, people on Facebook can be highly selective in how they present themselves and, thus, the representation of themselves they project to others. The notion of audience is also different in Facebook from face-to-face communications in

that the Poster has an audience of their Addressee (the person they are directing their comment at), Active Friends (people they typically interact with on Facebook), Wider Friends (people they know are on Facebook but for whom the post is not intended) and the internet as a whole (e.g. when comments on Facebook are picked up by authorities or the media). As they write their messages, the Poster's awareness of their Wider Friends is likely to influence what they say, even if they have their Active Friends in mind as they write (Tagg and Seargeant 2015).

Georgalou (2017), in her book *Discourse and Identity on Facebook*, employs what she terms discourse-centred online ethnography to examine Facebook postings in English and Greek. Georgalou (2008) describes discourse-centred online ethnography as a combination of observing online activities and interviewing people involved in the activities. For her Facebook study, Georgalou (2017) read posts and interviewed participants as she examined how identities were constructed, performed and experienced on the particular site. Her study took place over three years and included data such as users' profile information, status updates, comments, video and article links, photos either taken and posted by her informants or found elsewhere on the internet and reposted, interview data, survey and field notes as well as participants' comments on what she wrote. To analyse this data, she used grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss 1967), an approach which starts with data rather than theory and employs a cyclical process of theory building and testing the developing theory against the data. She advises using friends of friends as the first point in data collection for this kind of study rather than randomly approaching Facebook users (she sent off 100 requests and only got 33 replies). She also advises you show people what you are doing with their data so that they will agree to let you use it in the study. Just asking participants' permission to use their data, she says, is not enough. Sending them samples of how she had analysed their data gave them a better picture of her research and, in turn, secured their approval (Page et al. 2014).

Conversation analysis (see Chapter 5) has been used to examine comment threads on Facebook (Farina 2018). A key observation Farina makes is that comment threads typically have an opening pair part of 'first-post tellings', which open the comment thread and are the prompt that other people respond to. These first-post tellings might be in a number of formats. They might be textual messages, photos, hyperlinks or combinations of textual messages with photos or hyperlinks. To create the first-post tellings, users use tools on the Home and other webpages such as *Add Photo/Video* and *Share* buttons. The format of the first-post tellings, however, does not impact on the organizational sequence of the threads. These first-post tellings, further, can be autobiographical, or about a third-person event. This also does not affect how Friends respond to first-post tellings in sequential terms. A comment published by a Friend does not need to be positioned adjacently after the initial telling, or be a response to a 'just prior turn', something that makes comment threads on Facebook different from everyday spoken conversation. Notwithstanding, Facebook comments do not occur at random. They are organized in a specific and meaningful way, taking account of both the affordances and the constraints of the particular medium (Farina 2018).

A further study of Facebook, this time from a critical perspective, examined Facebook users' attitudes to digitally mediated forms of political resistance (KhosraviNik and Unger 2016). Facebook focus groups were used for this study and asked questions such as, 'What, to you, is "political resistance?"', 'What kinds of activities do you take part in online that might be called

political resistance?’ and ‘How effective do you find online political resistance compared to offline?’ (220). As with the Georgalou (2017) study described earlier, KhosraviNik and Unger started with their friends, colleagues, students and other contacts who told their Facebook friends about the project, using what is often called a ‘snowballing’ approach to participant recruitment. Their analysis involved topic identification, followed by a textual analysis of linguistic features of participants’ responses in terms of how they constructed their identities as well as the concept of political resistance.

A further approach to collecting data on social media platforms is ‘hanging out’ (Page et al. 2014: 119). This is the least obtrusive form of observation and can be either open-ended or looking for something in particular. This is, in fact, a form of ‘participant observation’ which is often employed in ethnographic research. The ‘hanging out’ can be followed by interviews with users of the site, either by chatting with them informally by or conducting a more structured interview. Another strategy is doing ‘focused interviewing’ which uses a text such as a Facebook page or postings as the focus of the interview. This is similar to ‘talk around text’ described by Lillis (2008), which enables access to users’ perspectives on material they have produced or consumed. This doesn’t, however, have to be a ‘one-off’ interview but can be used on a number of occasions with the same participant or participants in order to create a ‘cyclical dialogue’ (Lillis and Curry 2010: 43) between the researcher and the participants over time.

An important feature of Facebook is the bonding it creates between users. While first used as notion to discuss offline communication, bonding is now being used in discussions of social media (Page 2018). Stenglin (2004) describes bonding as ‘making visitors feel welcome and as though they belong . . . to a community of like-minded people, people who share similar values’ (402) and who enjoy participating in shared activities. This is particularly the case with members of Facebook groups and community pages. One of the ways in which bonding occurs on Facebook is through shared stories (Page 2018). Examples of this can be seen in the memorial page devoted to Nelson Mandela, the first democratically elected president of South Africa. One of the posts on the site tells this story:

Mr. Mandela spent 27 years in prison after being convicted of treason by the white minority government only to forge a peaceful end to white rule by negotiating with his captors after his release in 1990. He led the African National Congress long a banned liberation movement to a resounding electoral victory in 1994 the first fully democratic election in the country’s history. R.I.P. (Page 2018: 89)

This story provides a biographical account of Mandela, providing a heroic representation of him. Posts on the site also include images of Mandela which reflect his iconic status, a view shared by members of the group. When members respond to a post by ‘liking’ a post, further bonding occurs, as in the following example which had 9,941 likes:

R.I.P Madiba. (Page 2018: 97)

Comments on Facebook, of course, do not always endorse the original post or support a previous comment and, as anywhere, disagreements can occur. Other comment-makers might respond by disagreeing with the position just taken, thereby reinforcing their bonding with the group and positioning the original comment-maker as an ‘out-group’ member (Page 2018).

A further example of shared stories is when participants describe national or international events reported on in the mainstream media. The following examples, in which people comment on a mining disaster in Chile, illustrate this:

. . . has been watching the mine for several hours now. I think the rescuers that went down at the beginning are ridiculously brave, actually choosing to go down, and being the last to come up. Wow. (Male updater, 25-29 years of age, 13 October 2010 at 11.14)

Gotta love the Chilean Miners—What legends!
(Male updater, 13-18 years of age, 13 October 2010 at 7.10)

Page (2012b) points out that people often limit their amount of personal disclosure in the stories, as opposed to face-to-face interactions between close friends. A teenager she spoke to about this said:

I keep significant information about me minimal [...] whereas superficial stuff such as where I drink coffee or what computer I use, I'm not too bothered about them as that information can't be used against me. (Male updater, 13-18 years of age) (Page 2012b: 72)

Another person said:

I would not put in anything that I would only share with close friends. I want it to be shallow and light hearted, so I keep my privacy. (Male updater, 25-29 years of age) (Page 2012b: 72)

9.3.3 Twitter

Twitter is another social media platform which has attracted the attention of discourse analysts. Twitter has its own particular use of language which needs to be understood in order for the communication to succeed. Postings on Twitter are also brief as, at the start, there was a limit of 140 characters per tweet (this has since been increased to 280 characters for all languages except Chinese, Japanese and Korean). The following example illustrates this:

@User1 thanks for the #FF (Zappavigna 2012: 3)

In this tweet, the user directs the micropost to another user (by the use of @), and thanks the follower (User1) for promoting them in the community by using #FF, a tweet which recommends them to other Twitter users who they think will be interested in following them. These tweets are sent out on Fridays, hence the abbreviation FF (Follow Friday).

Tweets, further, may have both information sharing and bonding functions, as in the following tweet:

<http://www.loftcube.net/> Why do we all live in these big homes . . . how cool is this! (Zappavigna 2012: 29)

In this case, the user is giving a hyperlink to a website as the informational component of the tweet and then making an evaluative comment on the houses, thus using both ideational and interpersonal resources (see Chapter 8) in the tweet.

Microblogs such as Twitter typically involve some kind of exchange, or 'lightweight chat'. Twitter invites users to 'follow the conversations' to find information that is of interest to them, and advises business to 'be where conversation is' as a way of generating interest in a product and to 'create buzz around something for profit' (Zappavigna 2012: 30–1). Different from Facebook postings, however, there is very little expectation that users will reply to a tweet making micro-blogging different from offline conversation with what Oulasvirta et al. (2010: 244) describe as 'dilution of conversational obligations'. Here, it is not obligatory to reciprocate a tweet, nor is a lack of reciprocation seen as a rejection. Rather, what goes on is a kind of 'information snacking' where there is no obligation on users to complete a conversational exchange (Zappavigna 2012: 32).

Hashtags are a particular feature of microblogs such as Twitter. By use of the sign #, hashtags make it possible for other users to easily find messages with the same theme or content. Thus, in the following example, #brexit: #trump: directs users to other related comments:

#brexit: #trump:

'I think we've all had enough of experts, don't you?'

Welcome to the post-factual age of the idiot. Protect yourselves.

(Zappavigna 2018: 1)

The use of the hashtag, thus, extends the reach of the tweet, making it visible to a wider audience. In addition, members of the audience might reply or rebroadcast the tweet, or the tweet might 'go viral' giving it an even wider intertextual reach. Tweets, thus, are not just dialogic; they are 'multilogic' in that they involve a multitude of different users and voices (Zappavigna 2018).

Twitter is also increasingly making use of the multimodal affordances available on the platform. This includes the use of images, Graphic Interchange Format (GIFs) (animations which can be inserted into a message) and videos, either as a stand-alone message or combined with text. Sometimes this may be to create a humorous effect. Or people may create parody Twitter accounts of famous people, politicians and celebrities such as @notZuckerberg and @Queen_UK (Vasquez 2019).

Businesses often use of Twitter to promote their products and to communicate with their customers. One area in which this is particularly notable is in the rise of customers posting complaints about a service or product on Twitter and businesses, often very quickly, replying to the complaints. This is made possible by Twitter enabling a message to be directed to a nominated address (through the use of @username) which, at the same time, can be seen by any member of the public who is viewing either account. The company does this to mitigate the impact of a negative post which might affect the company's reputation. The following example, in which a customer expresses dissatisfaction with a company's food product, illustrates this:

The worst meal I've ever had to eat in work. 1 (one) piece of beef. Terrible taste. Very disappointed @waitrose <http://t.co/S2uk62AX> Mon, 13 Aug 2012 15:15

This was followed, very shortly after, be a remediating message from the company:

@username Really sorry to hear this, please could you DM us your address, the shop you bought it in, Use By date and any printed codes Waitrose Mon, 13 Aug 2012 16:24 (Page 2014: 31)

Page (2014) points out that company apologies on Twitter are more likely to use greetings and closings, and to use the customer's name and provide their own signature at the end of the apology, than apologies posted on Twitter by ordinary, non-business people where these features, on Twitter, do not signal social closeness as they would in an offline world. The following example illustrates this:

@username Hi [name deleted], very sorry this has happened. Are you able to return it to the store for a full refund? Thanks, [name deleted]. Sainsbury's Mon, 06 Aug 2012 08:26 (Page 2014: 35)

Bonding is also a feature of Twitter, as the following examples around the theme of coffee show using the hashtag #needcoffee show:

I hate waking up at 6am everyday. Ughh #needcoffee
 I'm so out of it this morning. #needcoffee or #moresleep
 I want to fast forward to 3:30, to where I'm laying in bed, taking a nap. #needcoffee
 I feel like a zombie. #ineedcoffee

(Zappavigna 2014: 154)

Twitter is also used as a way of producing celebrity where its public, one-to-many capacity gives it an electronic form of 'word of mouth' (Page, 2012b: 94). This occurs frequently in areas such as sport, acting, music, politics and journalism when Twitter is used as a means of self-promotion. The following tweets are examples of this:

We have a new video straight from Britney tomorrow on www.BritneySpears.com . . . just a few more hours. . . ~posted by Lauren~
 BritneySpears: Mon, 20 Oct 2008 10:39

Just landed in Egypt! :)
 ParisHilton: Wed, 02 Jun 2010 10:43

(Page 2012b: 97)

Often, in Tweets the language is truncated as in the Paris Hilton example where the subject (I) and the auxiliary (have) are omitted, making the tense of the clause (and time of the event) ambiguous. Often, time is indicated on Twitter with words such as 'tonight', 'today' and 'tomorrow' to give clarity to this (or 'just' as in the above example), rather than using a complete verb phrase.

9.3.4 YouTube

YouTube is similar in some ways to other forms of digital communication but also different in others. YouTube is a multimodal website with the key focus being a video and accompanying audio. The page has written text and images and buttons to press to play the video. The side bar on the page has a list of other videos which are customized to the particular viewer and which will automatically play after the current video ends. There is, however, no Next or Previous Page buttons as there are in online versions of books (Benson 2016). YouTube, in the words of Androutsopoulos and Tereick (2015: 356), is

neither just audio-visual content nor just a thread of comments, neither just image nor just language, but rather a complex configuration of semiotic components.

Pages on YouTube are multi-authored in that the videos are produced, uploaded and commented on by different people. They are multi-semiotic in that they combine resources that are employed in the making of videos such as spoken and written language, music, other sound, and moving and still images. They are also dialogic in the sense that people can comment on the videos, and they are dynamic in that they are continually evolving as new comments are added to the pages (Androutsopoulos and Tereick 2015).

While there is a very wide range of content on YouTube, it has been particularly successful in the global promotion of popular music. One of the most popular music videos on YouTube is *Gangnam Style*, sung by Psy, a Korean artist. This was the first YouTube video to be viewed more than a billion times, which it did in less than six months after its release. As of February 2019, it had accumulated 3.29 billion views, making it one of the most watched videos of all time (Martindale 2019). YouTube, thus, as Benson (2016) points out, is both a massive and a global text.

Comments placed by viewers on a YouTube pages are of particular interest from a discourse perspective as they have an intertextual link with the video itself as well as with other comments on the page. Benson (2016) analyses comments threads on YouTube pages using Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975) model for spoken discourse of Initiation, Response and Follow Up, as in the following example from an analysis of teacher–student interaction:

1	Teacher	Can anyone tell me what this means?	Initiation
2	Pupil	Does it mean danger men at work	Response
3	Teacher	Yes . . .	Follow Up

(Coulthard 1985: 135)

In the case of YouTube, however, not all of these moves need to be textual. Thus, the video itself (or some feature of the video) can provide the opening turn that prompts other interactions on the page. A number of actions can also count as moves, such as writing a comment, and rating a video or a comment. A comment, further, can contain both a Response and an Initiation. In the following example from comments on a video uploaded by a North American learner of Cantonese, turn 1 is a Response to the learner's pronunciation. A shelf in the background of the video then provides the Initiation for a further comment, the Response shown in turn 2:

Turn	Speaker	Comment	Move
1	A:	OMG~ why can you pronounce cantonese so freaking well! And I have yr shelf behind u, IKEA product~ ha	Response + Initiation
2	B:	Haha, yah I love that shelf!! :D	Response

(Benson 2016: 90)

The following example shows a Response and Initiation in a second move:

Turn	Speaker	Comment	Move
1	A:	Hey r u really Chinese? U speak mandarin really fluently~	Initiation
2	B:	when did he speak mandarin?	Response + Initiation

(Benson 2016: 90)

A number of corpus-based studies (see Chapter 7) have been carried out of comments on YouTube. Boyd (2014), for example, examined comments on speeches by Barack Obama that were hosted on YouTube. He found that the anonymity of YouTube allowed users to say whatever they wanted to, 'often with little self-control and respect for typical politeness strategies' (265), recontextualizing elements from their private discourse to their online discourse. He also found a high frequency of obscenities and loaded (racist) language in the comments, propagating both discriminatory and racist discourses.

A corpus-based study of YouTube comments about songs from the Eurovision Song Contest (Ivković 2013) found language, and in particular whether the singer is using their native language or not, to be a common topic of discussion. Different points of view were expressed on this. In the following example, the commenter argues that every country should be able to represent itself in its own language:

It's a good song but every country should to sing in his languages in Eurovision. (13)

The comment which follows, however, disagrees, arguing that all songs should be performed in English so as to promote wider understanding:

I disagree, English is the universal language, and it means all countries can understand the lyrics. (13)

This is then countered by a comment saying that symbolic functions of language is more important in that language choices index cultural differences:

I disagree, Eurovision is not about being able to understand every single word that's being said, it's about receiving an impression of the different countries' cultures . . . and therefore, I also think that every singer should sing in his mother tongue! (13)

Some commenters took the view that singing in English is key to winning and achieving fame and recognition:

Generally it's the songs in English that win. So from a competitive standpoint, it's better to sing in English. Also, if one wishes to be an international singer . . . yeah. If you think this song sucks, you should look at the winners from the past ten years. (14)

Other comments focused on the (English) accent of a singer, and whether French speakers should sing in their own language rather than English. As this study shows, the issue of language choice is not uncontroversial in the Eurovision Song Contest and especially for those in charge of making decisions related to language. Their choice, it seems, is whether they should focus on the choice of language as an instrument, or as a symbol for what it represents (Ivković 2013).

As with Facebook, stories also occur on YouTube. Page (2018) examines the trial of the South African Paralympian Oscar Pistorius, who was accused of murdering his girlfriend in 2013 by shooting her on the other side of a bathroom door, claiming he thought she was an intruder. His trial was broadcast live on television and uploaded onto YouTube. There was a very large amount of comments on the YouTube videos. One feature of the comments that Page (2018) noted was the use of *lol* (laughing out loud), which is typically taken to express humour. She found, however, that *lol* was used in a number of different ways in the YouTube comments. For example, it was used to mean something can't be taken seriously, as in:

Can't believe this is a real murder trial. What a joke PMSL [a British equivalent of laughing out loud] lol. (Page 2018: 186)

Lol was also used to express disbelief:

lol seriously? He intended to hurt whoever was behind it, I don't just shoot a door for fun. (Page 2018: 188)

As well as to insult another commenter:

lol, what a racist fool you must be to bring racism into a murder trial. (Page 2018: 190)

The various contexts in which *lol* is used, she argues, gives rise to the different meanings it expresses and the implicature (see Chapter 3) that is drawn.

9.3.5 Instagram

There are also other social media platforms such as Instagram which, in early 2020, had more than a billion monthly active users (Aslam 2020). While the primary function of Instagram is to share photos, text sometimes accompanies images on Instagram and there are, of course, hashtags attached to Instagram posts which were discussed earlier in this chapter. Zappavigna (2021) discusses hashtags on Instagram, taking the example of the hashtag *#coffeeislife* which, at the time of writing, had 1,152,980 tagged posts. Caple (2020) argues that the use of text in Instagram posts has a complementary rather than equal status relationship (Martinec 2013) with the image – as opposed to new stories where the image is generally complementary to the text. Instagram has been employed by celebrities such as Michelle and Barack Obama to launch their video documentary series on Instagram's video platform (Helmore 2020). Digital social media platforms have, then, moved beyond what they were when they first appeared and will, do doubt, continue to change further, as will their use of discourse within them.

9.3.6 Other computer-mediated communication

Other computer-mediated communications which have been examined from a discourse perspective are blogs, text messages and chat. Each of these is discussed in the sections which follow.

9.3.7 Blogs

Blogs first appeared in the late 1990s. In their early days they were mostly composed of written text. This, however, has developed considerably with the affordances that new technologies have given to blogs. In 2018, there were around 505 million blogs across the world (SoftwareFindr 2018) and, of course, that number is steadily growing. Blogs have come to play an important role in communicating information and commentary on major events as well as being used by individuals to provide accounts of their experiences (Liu 2010a, 2010b). Through their use of blogs, writers also construct social identities and communities (Myers 2010).

A defining feature of blogs is that entries are in reverse chronological order, suggesting that readers are most interested in the most recent entry on the blog. Weblinks are also an important feature of blogs, linking to other blogs, websites or the mainstream media. It is sometimes clear where a blog is located and written but often it is not. Blogs occur in many different languages (Myers 2010).

Bloggers use a range of strategies to connect with their audience, such as addressing them directly as in the following example:

If you've [you're] a *driver, or train operator or customer service assistant or whatever* – you might be able to send me some more delay excuses, sorry perfectly rational reasons that I can drop in over time (*Going Underground*). (Myers 2010: 79)

They also use pronouns as in:

And for *you traditionalists* who are worried about the coconut milk flavor – it isn't all pronounced (*101 Cookbooks*). (Myers 2010: 80)

Another way bloggers do this is by referring to their audience:

I was going to suggest a different adjective, but because I want to write this conversation on *my family-friendly website* I'M NOT GOING TO (*Dooce*). (Myers 2010: 81)

They may also address their audience by asking questions:

Does your dog do that? Hop on and off the bed, over and over again . . . ? (Myers 2010: 83)

Or issuing directives:

Yes, *sign up* now, but come *back here* to read the rest of the post when you're done. Thanks! (*Climb to the Stars*). (Myers 2010: 83)

The notion of audience in blogging, however, is complex and does not focus on a single person or group of people. Rather, blogs:

speak to a group, but a group that seems to know each other and share a lot already. One sinks into a blog as one sinks into the sofa in a friend's living room. (Myers 2010: 93)

Research blogs, which scientists and other academics use, are often hybrid and incorporate features from both spoken and written registers. There is, further, some uncertainty as to the target discourse community for research blogs as they are neither strictly scientific nor adapted for a popular audience. Also, unlike more traditional academic communications such as research articles

and monographs, they provide a space for personal expression, debate, networking, discussion and ideas testing and, as such, are more similar to face-to-face discourse than written academic genres (Kuteeva 2016).

Bloggers, however, as Myers (2010) points out, are often careful how they present their opinions on their blogs, using a number of stance features to express their attitudes, feelings, judgements and commitment to what they are saying. They might do this through the use of modals (*can, may*), choice of verb (*claim, think*), hedges (*might, perhaps*), reported speech (*people say*) and conversational particles (*well*). Bloggers also often mark their statements of fact as being based on induction (moving from a specific case to a conclusion), deduction (reasoning from general truth to specific cases), hearsay and belief, using various stance markers as they do this (Myers 2010).

Narratives are also an important feature of blogs. In her analysis of people writing on cancer blogs, Page (2012b) shows how their awareness of audience is clear in their writing, using many of the features described by Myers (2010):

Here are my random thoughts as I get a grip on having cancer at 42 (now 44) years old. I would like to inspire hope in all of you and in myself as well as to provide a place for you to keep track of me through this ordeal. (David E., homepage)

If you have comments please leave them because they do help us. Please add yourself to our Frappr map as we would love to know where our readers are from.

(Dan, Homepage)

(Page 2012b: 54)

Sometimes there is a clear dialogic relationship between the audience and the blogger, as in:

Hi Sylvie,

We don't know each other, but I do know what you're going through. What you're doing is called 'participating in life'—it's what keeps you alive, keeps you going during this tumultuous time. What you need to know is that this is a special time . . . a you time.

(Comment on Sylvie's blog)

(Page 2012b: 54–5)

In cases such as this, what is written does not just influence what is said in the online world but also influences the blogger's experience in the offline world (Page 2012b).

9.3.8 Text messaging

Another important development in digitally mediated communication is text messaging. A text message can be sent between two or more users of mobile phones, tablets, desktops, laptops or other devices. A feature of text messaging is the way in which people use language to communicate with each other via this medium. There are, for example, sets of abbreviations that are commonly used in this sort of communication as well as a shared understanding between users as to how they are interpreted. Examples of this are using *OIC* to mean *Oh I see*, *bb* to mean *bye bye* and *u* to mean *you*. Starting a sentence without a capital letter is acceptable in text messaging, and punctuation rules that apply in offline writing do apply in the same way in text messaging. In

addition, exchanges are kept short because there is a character limit to text messages (if you send more than 160 characters in a message, it will be broken down in to chunks of 153 characters). The use of emoticons rather than words is common in text messages. People can also add pictures or a short animation such as a GIF image to a text message to highlight a point they are making. As beginning users of text messaging, we need to learn how to use language in this kind of event, how it is typically interpreted, the ways we can express who we are (or want someone to think we are), as well as how factors outside of the text, such as the technology we are using, impact on what we say and how we can say it. We also learn that as the technology changes, or more advanced technology is developed, what we say and how we can say it changes even further.

Spelling rules also often don't apply in text messaging. Instead, we often see 'respellings' such as *ello*, *goin* and *bin* in text messages which are used for reasons of brevity and speed as well as, in some cases, to approximate spoken conversation. Sometimes, however, a person may use more key presses than is necessary to create emphasis, such as in *nooooo!*, or use capitals (NO!) for the same affect (Tagg et al. 2014). In a study of texting language, Caroline Tagg and her colleagues (2014) found many examples of spelling variants such as *u* (you), *2* (to), *r* (are), *4* (for), *ur* (your), *tomo* (tomorrow), *its* (it's), *b* (be), *c* (see) and *im* (I'm). Beyond this, however, they found that there were a number of different types of spelling variations which are summarized in Table 9.1. The most common of these variations were letter homophones (*u*, *r*, *c*) which made up nearly one-third of their examples. After this, number homophones were the most frequent (*2gther*, *2nite*). The next most frequent categories were clippings where the end of a word was cut off (*tomo*, *hav*) and apostrophe omission (*its*, *thats*). Eye dialect (*wot*, *sez*) and colloquial contractions (*gonna*, *wanna*) are used in text messaging to characterize or ridicule people with regional accents or low educational, economic or social status, or alternatively, to claim such a status (and in turn identity) (Tagg 2012).

There are also particular grammatical features in text messaging, such as *speech-like clause combinations*, where several main and subordinate clauses are included in the one sentence, as in:

Dude, if you see . . . then don't mention that you've spoke to me. She wants me to go to the pub and i cant be bothered and my mom goes on holiday tomorrow. (Tagg 2012: 84)

Text messages also use *note-like clause combination*, which are more typical of written notes than spoken language:

No I, not gonna be able to. too late notice. i'll be home in a few weeks anyway. What are the plans. (Tagg 2012: 85)

Headers and tails occur in text messages where something, such as a noun phrase, is placed before (a header) or after (a tail) the clause:

My friend, she's studying at warwick [a header]
 Yep then is fine 7.30 or 8.30 for ice age [a tail] (Tagg 2012: 88)

Ellipsis (see Chapter 6) is also a feature of text messages, as in the following examples, where the subject pronoun *I* is omitted:

Table 9.1 Categories of Spelling Variation and Examples in Text Messaging

Category	Examples
Letter homophones	u, r, ur, c, b
Number homophones	person2die, 2gether, up4that,in2hospital, 2nite
Clippings	tomo, tho, v, bout, prob, hav
Apostrophe omission	wots, im, il, its, thats
Eye dialect	bak, luv, wots, gud
Colloquial contractions	lookin, av, cos, n, whaddya
Spacing	Thankyou, ur, u2, aswell, Ohdear, sleep4aweek
Consonant writing	txt, msg, lv, wld, pls
Mistyping	your (for you're), definately, adn, menas
Double letter reduction	stil, worry, spel, l'l, 2moro, ul
Misspelling	your (for you're), definately,
Unclear	ur = your, tomoz = tomorrow
Other abbreviations	no, happng, checkd, 2morw
Possible regional respellings	summat, summort, sumfing, dis
Predictive texting 'mistake'	in (for go), he (for if)
Visual morphemes	I'm@my; Lunch@12

Source: Based on Tagg et al. (2014: 229).

Dunno, haven't spoken to . . . about it yet. (Tagg 2012: 89)

Am on a train back from northampton so im afraid not! (Tagg 2012: 90)

Reference items (see Chapter 6) are also used where it is assumed that the reader will know what the item is referring to:

Man *this* bus is so slow. *I* think *you're* gonna get there before *me*. (Tagg 2012: 93)

Bognor it is! Should be splendid at *this* time of year. (Tagg 2012: 94)

Can u meet you at *that* corner shop at half 2 plz? (Tagg 2012: 96)

I've got an interview for *that* job in Exeter! (Tagg 2012: 97)

Discourse markers such as *Oh ok*, *Right* and *You know* are a common feature of text messages as well as stance markers and emoticons to express the texter's personal feelings:

Glad it well:)

No worries about lifts :-) Xxxx (Tagg 2012: 119)

Word play is also common in texting:

Thanks *lotsly*!

R u driving or *training*? (Tagg 2012: 164)

As texters communicate with each other, they also construct and affirm relations with each other, using a different set of resources to those that they use in spoken interactions. As Tagg (2012: 189) argues:

In the absence of spoken and paralinguistic cues – gesture, appearance, tone of voice, clothes – texters have recourse only to the text in presenting themselves and co-constructing a shared sense of identity.

Texters, thus, draw on the unique features of text messages to do this.

9.3.9 Chat

Chat is a further way in which people communicate, interact, and exchange messages over the internet and involves the real-time transmission of messages. A key feature of chat is its lack of copresence (Tudini 2014), that is, the users are not together in the same physical space and can only use written words and online semiotic tools to communicate with each other. Users, thus, often adapt different ways of interacting with and understanding each other in these environments, some of which have already been referred to in this chapter. A number of the features of spoken interaction that have been examined from a conversation analysis perspective (see Chapter 5) have been reconsidered from an online perspective. Backchannels such as *uh huh*, which in spoken discourse typically signal comprehension and assessment of what someone has just said, for example, in an online environment, might be used, rather, to signal copresence and awareness in chat (Tudini 2014). Equally, repair (correcting what you just said or what the person said) is also often performed differently in spoken discourse and in chat (Meredith and Stokoe 2013).

One of the key things chat does, however, along with other forms of computer-mediated communication, is build relations and identities. Lam (2000), in a classic study, examined how a student from Hong Kong who was living in the United States used discussion boards, fan communities and instant messaging to build networks of friends and to gain confidence as a user of English. Over a period of six months, Lam used participant observation, in-depth interviews and textual documentation to collect data on the student's computer experiences, personal background and education experiences. She collected fifty log files of his online chat as well as emails and documents from his home page. Lam discusses how the student's identity was created through interactions in digitally mediated environments and how he used textual and other semiotic tools to create affiliations and construct social roles and representations of himself. In one of his chat sessions, he explains how his online identity is related to, but different from, his biographical identity:

I believe most people has two different 'I', one is in the realistic world, one is in the imaginational world. There is no definition to define which 'I' is the original 'I', though they might have difference. Because they both are connect together. The reality 'I' is develop by the environment changing. The imaginative 'I' is develop by the heart growing. But, sometime they will influence each other. For example me, 'I' am very silent, shy, straight, dummy, serious, outdate, etc. in the realistic world. But, 'I' in the imaginational world is talkative, playful, prankish, naughty, open, sentimental, clever,

sometime easy to get angry, etc. . . . I don't like the 'I' of reality. I'm trying to change myself. (Lam 2000: 474–5)

In a subsequent study, Lam (2004) looks at interactions between Chinese/English bilingual girls in a chatroom called 'Hong Kong chat room', showing how the girls mixed Cantonese and English and, in doing so, created affiliations and a collective ethnic identity of bilingual Chinese emigrants. One of the girls in the chatroom said:

We're all Chinese who have emigrated to different places, so we share a common feeling when we talk. It's like when we are chatting, we feel closer to each other. (Lam 2004: 52)

Jenks (2014) makes similar observation in his analysis of spoken online chat between second language speakers showing how

second language chat rooms are transnational in nature, and thus afford interactants the ability to create new identities related to their membership and participation in a group. (148)

9.4 Limitations in researching digitally mediated discourse

There are, of course, a number of limitations in researching digitally mediated discourse. A key issue for this sort of research is the ethical issues involved, gaining permission to use the data and making sure both the participants and researcher/s are safe. There is also the problem that digitally mediated data, as mentioned earlier, do not always stay the same. You need to decide, then, if the data you gather will be a 'snapshot' or whether you will attempt to capture its dynamic nature by documenting and discussing changes in the data. Also, the context of the data may be one that you are not familiar with so that some meanings may be obscure or relatively unfamiliar to you (Unger 2020). The online environment also imposes limitations on sampling, making it difficult to collect a representative overall time-based sample, if that is what you are wanting. Instead, you might want to collect data by 'room', or by artefact, such as video. You also need to remember the limitations of textual evidence. As Herring (2004: 21) points out, 'Text can only tell us what people do (and not what they really think or feel.' For this, you might want to collect ethnographic data as well, such as interviews or hold focus group discussions (Androutsopoulos 2008).

9.5 Summary

This chapter has discussed a number of kinds of digitally mediated communication, in particular, Facebook Twitter, YouTube, blogs, text messaging and chat. It discussed language features which are particular to these kinds of communication as well as the social roles they play. Limitations of this kind of research have also been discussed.

A key issue in discussions of digitally mediated practices is the relationship between the online communities and the notion of communities of practice (see Chapter 2), more broadly. Some researchers, such as King (2019) see the notion of affinity spaces (Gee 2004) more helpful than communities of practice for theorizing the coming together of people online with its focus more on common interest rather than commonality, belonging, content, levels of expertise or participation in determining who is welcome in a space (Gee, 2005). Angouri (2015: 326) argues against rigid definitions and criteria for deciding if an online space is a community or not, suggesting that both 'how the members themselves define the community and how they position themselves in relation to others' provide a more fruitful way of addressing these notions.

9.6 Discussion questions

- (1) What is your experience of using Facebook, a blog or chat? Who is your audience when you are writing on these media? How does this influence what you write and how you write it?
- (2) Do you use Twitter (or a similar communication tool)? What is your purpose in using it? Do you use language on Twitter in the ways suggested in this chapter?
- (3) Have you ever read comments on a YouTube video (or a video on a similar platform)? What are some language features people use when they make their comments?
- (4) Do you read blogs? In what ways do you think they create communities of users?
- (5) What are some of the language features you use when you send a text message?
- (6) Have you ever communicated with other people in a chat room? If you have, how do you see your identity in a chat room compared to your offline identity?

9.7 Data analysis projects

- (1) Read Page's (2012b) discussion of small stories in Facebook status updates in Chapter 4 of her book. Look for examples of these on Facebook pages and consider to what extent your observations compare with her comments on them.
- (2) Collect a set of tweets on Twitter which contain personal and business apologies. To what extent are apologies in personal and business threads similar to or different from each other? Compare your analysis to the observations made by Page (2014) on this.
- (3) Collect a set of YouTube comments and analyse them according to the Initiation, Response and Follow Up framework discussed in this chapter. Compare your analysis with Benson's (2016) analysis of YouTube comments in Chapter 6 of his book.
- (4) Collect a set of text messages and examine them for spelling variation. Group them into the categories shown in Table 9.1 in this chapter. Read Tagg et al. (2014) and discuss the extent to which the examples you found fit with their argument – or not.

- (5) Look at a website which contains what you think is fake news. What strategies does the writer use to persuade you the news is real? Look at Farhall et al.'s (2019) article on fake news for suggestions on how to examine your data.

9.8 Exercises

9.8.1 Exercise 1: Twitter

Verb is omitted on Twitter. Look at the following examples of tweets and identify what part of the verb phrase has been omitted. What is the effect of these omissions in terms of the time being referred to? Also, what cultural knowledge do you need to understand these tweets?

- 1 Excited to break ground on our second veterans home this week.
Schwarzenegger: Fri, 21 May 2010 17:29
- 2 Just landed in Egypt! :)
ParisHilton: Wed, 02 Jun 2010 10:43
- 3 Roasting in paris today. Hitting with pablo cuevas at 2pm . . .
Andy_Murray: Sun, 23 May 2010 10:34

(Page 2012b: 100–101)

9.8.2 Exercise 2: YouTube

Benson (2016) discusses YouTube comments in terms of an Initiation, Response and Follow Up framework. Look at the following comments and analyse them according to this framework. In this exchange, the Chinese characters 公主病 refer to 'the princess syndrome', a term used in China and Korea to refer to young women, especially teenagers, who are narcissistic, self-centred and act like they are 'princesses'. 공주병 refers to the same thing in Korean.

The first comment is analysed for you.

- | | | |
|----|--|---------------------|
| A: | Video: [Carlos saying 公主病] | Initiation |
| B: | 공주병 Wow it sounds really similar haha | Response/Initiation |
| C: | How does it pronounce? | |
| D: | Gong ju byung. Something like that. | |
| D: | That's cause Chinese is the oldest language compared to Japanese and Korean. The Japanese have 'kanji' and the Koreans have 'hanja', where they take some Chinese characters (called 'hánzi') and write them the same but pronounce them differently. They also have similar sounds for meanings, such as 공주병 and 公主病. | |

E: i totally agree with you~~~many japanese and korean vocabularies sound like Chinese. I found lots of korean vocab have similar sounds to Hakka, one of the dialects of Chinese.

(Benson 2016: 92)

9.8.3 Exercise 3: Text messaging

Here are some examples of text messaging (from Tagg 2012). Identify spelling variation in them based on the categories shown in Table 9.1.

Thought praps you meant another one Goodo! I'll see you tomorrow xx
 I admire ur commitment. Save me some x
 Ive only ever seen 2
 Thnx dude. u guys out 2nite?
 Maybe cld meet for few hours hrs tomo?
 Oh that would *b* lovely

9.9 Directions for further reading

9.9.1 Further reading

Unger, J. (2020), 'Digitally mediated discourse analysis', in C. Hart (ed.), *Researching Discourse: A Student Guide*. London: Routledge, pp. 180–200.

This chapter is a very clear overview of digitally mediated discourse analysis, discussing Herring's (2004) model of computer-mediated discourse analysis, Androutsopoulos's (2008) discourse-centred online ethnography, and KhosraviNik and Unger's (2016) digitally mediated discourse studies. Ways of identifying research questions, data collection and ethical matters are also discussed.

9.9.2 Additional reading

Hafner, C. A. (2021), 'Discourse and computer mediated communication', in K. Hyland, B. Paltridge and L. L. C. Wong (eds), *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 281–294.

Hafner's chapter discusses how research on discourse and computer-mediated communication has examined ways that the affordances of digital media have shaped possibilities for texts and interactions, contexts and power and ideology. The chapter summarizes research into these issues and illustrates how discourse analysis of digitally mediated communication can take these differences into account.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

9.10 Sample studies

Page, R. (2014), 'Saying 'sorry': Corporate apologies posted on Twitter', *Journal of Pragmatics*, 62: 30–45.

Page analyses 1,183 apologies on Twitter from a data set made up of celebrity, 'ordinary' and corporate users of Twitter. She found that corporate apologies were distinctive in their relatively infrequent use of explanations and greater use of offers of repair. She also found corporate apologies contained somewhat formulaic use of greetings and signatures which were not features of apologies posted by ordinary Twitter users.

Meredith, J. and Stokoe, E. (2013), 'Repair: Comparing Facebook 'chat' with spoken interaction', *Discourse & Communication*, 8: 181–207.

In this paper, Meredith and Stokoe examine how repair is performed in spoken interaction and in Facebook chat. Their data set is made up of seventy-five one-to-one instant messaging conversations using the chat function on Facebook. They argue that assumptions about differences between spoken and online interactions are premature and that, rather, online interactions should be seen as an adaptation of oral speech exchanges.

Pasfield-Neofitous, S. (2011), 'Online domains of language use: Second language learners' experiences of virtual community and foreignness', *Language Learning & Technology*, 15: 92–108.

Pasfield-Neofitous describes a study in which language learners interact with each other through various computer-mediated sources, in this case learners of Japanese in Australia and learners of English in Japan. She obtained data from twelve Australian students and eighteen Japanese students over a period of four years. Her data included blogs, emails, social networking site interactions, chat conversations, game profiles and mobile phone communications. She also conducted interviews with her participants about their internet and second language use.

Critical discourse analysis

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The norms and values which underlie texts are often ‘out of sight’ rather than overtly stated. As Hyland (2005a: 4) observes, acts of meaning making (and in turn discourse) are ‘always engaged in that they realize the interests, the positions, the perspectives and the values of those who enact them’. The aim of a critical approach to discourse analysis is to help reveal some of these hidden and ‘often out-of-sight’ values, positions and perspectives. As Rogers (2004: 6) puts it, discourses ‘are always socially, politically, racially and economically loaded’. *Critical discourse analysis* examines the use of discourse in relation to social and cultural issues such as race, politics, gender and identity and asks why the discourse is used in a particular way and what the consequences are of this kind of use (Lin, 2014).

Critical discourse analysis explores the connections between the use of language and the social and political contexts in which it occurs. It explores issues such as gender, ethnicity, cultural difference, ideology and identity and how these are both constructed and reflected in texts. It also investigates ways in which language constructs and is constructed by social relationships. A critical

analysis may include a detailed textual analysis and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the analysis. It might proceed from there to deconstruct and challenge the text(s) being examined. This may include tracing underlying ideologies from the linguistic features of a text, unpacking particular biases and ideological presuppositions underlying the text, and relating the text to other texts and to people's experiences and beliefs.

A key assumption underlying critical discourse analysis is that language use is always social (Flowerdew and Richardson 2017) and that discourse both 'reflects and constructs the social world' (Rogers 2011: 1). A critical analysis might explore issues such as gender, ideology and identity and how these are reflected in particular texts. This might commence with an analysis of the use of discourse and move from there to an explanation and interpretation of the discourse. From here, the analysis might proceed to deconstruct and challenge the texts, tracing ideologies and assumptions underlying the use of discourse, and relating these to different views of the world, experiences and beliefs (Clark 1995).

10.1 Principles of critical discourse analysis

There is no single view of what critical discourse analysis actually is, so it is difficult to present a complete, unified view on this. Fairclough and Wodak (1997), however, describe a number of principles for critical discourse analysis which underlie many of the studies done in this area. These include:

- Social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse;
- Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse;
- Discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations;
- Ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse.

Each of these is discussed in the sections which follow.

10.1.1 Social and political issues are constructed and reflected in discourse

The first of Fairclough and Wodak's principles is that critical discourse analysis addresses social and political issues and examines ways in which these are constructed and reflected in the use of certain discourse strategies and choices.

A number of years ago, when I first moved into the house that I now live in, I received mail in my letter box about a proposal to build 125 apartments on top of a shopping mall which is very near where I live. There was a letter from the local council and a pamphlet from a local protest group, each of which expressed very different views on the development. One was very factual (the letter from the council); it aimed to remain 'neutral' on the topic in that it did not express a particular point of view on the project. It just outlined the procedures for the development, and

how the public would be consulted about it, largely through written submissions and a public meeting that would be held in the near future. The pamphlet from the protest group, by contrast, outlined the problems the development would create for the neighbourhood such as overshadowing of properties, increased demand for on-street parking and lack of privacy from windows in the apartments that would overlook people's back gardens. Both texts, then, referred to the same event but chose very different ways of approaching it which were, in turn, reflected in their discourse. One of the texts gave the impression that it was neutral on the topic, whereas the other had a very particular take on the new development and what it would mean for people living in the area.

A further example of critical discourse analysis addressing social and political issues is Teo's (2005) study of slogans for Singapore's 'Speak Mandarin' campaign. In this campaign there is clearly a view that Singaporeans of Chinese descent should speak Mandarin despite the fact that at the time of the launch of the campaign only a small percentage of them actually spoke Mandarin as their first language. The aim of the campaign was to connect Chinese Singaporeans with Chinese cultural traditions as well as help counter 'negative effects of westernisation' (123). The campaign was also motivated by an economic policy which aimed at attracting foreign investment, especially from China. These arguments were captured in slogans such as *Mandarin: Window to Chinese Culture*, *Speak Mandarin, It's an Asset* and *Speak Mandarin: Your Children's Future Depends on Your Effort*. Mandarin was also presented as cool and of contemporary relevance, as well as a 'stepping-stone to greater business opportunities' with the Chairman of the Promote Mandarin Council saying that Mandarin is "cool" in more ways than one, 'Mandarin is definitely "in"' and Mandarin is 'a store of linguistic and cultural treasure waiting to be explored' (134). The discourse of the campaign, thus, constructs the view of Mandarin as a language that has cultural, social and, in particular, economic value for the people of Singapore.

10.1.2 Power relations are negotiated and performed through discourse

The next principle of critical discourse analysis is that power relations are both negotiated and performed through discourse. One way in which this can be looked at is through an analysis of who controls conversational interactions, who allows a person to speak and how they do this.

In the case of the building of the apartments near my house, the two different texts I received gave very different impressions of how people were encouraged to speak on the topic and negotiate different points of view on the development. The letter from the Council said that people would be free to speak at the public meeting, but that they would be required to register their intention to speak at the start of the meeting. The letter did not mention that the full Council plus representatives of the developers who had put forward the proposal would be at the meeting. The pamphlet encouraged residents to write to their local councillors about the issue and gave the names and address of each of the members of the local council. The area in which I live however is very multicultural. I am certain that the elderly Vietnamese couple who live next door to me would not have written to the councillors, or would have felt their voices would have been heard had they gone to the meeting. They would most likely not have felt that they had the power to change things, nor were they in a position to influence

the outcomes of this discussion. The ninety-year-old woman who lived in the house on the other side of my property may also not have felt comfortable going to the meeting and standing up in front of everyone to have her say, as unhappy as she was about the development.

Hutchby (1996) examined issues of power in his study of arguments in British radio talk shows. As Hutchby and Wooffitt (2008) point out, the person who speaks first in an argument is often in a weaker position than the person who speaks next. The first person has to set their opinion on the line, whereas the second speaker merely has to challenge the opponent to expand on, or account for the claims. In a radio talk-back programme, it is normally the host that comes in the second position and has the power to challenge the caller's claim, or to ask them to justify what they have just said. The following example shows how a talk-back show host does this simply by saying *Yes* and *So?*:

- Caller: I: have got three appeals letters here this week. (0.4) All a:skin' for donations. (0.2). hh
Two: from tho:se that I: always contribute to anywa:y,
Host: Yes?
Caller: hh But I expect to get a lot mo:re.
Host: So?
Caller: h Now the point is there is a limi[t to . .
Host: [What's that got to do – what's
that got to do with telethons though.
Caller: hh Because telethons . . .

(Hutchby 1996: 489)

The host does this again in the next example where *What's that got to do with it?* challenges the caller and requires them to account for what they just said:

- Caller: When you look at e:r the childcare facilities in this country, hh we're very very low, (.) i-on the league table in Europe of (.) you know of you try to get a child into a nursery it's very difficult in this country . . . hh An' in fa:ct it's getting wor::se.
Host: What's that got to do with it.
Caller: . phh Well I think whu- what 'at's gotta d-do with it is. . . .

(Hutchby 1996: 490)

The caller can take the second speaking part in this kind of interaction only when the host has moved, or been manoeuvred, into first position by giving an opinion of their own. If this does not happen, it is hard for the caller to take control of the conversation and challenge the control of the host. This kind of analysis, then, shows how power is brought into play, and performed, through discourse (Hutchby 1996).

10.1.3 Discourse both reflects and reproduces social relations

A further principle of critical discourse analysis is that discourse not only reflects social relations but is also part of, and reproduces, social relations. That is, social relations are both established and maintained through the use of discourse.

The letter from my Council that I referred to earlier was written with authority and contained a lot of technical detail, setting up a very clear power imbalance between the writer and readers of the text. It was signed 'Director – Planning and Development' – and gave no actual name for people to call to speak to. The pamphlet from the protest group, however, was much more informal and gave an email address to write to for further information and advice on what to do to change the situation. The social relations produced (and reproduced) through the two texts were, thus, quite different.

In their examination of disparaging comments made about Mexicans in the BBC show *Top Gear*, Sayer and Meadows (2012) discuss how, through their use of discourse, the speakers produce and reproduce stereotypes and nationalist views as well as negative views of members of a culture, in this case of Mexicans as being lazy. They show the connections between a person's nationality and perceptions of their character and how humour is often used (as was the case with the *Top Gear* show) to justify negative stereotyping of other cultural groups and to reinforce characterizations of them. The following examples from their data illustrate this, with Germans and Italians being represented positively and Mexicans negatively (Hammond and Clarkson are two of the show's hosts):

- Hammond: Why would you want a MEXican car? Because cars reflect national characteristics, don't they? So German cars are sort of very well built and efficient.
- Clarkson: Yeah
- Hammond: Italian cars are flamboyant and quick. Mexican cars are just going to be lazy, feckless, flatulent, overweight-
- Audience: [laughter]
- Hammond: Leaning against a fence, asleep, lookin' at a cactus, with a blanket with a hole in the middle on as a coat.

(Sayer and Meadows 2012: 268)

The Mexican ambassador in London at the time complained to the BBC about these comments. The BBC apologized for the comments but at the same time tried to justify the use of humour by arguing that 'jokes centred on national stereotyping are a part of *Top Gear*'s humour, and indeed a robust part of our national humour' (269). In doing this, they aimed to create in-group solidarity with their viewers at the same time as they distanced themselves from the out-group, Mexicans.

10.1.4 Ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse

Another key principle of critical discourse analysis is that ideologies are produced and reflected in the use of discourse. This includes ways of representing and constructing society such as relations of power, and relations based on gender, class and ethnicity.

Each of the pieces of mail I received on the development project near my house was quite different. The letter from the Council presented the addition of 125 new apartments (plus additional retail and commercial floor space and three eight-storey residential towers on top of the already-

five-storey mall) at the end of my street as a neutral event that would have no consequences for me or for where I am living. The pamphlet from the protest group made it clear what the consequences of this would be, outlining them in detail and strongly voicing its opposition to the project.

In their study of US restaurant workers' views of their customers, Mallinson and Brewster found that the (white) workers viewed all black customers as the same, in negative terms, and using stereotypes to form their expectations about future interactions with black customers, and the broader social group of African Americans. This was clear in the 'discourse of difference' (Wodak 1997) that they used as they spoke about their black customers and distanced themselves from them. The workers' views of rural white Southerner customers were similarly stereotyped, although they talked about this group in somewhat different ways, referring to where they lived, the ways they dressed, and their food and drink preferences as a way of justifying their claims about them. In both cases, the workers' use of discourse privileged their own race and social class, reflecting their ideological, stereotyped views of both groups of customers.

Fairclough and Wodak also argue that all texts need to be considered in relation to the texts that have preceded them and those that will follow them. They also need to be understood by taking sociocultural knowledges of the texts and the matter at hand more broadly into consideration. In the letter from my Council, there was no mention that this was the third time the development company was attempting to have its proposal approved and that there had been two previous public meetings on the topic where the application had been rejected. The pamphlet from the protest group, however, made this very clear. A critical analysis of these communications, then, is a form of social action (Flowerdew and Richardson 2017) in that it attempts to intervene and bring about change in both communicative and sociopolitical practices.

Critical discourse studies, then, aim to make connections between social and cultural practices and the values and assumptions that underlie the discourse. That is, they aim to unpack what people say and do in their use of discourse in relation to their views of the world, themselves and their relationships with each other. Critical discourse analysis takes the view that the relationship between language and meaning is never arbitrary in that the choice of a particular genre or rhetorical strategy brings with it particular presuppositions, meanings, ideologies and intentions (Kress 1991). As Eggins (2005: 10) argues:

Whatever genre we are involved in, and whatever the register of the situation, our use of language will also be influenced by our ideological positions: the values we hold (consciously or unconsciously), the biases and perspectives we adopt.

Thus, if we wish to complain about a neighbour, we may choose to attend a neighbour mediation session, or we may decide to air our complaint more publicly in a television chat show, as some of the speakers did in Stokoe's (2003) study of neighbour complaints. We may also do this by complaining to another neighbour about them. Our intention in speaking to the other neighbour may be to build up a 'neighbourhood case' against the person we are unhappy with. If the neighbour we are complaining about is a single mother, we may draw on other people's prejudices against single mothers, and our own biases and moral judgements about them as an added rationale for complaining about the neighbour. The woman being complained about may pick up on this, as did one of Stokoe's subjects, Macy, in a neighbour mediation session where she says, 'if I had a big bloke

living with me . . . none of this would happen' (329). Macy, by responding to this assumption, does not allow her single status to be used as a reason to complain about her.

In a further extract Stokoe shows how speakers may draw on the fact that their neighbour has boyfriends (more than one) in her flat as added ammunition against her. The following example illustrates this. In this example, Terry (T) is the chat show host and Margaret (M) is a member of the audience who is complaining about her neighbour:

- T: I want to know (.) what happened to you (0.5)
 M: after living very happily (.) in my (.) one bedroom flat for thirteen years (.) it was a *three* storey block of flats and I was on the top floor (.) and the young woman was put in the flat below me (0.5) I then had (.) seven and a half *ye:ars* (.) of sheer hell
 T: *what* sort of hell?
 M: loud music (.) night *and* day (.) it just depended=
 T: =well that wasn't the worst was it?
 M: = (0.5) it was boyfriends (333)

The rhetorical strategy here, then, is to draw on a moralizing discourse about women as a way of legitimating complaints about female neighbours, as well as building a defense for making the complaint (Stokoe 2003).

Resende (2009) provides a similar example of how, through the use of discourse, groups of people are framed in particular ways. She examines a report of a meeting on homeless people which was sent, as a circular, to residents of a middle-class apartment building in Brazil. The circular reported on a meeting that had been convened by a local restaurant owner who was concerned about homeless people living in the area and the financial impact it was having on his business. What she found was that the apartment circular, which normally addresses issues such as building maintenance, had been appropriated to make a case for the removal of people from the area. It used terms such as 'government authorities' and 'public security representative' to give it authority so that the views expressed in the circular would be taken as given and not open for discussion. Views were expressed categorically and disguised the main issue, the problem of living on the streets. The issue was reframed in terms of individual and community comfort and avoided the underlying social cause of the problem.

Meadows (2009) employed *ethnographically sensitive critical discourse analysis* to examine the relationship between nationalism and language learning in an English-language classroom on the Mexico/US border. The students in the classes he examined were all Mexican management-level employees who held positions of economic and social privilege in their particular community. The data he collected included participant observations, interviews, questionnaires, classroom activities and emails. The data collected was then examined from a critical discourse perspective with the aim of exploring how the relationship between nationalism and language learning played out in the classroom. Meadows found that the classroom provided a site for the reproduction of nationalist border practices as well as a place in which hierarchies of privilege were reinforced. This was revealed through the ways in which the students discussed border categories using, for example, polar categories such as *americano* and *mexicano*, and negative attitudes to categories which blurred these boundaries such as *Spanglish*, *Mexican-American* and *paisano*. The teacher, further,

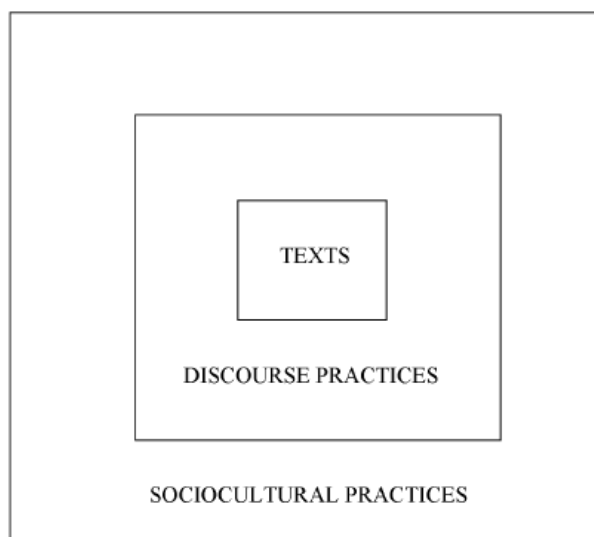


Figure 10.1 The relationship between texts, discourse practices and sociocultural practices in a critical perspective (adapted from Fairclough 1992: 73).

often used nationalist categories in the classroom which the students positively responded to. His study shows how language classrooms are not only about developing language proficiency. They are also often closely linked to students' investment in their worlds outside the classroom.

A key focus, then, of critical discourse studies is the uniting of texts with the discourse and sociocultural practices that the text reflects, reinforces and produces (Fairclough 1995). The chart in Figure 10.1 summarizes this. Discourse, in this view, simultaneously involves each of these dimensions.

10.2 Doing critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis 'includes not only a description and interpretation of discourse in context, but also offers an explanation of why and how discourses work' (Rogers 2004: 2). Researchers working within this perspective

are concerned with a critical theory of the social world, the relationship of language and discourse in the construction and representation of the social world, and a methodology that allows them to describe, interpret and explain such relationships. (Rogers 2011: 3)

A critical analysis, then, might commence by deciding what discourse type, or genre, the text represents and to what extent and in what way the text conforms to it (or not). It may also consider to what extent the producer of the text has gone beyond the normal boundaries for the genre to create a particular effect.

The analysis may consider the *framing* of the text, that is, how the content of the text is presented and the sort of angle or perspective the writer or speaker is taking. Closely related to framing is the notion of *foregrounding*, that is, what concepts and issues are emphasized, as well as what concepts and issues are played down or *backgrounded* in the text. Equally important to the analysis are the background knowledge, assumptions, attitudes and points of view that the text presupposes (Huckin 1997).

At the sentence level, the analyst might consider what has been *topicalized* in each of the sentences in the text, that is, what has been put at the front of each sentence to indicate what it is 'about'. The analysis may also consider who is doing what to whom, that is, *agent–patient relations* in the discourse, and who has the most authority and power in the discourse. It may also consider what agents have been left out of sentences such as when the passive voice is used, and why this has been done (Huckin 1997).

At the word and phrase level, connotations of particular words and phrases might be considered as well as the text's degree of formality or informality, degree of technicality and what this means for other participants in the text. The choice of words which express degrees of certainty and attitude may also be considered and whether the intended audience of the text might be expected to share the views expressed in the text, or not (Huckin 1997).

The procedure an analyst follows in this kind of analysis depends on the research situation, the research question and the texts that are being studied. What is essential, however, is that there is some attention to the *critical*, *discourse* and *analysis* in whatever focus is taken up in the analysis (Rogers 2011).

Critical discourse analysis, then, aims to provide both an understanding of texts and an explanation of why a text is as it is and what it is aiming to do. It looks at the relationship between discourse and society and aims to describe, interpret and explain this relationship (Rogers 2011). As van Dijk (1998) has argued, it is through discourse that many ideologies are formulated, reinforced and reproduced. Critical discourse analysis aims to provide a way of exploring this and, in turn, challenging some of the hidden and 'out of sight' social, cultural and political ideologies and values that underlie texts.

10.3 Critical discourse analysis and genre

One way in which a question might be approached from a critical perspective is by considering the genres that have been chosen for achieving a particular discourse goal. Flowerdew (2004) did this in his study of the Hong Kong government's promotion campaign of Hong Kong as a 'world-class city'. He discusses the various genres that were involved in constructing this view of Hong Kong. These included committee meetings, policy speeches, commission reports, an inception report, public fora, exhibitions, focus group discussions, presentations, a website, consultation documents, information leaflets, consultation digests and videos. He discusses how each of these genres played a role in the construction of this particular view of Hong Kong. He then carries out an analysis of three different genres which made this claim: a public consultation document, the Hong Kong annual yearbook and a video that was produced to promote Hong Kong as 'Asia's World City'.

Flowerdew shows how the Hong Kong bureaucracy developed and constructed this particular view, from the generation of an initial idea through to the public presentation of this view. He also shows that while the official aim of the consultation process was to gain feedback on the proposal, it was as much designed to win over the public to this view. The public consultation document, Flowerdew shows, used a language of ‘telling’ rather than a language of ‘asking’ (or indeed consulting). The tone of the text was prescriptive in its use of the modal verb *will*, for example, as in *every Hong Kong resident will, HK 2030 will involve* and *This will ensure*. The voice of authority, thus, was dominant in the use of the genre and discouraged dissent from the view that it promoted.

The yearbook that Flowerdew examined extolled the virtues of Hong Kong and was overtly promotional in nature. Other voices were brought in to give authority to this view such as ‘perceptions of Hong Kong internationally’ and ‘our review on international perspectives of Hong Kong’. Who these views actually belonged to was not stated. This text, interestingly, was produced before the actual public consultation process commenced and suggests that the government had already decided on the outcome of its consultation, before it had actually commenced.

The voice on the video that was examined, as with the yearbook, was overwhelmingly promotional. The difference between this and the yearbook was that the video used the discourse of advertising and public relations to make its point, rather than the discourse of bureaucracy. The video used short sharp pieces of text such as *The pace quickens* and *Horizons expand*. These statements were accompanied by a series of images of technology, architecture and nightlife that presented Hong Kong as a vibrant and fast-paced, modern city. The mix of traditional Chinese and Western music on the soundtrack of the video gave both an Asian and an international feel to the video. The video was also produced before the public consultation actually took place. As Flowerdew points out, this is consistent with branding theory which emphasizes the importance of gaining support and the belief of the public in the promotion of a brand, or product. It is not, however, the sequence of genres that might be expected to conform with a public consultation process. Flowerdew, then, shows how the voices of three very different genres come together to impose, rather than negotiate, a certain point of view on the readers and viewers of the texts, which formed part of the campaign.

10.4 Critical discourse analysis and multimodality

Critical multimodal discourse analysis (Machin 2013; Machin and Mayr 2012) examines how images in texts present particular ideologies, views and values. The magazines discussed in Chapter 8, *Cosmopolitan* and *Nikkei Woman*, are examples of this where the choice of images of women, in the case of *Cosmopolitan*, reflect the magazine’s set of values and with *Nikkei Woman*, broader views of women in Japanese society. Different versions of *Cosmopolitan* produced in different countries, however, reflect different values with the US version of the magazine using images that reflect stronger, more independent women, and thus promoting independence as a value, compared with

images on the cover of the magazine when it is produced in Hong Kong where the women display more modesty, thus promoting modesty as an important value.

Ng (2014) examined the choice of photographic images and the values they reflect in the marketing of higher education in Singapore. He found that the values of flexibility, freedom and empowerment were expressed in the branding of the institutions. Freedom and flexibility were reflected in the way the institutions talked about their admissions procedures and requirements which, in turn, were reflected in the images which accompanied the text. In addition, he shows how neoliberalism and capitalism strongly influence the branding of Singapore's higher education institutions, especially in the use of images which are chosen to illustrate institutional values. All of this, he argues, is reflective of the institutions' preoccupation with fostering an entrepreneurial and competitive culture, which, in turn, is reflected in the way they describe themselves and the visual representations they choose to market themselves.

In a study of Getty Images (gettyimages.com), Hansen and Machin (2008) discuss how photography is moving from a way of documenting reality and bearing witness to being depoliticized and decontextualized around themes and representations that are in harmony with corporate capitalism. They show how images of climate change, for example, are recontextualized by Getty Images around the theme of Green Issues and promoted as a 'marketing opportunity'. Hansen and Machin give the example of newspaper articles about the effects of climate change where an editor would have searched for an image to accompany the article on Getty Images using the terms 'environment' and 'green issues'. Getty Images is, in fact, the largest supplier of stock images in the world and has transformed the ways images are accessed and used in global media. To achieve this success, Getty Images has collected an enormous range of images which can then be used without issues of copyright clearance. To create the decontextualization of the images, the background of a photo is either removed or placed out of focus. In other cases, images are chosen that have generic backgrounds and people who reflect a type of person rather than an individual. In addition, images are chosen which are 'timeless' and do not reflect a particular location. Getty Images, thus, repurposes images in a way that makes them suitable for branding and marketing, deliberately moving 'away from naturalistic, empirical truth' (792).

10.5 Critical discourse analysis and larger data sets

Much of the work in critical discourse analysis often draws its discussion from the analysis of only a few texts which have sometimes been criticized for being overly selective and lacking in objectivity. One way in which the scale of texts used for a critical analysis can be expanded is through the use of texts that are available on the World Wide Web. Using material from the World Wide Web is not without its problems, however. It is not always possible to identify the source of texts on the web. It is also not always possible to determine which texts have more authority on a topic than others on the web. It is also difficult to see sometimes who in fact is writing on the web.

Texts on the web, further, also often rely on more than just words to get their message across. The multimodal nature, thus, needs to be taken into account of in any analysis of material from the web. Texts on the web are also more subject to change than many other pieces of writing. Each of these issues needs to be considered when using data from the World Wide Web for a critical (or indeed any kind of) discourse study (Mautner 2005a).

The World Wide Web has, however, been used productively to carry out critical discourse studies which draw on the strengths of the web's capacity to collect a lot of relevant data. Mautner's (2005b) study of 'the entrepreneurial university' is an example of this. Mautner did a search of the web for the term 'entrepreneurial university' to see who was using it, what genres it typically occurs in and how it is typically used. She used a search engine to do this as well as carried out a trawl through the websites of thirty of the top UK universities to find further uses of the term. She also used a reference corpus to see what words 'entrepreneurial' typically collocated with, outside of her particular area of interest.

Mautner observes that the use of the term 'entrepreneurial university' brings together the discourses of business and economics with the discourse of the university. It is not just the newer, seemingly more commercially driven universities, however, that are doing this. The following example from the Oxford University website illustrates this:

Oxford is one of Europe's most innovative and *entrepreneurial universities*. Drawing on an 800-year tradition of discovery and invention, modern Oxford leads the way in creating jobs, skills and innovation for the 21st century.

The term 'entrepreneurial university' was not, however, used positively in all the texts that Mautner examined. On occasions, writers purposely distanced themselves from the term by putting scare quotes around these words. Even those who were advocates of the entrepreneurial university also showed that they were aware of the potentially contentious nature of the term by adding qualifying statements to their use of the term, such as 'we still care about education and society' and 'it isn't about commercialization'. Studies such as this, then, show the enormous potential of using the World Wide Web for the critical study of the use of discourse.

10.6 Criticism of critical discourse analysis

Critical discourse analysis has not been without its critics, however. One argument against critical discourse analysis has been that it is very similar to earlier stylistic analyses that took place in the area of literary criticism. Widdowson (1998), for example, argues that a critical analysis should include discussions with the producers and consumers of texts, and not just rest on the analyst's view of what a text might mean alone. Others have suggested that critical discourse analysis does not always consider the role of the reader in the consumption and interpretation of a text, sometimes mistaking themselves for a member of the audience the text is aimed at (van Noppen 2004). Critical discourse analysis has also been criticized for not always providing sufficiently detailed, and systematic, analyses of the texts that it examines (Schegloff 1997).

Writers such as Cameron (2001) discuss textual interpretation in critical discourse analysis, saying it is an exaggeration to say that any reading of a text is a possible or valid one. She does, however, agree with the view that a weakness in critical discourse analysis is its reliance on just the analyst's interpretation of the texts. She suggests drawing more on recipients' interpretations in the analysis and interpretation of the discourse as a way of countering this. Textual analyses, for example, can be supplemented with other kinds of information such as ethnographic research into communicative practices and the reception of texts by specific audiences (Cameron and Panovic 2014; Machin and Mayr 2012). As Cameron (2001: 140) suggests, a critical discourse analysis

is enriched, and the risk of making overly subjective or sweeping claims reduced, by going beyond the single text to examine other related texts and to explore the actual interpretations recipients make of them.

Benwell (2005) aimed to deal with this in her study of the ways in which men respond to the discourse of men's lifestyle magazines. Drawing on a textual *culture* approach, two groups of readers were interviewed about their reading habits, practices and dispositions with reference to issues such as gender, sexism, humour and irony in articles and images in the magazines. Conversation analysis and *membership categorization analysis* (Schegloff 2007) were used for the analysis of the data. One of the interviewees said, laughing, *Lucky this is anonymous!* when admitting that he had responded to the influence of an advertisement in a magazine and had gone and bought a skin care product, more commonly associated with women. In his hesitation in revealing this, he also showed his alignment with the constructions of masculinity promoted by the magazine as well as his affiliation with the view that "real" men do not use grooming products' (164). The combination, thus, of Benwell's reading of the texts, with readers' views in relation to the texts tells us more about the texts themselves, as well as about how many men may read them.

A further way in which critical discourse studies could be enhanced is through a more detailed linguistic analysis of its texts than sometimes occurs. Systemic functional linguistics has been proposed as a tool for one way in which this could be done (Fairclough 2003). Tu (2016) did this in her critical multimodal genre study of Chinese university web pages in which she examines genre and language choices in the universities' online descriptions of themselves. Watanabe (2019) also used systemic functional linguistics in his critical multimodal analysis of newspaper reports on international disputes over islands in the East China Sea, in particular the evaluative language used by authors and the ways in which their positions were reflected in the images that were chosen to accompany the texts.

Corpus approaches have been proposed as a way of increasing the quantitative dimension of critical discourse analyses (Cameron and Panovic 2014; Machin and Mayr 2012; Mautner 2005a). Kandil and Belcher (2011), for example, did this in their corpus-informed critical discourse analysis of web-based news reports on the Israeli–Palestinian conflict on BBC, CNN and Al-Jazeera. By then comparing the results of the analysis with a reference corpus (see Chapter 7), it is possible to see whether something that occurred in the analysis reflects a more general pattern of language use, and whether the differences that are found are analytically and statistically significant, that is, they are unlikely to have occurred by chance (Cameron and Panovic 2014). This kind of analysis can make CDA more rigorous and 'less vulnerable to the objection that the analyst is seeing patterns

where none exist or offering purely subjective interpretations' (Cameron and Panovic 2014: 79) (see Breeze 2011 for further discussion of critical discourse analysis and critiques of it).

10.7 Summary

This chapter has discussed key issues and principles in critical discourse analysis. It has given examples of studies that have been carried out from this perspective, all of which have aimed to uncover out-of-sight norms and values which underlie texts which are key to understanding the roles that texts play in particular social, cultural and political contexts. Suggestions have then been made for ways of doing critical discourse analysis. Criticisms of critical discourse analysis have also been discussed and ways of responding to these criticisms have been suggested.

10.8 Discussion questions

- (1) To what extent do you think texts reflect hidden and 'often out-of-sight' values? Choose a text which you think illustrates this and explain in what way you think this is done through the use of the discourse.
- (2) To what extent do you think that the way a text is 'framed' encourages a certain reading of it. Choose a text which you think illustrates this. What strategies have been used to do this?
- (3) Choose a text which you feel encourages a certain reading from its use of illustrations, pictures, layout and design and so on. How do you feel each of these resources aims to 'position' the reader in a particular way?

10.9 Data analysis projects

- (1) Choose a text which you feel would be useful to examine from a critical perspective. Analyse it from the point of view of genre and framing. Link your analysis to a discussion of how you feel the text aims to position its readers. Read Huckin (1997) on critical discourse analysis to help with this.
- (2) Choose a text which you feel uses multimodal discourse such as layout, design and images to communicate its message to its audience. Analyse your text highlighting the ways in which it does this. Look at van Leeuwen's (2005a) *Introducing Social Semiotics* for suggestions on how to do this.

10.10 Exercises

10.10.1 Exercise 1: Talking about asylum seekers

The following extract is from a pamphlet titled *Mobiles, Money & Mayhem. The Facts and Fibs About Asylum* produced by Refugee Act Now in the UK, a charity which provides advice to asylum seekers and refugees. The aim of the pamphlet is to counter popular myths about asylum seekers and refugees. How do you think the pamphlet does this?

1. “Most asylum seekers and refugees are criminals”
2. Aren’t there always a couple of rotten apples to spoil the barrel, a couple of bad eggs
3. in every community that ruin it for the rest of us by bringing crime to our streets?
4. It’s the same story worldwide and that includes the asylum seeker and refugee
5. community too. But you’ll be pleased to hear that the entire asylum and refugee
6. population aren’t out raping and pillaging their way round the UK.
7. A report published by the Association of Chief Police Officers found no evidence
8. that asylum seekers are more likely than anyone else in the community to commit
9. criminal offences, and that asylum seekers are more likely to be the victims of crime
10. than the perpetrators.

Source: Wroe (2018: 330)

10.10.2 Exercise 2: Gender representations in celebrity chef cookbooks

Look at the following extracts from cookbooks written by female celebrity chefs. What gendered discourses do you think they project?

- 1 Rum raisin rice pudding
Men, especially, love nursery desserts, but rice pudding can be really boring. For this recipe, don’t think rice pudding, think rum raisin ice cream, because it borrows its flavor from my favorite Häagen-Dazs ice cream. (Garten, 2002: 147)
- 2 Knock you naked brownies
I was once gifted with a tin of brownies by a very kind soul. It was a tin of Killer Brownies from Dorothy Lane Market in Dayton, Ohio. And these weren’t just any brownies: They were multilayered wonders with gorgeous caramel oozing out of the center layer. And the flavor: to die for! . . . These are absolutely killer, my friends. Make them for someone you really, really love . . . or someone you want to love you back. It’ll work. I guarantee it. Um! (Drummond 2012: 260)

3 Pomegranate and mint sorbet

Like raspberries and chocolate, pomegranate and chocolate make a very sexy couple, and they give this sorbet a little more body and interest than your basic fruit flavors. Its sweet-tart flavor is refreshing on a hot day, and the mint syrup has a real cooling effect. (De Laurentiis 2010: 197)

10.10.3 Exercise 3. Language and identity

The following extract is from a critical ethnographic study which examines identity categories of students in a public high school in Hawai'i and, in particular, the relative status of ESL students in the school. In this extract, China and Raven are 'local' ESL students (Asian and/or Pacific Island students who were born and raised in Hawai'i), as opposed to newly arrived/lower-L2-proficiency, 'Fresh off the boat' students. The teacher is giving the class instructions for an assignment and telling them they have fifteen minutes to do it. China and Raven speak what Talmy (2008) calls 'Mock ESL' in this extract as a way of mocking the newcomer ESL students. How do they do this?

01. China: yeah [bu-
02. T: [we (mu[st)
03. China: [bu- [bu-
04. T: [we have to hurry
05. China: ((higher pitch, light nasal tone)) but we E-S-L student!
06. Raven: ((Pidgin)) wi- wi-so [dam!
we're-we're so dumb!
07. T: [that's okay!
08. China: ((higher pitch, light nasal tone)) we no English!
09. Raven: ((Pidgin)) haw du yu spel 'A'
how do you spell 'A'?
10. T: ((to the class)) ten thirty!

Transcription conventions:

- abrupt sound stop
- [overlapping talk
- () undecipherable/questionable transcription
- (()) characterisation of talk

Source: Talmy (2015: 160) adapted.

10.11 Directions for further reading

10.11.1 Further reading

Wodak, R. (2021), 'Critical discourse analysis,' in K. Hyland, B. Paltridge and L. Wong (eds), *Bloomsbury Handbook of Discourse Analysis*. London: Bloomsbury, pp. 35–50.

Wodak's chapter reviews current approaches and developments in critical discourse analysis. She also provides a sample study as an example of how to do critical discourse analysis.

10.11.2 Additional reading

Strauss, S. and Feiz, P. (2014), *Discourse Analysis: Putting our Worlds into Words*. New York: Routledge.

Chapter 9 of Strauss and Feiz's book is a very clear overview of critical discourse analysis. It gives details of linguistic features that might be examined as part of a critical discourse project. Sample analyses are provided to illustrate the points being made.

10.12 Sample studies

Gu, M. M. (2010), 'The discursive construction of college English learners' identity in cross-cultural interactions', *Critical Inquiry in Language Studies*, 7: 298–333.

Gu's study examines the interactions between two Chinese university students and their English conversation partners in sessions which were set up to improve the Chinese students' English proficiency. The study examined identity construction in the interactions from a critical discourse perspective. Gu found that the Chinese students' identities were constructed through establishing oppositions and differences with their conversation partners and through constantly comparing Chinese and American cultures.

Machin, D. and Niblock, S. (2008), 'Branding newspapers', *Journalism Studies*, 9: 244–59.

In this article, Machin and Niblock discuss how newspapers rebrand themselves with increased attention to fonts, colours, layout and choices of images. Employing multimodal critical discourse analysis, they examine the *Liverpool Daily Post* as a case to illustrate how this is done, looking at features such as changes in the use and kind of fonts, text alignment, composition of pages, and use and positioning of images.

Matwick, K. (2017), 'Language and gender in female celebrity chef cookbooks: Cooking to show care for the family and for the self', *Critical Discourse Studies*, 14: 532–47.

The study examines cookbooks written by three female celebrity chefs from a critical perspective, showing how the cookbooks continue traditional gender roles for women as people who care, cook and serve others. The cookbooks also, by contrast, contain discourses of achievability, self-fulfilment and femininity, illustrating how, through the use of easy and delicious recipes, women can be competent in the kitchen and, in turn, in life.



See the companion website for suggestions for further readings.

Doing discourse analysis

Chapter Outline

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The previous chapters in this book have outlined a number of different perspectives on discourse analysis as well as described a range of approaches to the analysis of discourse data. This chapter discusses issues that need to be considered when planning and carrying out a discourse analysis project. A number of sample studies are discussed to give you an idea of how previous researchers have gone about answering discourse analysis questions that have interested them. The chapter concludes with a discussion of issues to consider in evaluating the quality of a discourse analysis project.

11.1 Issues in planning a discourse project

There are a number of issues that need to be considered when planning a discourse analysis project. The first of these is the actual research question. The key to any good research project is a well-focused research question. It can, however, take longer than expected to find this question. Cameron (2001) has suggested that one important characteristic of a good research project is that it contains a 'good idea', that is, the project is on something that is worth finding out about. As

Cameron and others have pointed out, deciding on and refining the research question is often the hardest part of the project. It is, thus, worth spending as much time as necessary to get it right.

11.1.1 Criteria for developing a discourse analysis project

In her book *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*, Johnstone (2000) lists a number of criteria that contribute to the development of a good and workable research project. In her case, she is talking about research in the area of sociolinguistics. What she says, however, applies equally to discourse analysis projects. These criteria include the following:

- A well-focused idea about spoken or written discourse that is phrased as a question or a set of closely related questions;
- An understanding of how discourse analytic techniques can be used to answer the research question(s) you are asking;
- An understanding of why your question(s) are important in a wider context; that is, why answering the question(s) will have practical value and/or be of interest to the world at large;
- Familiarity with and access to the location where your discourse analysis project will be carried out;
- Ability to get the data that is needed for the project;
- The time it will realistically take to carry out the project, analyse and write up the results of the project;
- Being competent in the method(s) of analysis required for the project.

11.1.2 Choosing a research question

A good place to start in choosing a research question is by drawing up a shortlist of topics that interest you. You can do this by speaking to other students, by asking colleagues, by asking teachers and potential supervisors, as well as by looking up related research in the library. As Cameron (2001: 183) points out, good ideas for research do not ‘just spring from the researcher’s imagination, they are suggested by previous research’.

It is important, then, to read widely to see what previous research has said about the topic you are interested in, including what questions can be asked and answered from a discourse perspective. This reading will also give a view of what the current issues and debates are in the approach to discourse analysis you are interested in, as well as how other researchers have gone about answering the question you are interested in from a discourse perspective. It is important to remember, however, that a research question and a research topic are not the same thing. A research topic is your general area of interest, whereas the research question is the particular thing you want to find out and which grows out of your research topic (Sunderland 2018).

Choosing and refining a research question is not, however, a linear process. An example of this can be seen in how one of my students chose and refined his research questions. His point of departure

was his interest in intercultural rhetoric (Connor 2018) and second language writing. He had first met intercultural rhetoric in a course he had done on literacy and language education in his master's degree. As a Chinese writer of English, he had often been surprised by some of the different conventions and expectations between Chinese and English academic writing. He wondered if intercultural rhetoric could help him understand these differences. He was also interested in discourse analysis, having done a course on this as well; so some sort of discourse analysis of Chinese and English writing seemed to him to be a useful, as well as an interesting topic to investigate. As he read on this topic, he saw that Chinese and English writing had indeed been investigated from an intercultural rhetoric perspective. He also saw that there were differing views on whether Chinese writing has an influence on Chinese students' writing in English. So he had an area of interest, but not yet a topic. And he had an area of interest that, at this point, was still very wide and not yet focused.

11.1.3 Focusing a research topic

My student, then, needed to focus his research topic. Often, beginning researchers start off with a project that is overly large and ambitious. Stevens and Asmar (1999: 15) suggest that 'wiser heads' know that a good research project is 'narrow and deep'. In their words, 'even the simplest idea can mushroom into an uncontrollably large project'. They highlight how important it is for students to listen to more experienced researchers in their field and to be guided by their advice in the early stages of the research. They suggest starting off by getting immersed in the literature and reading broadly and widely to find a number of potential research topics. This can be done by making heavy use of the library as well as by reading the abstracts of recent theses and dissertations, some of which are available on the World Wide Web.

Once the reading has been done, it is useful to write a few lines on each topic and use this as the basis to talk to other people about the research. Often one topic may emerge as the strongest contender from these conversations, not only because it is the most original or interesting but also because it is the most doable in terms of access to data and resource facilities, your expertise in the use of discourse analysis techniques, as well as supervision support.

Here are some of the ideas my student who was interested in comparing Chinese and English writing started off with:

- Topic 1: A comparison of Chinese students' essay writing in Chinese and English in their first year of undergraduate studies
- Topic 2: A comparison of students' master's theses in Chinese and English
- Topic 3: An examination of newspaper articles in Chinese and English from an intercultural rhetoric perspective

Each of these questions is influenced by previous research on the topic. Each of them, however, has its problems. The first question is an interesting one. It would be difficult, however, to get texts written by the same students in their first year of undergraduate studies in the two different settings. It is also not certain (or perhaps not even likely) that they will be asked to do the same or even comparable pieces of writing in the two sets of first-year studies. It is also not likely that a

Chinese student who has completed an undergraduate degree in a Chinese university would then do the same undergraduate degree in an English-medium university. There is also no suggestion in the first topic as to how the pieces of writing would be analysed.

The second question is more possible. The study could look at theses written by the same students or by different students. The challenge, however, is accessing the theses as many universities do not have master's theses available electronically in their library. This would become even more complicated if the aim was to examine theses written by the same student in Chinese, then in English. Some Chinese students do go on to do a degree that includes a thesis in English after having done a degree with a thesis component in Chinese but it would be difficult to identify these students and then, after that, obtain copies of their theses.

The third topic, in some ways, solves the data collection issue as newspaper texts are publicly available as long as you have access to a library, or an electronic database where previous copies of newspapers are held. The theoretical framework in this topic, intercultural rhetoric, however, in the sense of cultural influences of ways of writing in one language on another, has not been used to examine newspaper articles as it is probably not very common that Chinese writers of newspaper articles are required to write a newspaper article in English. So while the third topic is practical in many ways, the theoretical framework had not been used to approach it at this stage. My student who was working on this topic decided the notion of genre, rather than intercultural rhetoric, might be a better place to start. He still retained an interest in intercultural rhetoric, however, and wanted to include this in some way in his study. His refocused topic, then, became

A contrastive study of letters to the editor in Chinese and English.

11.1.4 Turning the topic into a research question

My student had settled on his topic, but it still needed to be turned into a research question. A possible first attempt at this question might be,

What are the differences between letters to the editor in Chinese and English?

This question however presupposes an outcome before the study has been carried out, that is, that there would indeed be differences between the two sets of writings.

The question also does not capture anything of the theoretical models that might be used to answer this question. The refocused set of questions that my student ended up with was the following:

- (1) In what ways are Chinese and English letters to the editor similar or different?
- (2) Can we use genre theory and intercultural rhetoric to understand these similarities and differences?

His question, thus, became more focused. It did not yet state exactly what aspects of genre theory he would draw on for his analysis, however. These became clearer as he read further on his topic and carried out trial analyses. He then decided to look at the *schematic structure* (see Chapter 4)

in the two sets of texts and other discourse patterns (such as problem–solution, compare and contrast, etc.) present in the texts. He also decided to look at the use of *logico-semantic relations* (Martin 1992) between clauses in the two sets of texts as his reading had told him this was an aspect of writing, in some genres at least, that differs in Chinese and English writing. His plan was then to see to what extent previous research in the area of intercultural rhetoric into other genres might help him explain whatever similarities and differences he might observe in his two sets of data.

His questions, thus, were now *worth asking* and *capable of being answered* from a discourse analysis perspective. As he argued, most studies of Chinese and English writing looked at either Chinese or English writing, but not at both. Also few studies used the same textual criteria for the two sets of analyses. Many previous studies of this kind, further, focused on ‘direct’ or ‘indirect’ aspects of Chinese and English writing and did not go beyond this to explore how the various parts of the texts combine together to create coherent texts. So what he was doing was theoretically useful; it was possible to collect the texts, and he was capable of analysing the data in the way that he proposed. He completed his study (Wang 2002) as well as published an article from his project (Wang 2004).

It is important, then, as my student did, to strike a balance between the value of the question and your ability to develop a project you are capable of carrying out, that is, a project for which you have the background, expertise, resources and access to data that is needed. It is also important to spend as much time as is needed to get the research question(s) right as research questions that are well designed and well worded are key to a good research project (Sunderland 2018).

11.2 Connecting data collection, analysis and research questions

Sunderland (2018) provides helpful advice on how to connect data collection and analysis with your research question(s). She suggests completing a table such as the one shown in Table 11.1 to do this.

Sunderland points out, however, that things are not always as neat as Table 11.1 might suggest. Sometimes one research question might require more than one set of data or you might be able to use one set of data to address more than one research question. What you will see, however, from your chart is whether there are any gaps that still need to be filled or data that still needs to be collected to address each of your questions (Sunderland 2018).

Table 11.1 Connecting Data Collection, Analysis and Research Questions

Research question	Data needed	Data collection	Data analysis
1.			
2.			
3.			

Source: Sunderland 2018: 29. © 2018 Bloomsbury Publishing Plc. Used with permission.

There also needs to be a strong (and logical) relationship between the questions that are asked and the methods that are chosen to answer the questions. Some approaches, for example, may be possible but not necessarily useful, depending on the question that has been asked. As Hyland (2016: 121) points out:

One of the main considerations of research methodology is to ensure that the study will answer the questions it has set itself, providing a credible explanation or characterization of the issue.

Research methods are not however ‘an open set of options in free combination’ (Hyland, 2016: 121). Research methods are

inseparable from methodologies and methodologies are underpinned by philosophical assumptions about the nature of the world and how we can know it. The selection of methods must therefore be made with regard to a range of personal and contextual factors. (Hyland, 2016: 121)

Factors which influence the choice of methods for a study include the following:

- What you are going to study
- Why you are carrying out the study
- The theoretical perspective you will use in the study
- The experience you have in working with the particular method or theoretical perspective
- The data you will collect for the study
- How you will collect the data
- How you will analyze the data

(Based on Hyland, 2016)

11.3 Kinds of discourse analysis projects

There are a number of different kinds of projects that can be carried out from a discourse analysis perspective. A number of these are described in the following section of the chapter, together with examples of previous discourse projects and details of the data that were collected for each of these projects.

11.3.1 Replication of previous discourse studies

One kind of study to consider is a replication study. Indeed, there has been a resurgence of interest in these kinds of studies in recent years. The editor of the journal *Language Teaching*, for example, argues that

such research should play a more significant role in the field than it has up to now and that it is both useful and necessary. (Language Teaching review panel 2008: 1)

As Santos (1989) points out, the findings of many studies are often not tested by further studies which follow the same methodology and a similar data set either at the same point in time or at

some stage later when the findings may be different. Santos describes this lack of replication studies as a serious weakness in applied linguistics research. Such studies provide both the accumulation and consolidation of knowledge over time. They can confirm or call into question previous findings in the research literature (see Porte and McManus 2019 for further discussion and advice on doing a replication study; also see Abbuhl 2018 for matters to consider in replication research).

Samraj's (2005) study of research article abstracts and introductions is an example of a replication study. Her aim was to test the results of previous research into the discourse structure of research article introductions to see whether they apply to the area of conservation biology and wildlife behaviour. She also wished to look at whether the discourse structure of the research article abstracts was as different from the discourse structure of research article introductions as previous research had claimed them to be. To carry out her study, she randomly selected twelve research article abstracts and twelve research article introductions from two key journals in the area of conservation biology and wildlife behaviour. She analysed her data using models that had been used in previous research on this topic, namely Swales's (1990) research into research article introductions and Bhatia's (1993) and Hyland's (2004c) research on research article abstracts. Once she had compared her findings with the results of previous research, she then compared her two data sets with each other to examine the extent to which they were similar in terms of discourse organization and function, also the focus of previous research.

Baker and McEnery (2019) also carried out a replication study when they revisited a study by Baker et al. (2013) which explored representations of Muslims and Islam in the British national press. In their original study, Baker et al. carried out a corpus-assisted discourse study which examined newspaper articles published from 1998 to 2009. For their replication, Baker and McEnery (2019) used the same method of collecting newspaper articles as was the case with the Baker et al. (2013) study, although they found that there had been some changes to the availability of some newspapers since the original study was carried out making the composition of the new data set somewhat different and of a smaller size from the original corpus. Notwithstanding, they found that some elements had remained the same, some had shifted by a small degree, and some had shifted quite substantially. They use their results to call for more studies of this kind which make comparisons across time so as to see how discourse shifts in representations it makes of people over time. Replication studies of this kind are an excellent idea for students wanting to do a master's dissertation, or a short project in their degree.

11.3.2 Using different data but the same methodology

A further way of using previous research is to carry out a study which uses different data from a previous study but the same methodology so as to be able to compare and contrast your findings with those of the original study, that is, *comparative research* (Cumming 2012) which has a different data focus from previous studies on the topic. Yang's (1997) study of the opening sequences in Chinese telephone calls did this. She collected eighty Chinese telephone conversations made by three Chinese families living in Beijing. She analysed the opening sequences of these conversations, and then compared her findings with the findings of previous research into opening sequences in

telephone calls in the United States and a number of other countries and, in particular, claims that had been made in the research literature about ‘canonical’ openings of telephone conversations in English.

For his study of the discourse features of reviewer’s reports on submissions to academic journals, Paltridge (2015b, 2017) collected a data set of ninety-seven reviewers’ reports. Forty-five reviewers also completed a questionnaire which asked about their experience in doing peer reviews, how they had learnt to do write reviewers’ reports and the issues they faced in writing them (see Paltridge 2013). In addition, he sent follow-up emails to reviewers in order to seek further elaboration on answers they had provided in the questionnaire. One of the matters he examined was how reviewers had asked for changes to be made to the submissions that they reviewed. He did this by carrying out a speech act analysis of the reports (see Chapter 3) looking for how reviewers did this. He also examined the genre of the reports in terms of their schematic structures (see Chapter 4), politeness (see Chapter 3) and the language of evaluation in the reports (see Chapter 6). He also examined the reports to see if reviewers made different evaluative comments on papers that had been written by native and non-native speakers of English (Paltridge 2019). These were all features that had been examined in previous research and with the same methodologies but with different data and, in some cases, much smaller data sets.

11.3.3 Reconsidering previous claims

A further possibility is to design a project which reconsiders claims made in previous research. Liu’s (2004, 2008) study of Chinese ethnic minorities’ and Han Chinese students’ expository writing in English aimed to examine an existing claim in his particular setting. He examined, in particular, the claim that the typical Chinese rhetorical structure of *Qi-cheng-zhuan-he* would influence his students’ expository writing in English. He collected texts from a preparation test in which the students were asked to produce a piece of expository writing in English. The data were made up of English texts written by Tibetan students, Mongolian students and Han Chinese students. He examined both the schematic structure (see Chapter 4) and thematic structure (see Chapter 6) of the students’ texts. He then examined these structures to see to what extent they were influenced by the Chinese rhetorical structure he was interested in. Finally, he made a comparison of the three student groups’ writing to see if there were any differences in the discourse structures of their writing.

11.3.4 Analysing existing data from a discourse perspective

Channell’s (1997) study of telephone conversations took already-published data, a conversation purported to be between the Prince of Wales and Camilla Parker-Bowles, and analysed it to see in what way the speakers expressed love and desire, what the effect of the telephone was on their talk and what features of the conversation marked it as being the talk of two people who are in a close

and intimate relationship. She looked at topic choice and topic management, ways of expressing love and caring, the language of desire, and the way in which the Prince of Wales and Camilla Parker-Bowles said goodbye to each other. Her study confirmed previous work on telephone closings in that both speakers employed an elaborate set of preclosings and continued repetitions (such as 'love you', 'love you forever' and 'love you too') before concluding their conversation. She did not follow the conversation analysis procedure of transcribing the data herself as the data had already been published (and was not, in any case, available in audio form). It had also been tidied up to some extent when it was originally published. Notwithstanding, her study does show the value of taking already-existing data to see how discourse analytic techniques can help to further understand already-published data.

11.3.5 Analysing data from different discourse perspectives

Another possibility is to take data that has already been analysed using one approach to discourse analysis and analyse it from another approach. Orr (1996) did this in her study of arguments in the reality TV show *The Simpsons*. Her particular interest was in using conversation analysis as an alternate way of looking at data that had already been examined from a frame semantics perspective (Lee 1997) to see what a conversational analysis perspective might reveal about the nature of the interactions. Her study followed the philosophy of conversation analytic studies in that she started with the data and allowed the details of the analysis to emerge from her transcriptions. Through repeated listenings to the data, she saw how the speakers challenged and countered each other's points of view in a series of cyclical moves until one or the other speaker accepted the point of the argument. She then compared her findings with the findings of the study that had used frame semantics as its framework for analysis.

11.3.6 Combining research techniques

Ohashi's (2013) study of the speech act of thanking in Japanese is an example of a discourse study which combines a number of different research techniques. He combined elicited data in the form of discourse completion tasks, role plays and letter writing tasks with actual examples of language use. He looked at his data from both cross-cultural pragmatic and interlanguage pragmatic perspectives. His interest was in the notion of a debt-credit equilibrium in thanking as an expression of politeness in Japanese. He carried out four data-based studies, each of which examined this issue. The real-life data was drawn from telephone conversations recorded at the time of the *seibo* season, one of two major gift-giving seasons in Japan. This was then contrasted with the findings of the other data: discourse completion tasks completed by native speakers of Japanese, native speakers of English and adult learners of Japanese; role plays performed by native speakers of Japanese; and letters of request and letters of thanks written by native and non-native speakers of Japanese. By comparing both elicited and real-life data, he contributes to cross-cultural

discussions of politeness as well as shows the strength of *methodological triangulation* in this sort of investigation.

11.3.7 Ethnographic approaches to discourse analysis

Ethnography, broadly defined, is a research approach which involves gathering a variety of naturally occurring data to provide an account of what people do and mean, in this case through their use of language. That is, it investigates the naturally occurring behaviours of a group of people in their community; describes the beliefs, values and attitudes of the group; and provides a holistic description of contexts and cultural themes that emerge from the data. Ethnography, thus, is much more than just a data collection method. It also

seeks to understand a social setting holistically, taking account of the culture, history and meanings of that setting for those who are involved in it. (Tusting 2020: 37)

Talmy (2008, 2009) does this in his examination of relations between the production of English as a second language and stigmatized identity categories of students in a public high school in Hawai'i (see Sample Studies below for further discussion of his study).

Sharma (2018) carried out an ethnographic discourse analysis of an intercultural communication training course for tourism workers in Nepal. He examined how the workers learnt ways of presenting different kinds of persona to the tourists so as to have a positive effect on their relations with them. He attended the same classes as his participants, took class notes, as well as took part in field tours to tourist destinations in Kathmandu and nearby towns. His data included classroom observation notes, recordings of classroom interactions, notes and recordings from the field tours, recordings of informal talks and break time chats with the students, and interviews with the teachers and the students.

The study by Lou (2016), described in Chapter 2, took an ethnographic approach to the examination of linguistic landscapes in Chinatown in Washington, DC. Her data, collected over a period of eighteen months, included photographs of street signs, interviews with residents in the neighbourhood, community organizers and workers, and attendance at community meetings. She also analysed policy documents and promotional materials for Chinatown. She did all this to try to understand social, historical, political and economic reasons behind the Chinatown's linguistic landscape. Her research also revealed the impact of urban development on the traditionally ethnic neighbourhood of Chinatown in Washington, DC, and how this contributed to this area's shifting linguistic landscape.

A further ethnographic strategy that has been employed in the examination of written discourse is *textography* (Swales 2018). Textography combines elements of discourse analysis with ethnographic techniques such as interviews, observations and document analysis. It is, thus, something more than a traditional piece of discourse analysis, while at the same time less than a full-blown ethnography. A textography aims to get an inside view of the worlds in which texts are written, why texts are written as they are, what guides the writing, and the values that underlie the

texts that have been written. A particular goal of a textography is to examine the contextualization and the situatedness of written texts. It aims to do this through an exploration of the texts' 'contextually embedded discursive practices' (112). A textography, thus, aims to understand the context in which texts are produced in order to gain an understanding of why they are written as they are.

Paltridge et al. (2012a, 2012b) also employed textography in their study of texts that visual and performing arts doctoral students write as part of the submission requirements for their doctoral degrees. Data collected for their study included a nationwide survey, a set of doctoral dissertations, supervisor questionnaires, student interviews, supervisor interviews, university prospectuses, information given to students in relation to their candidature, published research on doctoral research and examination in these areas of study, in-house art school publications, discussion papers, and attendance at roundtable discussions and exhibition openings. The study found that there was a range of ways in which students could write their texts as well as reasons for this range, some of which were institutional and some of which were due to the influence of key figures in the field, rather than conventions of the particular disciplines.

11.3.8 Narrative analysis and discourse studies

Narrative analysis has also been employed in discourse studies. Baynham (2021) describes three main approaches to narrative analysis: the discourse analytic approach, the conversation analysis approach and the linguistic ethnographic approach. The discourse analytic approach draws on the work of Labov (Labov 1972; Labov and Waletzky 1967), which describes narratives as being made up of a number of stages, namely Abstract – Orientation – Complicating action – Evaluation – Result – Coda. This analysis has been taken up in systemic functional analyses of genres (see Chapter 4) as well as by Eggins and Slade (2005) in their discussion of casual conversation. Conversation analysis sees narrative rather differently, using analytical categories such as openings and closings, turn taking (see Chapter 5), the notion of the 'conversational floor' and the co-construction of narratives through talk. The linguistic ethnographic approach draws from work in the area of folklore studies of verbal performance (Bauman 1986) where narratives occur in the domains and settings of daily life (Baynham 2021).

More recent research in this area has moved away from the idea of narrative as monologue to something that is co-constructed, the notion of 'small stories' (Georgakopoulou 2007) in which speakers position themselves and others through their use of discourse, narrative in institutional talk (as in a job interview), and interviews as a narrative cite. Georgakopoulou's (2007) examination of narrative, interaction and identity in a friendship group and Baynham's (2021) analysis of narrative in interviews are examples of this. Within this work, there has been a shift from using narrative as framework for examining preset or existing identity categories to examining how identity is performed in talk (Baynham 2021) (see Thornborrow 2012 for further discussion of narrative analysis as well as examples of narratives in TV talk shows and in legal settings).

11.3.9 Combining different discourse perspectives

When designing a study which draws on different discourse perspectives, it is important to avoid what Cameron (2005b: 125) calls 'theoretical and methodological eclecticism'. As Cameron argues, there is sometimes a high risk of superficiality with the mixing of approaches as the researcher may be trying to do too many things at once and not end up doing any of them properly. It is not impossible to mix different approaches to discourse analysis or to combine discourse analysis with other research methods. What this requires, however, is 'a clear rationale for putting approaches together, a sophisticated understanding of each approach, and an account of how the tensions between approaches will be handled in [the] study' (127). It is also important to understand the different views of 'the nature of knowledge and how we know it' (Heller, Pietikäinen and Pujolar, 2018: 7) that underlies each of the approaches. It is crucial, then, in the planning of a project which involves different perspectives that each of the approaches are weighed up against each other, identifying what kind of information each approach can (and cannot) supply, as well as considering the underlying basis and assumptions of each of the perspectives. This is important, not just for the planning and carrying out of the study, but also for the claims that are made on the basis of the research. By doing this, the use of one approach to discourse analysis in combination with approaches can be justified. It is not, then, a case of picking and mixing approaches or 'anything goes'. Nor is it a matter of simply choosing one perspective to go with another. It is, rather, a case of multiple layers of evidence informing the findings of the study (Grabe 2006) and seeing the topic under investigation in, sometimes, rather different ways. There will, further, be occasions where data sources are contradictory and in disagreement with each other. In cases like this, Polio and Friedman (2017) argue, 'rather than discarding the data as unreliable, one may attempt to reconcile these disparities' (63). Ultimately in their view

researchers who aim to incorporate multiple perspectives into their work may sometimes have to accept that these viewpoints will diverge and to see this evidence of the diversity of human experience rather than as threats to reliability. (Polio and Friedman 2017: 63)

11.4 Sample studies

The projects which follow are examples of studies which examine different kinds of discourse and which are discussed here in more detail than the studies already referred to in this chapter. The first is an ethnographic study which looked at discourse and identity in a high school in Hawai'i, the second is a genre analysis of writing tasks in Japanese textbooks and university entrance exams, and the third examines the use of English as a lingua franca in Chinese students' email communications.

11.4.1 Discourse and identity

11.4.1.1 Summary of the study

Talmy (2008, 2009) describes a long-term (2.5 years) critical ethnography in which he looked at student identity categories in an ESL programme in a public high school in Hawai'i where he observed stigmatization of ESL students' language compared to the language of mainstream students in the school which, in turn, lead to different identities for the students. This, he felt, was a reflection of the marginalized status of the ESL programme in the school and the impact this has on students in these classes.

11.4.1.2 Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to examine the relative status of the ESL programme in the school, discourses of ESL in the school, and who and what contributes to these discourses.

11.4.1.3 Data collected for the study

Talmy's data included classroom observations, field notes, audio-recorded student-teacher interactions, teacher and student interviews, L1 data (students use of their L1 in their classes), a questionnaire which asked about students' backgrounds, interests and goals, assignment and homework tasks, and other documents such as class syllabi, quizzes and tests, as well as student work including class assignments, projects, quizzes and texts, homework, journals and the folders students were required to keep their work in.

11.4.1.4 Results of the study

Talmy (2008) discusses 'local' and 'local ESL' students as identity categories which are commonly held in Hawaii. 'Local' refers to Asian and/or Pacific Island students who were born and raised in the islands, whereas 'local ESL' refers to students were identified as ESL by the school yet who displayed 'cultural knowledge of and affiliation with Local culture, cultural forms, and social practices [and] experience with US and Hawai'i school expectations and practices' (625). These students, however, were different from newcomer or lower-L2-proficiency students, who many 'local ESL students' characterized as the 'real' ESL students.

Talmy observed that there was a stigmatized ESL student identity at the school, especially compared to mainstream students in the school. This created a 'mainstream/ESL hierarchy' and a view of the ESL students as an undifferentiated group of recently arrived foreigners. Within this, however, there was a hierarchy of the 'local' ESL students and 'fresh off the boat' (recently arrived) ESL students, with the newly arrived students having lower status than the local ESL students. The

local ESL students often displayed their sense of difference from the newcomer students by speaking what Talmy terms ‘mock ESL’ with features such as syntactic errors, exaggerated pronunciation and a lack of pragmatic competence, indicating a kind of ‘foreign’ English. By doing this, they resisted taking on the stigmatized identity category of being ‘fresh of the boat’ students at the same time as they reproduced language ideologies concerning immigrants, multilingualism and, more broadly, attitudes towards newly arrived second language speakers of English.

11.4.1.5 Commentary

A particular strength of Talmy’s study is the multiple perspectives he took on his research question in order to provide both credibility and trustworthiness to his research findings. These multiple data sources provided for a detailed and fine-grained analysis of the research questions. The project showed a good understanding of the importance of triangulation in this sort of study by combining different perspectives on the research questions that were examined. His ethnographic data provided insights into his findings that would not have been possible by looking at the spoken interactions alone. It is an example of a project that was well conceived, well designed and well carried out. Further, it provided answers to questions that are of value to both teachers and administrators to students that help in understanding how different student groups are seen by each other the implications of this.

In addition, we can say that Talmy’s study was original in that had never been done before, and was worth doing in that it told us a lot about the role (and power) of identity categories in ESL classes in high school settings. His project, further, was both feasible and manageable within the time he had to carry out the study (he did it for his PhD), with the resources available to him (he had access to the school, teachers and students), and he had the theoretical background and methodological skills to carry out the study. In addition, his study added to conceptual knowledge in that it was something we didn’t already know about the students and the school. The study was of interest to a wider audience, that is, the international readership of academic journals as well as teachers and administrators in other schools with similar student populations. His project was also very useful to him career-wise as he investigated ESL teaching in high schools which is an under-investigated area and led to an appointment in language and literacy education at the University of British Columbia

11.4.2 Discourse and writing

11.4.2.1 Summary of the study

Watanabe (2017) carried out an examination of genres in commonly used English-language textbooks that are used for the teaching of writing in secondary schools in Japan. His sense was that, from his experience of having been a high school teacher in Japan, the range of written genres in the textbooks might not reflect the writing that is required of students when they sit university entrance exams at the end of their studies. He then (Watanabe 2016) looked at Japanese university entrance exams to see the kinds of written genres the English exams focused on and the extent to which this was reflected in the books that were being used in the classrooms.

11.4.2.2 Aim of the study

The aim of Watanabe's study, then, was to examine written genres in the textbooks that secondary school teachers use in Japan and how these relate to the texts that students are required to produce in Japanese university entrance examinations.

11.4.2.3 Data collected for the study

Watanabe collected both government-approved and commercial textbooks that are being used by Japanese secondary school teachers to teach writing and to prepare students for sitting Japanese university entrance exams. He examined three government-approved textbooks and four commercial writing practice books. From this he created a data set of seventy-three model texts to examine, thirty-six from the government-approved textbooks and thirty-seven from the commercial textbooks. He also examined fifty writing tasks in university entrance exams.

11.4.2.4 Results of the study

Working with a Sydney School framework of genre analysis (see Chapter 4), he found that the government-approved textbooks provided examples of twelve genres, namely Information reports, Expositions, Comparisons, Sequential explanations, Biographical recounts, Everyday procedures, Factual descriptions, Historical recounts, Recounts, Consequential explanations, News stories and Personal reflections. The most frequent of these were Information reports (24.4 per cent), followed by Expositions (18.9 per cent) and Comparison texts (10.8 per cent). The commercial textbooks however only provided a limited range of genres, namely Expositions (60 per cent), Personal reflections (35 per cent) and Discussions (5 per cent). Expositions and Personal reflections, however, accounted for an overwhelming majority of the genres (95 per cent) that occurred in the commercially produced practice books (Watanabe 2017). Only four of all these genres, however, occurred in the university entrance exams, namely Expositions, Personal reflections, Discussions, and Sequential explanations. Of these, two genres, Expositions and Personal reflections, amounted to 83.9 per cent of the tasks that students were required to write. The range of genres in the examinations, thus, was very narrow compared to the kinds of writing students might need to do in the future. In addition, while the genres in the commercially produced books reflected the genres required in the university exams, the government-approved books gave instruction in many more genres than the students need for the examinations and not sufficient attention to the particular genres they need to be able to write in exam.

11.4.2.5 Commentary

Watanabe carried out his study as a dissertation for his master's degree which had a word limit of 12,000 words, and he had six months in which to complete his project. This limited the amount of data he could collect and analyse as well as the number of examples of analyses he could cite in his dissertation. Nonetheless, he was awarded the Dean's Award for the best dissertation in his year of study and got two publications from his research. As a result, he was awarded a government

scholarship to undertake a PhD which he has now completed. Beyond this, however, the study was worth doing in that it was something that had not been examined before. The results of the study, further, are of value to teachers, students and textbook producers. His findings were also of interest to a wider readership, that is, readers of academic journals. The study was both feasible and manageable within the time he had to carry out the study, and he had the theoretical background and methodological skills to carry out the study. The dissertation also prepared him for researching and writing his PhD (Watanabe 2019) in that he developed essential research skills in researching for and writing his master's dissertation that he was able to draw on for his PhD.

11.4.3 Discourse and English as a lingua franca

11.4.3.1 Summary of the study

Ren (2016) examined emails sent by Chinese university students using English as a lingua franca (see Chapter 2), looking, in particular, at the strategies that the students used to achieve successful communication. The emails consisted of inquiries about prospective study programmes, financial disputes, making an appointment, asking for help and general daily communications.

11.4.3.2 Aim of the study

The aim of the study was to examine the pragmatic strategies the students used to achieve understanding, how they negotiated non-understanding and resolved misunderstanding in their email communications using English as a lingua franca to communicate with their recipients.

11.4.3.3 Data collected for the study

The data collected for the study were 215 emails sent by 30 Chinese university students. Thirteen of the students were studying in an English-speaking country and seventeen in mainland China. Eighty-eight of the emails (40.93 per cent) were sent to native speakers of English, ninety-five (44.19 per cent) to non-native speakers and the other thirty-two (14.88 per cent) went to people whose first language was difficult to determine.

11.4.3.4 Results of the study

There were few cases of actual misunderstanding in the data. Where there were misunderstandings, the students employed remedial strategies to indicate that there has been a problem in their recipient's interpretation of what they had said. For example, they used comments such as '*I think you may have misunderstood me*', and then elaborated on the situation, or '*Sorry for the misunderstanding*', blaming themselves for the miscommunication. When they didn't understand what their recipient had said, they asked questions which focused on the particular matter or made it clear that they hadn't understood the language used by their recipient. Other times, the students used pre-emptive strategies to guard against non- or misunderstanding such as explaining cultural matters to their

recipient which they thought they might not understand (such as the order of names in Chinese). The students also used conformation checks such as ‘*Am I right?*’ to prevent misunderstandings and communication breakdown. In doing this, the Chinese students did not assume there was a homogeneous native speaker norm which underlay their communications and, thus, attempted to build shared knowledge and common ground in order to facilitate successful communication with their recipients.

11.4.3.5 Commentary

As Ren argues, research into the use of English as a lingua franca has largely focused on spoken rather than written language and even less has focused on emails messages, in particular, notwithstanding the fact that many users of English as a lingua franca across the world engage in the kind of communication. In addition, all the data in the study are authentic rather than elicited, which is another important feature of the study. The results also provide examples of strategies that other speakers of English as a lingua franca can draw on to successfully communicate when emailing in English. The study, thus, is useful theoretically, practically and pedagogically. In terms of Ren’s research activities, this is just one of a number of studies he has carried out which looks at pragmatic features of second language communication. He has also, for example, examined Chinese professionals’ email communications in English (Ren 2018) where he found that the professionals employed similar strategies to achieve communication when using English as a lingua franca as the university students did. That is, the professionals also used corrective strategies, pre-emptive strategies, confirmation checks and the use of questions to ensure that their communications were effective.

11.5 Evaluating a discourse analysis project

Each of the studies described in this chapter suggests ways in which discourse analysis can provide insights into social, pedagogic and linguistic questions. Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose a number of criteria for assessing the quality, or *trustworthiness*, of qualitative research. These apply equally to discourse studies and should be an integral part of any discourse analysis project so they can guide readers in their evaluation of it. These are *credibility*, *transferability*, *dependability* and *confirmability*.

One way in which credibility can be obtained is through the use of more than a single method, data source, or analyst and so on so that a more complete understanding of what is being studied is obtained, that is, by building some kind of *triangulation* into the study. Another way of increasing credibility is by *member-checking* your findings and interpretations with people who were the focus of the study if this is possible. Credibility is also enhanced by the length of engagement you had with the people your study focuses on or depth of familiarity with the phenomenon you are researching.

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of your study can be transferred to other contexts or settings. This requires you to describe your research design, context and conditions so that readers, and other researchers, can decide for themselves if the interpretations you are making apply to another situation with which they are familiar.

Dependability requires that the research procedures and analyses are documented in such a way that readers can see that your findings are supported by your data. This often means leaving an *audit trail*, or *chain of evidence* (Duff 2008; Yin 2018), so that people reading the research could follow it by making as clear as possible what you did, how you did it and how you reached the conclusions that you did.

Confirmability requires that you reveal the data that you are basing their interpretation on, or at least make the data available to your readers so that readers and other researchers can examine the data to confirm or reject the claims you are making. Often, with published research, this is done by making the raw data available online to readers as supplementary data to the article. *Reflexivity* is also a feature of good qualitative research and requires you to critically self-reflect on your own biases, preferences and preconceptions as a researcher as well as your own relationship to what you are researching (see Starfield 2013 for further discussion of researcher reflexivity).

11.6 Summary

This final chapter of the book has made suggestions for planning and carrying out a discourse analysis project. A number of sample studies have been discussed, as have issues to consider in evaluating the quality of a discourse analysis project. A number of journals are suggested at the end of the chapter in which you will find further examples of discourse analysis projects and advice on submitting discourse-oriented articles to academic journals in the area.

11.7 Planning a discourse analysis project

The final task in this book asks you to draw on the issues presented in this and previous chapters to develop a proposal for a discourse analysis project. The readings, websites and journals that follow are suggestions for places to look to read further and to help you choose a topic that you would like to investigate.

11.7.1 Task

Draw up a shortlist of possible research topics, writing a sentence or two about each topic. Discuss this list with an academic, considering issues which might arise with each of the topics, such as practicality, originality, focus and scale of the project. Once you have selected a topic from your list, consider the advice presented in this chapter on developing a research project. Start writing

a proposal for your project, and then take it to the person you spoke with for further discussion. Once you have had this discussion, read further on your topic. Now write a research proposal using the following set of headings:

- Title of the discourse analysis project;
- Purpose of the discourse analysis project;
- Research question(s) the discourse analysis project will aim to answer;
- Background literature relevant to the discourse analysis project;
- Research method(s) and discourse analysis techniques that will be used for the project;
- Significance of the discourse analysis project;
- Resources that will be required for the discourse analysis project.

11.8 Directions for further reading

11.8.1 Further reading

Paltridge, B. (2014), 'What is a good research project?' *Language Education in Asia*, 5 (1): 20–7.

This paper continues the discussion of features of a good research project commenced in this chapter. A sample discourse project is discussed in relation to these features.

11.8.2 Additional reading

Litosseliti, L. (ed.) (2018), *Research Methods in Linguistics*. (2nd edn). London: Bloomsbury.

Litosseliti's book includes chapters on quantitative and qualitative methods, corpus-based studies, the use of interviews and focus groups, and multimodal analysis. Each chapter reviews basic concepts in the particular area and gives examples of published studies to illustrate the research method discussed.

11.9 Journals

Journals which contain examples of discourse-oriented studies include:

Annual Review of Applied Linguistics

Applied Linguistics

Australian Review of Applied Linguistics

Critical Discourse Studies

Critical Inquiry in Language Studies

Discourse and Communication

Discourse & Society

Discourse Processes

Discourse Studies

Discourse, Context and Media

Educational Linguistics

English for Specific Purposes

Functions of Language

International Journal of Applied Linguistics

International Journal of Corpus Linguistics

Journal of English for Academic Purposes

Journal of Gender Studies

Journal of Multicultural Discourses

Journal of Politeness Research

Journal of Pragmatics

Journal of Second Language Writing

Journal of Sociolinguistics

Language and Communication

Language and Education

Language in Society

Language, Identity and Education

Pragmatics

Research on Language and Social Interaction

TESOL Quarterly

Text and Talk

Written Communication

Appendix

Answers to the exercises

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A1.1 Chapter 1

A1.1.1 Exercise 1: Definitions of discourse analysis

These definitions, across them, cover many of the features of discourse analysis that will be discussed in this book. This includes the examination of spoken and written texts, and the relationship between language and the social and cultural contexts in which it is used. They also include a focus on actual language in use, and social, cultural and political implications of this use. Some of the books these definitions draw from take more of a textually oriented view of discourse analysis while others take a more socially oriented view. Many of the more recent books on discourse analysis aim to draw these two orientations together, looking not only at how people use language to do things in the world but also at what this use of language means in social, cultural and political terms.

A1.2 Chapter 2

A1.2.1 Exercise 1. Discourse and gender

Holmes (2006) discusses this extract on pages 196–7 of her book *Gendered Talk at Work*. She points out that the identity that Eric presents here as someone who enjoys ‘playing the fool’ is quite different from his professional identity of someone who is an expert in the field of information technology. In this extract, he participates in the exchange in a way that makes him ‘one of the boys.’ The story is told collaboratively among the men which involves a certain kind of humorous repartee, through which the men ‘do’ a certain kind of masculinity, that is, someone who is a bit of a joker in social situations and who drinks too much, both of which are approved by the group. The interaction shows a high level of familiarity among members of the group and a shared history and approval of similar behaviour by Eric at company functions. The ways in which the members of the group laugh during the interaction and finish each other’s turns shows their approval of Eric’s behaviour and help create solidarity for the group.

A1.2.2 Exercise 2. Second language identities

In this extract, Wez uses a strategy called ‘self-repair’, where he explains what he means by ‘dream’ and ‘after your life’. That is, he clarifies what he was saying so that the other speaker can understand him better. He also pays a lot of attention to the feedback given to him by the other speaker such as, in this extract, ‘whaddya mean’ which indicates a request for clarification. This sort of repair strategy is what Canale (1983) calls *strategic competence*, that is, the ability to use strategies that will prevent breakdowns in communication. So while Wes’s *grammatical competence* (Canale 1983; Canale and Swain 1980) marks him as a second language speaker, his levels of *sociolinguistic competence*, *discourse competence* and *strategic competence* make up for this. Wes is able to draw on these in a way that compensates for his grammatical shortcomings and makes him a very good communicator, in spite of this.

A1.2.3 Exercise 3: Identity in computer-mediated communication

This is how Jenks (2014: 151) describes the conversation between Winnie and Roca:

In lines 1 and 2, Winnie states that Roci has ‘a really beautiful voice.’ Although this is not a language proficiency compliment (having a good voice or being a disc jockey is not limited to speakers of English), Roci uses the assessment as an opportunity to talk about his English-language identity (lines 5–9). Specifically, Roci discusses how his language proficiency was used against him when looking for a job at a call center in his home country. In line 10, Winnie provides a language

proficiency compliment by stating that Roci's English is 'pretty good.' In so doing, Roci's linguistic proficiency becomes procedurally consequential to the identity work in this exchange. Roci then accepts the compliment, and states that his English is commendable because he has been practicing it (lines 13 and 14). Roci uses his language proficiency to construct his identity as an English speaker. The identity that Roci constructs represents his experience in the physical world, where the issue of linguistic proficiency was used against him when seeking a job.

A1.2.4 Exercise 4. Academic writing and identity

Following are examples of stance features in the text extracts shown in this exercise (see Hyland 2009a: 74–6 for further discussion of this data; also see Hyland 2005c, where stance and engagement are discussed in detail).

- 1 We propose several *possible* reasons of this (Hedge)
- 2 On this point, we must *definitely* stop following Hegel's intuitions (Booster)
- 3 Still, *I believe* that Dworkin's investment model has *remarkable* resonance and *extraordinary* potential power (Attitude markers)
- 4 What *we* found interesting about this context, however, is the degree of uniformity of their norms and attitudes (Self-mention)
- 5 There is *a strong tendency* for the bubbles to redissolve at the time of thaw (Hedge)
- 6 *Of course*, I do not contend that there are no historical contingencies (Booster)

A1.3 Chapter 3

A1.3.1 Exercise 1. Sentence types and speech acts

This is 9457 1769	a statement	a direct speech act
I can't answer the phone right now	an apology	an indirect speech act (It is not just a statement of ability, it is also an apology)
Please leave a message after the tone	a request	an indirect speech act (It is a request, not a direction)
It's me again	a statement or an apology	a direct speech act (if it's a statement) or an indirect speech act (if it's an apology)
I'm trying to organize the barbeque for John's birthday on Saturday	an explanation for the call	an indirect speech act
Can you give me a call	a request	an indirect speech act (It is not asking about ability)
Let me know if you'll be coming	a request	a direct speech act

A1.3.2 Exercise 2. Different meanings of the same utterance

'Sorry' which can mean different things in different contexts. For example, 'sorry' can act as an apology; it can, with rising intonation, be used to ask someone to repeat what they have just said, or, with a scowl, it can be daring someone to repeat what they have just said. Similarly, 'I'm tired' can be an explanation for why you are not looking well, or it can be a refusal to a request or an invitation. In Italian, 'Ciao' can be both a greeting and a farewell. In Korean, 'Annyung' can be a greeting and a farewell.

A1.3.3 Exercise 3. Speech acts across cultures

Wierzbicka (2003) suggests that in English we thank someone to say we feel something good towards them because of something good they have done. That is:

- (a) You did something good for me
- (b) I feel something good towards you because of this
- (c) I say 'thank you' because I want you to feel something good.

She argues, however, that in Japanese culture, for example, with its stress on the obligatory repayment of favours, this response is generally less applicable. This is discussed in detail in Ohashi's (2013) book *Thanking and Politeness in Japanese: Balancing Acts in Interaction*.

A1.3.4 Exercise 4. Indirect speech acts and Grice's maxims

There are examples of indirect speech acts in lines 1, 2, 3, 8 and 9. In line 1, 'can' is not about asking ability; it is an offer of service. In line 2, 'can' is not about ability; it is request. In lines 3 and 9, 'did' does not refer to past time; it is asking about the present. In line 8, 'sorry' is not an apology; it is a request for clarification.

The maxim of quality (be true) is observed throughout the conversation, except in the case of the indirect speech acts where both speakers are aware of the difference between what they say and what they mean.

The maxim of quantity (be brief) is also observed in this conversation. For example, in line 5 the salesperson assumes the customer knows that 2% refers to milk with a 2% fat content so there is no need to say this. Equally, the salesperson assumes the customer will know that 'skimmed' refers to skim milk so there is no need to add 'milk'. The use of ellipsis in this conversation, as in 'Anything else?' instead of 'Do you want anything else?' shows the speaker is observing the maxim of quantity.

There is no need for the full sentence. Equally, the use of ‘that’ in line 3 and 9 (instead of ‘your coffee’) assumes that the customer knows the salesperson is referring to the coffee that has just been ordered, not something else.

The maxim of relation (be relevant) is observed throughout the conversation and works because of this. For example, the customer knows ‘on the rocks’ is referring to the coffee that has been ordered, not a whisky and ice which can’t be ordered in most coffee shops. Both speakers also know what a grande latte is and that various kinds of milk are available in this coffee shop.

The speakers observe the maxim of manner (be clear) by checking throughout the conversation what kind of coffee is required (‘blended or on the rocks’ and ‘2% or skimmed’). When things are not clear the customer asks ‘Sorry?’ to show they are observing the maxim of manner and need clarification on what the salesperson has just said.

A1.3.5 Exercise 5. Flouting maxims

There are many examples of the flouting of maxims in Grice’s article ‘Logic and conversation’ (1975), and in Chapter 3 of Jenny Thomas’s book *Meaning in Interaction*. For example, a person may purposely give more or less information than a situation requires – flouting the maxim of quantity. A person may say something they know is untrue, or for which they do not evidence for – flouting the maxim of Quality. Someone might flout the maxim of Relation by saying something that is irrelevant within the context of the present conversation (e.g. to change the topic of the conversation). They might flout the maxim of Manner by being purposely long-winded and convoluted in a response, to avoid answering a question directly (Thomas 1995).

A1.3.6 Exercise 6. Conversational implicature

You will find examples of exchanges which work because of conversational implicature in Grice’s (1975) article ‘Logic and conversation’, as well as in Chapter 5 of Yule’s (1996) book *Pragmatics*. For example, in the following exchange you derive that Dexter did not bring the bread, rather than he was violating the requirements of the maxim of quantity:

Charlene: I hope you brought the bread and the cheese.
Dexter: Ah, I brought the cheese.

(Yule 1996: 40)

Equally, in this next example you derive ‘No’, rather than think that Tom is not observing the maxim of Manner:

Rick: Hey, coming to the wild party tonight?
Tom: My parents are visiting.

(Yule 1996: 41)

A1.4 Chapter 4

A1.4.1 Exercise 1. Discourse structures: A student essay

Introduction	The Kakapo, which is found in the remote and inhospitable south of Stewart Island, is one of New Zealand's most highly endangered birds.	Situation
Body of the essay	Kakapos are flightless but good climbers, and usually live in native forests, subalpine zones. Leaves, stems roots and fruits are their main food. They were once described as the most beautiful birds in the world.	
	But nowadays there are only about fifty left.	Problem
	Because of developments of human beings such as removing soil and grass, cutting the forest for new roads, houses or factories, the kakapo has lost its habitat and food resources. Huge numbers of them have died from starvation or hunting.	
	A recovery programme has been launched to save the kakapo from extinction. In this programme, they are attempting to raise kakapos in captivity. Nests have been located, and several chicks have been hatched.	Response/ Solution
Conclusion	To conclude, the kakapo is nearly extinct.	Problem
	We have to protect the rest of them and try our best with the recovery programme.	Response
	We do not want to lose this gentle friend, which is part of New Zealand's heritage.	Evaluation

A1.4.2 Exercise 2. Discourse structures: An acknowledgements text

There are typically four stages in acknowledgements texts, a *reflecting move* which makes some introspective comment on the writer's research experience, a *thanking move* which gives credit to individuals and institutions, an *announcing move* which accepts responsibility for any flaws or errors and a *dedication move* in which the student dedicates the thesis to an individual or individual/s. Examples of each of these moves are shown in the following text. Only the thanking move is obligatory in acknowledgements texts, however, even though there are often more moves than this.

Moves	Examples
Reflecting move	The most rewarding achievement in my life, as I approach middle age, is the completion of my doctoral dissertation.
<i>Thanking moves</i> Presenting participants	I would like to take this opportunity to express my immense gratitude to all those persons who have given their invaluable support and assistance.
Thanking for academic assistance, intellectual support, ideas, analyses, feedback and so on	In particular, I am profoundly indebted to my supervisor, Dr James Fung, who was very generous with his time and knowledge and assisted me in each step to complete the thesis.
Thanking for resources, data access and clerical, technical and financial support and so on	The research for this thesis was financially supported by a postgraduate studentship from the University of Hong Kong, The Hong Kong and China Gas Company Postgraduate Scholarship, Epson Foundation Scholarship, two University of Hong Kong CRCG grants and an RCG grant.
Thanking for moral support, friendship, encouragement, sympathy, patience and so on	I'd include those who helped, including my supervisor, friends and colleagues. It is also appropriate to thank for spiritual support, so I'd also include my friends in church and family members.
<i>Announcing move</i> Accepting responsibility for flaws or errors	Notwithstanding all of the above support for this project, any errors and/or omissions are solely my own.
<i>Dedication move</i>	I love my family. This thesis is dedicated to them.

Source: Based on Hyland (2004b).

A1.4.3 Exercise 3. Metadiscourse

There are a number of boosters in the dissertation abstract (*immense, invaluable, profoundly, very*) and self-mentions (*I, my*). The boosters are used to increase the strength of the thanking, and the self-mentions reflect the personal nature of the text.

A1.5 Chapter 5

A1.5.1 Exercise 1. Keeping the floor, giving up the floor and claiming the floor

In this extract, A gives up the floor through falling intonation and a completed syntactic unit which indicate a transition boundary. At the end of A's utterance, both B and C compete for the floor. B speaks first so has the right to continue, but C does not give up the floor to B because s/he is providing the second pair part of the adjacency pair started by A. The falling intonation at the

end of the first utterance indicates a ‘tag question’ which seeks confirmation rather than asks a real question. If A had ended with rising intonation, this would have signalled a ‘real question’ to which a more appropriate answer would have been something like ‘yes, it was’. Notwithstanding, B still tries to keep the floor by stressing the second syllable in ‘believe’ and completing their syntactic unit.

A.1.5.2 Exercise 2. Turn taking

When speakers pause at the end of a turn, it is not always the case that the next speaker will necessarily take it up. In this case, the pause and the length of it become significant. For example, in this extract, B self-selects after a one-second pause because A fails to take the turn after B’s ‘hhh’. The same happens again where A fails to take a turn so B self-selects once more, this time by changing the topic.

A1.5.3 Exercise 3. Self-repair and other-repair

- (i) Self-repair: I mean, the opera.
- (ii) Other-repair: You mean Store St, don’t you?
- (iii) Other-repair: If I didn’t get my degree?
Self-repair: actually . . . I’d get into a lot of trouble

A1.5.4 Exercise 4. Preferred and dispreferred responses

An invitation may be followed by an ‘accept’ (the preferred second pair part) or a ‘reject’ (the dispreferred second pair part). When this happens, the dispreferred second pair part is often preceded by a ‘delay’ (Uhhh), a ‘preface’ (I don’t know for sure) and/or an ‘account’ (I think I might have something on that night) as shown in the following:

- | | |
|---|--|
| A: That’s a nice shirt | (Compliment) |
| B: Oh thanks | Preferred response (Accept compliment) |
| A: Would you like to come to the movies on Friday? | (Invitation) |
| B: Uhhh . . . I don’t know for sure. I think I might have something on that night. Can we make it another time? | Dispreferred response (Reject) |

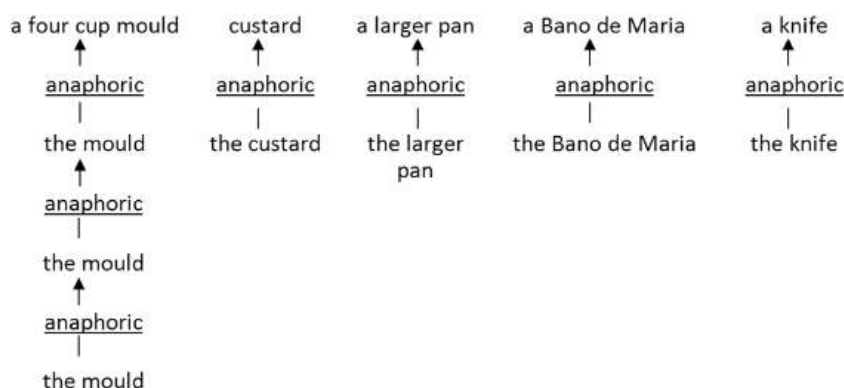
A1.5.5 Exercise 5. Closing a conversation

'Why don't we all have lunch?' is the start of a preclosing. The preclosing is continued by the series of *Okay*s which firm up the arrangements for lunch. The ? in the fourth *Okay* indicates rising intonation which seeks confirmation of the arrangements, another preclosing strategy. The simultaneous *See you there* is another preclosing strategy, followed by a further *Okay* to move closer the closing of the conversation. The conversation is finally closed with the simultaneous *Bye* by both speakers. That is, both speakers have mutually agreed to talk no more and the conversation is closed (Levinson 1983).

A1.6 Chapter 6

A1.6.1 Exercise 1: Lexical chains

There are five main reference chains in the text: *four cup mould*, *custard*, *larger pan*, *Bagno di Maria* and *knife*. The relations between them and the head item in each chain are *anaphoric*. The main reference chains are:



A in *a four cup mould*, *a larger pan* and *a Bagno de Maria* are each *presenting* references. They are introducing new items in the text. *The* in '*the sides of the mould*' is an example of *esphoric* reference. That is, the item it refers to immediately follows the referent item in the same nominal group. *The* in '*the side*' is *presuming* reference. It is presumed that we know or can infer that the author is referring to the side of the mould (rather than the side of the larger pan). There is also an example of *whole text referencing* (during *the baking*) where the referent item is referring to a section of the text up to this point.

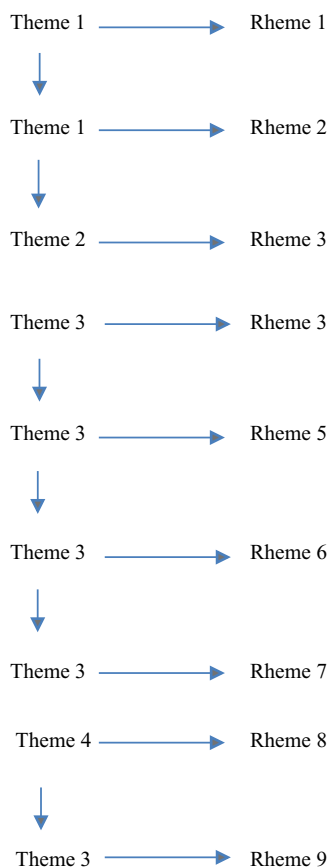
There are three main lexical chains in the text: *Flan*, *Caramel* and *mould*. In many cases, the relationship between items is *co-meronymy*, that is, the items are related by both being parts of a common whole, as in *sugar* and *water* in relation to *Caramel*.



A1.6.2 Exercise 2. Theme and rheme

Clause	Topical theme	Textual theme	Rheme
1.	A person		may have a number of <i>identities</i> , each of which is more important at different points in time.
2.	They		may have an identity as a woman, an identity as a mother, an identity as someone's partner and an identity as an office worker, for example.
3.	The ways in which people display their identities		include the way they use language and the way they interact with people.
4.	Identities		are not natural, however.
5.	They		are constructed, in large part, through the use of discourse.
6.	Identities,	further,	are not fixed and remain the same throughout a person's life.
6.	Identities,	further,	are not fixed and remain the same throughout a person's life.
7.	They		are constantly constructed and reconstructed as people interact with each other.
8.	Part of having a certain identity		is that it is recognized by other people.
9.	Identities,	thus,	are two-way constructions.

A1.6.3 Exercise 3. Thematic progression



Notes: The pattern in this text is constant theme/theme reiteration. In Theme 1, 'A person' and 'they' are referring to the same entity and so are the same theme. Theme 3 is constant until clause 7 when it is followed by a new theme, Theme 4. Theme 3 is then repeated in the final clause, the arrow showing its reiteration from clause 7.

A1.7 Chapter 7

A1.7.1 Exercise 1. Spoken discourse

A1.7.1.1 *Non-clausal units*

The non-clausal units in the following extract are in italics.

Ryan: Party over at the park, how old was I Mum? *Eight?*
Marie: *Six.*

A1.7.1.2 *Personal pronouns and ellipsis*

In the following example, the identity of each use of *you* is clear from the situation in which the people are speaking. In first case, *you* is referring to unwanted guests and the second *you* is referring to Ryan.

You can't come in. Can't *you* do that?

A1.7.1.3 *Situational ellipsis*

In the following example, everyone speaking knows Newington is the name of a college so it is not necessary to say this.

You wanted to go to Newington [*College*]

A1.7.1.4 *Repetition*

An example of repetition is in italics in the following extract.

Oh . . . er . . . OK . . . *I'm spoilt rotten . . . I'm spoilt rotten.*

A1.7.2 Exercise 2. English as a lingua franca in academic settings

The speech of both the student and the supervisor has non-standard forms which are typical of what research shows are features of English as a lingua franca speech. For example, an article is omitted in 'it's not [a] very appropriate way' and 'but not [a] single model'; incorrect forms are used in 'that's usually not very convinced [convincing] to people', 'can't exactly corresponding [correspond] to' and 'that kind of significant or statistic [statistical] test', and the plural 's' is omitted in 'one of these paper [papers]'. These non-standard uses do not, however, inhibit communication between them. Their focus is on the content of the discussion without any reference being made to language in their conversation (Björkman 2017).

A1.7.3 Exercise 3. Written discourse

Hyland (2010) discusses this data in detail. Following is his summary of Cameron's academic identity as revealed through her discourse:

In Cameron's discourse then, we see a range of rhetorical features used to confidently and forcefully advocate particular realities, often arguing for a way of seeing the world in contradiction to others. Her preferred argument strategies actively construct a heteroglossic backdrop for the text by explicitly grounding propositions in her individual subjectivity, recognizing that her view is one among others and taking on alternatives through a combative and confident dialogue. One consequence of this is the emergence of a distinctive identity as a steadfast and committed academic, a disciplinary expert confident in her beliefs and determined in her assurance. (Hyland 2010: 174)

A1.8 Chapter 8

A1.8.1 Exercise 1. An image-nuclear news story

The answer to this exercise will depend on the image-nuclear news story students choose to analyse. They should, however, identify a Heading, an Image and a Caption. In the following text, the Image typically contextualizes both the Image and the Heading, giving both the occasion and the location of the event. The relationship between the text and the image-nuclear news story is often a play on words or a reference to assumed cultural knowledge.

A1.8.2 Exercise 2. A book cover

The layout of the cover is a *vertical triptych*. The main Image is central with key text placed behind, above and below the Image. The cover, thus, has a symmetrical and balanced arrangement. Kress and van Leeuwen (2006) describe the Image in this kind of layout as the *Centre*, and the elements that are placed around it as the *Margins*. In this cover, the key informational content is behind, above and below the Image. The Image is a visual representation of the theme of the book. The key textual items are the title of the book, the name of author, the name and logo of the publisher, and an endorsement for the book. Most prominence is given to the title than the author of the book. The text at the top and bottom of the page is given less prominence by the use of a smaller font and colours that have less salience than the text in the centre of the page. Most information value in the cover, thus, is given to the title of the book and the name of the author.

A1.8.3 Exercise 3. A film trailer

The answer to this exercise will depend on the trailer students have chosen to analyse. The modes used to suggest the section of the trailer is that the orientation could be both visual and textual as well as the use of voice-overs and music.

A1.9 Chapter 9

A1.9.1 Exercise 1. Twitter

In example 1, the auxiliary particle (*am*) is omitted from the verb phrase. The absence of the tensed auxiliary, Page (2012) argues, is that it means that the tweet could be interpreted as referring to an event that took place in the past. The same is the case with example 2. In example 3, the use of the nonfinite participle (*roasting*) is even more ambiguous and the reference could be to the present or the future.

In terms of cultural knowledge, the first tweet assumes that the reader knows who Arnold Schwarzenegger is (a former body builder, movie star and governor of California). The veterans homes being referred to are homes for aged and disabled war veterans in California.

The second tweet relies on the reader knowing who Paris Hilton is – the great granddaughter of the founder of the Hilton Hotels in the United States, an extremely wealthy socialite and media personality.

The third tweet is sent by Andy Murray, a famous tennis player. Pablo Cuevas is a Uruguayan tennis player who is also famous.

A1.9.2 Exercise 2. Facebook

This is Benson's analysis and comments on the interaction:

- | | |
|---|---------------------------------------|
| A: Video: [Carlos saying 公主病] | Initiation |
| B: 공주병 Wow it sounds really similar haha | Response/Initiation |
| C: How does it pronounce? | Response (reply to B/
Initiation) |
| D: Gong ju byung. Something like that. | Response (reply to C) |
| D: That's cause Chinese is the oldest language compared to Japanese and Korean. The Japanese have 'kanji' and the Koreans have 'hanja', where they take some Chinese characters (called 'hánzi') and write them the same but pronounce them differently. They also have similar sounds for meanings, such as 공주병 and 公主病. | Response (reply to B) +
Initiation |
| E: i totally agree with you~~~many japanese and korean vocabularies sound like Chinese. I found lots of korean vocab have similar sounds to Hakka, one of the dialects of Chinese | Response (reply to D) +
Initiation |

There are five participants in this sequence of comments, including Carlos (A), whose pronunciation of '公主病' represents the Initiation to which Commenter B responds by commenting that this pronunciation is similar to that of a Korean phrase 공주병. Commenter C then enters the sequence by asking B how this phrase is pronounced, and B responds by providing the pronunciation. Next,

Commenter D enters with a response to B's first comment (i.e. the pronunciations of the two phrases are similar because Chinese and Korean are related languages). Last, Commenter E agrees with Commenter D and adds that many Korean words sound like Hakka words.

(Benson 2016: 92)

A1.9.3 Exercise 3. Text messaging

The spelling variation in the text messages is shown in italics followed by the category of variation.

Thought *praps* you meant another one *Goodo!* I'll see you tomorrow xx [colloquial contractions]

I admire *ur* commitment. Save me some x [letter homophone]

Ive only ever seen 2 [apostrophe omission and number homophone]

Thnx dude. *u* guys out *2nite?* [consonant writing, letter homophone, number homophone]

Maybe *cld* meet for few hours *hrs tomo?* [clippings]

Oh that would *b* lovely [letter homophone]

A1.10 Chapter 10

A1.10.1 Exercise 1. Talking about asylum seekers

This is how Wroe (2018: 330) analysed this extract:

Several possible categories are set up here to which asylum seekers and refugees might belong. In line 1, the view that asylum seekers/refugees are 'criminals' is introduced. In lines 2–4, asylum seekers/refugees are negotiated as incumbent of a diverse community like any other. However, in line 9, it is proposed that asylum seekers are particularly vulnerable to crime. The organisation explicitly reverses hostile social categorisations, foregrounding a dichotomy along which asylum seeker identities are managed, 'criminal vs. victim' . . . while endorsing the latter. The effect is to remove the significance of 'criminality' from the asylum seeker/refugee community: '*aren't there always a couple of rotten apples to spoil the barrel?*' (line 2); equating the '*asylum seeker and refugee community*' (lines 4 and 5) with '*every community*' (line 3) can be understood as an attempt at humanising refugees.

In lines 9 and 10, the organisation formulates its own generalisation '*asylum seekers are more likely to be victims of crime*'. As was the case with the 'extreme case formulation' in line 1, it is rhetorically more powerful than stating 'some asylum seekers aren't criminals, sometimes they are victims of crimes' and here, the statement is backed up by the voice of the Association of Chief Police Officers. The organisation does not attack the sentiment that some refugees might be criminals; rather, it challenges the exaggerated style of the hostility. It does this by positioning refugees as 'just like us' and by recruiting the authoritative voice of the police. The organisation maintains an 'us' and 'them' distinction that groups 'asylum seekers' together in a 'community' to whom certain characteristics and experiences are ascribed; they are at once just like the regular community who may or may not be 'bad eggs' while also being vulnerable to crime due to their asylum seeking status.

A1.10.2 Exercise 2. Gender representations in celebrity chef cookbooks

These three extracts are from a study which examined gendered discourse in cookbooks written by three contemporary female celebrity chefs. Matwick (2017) describes the comments on rum raisin rice pudding as a discourse which reflects traditional views of femininity with recipes being written for the ‘man in the house’. They show the author’s affection for their husbands but also the importance of making the recipes the way the men like them. This is how Matwick describes the first extract:

there is an . . . interest in pleasing men, but not without a critique of men’s habits. Ina describes men as being partial to ‘nursery desserts’, soft custardy, comfort foods (‘men, especially, love nursery desserts’). ‘Nursery’ conjures up childhood, and the association of men with children places them in the same dependent role on women for filling their basic needs. In making the recipe, Ina assumes a maternal role, which places her paradoxically in a powerful position over her husband. She determines what to cook, what he should eat, and alters the recipe to fit her sophisticated (and expensive) palate (‘think rum raisin ice cream . . . my favorite Häagen-Dazs ice cream’). (539)

In discussing the second extract, Matwick (2017) describes a discourse of culinary power. She says:

The recipe narrative and title of ‘Knock You Naked Brownies’ suggest how cooking becomes a tool of power. The narrative instructs readers to ‘Make them for someone you really, really love . . . or someone you want to love you back’. The promise of power and persuasion of the cook is reinforced twice in the excerpt with the two statements of assurance: ‘It’ll work. I guarantee it’. (541)

The discourse of the narrative surrounding the third extract, Matwick argues, illustrates relations between women, cooking and pleasure. She describes this extract thus:

Food is anthropomorphized as a ‘very sexy couple’, with pomegranate and chocolate. Together they give a ‘little more body and interest’ compared to a single person . . . The union of the two flavors – sweet and tart – is celebrated for its ‘refreshing’ effect . . . The contrasting of foods, colors, tastes, and temperatures suggests the dichotomous (and steamy) relationship between partners. (542).

1.10.3 Exercise 3

This is Talmy’s (2015: 160–1) discussion of the data:

China’s style shifts in lines 5 and 8 are examples of Mock ESL. In terms of prosody, both utterances are spoken in a higher pitch, with a light nasal tone, and both feature hyper-incorrect grammar. These features are in essence the embodied performance of the activity that China associates with the category ‘ESL student’ in line 8, ‘we no English,’ and the attribute that Raven assigns it (in Pidgin) in line 6: ‘so dumb’; this is expanded in line 9 with needing help to spell the letter ‘A.’ Thus, China animates a ‘figure’ (Goffman 1981) through Mock ESL: a low-L2-English-proficient, cognitively

challenged newcomer, or 'FOB.' Although China has packaged his performance with several cues that he is mocking ESL, the teacher does not at first appear to realize this (line 7). She does moments later (line 10), however, orienting not only to the sardonic frame (Goffman 1974) keyed by China and Raven, but to their distinction from the 'FOB' [Fresh off the Boat] category that they have indexed through this mocking performance.

Glossary of key terms

These definitions are in addition to the explanations provided in the book. They are, however, brief. For further explanations and definitions, you should refer to works such as the following:

Baker, P. and Ellece, S. (2011), *Key Terms in Discourse Analysis*. London: Continuum.

Halliday, M. A. K. and Webster, J. J. (eds) (2009), *Bloomsbury Companion to Systemic Functional Linguistics*. London: Bloomsbury.

Hyland, K., Paltridge, B. and Wong, L. L. C. (eds) (2021), *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2nd edn). London: Bloomsbury.

Co-construction: A term which denotes the fact that meaning does not reside in language but is arrived at through the negotiation of the individuals participating in the exchange.

Coherence: The ways a text makes sense to readers through the relevance and accessibility of its concepts, ideas and theories.

Cohesion: Grammatical and lexical relationships which tie a text together.

Collocation: The regular occurrence of a word with one or more other words in a text.

Community of practice: A term coined by Lave and Wenger (1991) to describe a group of people who share an interest, a craft or a profession. The term draws attention to the fact that it is through the process of sharing information and experiences with the group that the members learn from each other and have an opportunity to develop themselves personally and professionally.

Concordance: A list of unconnected lines of text called up by a concordance programme with the search word at the centre of each line. This list allows patterns of use to be seen and explored.

Context: The relationship between linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions of communicative events. These dimensions are seen to stand in a mutually influential relationship, with text and the interpretive work it creates helping to shape context and context influencing the conventions, values and knowledge a text appeals to.

Corpus: A collection of texts usually stored electronically, seen as representative of some subset of language and used for linguistic analysis.

Critical discourse analysis (CDA): An approach which seeks to reveal the interests, values and power relations in any institutional and sociohistorical context through the ways that people use and interpret language.

Culture: A historically transmitted and systematic network of meanings that allow us to understand, develop and communicate our knowledge and beliefs about the world.

Discourse: Language produced as an act of communication. This language use implies the constraints and choices which operate on writers or speakers in particular contexts and reflects their purposes, intentions, ideas and relationships with readers and hearers.

Discourse analysis: (i) The study of how stretches of language in context are seen as meaningful and unified by users or (ii) how different uses of language express the values of people and institutions.

Discourse community: A rather fuzzy concept used to refer to a group of writers (or speakers) who share a communicative purpose and use commonly agreed texts to achieve these purposes. The term carries a core meaning of like-mindedness of membership which is widely used in research on writing to help explain discourse coherence.

Discursive practices: A CDA term which refers to the acts of production, distribution and interpretation which surround a text and which must be taken into account in text analysis. These practices are themselves embedded in wider social practices of power and authority.

Ethnography: A research approach that seeks to gather a variety of naturally occurring data to provide a highly situated, minutely detailed and holistic account of actors' behaviours through a period of prolonged engagement with the research site.

Foucauldian discourse analysis: An approach to discourse analysis based on the work of the French philosopher Michel Foucault. His work has influenced post-structural and social constructivist views of discourse, especially the view that there is no single meaning of discourse or reality and that meaning is something that is always shifting and unstable.

Generic structure: The discourse structure of a particular genre such as an essay or a research report.

Genre: Broadly, a set of texts that share the same socially recognized purpose and which, as a result, often share similar rhetorical and structural elements to achieve this purpose.

Genre analysis: A branch of discourse analysis which seeks to understand the communicative character of discourse by looking at how individuals use language to engage in particular communicative events.

Identity: Now widely seen as the ways that people display who they are to each other; a social performance achieved by drawing on appropriate linguistic and other semiotic resources.

Ideology: A body of ideas that reflects the beliefs and interests of an individual; a group or a social institution which finds expression in language.

Intercultural communication: The study of distinct cultural or other groups in interaction with each other so that the analysis provides an account of how participants negotiate their cultural and other differences.

Interdiscursivity: Wider rhetorical and generic factors which make use of one text dependent on knowledge of other texts through borrowing conventions and forms to create new texts.

Intertextuality: An element of one text that takes its meaning from a reference to another text, for instance by quoting, echoing or linking.

Lexico-grammar: A term used in systemic functional linguistics to stress that no categorical distinction can be made between grammar and lexis. Meaning is conveyed by words working in grammatical parameters, rather than separately from them.

Move: A rhetorical or discursual unit in a text that performs a coherent and distinctive communicative function.

Multimodal discourse: Discourse that employs and integrates more than one mode of presentation, such as words and graphics.

Narrative: Along with exposition, argumentation and description, narration is one

of four Classical rhetorical modes of discourse. In Systemic Functional Linguistics, it is an elemental or micro-genre which can contribute to macro-genres such as newspaper stories and novels. It is often described as having a structure of Orientation – Complication – Evaluation – Resolution.

Post-structuralism: A philosophy represented by Derrida, Foucault and Barthes which emerged in France in the 1960s as a critique to Western culture and philosophy. At root, post-structuralism rejects essentialism and argues that even gender and sexual orientation are contrived, cultural formations.

Power: The ability to impose one's will on others. In discourse studies it refers to the fact that this ability to influence and control is, at any given time, expressed through discourse and is unevenly distributed and exercised.

Qualitative research: An approach that seeks to make sense of social phenomena as they occur in natural settings. Rather than setting up a controlled environment, qualitative researchers are more interested in understanding contexts as they actually are. Qualitative researchers do not aim for quantification or standardization in the data collection and analysis of the data.

Quantitative research: A research approach that draws on numeric data. Variables are clearly defined, measurement is standardized and data generally analysed using statistical methods.

Register: A term from systemic functional linguistics which explains the relationship between texts and their contexts in terms of field (what), tenor (who) and mode (how). Register also refers to broad fields of language use such as legal, scientific or promotional discourse.

Replicability: A requirement that researchers provide enough information about a study to allow other researchers to replicate or repeat

the study exactly as it was originally conducted. This includes information about the participants involved in the study, how they were selected, the instruments that were used and the data collection and analysis procedures that were employed.

Schematic structure: Also referred to as 'generic structure', the typical organizational patterning of a genre in terms of a sequence of moves or discursual acts. This can be seen as a system of conventions or resources of meaning for generating expected texts.

Sociolinguistics: The study of how social features such as cultural norms, expectations, contexts and so on affect the way language is used. How language use differs by ethnicity, religion, status, gender, age, social class and so on and the impact of this on identity and categorization has been of particular importance.

Speech act: An act performed as an utterance with a certain intention of the speaker and effect on the hearer, for example promising, ordering, greeting, warning, inviting and congratulating. Their study helps explain the indirect relationship between form and function – how we move from what is said to what is meant by what we say.

Speech event: Activities which can only occur through language, for example interviews, seminars, lectures, lessons, meetings and so on.

Systemic functional linguistics (SFL): A theory of language developed by Michael Halliday based on the idea that language is a system of choices used to express meanings in context.

Text: A piece of spoken or written language.

Transcription: A written representation of spoken data based on the researcher's decisions about what types of information to

preserve, which descriptive categories to use and how to display the information.

Transferability: A qualitative trustworthiness criterion which requires researchers to describe the research design, context and conditions so that other researchers can decide for themselves if the interpretations apply to another context with which they are familiar.

Triangulation: Triangulation aims to collect multiple perspectives on an event such as

the use of multiple data sources and multiple research techniques so that the researcher can gain a more complete understanding of the topic under examination.

Trustworthiness: Trustworthiness is an overarching term for assessing the quality of qualitative research. Key factors in achieving trustworthiness are the credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability of the research.

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