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Coherence and Cohesion in English Discourse

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Introduction

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova and Renata Povolná

With the growing dominance of English as the "lingua franca" of the modern world, there is an increasing interest in the study of English discourse in all its possible varieties, such as informal conversation, academic discourse, business communication, administrative documents, media discourse and fiction. Since regardless of varieties and genres, the need to produce well-organized, comprehensible and coherent discourse is a key aspect of socialization into any kind of international discourse community, research into coherence and cohesion strategies in English discourse has become relevant to all spheres of human communication.

Cohesion and coherence as two important linguistic notions are subjects of intensive debate in the international linguistic community. Cohesion became accepted as a well-established category for text and discourse analysis after the publication of Halliday and Hasan's crucial work *Cohesion in English* (1976). The importance of the relationship between cohesion and coherence is stressed by de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981), who consider them to be two of the basic standards of textuality. Despite the fact that most researchers agree that the interpretative perception of the semantic unity and purposefulness of a text, i.e. its coherence, is influenced and signalled by the cohesive relations holding in the text, i.e. relations between lexical items and grammatical structures which overtly connect clauses and/or clause complexes (e.g. Widdowson 1979, de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1989, Hoey 1991, 2001), there is considerable variation in views on the interdependence of cohesion and coherence. While Halliday and Hasan (1989: 94) approach them as closely related phenomena and hold the view that "variation in coherence is the function of variation in the cohesive harmony of a text", many linguists tend to draw a stricter line of demarcation between these two concepts. For example, Widdowson (1978) and Stubbs (1983) define cohesion as the overt structural link between sentences as formal items and coherence as the link between the communicative acts that sentences are used to perform. Similarly, Mey (2001: 154) maintains that "cohesion establishes *local* relations between syntactic items (reference, concord and the like), whereas coherence has to do with the *global* meaning involved in what we want to express through our speech activity". An important aspect of the relationship between cohesion and coherence is highlighted by Brown and Yule (1983: 66), who argue that "human beings do not require formal textual markers before they are prepared to interpret a text. They naturally assume coherence, and interpret the text in the light of that assumption"; in other words they use their common sense and impose coherence on the text (Tárnyiková 1995: 24) while trying to achieve coherent interpretation. Hence, in agreement with Bublitz (1988: 32), who holds the view that "cohesion is neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for coherence", a text, either written or spoken, can be perceived as coherent without cohesive means, and, moreover, a text can comprise cohesive means without being understood as coherent. To put this in Seidlhofer and Widdowson's words (1999: 207), one "might derive a coherent discourse from a text with no cohesion in it at all. Equally, of course, textual cohesion provides no guarantee of discourse coherence".

At the end of the twentieth century, it was possible to notice a considerable change in the conceptualization of coherence by most linguists, namely a shift from a static text-based descriptive approach, regarding coherence as the product of textual connectivity and cohesion, to a more dynamic understanding, which views coherence as a potentially variable co-operative achievement of the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader. Within this approach coherence is seen as a context-dependent, hearer/reader-oriented and comprehension-based, interpretative notion (Bublitz 1999: 2). It stresses the collaborative nature of coherence (Tanskanen 2006: 170) and the dependence of discourse interpretation on the entire situational context, i.e. the linguistic co-text, the social and cultural environment, communicative principles and conversational maxims, and the interpreter's encyclopaedic knowledge, serving to underscore that the deriving of coherence from a discourse is a dynamic process which comes into being only in the process of human communication (Tárnyiková 2002: 56). In order to help their hearers/readers arrive at a coherent interpretation, speakers/writers normally use certain overt signals to guide them to a suggested line of understanding which comes, in an ideal case, as close as possible to their own understanding. Conversely, hearers/readers use these signals as instructions to achieve coherence and arrive at an interpretation which is in harmony with the speakers'/writers' communicative goals. However, the signals that the speaker can use are different from those that the writer has at his/her disposal, since while spoken discourse can be characterized by a permanent negotiation of meaning between all participants, in written discourse there is a lack of overt negotiation of meaning (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1999). (For more details on coherence in written discourse, cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova 2007, 2009, Povolná 2012; for coherence in spoken discourse, cf. Povolná 2009, 2010, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2011.)

The research presented in this volume is inspired by our work on the five-year research project 405/08/0866 *Coherence and Cohesion in English Discourse*, which was supported by the Czech Science Foundation. The aim of this project was to conceptualize cohesion and coherence as constitutive components of human communication and to apply theoretical insights to an analysis of spoken and written language while showing how coherence is manifested in different genres of spoken and written English discourse.

In the approach adopted in this volume, the authors share a dynamic interpretative approach to cohesion and coherence and assume that there may be variation in the coherent interpretation of one and the same discourse by different participants, or even by the same participant under different communicative conditions, and that coherence cannot be taken for granted but, depending on situation, genre or text type, rather viewed as being more or less temporary, since it is permanently in need of being checked against new information. Discourse is approached from a functional perspective, in accordance with which language can be seen as a system of meaning potential (Halliday 1978: 39) which is instantiated through text in discourse. Within the interpretative process affected by the background encyclopaedic knowledge of and the mutual relationship between all discourse participants, meaning is negotiated and recreated in a particular context in order to reflect the communicative intentions of interactants in a given communicative situation (Mey 1991). Thus discourse is derived from a text in the process of purposeful interaction via verbal and non-verbal means between a speaker/writer and a listener/reader which takes place in a certain context (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1999: 207). This approach assumes the potential of discourse to (re)construct a representation of reality which is affected by the point of view of the interactants, i.e. in the process of a particular interpretative decoding the hearer/reader creates his/her own discourse from the text by assigning it intentionality (not necessarily the one intended by the speaker/writer) and recreating its meaning. As a result, discourse interpretation cannot be seen as definite and constant; it is rather viewed as being more or less temporary and constantly open to reinterpretation in the light of the intentions and purposes that interactants are striving to achieve in a particular social, historical and situational context (cf. Widdowson 2004).

The research presented in this volume explores cohesion and coherence in different genres of spoken and written English discourse. While applying the tools of (critical) discourse analysis, pragmatics, stylistics and sociolinguistics, the studies analyse authentic language data using both qualitative and quantitative perspectives, which are regarded as complementary.

The studies comprised in the book investigate cohesion and coherence in different types of discourse, namely spoken and written academic discourse, literary discourse, newspaper discourse, and political discourse. The volume opens with two studies dealing with academic written discourse represented by the genre of research articles. The first chapter explores the contribution of cohesive devices to the perception of coherence, focusing on the role of indexical devices such as personal pronouns and demonstratives. The findings of the investigation show that by indicating the continuity of referents and discourse organization indexicals with both anaphoric and deictic interpretation enhance the perception of discourse coherence. The second chapter investigates cross-cultural variation in degree of dialogicality resulting from the use of text-organizing devices such as conjuncts which contribute to the negotiation of meaning between discourse participants, thus on the one hand enhancing the interactive and dialogic character of otherwise rather monologic academic texts and on the other fostering coherent interpretation.

The third chapter studies the permanent negotiation of meaning between participants in spoken academic discourse, taking as its example the discourse marker *I mean* and its possible pragmatic functions in enhancing the smooth flow of spoken interaction and establishing and maintaining discourse coherence. The study proves that, similarly to other discourse markers, the marker *I mean* can be important for the meaning mediated by speech and for an interpretation coherent with the current speaker's communicative intentions, although it contributes little if anything to the propositional content of the utterances into which it is inserted.

Literary discourse, which is at the core of the next chapter, is explored from the perspective of pragmatics. It considers the relevance of cooperativeness and politeness in the analysis of coherence in literary narratives. Based on the analysis of aspects and subtypes of coherence in novels and short stories, the study approaches coherence as an important feature of (literary) narrative. While taking into account specific characteristics of genre and register the analysis shows that formal characteristics of text do not guarantee its stable meaning.

Crucial aspects of meaning interpretation are discussed in the following chapter on newspaper discourse, which examines a range of features of coherence and cohesion in newspaper articles dealing with crime reports. The study demonstrates that coherence is not a property of text itself but is rather derived from discourse by the readers based on their previous experience of particular discourse types and discourse strategies and also the readers' background, views, attitudes, etc. Cohesion is established mainly by lexical cohesive devices, among which the most prominent are nouns, adjectives and verbs the choice of which is largely determined by the intended/implied readership of a particular paper.

In the chapter on political discourse, coherence is approached as a multifaceted phenomenon comprising conceptual connectedness, evaluative and dialogical consistency, and textual relatedness. The study focuses on discourse strategies and linguistic devices which contribute to the persuasive force of political rhetoric by creating a coherent discourse representing the speaker as a reliable and credible political actor. The analysis shows the primacy of interpersonal meanings which provide a frame of reference for the perception of ideational coherence and the establishment of cohesive relations.

The analysis of cohesion and coherence presented in this volume is based on the understanding that discourse interpretation is dependent on socio-cultural, pragmatic and situational factors and that the interpretation of meaning is negotiated interactively and permanently by discourse participants and thus is always conditional and indeterminate. By its in-depth analysis of different aspects of cohesion and coherence in a variety of genres of both spoken and written discourse, this monograph offers new insights into the role of cohesion and coherence in discourse production and interpretation and suggests new directions for further research.

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Academic discourse

CHAPTER ONE

Coherence and cohesion in research articles: The role of indexicals

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova

Abstract

This chapter studies coherence and cohesion in academic discourse by exploring the contribution of cohesive devices to the perception of coherence. While approaching coherence and cohesion as closely related but independent phenomena, the investigation focuses on the cohesive role of indexical devices and considers their potential to foster the perception of discourse coherence. The research is carried out on a small specialized corpus of research articles in the field of linguistics. The findings of the investigation show that both the anaphoric and the deictic interpretation of personal pronouns and demonstratives contribute to the establishment of cohesive links based on continuity of referents and discourse topic organization and thus enhance the perception of discourse coherence.

1 Introduction

Academic discourse refers to the use of language for the conveyance of knowledge in academic settings. Scholars involved in academic interaction strive to position their work in the context of previous disciplinary knowledge and to persuade their peers and the general audience of the relevance, validity and novelty of their claims. In order to achieve this, the authors endeavour to construct a coherent discourse which represents themselves and their research as a credible source of knowledge while creating a dialogic space for the negotiation and acceptance by their discourse community of the suggested extension of disciplinary knowledge.

Due to the potential of the written mode to transcend constraints of time and space, it is typically considered to be the leading form of academic communication. It is therefore not surprising that most previous studies describing the features of academic discourse have focused on written academic genres, such as research articles, textbooks, dissertations and reviews (e.g. Biber et al. 1999, Hewings 2001, 2006, Hyland 2001, 2002, 2005, 2010, Swales

1990, 2004, Tanskanen 2006). When involved in written interaction the writer can carefully plan and revise his/her text and the reader can re-read the text to achieve sufficient understanding. However, the 'split' discourse context (Fowler 1986: 87) and the related lack of reciprocal management of the discourse (Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1997: 209) deprives the writer of the possibility of finding out whether the coherence the interactants have derived from the text overlaps sufficiently, i.e. whether the reader has understood the text in the way intended by the writer. In order to process written discourse successfully, the reader has to grasp the meaning encoded in different textual components and to determine and interpret the relations holding between them. Obviously, in academic discourse one of the most important factors for adequate discourse comprehension is the scope of shared disciplinary knowledge. In addition, the writer endeavours to anticipate the reader's reaction and to use different signals and strategies limiting the range of possible interpretations and guiding the reader towards an understanding of the discourse which matches as much as possible the one intended by the author.

This study explores the role of indexical devices in establishing cohesive relations in written academic discourse. It considers in particular the potential of personal pronouns and demonstratives to create cohesive links based on anaphoric and deictic reference and thus to foster the construal of discourse coherence by contributing to discourse topic organization and the perception of continuity of referents.

2 Cohesion and its relation to coherence

Coherence is one of the constitutive properties of discourse which comes into being in the process of communication in which the interactants derive meaning from a text and strive to achieve their specific communicative intentions while relying on their background knowledge and the context in order to infer missing links and meaning components. Thus coherence may be defined as the interpretative perception of semantic unity and purposefulness derived from a text, which encompasses conceptual connectedness, evaluative and dialogical consistency and textual relatedness. It is textual relatedness that is associated with cohesion, a textual property signalled by semantic relations between lexical items and grammatical structures which overtly connect clauses and/or clause complexes in a text (e.g. Widdowson 1978, de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981, Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1989, Hoey 1991, 2001, Tanskanen 2006).

As views on the interdependence of cohesion and coherence vary, it is essential to state that the approach adopted in this investigation regards coherence and cohesion as closely related but independent phenomena (cf. e.g. Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1997, Táryiková 2002, Miššíková 2007, Povolná 2012). The most important difference between these discourse properties stems from the understanding that cohesion is a property of text, while coherence pertains to discourse (e.g. Bublitz 1999, Widdowson 2004). Thus coherence is not regarded as inherent to a text; it is rather seen as a property of discourse which is derived within the process of instantiation of the interpretation potential of a text (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2011). Cohesion, on the other hand, is a textual property which fosters coherence as cohesive devices guide the reader in text processing. It should be mentioned that the interpretation of cohesive relations is also context-dependent and affected by the background knowledge of the reader; therefore the relations established by different readers need not be identical.

Cohesion stems from the potential of overt linguistic mechanisms (lexical and grammatical) to establish internal links between parts of the text as well as between the text and its context, thus serving as signals available to, but not necessarily utilized by the writer (Brown and Yule 1983: 198), and to guide the reader towards an intended discourse interpretation. Since the publication of a seminal work by Halliday and Hasan (1976), cohesion has been conceptualized as comprising four types of grammatical cohesive ties (conjunctives, reference, substitution and ellipsis) and two categories of lexical cohesion (reiteration and collocation); in addition, some authors take into consideration the cohesive role of parallelism, theme-rheme articulation and given-new information organization, which are referred to as structural cohesion. There is, however, variation in the analytical models suggested for the analysis of cohesive relations (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976, 1989, Martin 1992, Hoey 1991, 2001, Tanskanen 2006). Thus the existing taxonomies of conjunctives vary in the number and types of external logical relations between experiences of the participants, and internal logical relations holding between discourse components (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1976, Martin 1992, Kehler 2002). As to the categories of reference, substitution and ellipsis, the function they perform is basically the same – to refer repeatedly to the same entity, action or state in the discourse, thus keeping them available in the active memory of the participants in the interaction – and the boundaries between these categories are considered to be rather fuzzy (cf. Hoey 1991, Tárnyiková 2002).

The treatment of reference, a category central to the present research, is also not unified. While for Halliday and Hasan (1976) the cohesive force of reference is restricted to endophoric relations, which can be decoded by reference to other elements in the discourse without recourse to the situation, other linguists extend the scope of reference to include exophoric reference, the meaning of which is recovered by reference to the situational context or the shared cultural knowledge of the interactants for the supplying of the identity of things, people, ideas or spatial and temporal settings mentioned in the discourse. Within this cognitive conception of reference, deixis and endophora (understood here as reference to shared representation in discourse rather than to previous text) can be considered as "complementary discourse referring procedures which the user exploits when processing, modifying and assessing the contents of mental models of an unfolding discourse within the minds of speaker and addressee" (Cornish 2008: 999). Moreover, reference may be seen as a cline including two polar types – 'pure' deixis and 'pure' endophora – and transitional cases of what have been termed 'anadeictic' (Cornish 2008: 1000) or 'quasi-anaphoric' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1471) expressions combining anaphoric and deictic reference. In agreement with this approach, the present research considers exophoric reference indicated by indexical devices such as personal pronouns, e.g. *I, you, we*, demonstratives, e.g. *this, those*, or adverbials, e.g. *here*, *now*, as contributing to the continuity of shared mental representations in the minds of the interlocutors.

Finally, there is also some variation in the categorization of the lexical coherence categories reiteration and collocation. While reiteration is generally clearly defined as a cohesive link achieved by repetition of the same lexical item and by the use of synonyms, paraphrasis, opposites and lexical items with more general or more specific meaning, there are so many divergences in the understanding of the category of collocation that it has been called "a ragbag of lexical relations" (Hoey 1991: 7). Probably the most adequate, and most recent, conceptualization of collocation is that suggested by Tanskanen (2006), who considers three types of cohesive relation – ordered set, activity-related and elaborative collocation.

Despite differences in their views on the relationship between cohesion and coherence and the analytical models applied to the study of cohesive relations, all researchers agree that cohesive relations enhance the perception of continuity and semantic unity in discourse and thus constitute an important aspect of discourse coherence. The analysis of indexical devices carried out in this study strives to bring further evidence of this by showing how indexicals with anaphoric and deictic interpretation contribute to the construal of discourse coherence.

3 Categorization of indexical devices

An indexical device (also called a pointer) is a particular kind of referential expression where the referent is recovered from a particular context in which the semantics is put to work (Mey 1993: 91), i.e. it is pragmatically determined. Indexical relationship is expressed by the so-called deictic language elements**,** which are associated with the basic deictic categories of person, place and time related to an utterance. Since texts can be metaphorically conceptualized as space, an additional deictic category has been introduced – textual or secondary deixis – to account for the potential of indexical expressions to indicate internal links within the discourse. Thus the present investigation draws on the following categorization of indexical expressions:

1. Person deixis – conveys the participants' roles in a discourse situation typically expressed by personal pronouns. These include:
   a. the roles of speaker/writer (first person *I*, *we*) and addressee (second person *you*). The reference of first and second person pronouns is context-dependent and therefore inherently unstable, as it shifts according to the situation, in particular in spoken discourse, where the participants take turns to speak (cf. Levinson 1983, Wales 1996).
   b. the role of 'third parties', those not directly involved but mentioned in the discourse (third person *he*, *she*, *it*, *they*). The third person pronouns may have both anaphoric and deictic interpretation.
2. Place deixis – refers to location relevant to the discourse, typically from the perspective of the speaker/writer. The most notable indexical expressions in this category are the adverbs *here* and *there* and the demonstratives *this/these*, *that/those*. The choice between distal and proximal forms indicates the accessibility and importance of the intended referent (Piwek et al. 2008), where proximals are used to refer to objects that have low accessibility and/or are important, while distals are used to refer to objects that have high accessibility and are less important.
3. Time deixis – indicates the temporal orientation of discourse expressed by tense forms and temporal adverbs such as *now*, *tomorrow*, *yesterday* etc. In the unmarked case the deictic centre is anchored with the speaker.
4. Text (discourse) deixis – is associated with the use of words like *this* and *that* or *the former* and *the latter* to locate anaphorically and cataphorically items, facts and linguistic structures in the co-text (cf. Lyons 1977: 677-678, Wales 2001: 99, Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1460). Text deixis is regarded as a metaphorical process combining both anaphora and deixis which "implies the metaphor 'TEXT IS A SPACE' by means of which the spaciotemporal ground of utterance is mapped onto the text itself" (Ribera 2007: 152). Thus text-deictic referential devices are regarded referring to "entities in the metaphorical spatial text domain as they would in the situational domain" (ibid.). The deictic centre is located with the speaker/writer, while the central time is the moment of utterance production and the central place is the speaker's location at the time of utterance production. In the unfolding discourse, the discourse centre is the point where the speaker/writer is currently at in the production of the utterance (Levinson 1983: 64).

When interpreting discourse, indexical expressions with anaphoric interpretation refer to referents which already have their place in the discourse world and are established as accessible in the minds of the participants in the communication. Indexicals with deictic interpretation refer to entities available to the discourse participants from their shared background knowledge or the situational context; they are introduced into the discourse world and can subsequently be referred to by deictic or anaphoric reference devices. It is assumed that by making the referents continuously available in the discourse world indexical reference devices with both anaphoric and deictic interpretation contribute to the perception of discourse coherence.

4 Material and method

This investigation into the role of indexical expressions in the perception of cohesion and coherence focuses on the use of personal and possessive pronouns and demonstratives, both as pronouns and determiners, in written academic discourse. The study considers the frequency and function of the target items and explores how they establish cohesive links and contribute to the perception of coherence at the local and global level of discourse. The analytical approach adopted in this study combines quantitative and qualitative analyses, since the use of quantification as a starting point of investigation allows us to highlight general tendencies in the occurrence of the phenomenon and motivate the selection of representative discourse samples which can then be explored qualitatively (Hunston 2007: 46).

The analysis is carried out on a specialized corpus of research articles in the field of linguistics. The corpus comprises twelve research articles (six single-authored and six co-authored) published in the journal *Applied Linguistics* in the period 2000-2010; the size of the material totals 90,500 words. Obviously, the corpus used in this study is rather small. However, since small specialized corpora, which allow for "top-down, qualitative, contextually-informed analyses" (Flowerdew 2004: 18), are regarded as convenient for the investigation of academic and professional discourse, it is considered that it yields enough grounds for conclusions. Before proceeding to the analysis, the corpus was cleaned to eliminate block quotes and long examples; however, integral citations and integral examples were not deleted in order to preserve the coherence of the texts. The corpus was searched for the target pronouns (*I/me/my*, *you/your*, *he/him/his*, *she/her*, *it/its*, *we/us/our*) and demonstratives (*this/these* and *that/those*) using the freeware Antconc concordance programme. After the rate of occurrence of the target items was ascertained, the raw data was normalized to frequencies per 1,000 words to allow for comparison with previous and further studies. The concordance lists were then checked manually to exclude occurrences of target structures in integral citations and integral examples and, most importantly, to identify the functions of the target items in context. Finally, a qualitative analysis of selected representative examples was carried out to serve as a basis for a discussion of the contribution of pronominal reference and demonstratives to the construal of cohesion and coherence in academic articles.

5 Results and discussion

5.1 Personal pronouns, cohesion and coherence

As previous research has shown, the overall frequency of personal pronouns in academic discourse is lower than in most other types of written prose (Biber et al. 1999). This is due to a large extent to the general tendency towards clarity and explicitness in academic writing in accordance with which reiteration is often preferred to pronominal referencing. In addition, the lower frequency of pronouns with human reference may be seen as reflecting the traditional assumption that academic research is purely empirical and objective (e.g. Swales 1990, 2004, Hyland 2001, Harwood 2005), in agreement with which most academic style manuals recommend the avoidance of reference to human agency in academic prose (Bennett 2009, Flowerdew forthcoming). However, recent research has shown that especially in the soft sciences "contrary to advice given in some style guides to maintain an objective, impersonal style, the pronoun system is exploited by writers of RAs [research articles] for maintaining the writer-reader relationship and allowing the writer an authorial voice" (Flowerdew forthcoming). The main functions of author-reference personal pronouns have been found to show the writer's attitude to disciplinary practices and disciplinary knowledge (Ivanič 1998, Hyland 2005), highlight key problems, emphasize the author's contribution to the field (filling a gap) and seek agreement for it (Kuo 1999), and organize the text for the reader (Harwood 2005).

As the results of a quantitative analysis of writer and reader pronouns in the material (Table 1-1) show, the frequency of first person pronouns is considerably higher than that of second person pronouns, and the rate of plural first person pronouns exceeds by far the rate of single author-pronouns. This generally concurs with Biber et al.'s (1999) findings (2.5 for *I/me*, 3.5 for *we/us* and 1.0 for *you*), although in my corpus the rates of *I* and *you* are lower, and the rate of *we* higher. This divergence might be explained by the composition of the corpora: in comparison with Biber et al.'s large corpus, which comprises texts representing various academic disciplines, the corpus used in the present study is discipline-specific and includes a substantial proportion of co-authored articles (50%). The high frequency of *we* reflects the potential of its shifting signifier which may have "many potential scopes of reference even within a single discourse" (Wales 1996: 62). The very low rate of *you* indicates that while using different devices to construct dialogism between themselves and their audience, the authors only rarely employ direct address to the reader. It should be noted that there is considerable variation in the use of writer and reader pronouns across the different articles. It is assumed, however, that together with other author-reference devices, such as text and research nouns and *it*-clause structures, they contribute to the construal of continuous authorial presence and thus to discourse coherence.

Personal pronoun	**First person singular**		**First person plural**		**Second person**
	I	*me*	*we*	*us*	*you*
Raw No.	104	1	404	58	10
Total raw No.	105		462		10
Norm. rate	1.1		5.1		0.1

Table 1-1: Frequency of writer and reader pronouns in the *Applied Linguistics* corpus

The cohesive role of writer and reader pronouns is evident in articles where these indexicals are used more systematically. While in face-to-face conversation the referents of first and second person pronouns shift with the change of turns, in written academic discourse the referents of the participant's pronouns are fixed – the first person pronoun refers to the author, while the second person pronoun refers to the reader. Consequently, these pronouns may be interpreted as bearing 'anadeictic' reference, i.e. they combine deictic and anaphoric interpretation, as by drawing on contextual clues they identify the writer (or a group including the writer in the case of *we*) or the reader as the referents, and at the same time they refer to the shared mental representations of the writer and the reader in the minds of the discourse participants, which are established from the very beginning of the interaction. Thus in (1) the sequence of five instances of *I* co-occurring with discourse and mental verbs is used in the abstract of a research article to represent the author as the agent of the research process and the writer of the text; in addition, this cohesive chain is extended by two instances of sentence internal ellipsis (*and outline*, *and argue*). All the occurrences of the personal pronoun *I* have the same referent – the author of the article – which is retrievable both from the situational context and anaphorically, as the shared representation of the referent is established not only by the first mentioning of the first person pronoun in *I argue*, but also by the name of the author typically appearing under the title of the paper and the prepositional phrase *in this paper* in initial position. This prepositional phrase comprising a demonstrative determiner and a discourse noun positions the author within the discourse space and has a discourse deictic function, i.e. it points to the text as a whole and presupposes the availability of the mental representations of the writer and the reader as participants in the discourse process mediated by the text. It should be noted that the exclusive author-reference pronouns *I* and *we* have the potential to create cohesive chains which are coherently threaded into the whole text as they refer to one of the main participants in the discourse world shared by the writer and the reader. This is evidenced by the fact that most of the occurrences of author pronouns are found in abstracts, introductions and conclusions, i.e. in text initial and final position, thus assuring the continuity of their referents throughout the article and contributing to the perception of coherence at the global level of discourse.

(1) *In this paper, I argue that interaction can draw on both interactive and interactional resources: interactive resources help to guide the reader through the text, while interactional resources involve the reader collaboratively in the development of the text. I use the concept of the 'reader-in-the-text' (Thompson and Thetela 1995) to explore a central form of interactional resource: the inclusion in the text of a voice that is intended to be attributable to the reader. I identify a particular set of discourse contexts in which this happens – where the writer brings in the reader's view in order to contradict it – and outline the lexico-grammatical features which signal the other voice in those contexts; and I place these in a broader perspective on written text as a stage-managed form of dialogue. The impetus for the study comes from working with novice writers; and I discuss a number of examples where written drafts were improved by exploiting the interactional resources described, and argue for the value of raising students' awareness of these resources.* (AL/4 Abstract)

In co-authored texts the plural author-reference pronoun can be used similarly to the single author-reference pronoun. However, while the referent of singular author-reference pronouns is definite, the plural form *we* is inherently ambiguous as it may be used both exclusively and inclusively. This is evidenced by an extract taken from the conclusions of a co-authored article (2) in which the authors use author-reference pronouns to stress their position of active research subjects committing themselves to a subjective interpretation of a phenomenon and to a discussion of strengths, limitations and future research perspectives. Apart from the inclusive personal pronoun *we* used in the last sentence of the extract (*we now have a baseline*), the authors use the exclusive *we* to refer anadeictically to themselves, thus assuming responsibility for the limitations of their interpretation of the phenomenon under investigation. In the last sentence, however, the referent of *we* is extended to comprise the writer and the reader as members of a disciplinary community who are assumed to share the opinion expressed by the author, thus enhancing the persuasive force of the discourse. Although the mental representations of the writer and the reader are available in the minds of the participants, this inclusive use of *we* is primarily contextually retrievable and allows for multiple interpretations.

(2) *There is of course a danger that* <u>*we are*</u>*, for the purposes of discussion and clarification of the genre, exaggerating the problem of comprehension. Indeed,* <u>*we believe*</u> *that most authors are capable of understanding the intent of the editorial letters and the guidance that they provide about reading the reviews and revising the manuscript.* <u>*We must affirm again*</u> *that because* <u>*our study*</u> *is of the letters of one single editor* <u>*we cannot*</u> *make any generalizations concerning the editorial letter genre. Nevertheless* <u>*we believe*</u> *that* <u>*our study*</u> *may go some way towards demystifying the editorial process and contribute to* <u>*our understanding*</u> *of the nature and function of the genre in question. At least* <u>*we now have a baseline*</u> *against which further research can be measured, the next step, of course, being a study of a corpus of letters from a range of journals.* (AL/5 Conclusions)

The function of the possessive determiner *our* in (2) also deserves attention as it is dependent on the interpretation of the personal pronoun *we*. Thus while the occurrences of *our study* present the authors as the agents of the research process, *our understanding* is ambiguous and may be interpreted as referring to the authors, the authors and the readers or the whole disciplinary community. What is important from the point of view of cohesive relations, however, is that possessive determiners contribute to the availability of referents in discourse processing. As Table 1-2 indicates, possessive determiners are not very frequent in the corpus under investigation or in academic discourse in general (Biber et al. 1999). The most frequent use of possessive determiners in academic texts is with deictic nouns (nouns that point to the text or textual segments, e.g. *study*, *paper*, *article*) and shell nouns (abstract nouns that enclose or anticipate the meaning of the preceding or succeeding discourse, e.g. *problem*, *fact*, *understanding*), although some lexical items (e.g. *research*, *study*) may function both as deictic and shell nouns (cf. Hunston and Francis 1999, Aktas and Cortes 2008, Gray and Cortes 2011). There are two cohesive relations established in such cases – one is based on the reference of the possessive determiner, and the other is established by the deictic or shell noun which points to a part/section of the text. It should be mentioned that while similarly to author-reference pronouns deictic nouns have the potential to create global and local cohesive chains, the scope of shell nouns is typically restricted to local cohesion.

Possessive determiner	**First person**		**Second person**	**Third person**			
	my	*our*	*your*	*his*	*her*	*its*	*their*
Raw No.	7	110	9	54	32	125	329
Norm. rate	0.08	1.2	0.1	0.6	0.4	1.4	3.6

Table 1-2: Frequency of possessive determiners in the *Applied Linguistics* corpus

As to the rare occurrences of the reader pronoun *you*, they are used to enhance dialogicity and involve the reader in the argumentation. Similarly to *we*, *you* is semantically indeterminate and in academic discourse may refer to the reader or to people in general (including the writer), which is regarded as non-referential (cf. Hiddleston and Pullum 2002). It is this ambiguous generalizing use of *you* that is used almost exclusively in the corpus. A rare sequence of such uses of the second person pronoun is illustrated in (3), which is taken from the discussion section of a co-authored research article. In this paragraph, the authors use the exclusive author-reference *we* to present their views and state their claims, while the second person pronoun you is used to involve the reader in the argumentation in the part which provides explanatory reasons supporting the approach suggested. The perception of coherence in the extract is construed thanks to the continuity of the shared mental representation of the authors established by *we* and the recurrent use of *you* referring to the reader and people in general, which enhances the interpersonal dimension of academic discourse.

(3) *To deal with figurative language generally, <u>our argument</u> focuses on the element of 'untruth', and the notions of both linguistic and pragmatic competence. <u>We believe</u> that an interpretation of metaphor and other figurative language is a pragmatic reinterpretation of 'untruth' in known circumstances (see also 'metaphorical transfer of meaning', Goatly 1997: 96). So when <u>you encounter</u> something which is compositionally an 'untruth', it is <u>your linguistic competence</u> which <u>tells you</u> that what you hear or read is actually an 'untruth'. But it is <u>your pragmatic competence which allows you to reinterpret what you have heard or read.</u> In the non-compositional reading of Jack being 'hot under the collar', <u>we claim</u> the compositional untruth that Jack has increased body heat only in his neck/collar area is analysed linguistically and proves to be pragmatically unlikely in context or to break Gricean principles.* (AL/8 Discussion)

While third person pronouns can have anaphoric and deictic reference, their use in academic discourse is typically anaphoric. As the frequency data summarized in Table 1-3 indicates, the rate of human-reference third person pronouns in academic discourse is not very high. In the corpus they typically refer to scholars upon whose research the author draws and tend to occur in subject position followed by mental and discourse verbs, such as *suggest*, *define*, *argue*, *think*. The higher frequency of masculine pronouns can be explained by the prevalence of male authors in the reference lists of the articles included in my corpus. It should be noted that there are three instances of *he/she* intended to cope with the gender issue.

<table>
<tr><th rowspan="3">Pronoun type</th><th colspan="6">Singular</th><th colspan="2" rowspan="2">Plural</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">masculine</td><td colspan="2">feminine</td><td colspan="2">non-human</td></tr>
<tr><td>he</td><td>him</td><td>she</td><td>her</td><td>it</td><td>ant.-it</td><td>they</td><td>them</td></tr>
<tr><td>Raw No.</td><td>52</td><td>7</td><td>35</td><td>5</td><td>369</td><td>232</td><td>357</td><td>97</td></tr>
<tr><td>Total raw No.</td><td colspan="2">59</td><td colspan="2">40</td><td colspan="2">601</td><td colspan="2">454</td></tr>
<tr><td>Norm. rate</td><td colspan="2">0.7</td><td colspan="2">0.4</td><td colspan="2">6.6</td><td colspan="2">5.0</td></tr>
</table>

Table 1-3: Frequency of 'third party' pronouns in the *Applied Linguistics* corpus

The following extract from the literature review section of a research article (4) shows a typical example of *she*, which is related by anaphoric reference to *Schiffrin* and thus forms a local cohesive chain.

(4) *Schiffrin's (1987) analysis of DMs is based on a theory of discourse coherence. She defines DMs as 'sequentially dependent elements which bracket units of talk' (Schiffrin 1987: 31).* (AL/10 Discussion)

The notable frequency of the non-human pronoun is to a large extent due to the significant frequency of anticipatory-*it* structures (232 occurrences), such as *it is difficult to*, *it is important to*, which are emblematic of academic discourse. The subject in these structures is considered semantically empty and the use of *it* is regarded as "not anaphoric (or at least not clearly so)" (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 1481). In academic discourse, however, the views expressed by the *it*-clause are typically attributed to the author of the text as the source of knowledge and opinion conveyed by the discourse (occasionally, the contextually retrievable source of opinion expressed in *it*-clauses might be attributed to other researchers). The rhetorical motivations for the selection of *it*-clauses instead of their personal counterparts (*It is argued* vs. *I/we argue*) is their potential to encode evaluation, while presenting the opinion expressed as objective, as if distanced from the writer, and thus less open to negotiation (Martin, Matthiessen and Painter 1997, Hunston and Sinclair 2000, Hewings and Hewings 2002). Nevertheless, since the opinion expressed is attributed to the writer, *it*-clauses may be seen as performing an interpersonal function since they contribute to the construal of the authorial voice of the writer and thus enhance the perception of discourse coherence based on the continuity of the mental representation of this discourse participant.

The anaphoric use of *it* is rather frequent; the typical referents of the non-human pronoun are objects of research or research tools. While similarly to *he* and *she* the non-human pronoun forms local cohesive chains, it differs from the human-reference pronouns in its potential to create longer cohesive chains, as in (5):

(5) *Although this task is not very natural, its highly controlled nature means that it produces data which are easy to quantify and analyse. Furthermore, as it can be administered to more than one student at a time, there is less chance that the results will be biased by participants discussing the task with each other between sessions. This makes it a suitable task to administer to a large group of participants.* (AL/3 Method)

The plural personal pronoun *they* may have both human and non-human referents, which explains its relatively high frequency. The most frequent human referents of *they* are researchers whose work is cited in the article of participants in tests and experiments, as illustrated in (6) and (7), while the most frequent non-human referents of *they* are linguistic structures and phenomena. The local cohesive chain based on anaphoric reference may comprise several members, as in (6), where there are two instances of anaphoric *they*, and in (7), where there are three instances of the plural third person pronoun.

(6) *The concrete picture description task used was an adaptation of that used by Poulisse (1990). In Poulisse's test, participants were shown photographs of, mostly, household objects. They were asked to look at the photographs one by one and to make clear in English what object they saw, either by naming it, or in any other way. They were asked to do this in such a way that an English speaker, who would later listen to the recordings of the session, would be able to identify the objects.* (AL/3 Method)

(7) *Given that lexical bundles are defined strictly on the basis of frequency, with no consideration of structural or functional criteria, they might be expected to be arbitrary strings of words that have no linguistic status. Instead, these frequent sequences of words turn out to be readily interpretable in both structural and functional terms. Although they are not the kinds of grammatical structures recognized by traditional linguistic theory, most lexical bundles do have well-defined structural correlates: they usually consist of the beginning of a clause or phrase plus the first word of an embedded structure (e.g. a dependent complement clause or a prepositional phrase).* (AL/7 Conclusions)

As the above analysis shows, in academic discourse writer and reader pronouns which tend to have anadeictic interpretation enhance the perception of coherence at the global level of discourse, while human and non-human reference third person pronouns create anaphorical cohesive relations which give rise to local cohesive chains, thus contributing to coherent discourse organization at the level of individual paragraphs.

5.2 Demonstratives

The function of demonstratives is not only to mark something as known, but also to position it as proximal or distal from the point of view of the discourse participants. As previous research has shown (Biber et al. 1999, Gray and Cortes 2011), demonstratives, and especially the proximal *this/these*, both as determiners and pronouns, are highly frequent in academic discourse due to their potential to mark "immediate textual reference" (Biber et al. 1999: 349), i.e. they have a discourse deictic function. The frequency of demonstratives in my corpus confirms that these indexicals are very frequent in research articles in the field of applied linguistics (cf. Gray and Cortes 2011). The data summarized in Table 1-4 also show that while *this* and *these* tend to be used more frequently as determiners than as pronouns, *that* and *those* tend to have a pronominal function.

Demonstrative type	***this***		***these***		***that***		***those***	
	pron.	det.	pron.	det.	pron.	det.	pron.	det.
Raw No.	134	624	28	336	41	12	68	17
Norm. rate	1.4	6.9	0.3	3.7	0.5	0.1	0.7	0.2
Percentage	17.6%	82.3%	7.7%	92.3%	77.4%	22.5%	83.9	16.1%

Table 1-4: Frequency of demonstratives in the *Applied Linguistics* corpus

The pronominal use of *this* and *these* is anaphoric. The demonstrative pronouns *this* and *these*, which constitute more than 90 per cent of the occurrences of the proximal demonstratives, typically co-occur with copular verbs, thus linking evaluative characteristics to the subject such as *this is an important discovery* in (8) and the heavily hedged *These might be thought to be of marginal importance* in (9). The high frequency of occurrence of *this* and *these* with discourse and mental verbs (e.g. *suggest*, *support*) in sentence initial subject position (8) partakes in the build-up of the argumentation especially in the discussion section of the articles. The referents of *this* and *these* are typically clauses, sentences, paragraphs or larger text components rather than noun phrases. It is this potential to create cohesive links between larger stretches of text and the following text that motivates the high rate of *this* and *these* in research articles, where they contribute to the construction of local cohesion. As (8) shows, pronominal demonstratives may be used repeatedly in this way even in adjacent sentences.

(8) *One particularly interesting finding made in this study is that different types of items elicit different types of CSs. <u>This supports</u> Poulisse's finding that the nature of the task strongly influences the type of CSs adopted. <u>This is an important discovery</u> as it emphasizes the fact that, even though individuals' cognitive styles appear to influence the approach they take to communication, they do not dictate this approach.* (AL/3 Discussion)

(9) *Overall, it can be argued that there are three main options conventionally open to academic writers to perform overt dialogic interaction with their readers. One is commands initiated by the writer, which the reader-in-the text obeys. <u>These might be thought to be of marginal importance</u>, but Swales et al. (1998), in an investigation of imperatives in academic articles, show them to be comparatively frequent and used in complex ways.* (AL4/ Discussion)

Most of the occurrences of *this* and *these* as determiners are with deictic (metadiscoursal in Swales's 2005 terminology) and shell nouns. The most frequent deictic nouns used with *this* are *paper* (34 occurrences), *article* (22 occurrences) and *study* (21). They are commonly used in the abstract, introduction and conclusion sections of research articles to organize the discourse at the macro-level by constructing the perceptual accessibility of the text in the discourse world of writer and reader (cf. Elrich 1992) and thus contribute to the perception of coherence at the global level of discourse (10). When creating cohesive links at the local discourse level, *this* refers to linguistic units or phenomena mentioned in the preceding clause or sentence, which is illustrated by *this unit* and *units of this type* in (10).

(10) *<u>This paper was motivated</u> by the need each of the three authors felt for a reliable and comprehensively defined unit to assist with the analysis of a variety of recordings of native and non-native speakers of English. We first discuss in very general terms the criteria according to which such a unit might be selected. Next, we examine the main categories of unit which have been adopted previously and provide a justification for the particular type of unit that we have chosen. <u>Focusing on this unit</u>, we identify a number of problems which are associated with the definition and exemplification of <u>units of this type</u>, and give examples of the awkward cases found in actual data.* (AL1/ Introduction)

The occurrences of the proximal demonstrative determiners *this* and *these* with shell nouns create local cohesive links (11) while making relevant discourse elements the focus of attention. It is important to stress that in these cases the cohesive link is created both by the demonstrative determiner and the context-dependent shell noun, which has the potential to evaluate the referent by qualifying it as, for instance, a 'problem', 'advantage' or 'difficulty'.

(11) *In practical terms, the procedures mentioned above – picking up on individual points in drafts, or using the grid of sources for propositions as a way of examining more extensive stretches of text – are simple but*

effective in prompting investigation of the voices in the text. It should also be borne in mind that there is no reason why these issues cannot be raised with students whose command of writing and/or English is not as advanced: they would fit in very well, for example, with the genre-based approach to the teaching of writing in schools pioneered by Martin (e.g. 1985) and his colleagues. (AL4/ Discussion)

As the results of the quantitative analysis (Table 1-4) show, the majority of distal demonstratives used in the *Applied Linguistics* corpus (77.4% of the occurrences of *that* and 83.9% of the occurrences of *those*) have a pronominal function. In the majority of cases the pronouns *those* and *that* are used cataphorically with a post-modifying clause or prepositional phrase which makes their reference more precise (13). These uses of demonstrative pronouns create cohesive links at the intrasentential level and thus pertain to the local discourse level.

(12) *Though this suggests that proficiency is not necessarily reflected in surface complexity of language, it is still valid to suppose that more proficient speakers are those who are able to keep track of where they are, syntactically, as they incorporate fully or partially fixed sequences with language freshly minted for the occasion.* (AL1/ Introduction)

Similarly to proximal demonstratives, the rather infrequent uses of *that* and *those* as determiners co-occur with deictic and shell nouns and create local cohesive relations. As (13) shows, however, while *this* and *these* are used to refer to the current study and the phenomena and approaches which are central to it, the distal demonstrative determiner *that* refers to a previous study cited in the article.

(13) *We extended this research approach in the Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English (Biber et al. 1999, ch. 13; see also Biber and Conrad 1999), referring to these recurrent sequences of words as 'lexical bundles' (see section 2 below). That study used corpus-based research methods to compare the most common multi-word units in spoken and written registers.* (AL7/ Method)

When used with shell nouns, distal demonstratives can show disagreement with the findings, views and positions to which they refer (14).

(14) *The problem [...] appears when researchers compare speakers from different socio-economic classes and (in some contexts) ethnic groups. If this variation arose from innate differences in verbal ability, then*

> *presumably it would be logical to conclude that such differences exist not only between men and women, but also between middle-class and working-class speakers or white and non-white ones. It is not only linguists who would find* <u>*that conclusion*</u> *unpalatable. Most new biologists emphasize that they do not share the preoccupations with race and class which brought some of their predecessors into disrepute.* (AL12/ Discussion)

This analysis of cohesive relations established by demonstratives indicates that both distal and proximal demonstrative pronouns establish local cohesive links. When used as determiners, distal demonstratives partake in the construal of local cohesion, while the proximal demonstrative *this* can create cohesive links both at the local and global discourse level.

6 Conclusions

The aim of this study was to explore the role of indexical devices in establishing cohesive relations in written academic discourse. The findings showed that in the material under investigation personal pronouns and demonstratives occur with significant frequency and that they create cohesive links at the local and global level of discourse, thus contributing to the perception of coherence in research articles.

The analysis of writer and reader pronouns *I/we* and *you* has evidenced that they enhance the continuity of the mental representations of the writer and the reader and thus enhance dialogicity and the perception of coherence at the global level of discourse. By creating anaphoric cohesive relations third person pronouns create local cohesive chains which foster coherent discourse organization at the level of individual paragraphs. The contribution of demonstrative pronouns and determiners to discourse coherence is based on their discourse deictic function, which allows them to establish local cohesive links with larger stretches of discourse. When used as determiners demonstratives co-occur with shell nouns, which can convey evaluative meanings and thus express the opinion of the author on the issue under consideration. The use of *this* with deictic nouns such as *paper*, *study* or *research* fosters discourse organization at the macro-level and thus contributes to the perception of global coherence.

While this study has explored the contribution of personal pronouns and demonstratives to the perception of cohesion and coherence in research articles, there are many more indexical devices that play an important role in the construal of discourse coherence. Further studies are needed to investigate fully the interplay of indexical devices in academic discourse and to consider disciplinary and cross-cultural variation.

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CHAPTER TWO

Cross-cultural variation in the degree of dialogicality in research articles: On some text-organizing devices

Renata Povolná

Abstract

In the ongoing process of increasing internationalization of all scholarship and with regard to the crucial role of English as the lingua franca of academia it has become indispensable to negotiate preferred degrees of dialogicality of academic texts written in English across different fields, cultures and intellectual traditions.
This chapter aims to discover whether there is cross-cultural variation in the use of certain text-organizing devices (mostly labelled discourse markers) in academic texts since it is assumed that these text organizers, in particular some of their semantic classes, can enhance the interaction between the author(s) of the text and the prospective reader(s) and thus foster the dialogic character of academic written discourse. Accordingly, the analysis is based on two specialized corpora of research articles, one representing Anglo-American academic texts written by experienced native speakers of English and the other representing Central European academic texts produced by non-native speakers of English from one discourse community in Central Europe – the Czech Republic.

1 Introduction

Even though English performs the role of a lingua franca of international academic communication, many studies on written discourse used in academic settings show cross-cultural variation (e.g. Clyne 1987, Ventola and Mauranen 1991, Mauranen 1993, Čmejrková and Daneš 1997, Duszak 1997, Chamonikolasová 2005, Stašková 2005, Mur-Dueňas 2008, Wagner 2011, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012, Povolná 2012). This variation in the global lingua franca of academia, which concerns all text characteristics including form and content, results mainly from the influence of L1 writing habits and culture- and language-specific conventions which authors working in different fields of research transfer from their mother tongue to the academic texts they write in English.

Anglo-American academic texts in general tend to be more dialogic and interactive, thus providing more space for negotiation of meaning between the author(s) and the prospective reader(s) (Clyne 1987) and bearing a greater resemblance to non-academic texts. The fact that these texts are considered more reader-oriented stems from an overall linear organization of discourse through explicit signposting which includes text organizers such as DMs – notably conjuncts, which are at the core of the present chapter. These characteristics are in contrast to rather monologic, less interactive texts, which sometimes include numerous digressions and provide readers with knowledge and theory rather than giving them space for negotiation of meaning. Such writer- or text-oriented texts are usually connected with Teutonic intellectual traditions attributed to academic texts written in some Central European languages such as Czech, Slovak, Polish and German (cf. Galtung 1985). These academic backgrounds and intellectual traditions prefer a more impersonal style of writing with fewer reader-friendly devices such as text organizers and fewer explicit clues concerning content, which can provide reader guidance and discourse predictability. Instead, a considerable amount of intellectual effort and an ability to process rather demanding texts filled with knowledge and theory are required of the reader(s).

Since the overwhelming majority of writers and readers of academic texts written in English are not native speakers of English, the question arises whether it is justified to impose the linguistic standards and style conventions typical of the Anglo-American discourse community on international academic communication and whether the qualities such as clarity and effectiveness in communication should be considered from the perspective of native speakers of English, i.e. "the native speaking minority" to use Mauranen et al.'s words (2010), or from those who come from communities that speak other languages.

Discourse communities share certain discourse patterns and expectations and utilize and hence possess one or more genres in the communicative furtherance of their aims (Swales 1990: 26). In the case of the international academic community it is the genre of research articles that mostly serves as a tool for transmitting scholarly matters. When experts from language backgrounds other than the Anglo-American want to be recognized internationally in their respective research fields within their native speech discourse communities and in particular within the international academic community, they have to produce their research articles in English and undergo what is sometimes called "a process of secondary socialization" (Duszak 1997), i.e. the process of developing academic credentials within their non-native environment. This concerns both novice writers and experts from academic traditions other than the Anglo-American (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012, Povolná 2012).

Scholarly texts vary in degree of interactivity, understood here in agreement with Duszak (1997: 19) as a "form of realization of interpersonal meanings in discourse"; this is particularly important once we agree that academic communication is dialogic in nature. While academic cultures and intellectual traditions subscribing to a more impersonal style of academic texts (e.g. some discourse communities in Central Europe) give preference to less interactive and thus less dialogic texts, Anglo-American academic traditions favour more interactive and more dialogic texts with reader-friendly devices such as text organizers, clear relations between discourse segments, clear division of text into sections and subsections, chapter and section headings, and explicit clues on content. Therefore, the negotiation of preferred degrees of interactivity and dialogicality in academic texts is one of the main issues to be considered in international academic communication.

Conceived as explicit signals of semantic relations between segments of discourse (Fraser 1999) and thus clearly contributing to both cohesion and coherence, DMs (Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1999, Biber et al. 1999) – including what are called conjuncts (Quirk et al. 1985) in this chapter – are expected to be relatively frequent in academic discourse, since convincing argumentation and clear presentation to the reader of the author's standpoints are of great importance. Consequently, a more specific aim of the present study is to discover which semantic relations, such as apposition, result, contrast, and concession, tend to be expressed overtly by conjuncts, because these are applied intentionally by writers as guiding signals to help the prospective reader(s) arrive at an interpretation which is coherent with the author's communicative intentions, and, moreover, which of the semantic relations overtly expressed by conjuncts contribute most of all to the negotiation of meaning between discourse participants (i.e. the author and the readers), thus enhancing the higher degree of interactivity and dialogicality in academic texts.

2 Dialogicality in academic written discourse

Texts can be defined in agreement with Hoey (2001) as "the visible evidence of a reasonably self-contained purposeful interaction between one or more writers and one or more readers, in which the writer(s) control the interaction and produce most of (characteristically all) the language" (ibid.: 11). This is in accordance with Bakhtin's view (1986) that writing is always an ongoing dialogue between the writer and the reader(s). While producing written texts authors tend to "draw on and incorporate ideas and forms from [their] past experiences of texts" (Hyland 2004: 80). Accordingly, texts in general and academic texts in particular are inevitably dialogical in the sense that any utterance is a link in a very complexly organized chain of other utterances with which it enters into one relation or another, but different texts of course differ in the degree of what can be called ‘dialogization’ (Bakhtin, as quoted in Fairclough 2003: 42) which a particular author attempts to achieve in a scholarly text.

“For any particular text or type of text, there is a set of other texts and a set of voices which are potentially relevant, and potentially incorporated into the text” (Fairclough 2003: 47). As regards academic written discourse, writers – authors of research articles in the case of this chapter – enter a permanent dialogue with other scholars in the same field of research. They can let their voices, i.e. opinions, attitudes, feelings, be heard either directly, notably through direct quotations, or more indirectly, by means of paraphrases or reported speech, which both belong among the most explicit techniques representing intertextuality (Bazerman 2004). In agreement with Fairclough (2003) it is assumed that “when the speech or writing or thought of another is reported, two different texts, two different voices, are brought into dialogue, and potentially two different perspectives, objectives, interests and so forth. … There is always likely to be a tension between what is going on in the reporting text, including the work which the reporting of the other texts is doing within that text, and what was going on in the reported text” (ibid.: 48-49). And this is exactly where discourse markers such as conjuncts can play an important role, since by virtue of their specific meanings they are able to express semantic relations such as apposition, result, contrast, and concession between different parts of the texts, thus functioning as markers of intertextuality, i.e. “the explicit and implicit relations that a text or utterance has to prior, contemporary or future texts” (Bazerman 2004: 86, 88), and also reflecting the degree of interactivity and dialogicality in otherwise rather monological written texts. Authors can enter a dialogue not only with other authors referred to in the text but also with their own previous research and/or with some generally shared hypotheses and attitudes which may be different from the current author’s standpoints.

By means of DMs (including conjuncts), which can be classified as ‘metatextual elements’ or simply ‘connectors’ (Mauranen 1993), “the writer steps in explicitly to make his or her presence felt in the text, to give guidance to the readers with respect to how the text is organized, to what functions different parts of it have, and what the author’s attitudes to the propositions are” (Mauranen 1993: 9). Accordingly, conjuncts can be viewed as interactive items, which help to indicate the way through the text and interpret pragmatic links between ideas (Hyland 2005: 49-52). They establish textual, interactional and interpersonal relations in texts, since, as already stated, “texts are inevitably and unavoidably dialogical” (Fairclough 2003: 42).

3 Discourse markers under investigation: Conjuncts

Conjuncts – conceived here as discourse markers (cf. "signposts on a journey" in Leech and Svartvik's understanding of 2002: 187) – signal a relationship between the possible interpretation of discourse segments, i.e. the segment they introduce and are part of and the prior, not necessarily immediately adjacent discourse segment (Fraser 1999), thus clearly facilitating the reader's interpretation and understanding of the message (Schiffrin 1987). Conjuncts also contribute substantially to the readability of texts because a text is usually processed faster and more easily if the relationships between its parts are signalled explicitly (cf. e.g. Haberlandt 1982).

By overtly instructing the reader(s) on how the author intends the message that follows to relate to the prior discourse and by conveying logical linkage between ideas expressed in the texts, conjuncts perform important text-organizing functions and thus contribute to the establishing of cohesion (Halliday and Hasan 1976). The cohesive role of conjuncts is highlighted, for example, by Leech and Svartvik (2002) when they state that these words or phrases are used to help listeners or readers understand "how one idea leads on from another" (ibid.: 187). Conjuncts included in Halliday and Hasan (1976) among 'conjunctive elements' "are cohesive not in themselves but indirectly, by virtue of their specific meanings" (ibid.: 226). They are often mentioned in connection with the concept of 'metadiscourse' (Hyland 2005), which is concerned with 'writer-reader interactions' and the aim to produce "coherent prose in particular social contexts" (ibid.: ix).

Apart from establishing cohesion, conjuncts enhance the reader's interpretation of the message ideally in harmony with the current author's communicative intentions and also foster the establishing and maintaining of coherence, which is understood here as "the result of the interpretation process" (Tanskanen 2006: 20) and a dynamic hearer/reader-oriented interpretative notion dependent on particular readers' comprehension (cf. e.g. Bublitz 1999). "Coherence … resides not in the text, but is rather the outcome of a dialogue between the text and its listener or reader"; it necessarily follows that "… some texts may be coherent and meaningful to some receivers but uninterpretable to others" (Tanskanen 2006: 7). Unlike coherence in spoken discourse (cf. Chapter Three in this book), which can be negotiated constantly by all discourse participants (Povolná 2007, 2009), coherence in written discourse cannot be negotiated explicitly, since the context is split (Fowler 1986) and consequently the writer has to anticipate the "expectations of the reader and to use explicit signals" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2007: 128). The appropriate use of such explicit guiding signals is undoubtedly an important strategy in academic written discourse, especially if the author intends to achieve the academic literacy required by Anglo-American academic conventions, which entails features such as complexity, formality, precision, objectivity, explicitness and accuracy (cf. e.g. Hamp-Lyons and Heasley 2006, Bennett 2009).

As regards their function in the sentence structure, conjuncts represent one of the four possible broad categories of grammatical function adverbials can perform (Quirk et al. 1985: 501, Greenbaum and Quirk 1990: 162), i.e. adjunct, subjunct, disjunct, and conjunct. As the term itself suggests, 'conjuncts' connect two linguistic units which can be very large or very small, such as constituent of a phrase realizing a single clause element, clauses, sentences, paragraphs, or even larger parts of a text, by expressing a semantic relation between them. Some other frequently used labels for what is discussed under the term 'conjuncts' in this chapter are 'linking adverbials' (Biber et al. 1999: 761), 'sentence adverbials' (Leech and Svartvik 2002: 187) and 'connective adjuncts' (Huddleston and Pullum 2002: 775), to name just a few. It is indisputable that all these labels emphasize the fact that this group of adverbials primarily serves a connective function. It may also be interesting to compare 'conjuncts' (traditionally called 'half-conjunctions') and 'conjunctions' using Sweet's description (1891), in which the author states that "the difference between half- and full conjunctions is that half-conjunctions connect logically only, not formally also, as full conjunctions do" (Sweet 1891: 143, as quoted in Greenbaum 1969: 231).

Since the present study follows Biber et al.'s semantic classification of adverbials (1999: 875-879), it is necessary to mention here the six general semantic categories the authors distinguish. These are: 1. enumeration and addition; 2. summation; 3. apposition; 4. result/inference; 5. contrast/concession; and 6. transition. Accordingly, the adverbials in this chapter will be labelled as listing (which include both enumerative and additive conjuncts), summative, appositive, resultive/inferential, contrastive/concessive, and transitional conjuncts. As for their possible formal realizations, conjuncts can be realized by the classes that follow: 1. adverb phrases (including simple adverbs, e.g. *next, finally, then*, compound adverbs, e.g. *however, nevertheless*, and two or more words with an adverb as a headword, e.g. *even so*); 2. prepositional phrases (e.g. *in addition, on the other hand*); 3. finite clauses (e.g. *what is more*); and 4. non-finite clauses (e.g. *to summarize*).

4 Corpus and methodology

The relatively recent language data discussed in this chapter are taken from two specialized corpora, one representing research articles (RAs) (Swales 2004) and written by experienced native speakers of English (amounting to about 78,000 words) and the other comprising articles produced by non-native speakers of English, notably experienced Czech writers (amounting to about 58,000 words). The former corpus comprises ten RAs selected from the journal *Applied Linguistics* published between the years 2001 and 2008 (6 single-authored and 4 co-authored RAs), while the thirteen RAs of the latter corpus were all written for the linguistics journal *Discourse and Interaction* in the years 2008 to 2011, namely by ten Czech writers, some of whom are the author's colleagues. As regards the average length of the RAs under investigation, it is much bigger in the former corpus, namely 7,753 words, which is the reason why thirteen, not ten, RAs are included in the latter corpus, in which the average length is only 4,447 words.

Although relatively small in size, the two specialized corpora described above are considered sufficient and useful for the present analysis, because despite certain limitations in terms of size, representativeness and generalizability of their results, specialized corpora are more appropriate than large general corpora for a comparative study of academic written discourse (Flowerdew 2004: 18), especially for an analysis of particular language features such as conjuncts when studied in one particular genre – the genre of research articles. Since "corpus-based methodologies have been informed by genre principles of text analysis, while at the same time it has been shown that genre theories can profit from corpus-based methodologies" (Flowerdew 2005: 329-330), both of these approaches have been applied in the research discussed in this chapter.

It remains to be stated that in order to get comparable data for the comparative analysis it has been necessary to exclude from both the corpora all parts of texts which comprise tables, figures, graphs, references, sources, examples, and long quotations. All the results discussed and exemplified in this chapter have been normalized for the frequency of occurrence of conjuncts per 1,000 words, actual numbers being mentioned only occasionally.

As for the methods applied during the investigation, all the texts were first computer-processed using the AntConc concordancer and then examined manually in order to obtain both qualitative and quantitative results, since some of the language items under examination can perform functions other than those of conjuncts in written discourse.

5 Overall results: Non-native and native speakers of English compared

As far as the overall frequency rates of all conjuncts included in this study are concerned, Table 2-1 clearly indicates that non-native speakers of English, i.e. experienced Czech writers of RAs, apply certain explicit guiding signals to a higher extent (12.28) than native speakers of English (8.80) when producing academic texts which are represented here by RAs published in the journals *Discourse and Interaction* and *Applied Linguistics* respectively. This difference is most remarkable with listing (enumerative and additive) and appositive conjuncts, which Czech writers use with a frequency of occurrence double that of native speakers of English when building coherence relations, i.e. relations that hold together different parts of the discourse (Taboada 2006: 267).

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers of English**	**77,533**	**Native speakers of English**
Semantic role	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
Listing	122	2.11	78	1.01
Summative	3	0.05	9	0.12
Appositive	271	4.69	182	2.35
Resultive/inferential	154	2.66	178	2.30
Contrastive/concessive	151	2.61	219	2.82
Transitional	9	0.16	16	0.21
TOTAL	**710**	**12.28**	**682**	**8.80**

Table 2-1: Frequency rates of all semantic classes of conjuncts in both corpora

In order to provide a sufficiently illustrative picture of the semantic classes of conjuncts and their concrete tokens that are typically used in the texts written by non-native speakers of English in comparison with those most commonly applied in the RAs produced by native speakers of English, the two following surveys, each supplemented by one typical example from the respective corpus, have been prepared:

The most typical conjuncts found in the non-native speakers' corpus (NNSC) include the following **twelve types of conjuncts** and their semantic classes:

5 appositive conjuncts:
i.e. (1.87)*, e.g.* (1.09)*, namely* (0.48)*, for example* (0.43) and *in other words* (0.33);
2-3 resultive/inferential conjuncts:
thus (1.06)*, therefore* (0.76), and *then* (0.28);
2-3 contrastive/concessive conjuncts:
however (1.57), *conversely* and *on the other hand* and *still* (0.16);
2 listing conjuncts:
moreover (0.36), *then* (0.31) and *finally* (0.29);
1 or no transitional conjunct:
now (0.16);
No summative conjunct.

Note: The transitional conjunct *now* is listed above because its normalized frequency of occurrence is the same as that of the contrastive/concessive conjuncts *conversely*, *on the other hand* and *still*, which means that these four conjuncts can alternate.

Here follows one typical example from the non-native speakers' corpus; it includes in order of mention one resultive/inferential conjunct *thus*, two appositive conjuncts *i.e.* and *for example* and one contrastive/concessive conjunct *still*, all listed in the above survey of the conjuncts most characteristic of the NNSC.

(1) NNSC, Text 5
The main factual questions that a crime report should answer are what happened to whom. The event itself and the participants thus have the greatest likelihood of becoming central to crime news. With murder cases, which this analysis focuses on, the main participants that will naturally be contrasted in crime reports are the core participants, i.e. the victim and the criminal/offender.
A person can be identified by, for example, his or her name, age, profession, social status or nationality. Still, the effect that each of these types of reference provides about the same person may not carry the same message to the reader.

The most typical conjuncts found in the native speakers' corpus (NSC) include the following **nine types of conjuncts** and their semantic classes:
3 contrastive/concessive conjuncts:
however (1.43)*, still* (0.25)*, nevertheless* (0.23) and *yet* (0.18);
2-3 appositive conjuncts:
e.g. (1.03)*, for example* (0.75), *for instance* (0.15) and *namely* (0.13);
2-3 resultive/inferential conjuncts:
therefore (0.76)*, then* (0.50) and *thus* (0.46);
1 listing conjunct:
then (0.34);
1 or no transitional conjunct:
now (0.17);
No summative conjunct.

Note: Similarly to the survey of conjuncts applied in the NNSC, the transitional conjunct *now* is listed above because its normalized frequency of occurrence is slightly higher than that of the appositive conjuncts *for instance* and *namely*, and consequently these three conjuncts can sometimes alternate.

Here follows one typical example from the native speakers' corpus. It includes in order of mention one appositive conjunct *for example*, one resultive/inferential conjunct *and so*, one listing conjunct *in addition*, and one contrastive/concessive conjunct *nevertheless*; the first- and last-mentioned conjuncts are also listed in the above survey of the conjuncts most characteristic of the NSC:

(2) NSC, Text 1
Despite the similarities in themes, each interview is a record of a specific social interaction, and each interviewee interprets this in his or her own way. Interviewees inevitably make judgements about the interviewer and her expectations, including about how far she shares their knowledge about the things they reference. <u>For example</u>, interviewees who are much older than their interlocutor, or who have lived in places beyond Birmingham, tend to assume that some of their experiences will be unfamiliar to the interviewer, <u>and so</u> they explain them in greater detail. <u>In addition</u>, these interviews cannot be neutral descriptions, or representations, of each 'self' and its history, as they are interactional tellings, produced in a context of interpretation and negotiation (Wortham 2000; Pavlenko 2007). <u>Nevertheless</u>, there is sufficient homogeneity about the interviews for them to have certain features in common, including linguistic features.

6 Results: Conjuncts according to their semantic roles

Since it is assumed here that conjuncts reflect to a certain extent the interactive and dialogic character of academic texts, let me now consider the role the individual semantic classes of conjuncts can perform as markers of intertextuality (Bazerman 2004) and dialogicality of academic texts. In order to provide a comprehensive picture of the types of conjuncts non-native speakers apply in comparison with native speakers of English included in the investigation, this section discusses the individual semantic classes of conjuncts as found in both corpora while illustrating their role in contributing to the interaction between the author(s) and the reader(s) of the text and showing whether these particular semantic classes of conjuncts can enable voices other than the author's own current voice to enter the text, thus clearly enhancing the interactive and dialogic character of the academic written discourse.

6.1 Results: Listing conjuncts

Listing conjuncts in general are either used for the enumeration of pieces of information in an order chosen by the author, in which case they are more specifically labelled enumerative conjuncts (cf. Table 2-1a), or they are applied to add pieces of information to one another, in which case they are known as additive conjuncts (cf. Table 2-1b). As is evident from the tables, writers in both corpora apply enumerative conjuncts slightly more frequently than additive ones, and, moreover, non-native speakers of English use conjuncts of both semantic subclasses with double frequency of occurrence (2.11) when compared to native speakers (1.01). As regards the actual results given in Tables 2-1a and 2-1b, it should be noted that all conjuncts having a normalized frequency of occurrence higher than 0.1 tokens per 1,000 words are written in bold; this is also the case with all the other tables included in this chapter.

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
first	3	0.05	4	0.05
finally	**17**	**0.29**	6	0.08
then	**18**	**0.31**	**26**	**0.34**
second	2	0.03	2	0.03
next	3	0.05		
secondly	5	0.09	2	0.03
last	4	0.07		
lastly	3	0.05		
firstly	5	0.09		
in the first place	3	0.05		
TOTAL	**63**	**1.09**	**40**	**0.52**

Table 2-1a: Listing (enumerative) conjuncts in both corpora

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
furthermore	**10**	**0.17**	5	0.06
in addition	4	0.07	**10**	**0.13**
moreover	**21**	**0.36**	2	0.03
in particular	5	0.09	3	0.04
similarly	**12**	**0.21**	**14**	**0.18**
also	5	0.09	2	0.03
further	2	0.03		
additionally			1	0.01
too			1	0.01
TOTAL	**59**	**1.02**	**38**	**0.49**

Table 2-1b: Listing (additive) conjuncts in both corpora

Since listing conjuncts as a whole clearly prevail in the NNSC, where they have the average frequency of occurrence 2.11, in comparison with 1.01 in the NSC (cf. also Table 2-1 above), the following example illustrates several tokens of both enumerative (namely *first, second* and three tokens of *finally*) and additive conjuncts (i.e. *moreover, similarly*) typically applied in non-native speakers' academic writing:

(3) NNSC, Text 2A
The length tendencies become even more apparent if we trace the number of tokens. Here again, we decided to scrutinize the two extremes of a cline. <u>First</u>, we focussed on the number of tokens of the longest paragraphs (exceeding 10 C). <u>Second</u>, we surveyed the number of single-C paragraphs. Paragraphs exceeding ten C turned out to be extremely rare in both the journalism subcorpora (one paragraph in the newspaper subcorpus out of 345 and six paragraphs in the magazine subcorpus). They grew in significance in children's fiction and natural sciences (11 instances each). <u>However</u>, the longest paragraphs turned out to be rather common in humanities (48 tokens) and in adult fiction (60 instances). ...
<u>Finally</u>, we investigate the average length values. The mean paragraph length in the overall research corpus corresponds to 4.49 C. Examining individual style corpora shows some significant tendencies. The academic corpus typically featured rather long paragraphs (5.70 C per paragraph on average). It was followed by the fiction corpus with an average 4.39 C. <u>Finally</u>, journalism paragraphs tended to be the shortest of all (3.37 C).
<u>Moreover</u>, we have noticed some striking differences even among the subcorpora examined. The mean length value of the humanities subcorpus (6.36 C per paragraph) exceeded its natural sciences counterpart (5.04 C). <u>Similarly</u>, the magazine subcorpus displayed on average longer paragraphs (4.31 C) than its newspaper counterpart (2.42 C). <u>Finally</u>, with its 5.29 C to a paragraph, the adult fiction subcorpus prevailed in length over the children's fiction counterpart (3.49 C).

Example (3) provides evidence that the semantic category of listing conjuncts is often used in order to help the reader(s) understand the path through a text full of mostly quantitative information and thus help them interpret the text as a coherent piece of discourse. As for other voices entering the text, it is important to mention here that the text in the above example has just one author although she uses the personal pronoun *we* when referring to herself, i.e. to the single author of the text. Probably this happens under the influence of the author's mother tongue, since in the Czech academic tradition it is quite common to use the authorial plural pronoun *we* even when the RA is single-authored (cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012).

The most frequent listing conjunct of all in the NSC (0.34) and the second most typical in the NNSC (0.31) – the enumerative conjunct *then* – is illustrated in Example (4). Although *then* tends to be rather informal, the author applies it relatively often, for example when describing editorial procedure. Its common use is probably connected with a slightly more informal style which usually characterizes native speakers' academic writing.

(4) NSC, Text 5
To begin, it may be useful to summarize briefly the whole editing procedure, insofar as it concerns the English for Specific Purposes Journal. It is as follows. When a manuscript is received, it is prepared for blind review by having the name(s) of the author(s) removed, plus occasionally any references that may give strong clues about the author's identity. The editor <u>then</u> selects two reviewers, usually members of the editorial board who have expressed interest in the subject area, but also occasionally people from outside the board with a particular expertise or interest in the topic of the manuscript. The 'blinded' manuscript is <u>then</u> sent out to the reviewers, who in turn send back their reviews within a specified time period-usually two to three months. The editor will <u>then</u> read through the manuscript and the reports and write the editorial letter, the main purpose of which is to convey the editor's decision about the manuscript and to provide both a summary of the reviews and suggestions for revision of the manuscript.

Finally, let me point out that one token of a listing conjunct, namely the additive conjunct *in addition*, is shown in Example (2) above. Since its normalized frequency is slightly higher in the NSC (0.13) than in the NNSC (0.07), it represents together with *then* those conjuncts that are slightly more frequent in the NSC, all the other listing conjuncts being more typically applied in the NNSC (cf. Tables 2-1a and 2-1b above).

6.2 Results: Summative conjuncts

Conjuncts expressing summation (cf. Table 2-2) show that what follows serves as a summary or conclusion of the information in the preceding discourse. Since this semantic class of conjuncts is represented only scarcely in my data, reaching 0.05-0.12 tokens per 1,000 words, let me present here just one example of the most commonly applied summative conjunct *to summarize* (0.05), which occurs in this function only in the NSC (for *to summarize* in a different function than that of conjunct, cf. the first line of Example (4) above). It is worth noting here that it is the only conjunct realized by a non-finite infinitive clause that has more than one occurrence in my data (cf. *to conclude* in Table 2-2 and *to be specific* in Table 2-3 below, each occurring only in one case).

(5) NSC, Text 9

A native English-speaker knows that herrings (being fairly ordinary fish) are a silver colour, and that the term red herring is an idiom unrelated to either the colour 'red' (except in an extraordinarily loose sense of red, if the colour of the cooked fish is intended), or the fish 'herring' (except in its historical explanation of a smoked fish being dragged over a trail to confuse trackers, see Goatly, 1997: 32). As ESL/EFL learners cannot be expected to know the historical background, this knowledge will not be considered relevant. Red herring is thus proved by the test to be non-compositional. Our test can be applied only in some given context: in the unlikely event of red herring meaning a fish which has been painted with red paint, it would, of course, be compositional by our definition.

To summarize, a test for compositionality is whether replacing each word in an MWU with its dictionary definition (in the interests of creating a practical system usable by teachers and students) gives the same meaning as the phrase in context. If it does, the MWU is compositional. If it does not, the MWU is non-compositional. We have already seen, however, that many figurative expressions are non-compositional. It is to such non-idiomatic but noncompositional expressions that we now turn.

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
all in all	1	0.02		
in summary			1	0.01
overall	1	0.02	3	0.04
taken together			1	0.01
to summaris/ze			4	0.05
to conclude	1	0.02		
TOTAL	**3**	**0.05**	**9**	**0.12**

Table 2-2: Summative conjuncts in both corpora

Example (5) testifies that even when summarizing their results and arguments many writers of RAs cannot avoid expressing some contrasts, realized in particular by the most common contrastive/concessive conjunct *however.* This conjunct, together with the other conjuncts also applied above – the resultive/inferential *thus* and transitional *now* – will be discussed below.

6.3 Results: Appositive conjuncts

Conjuncts expressing apposition (cf. Table 2-3) are applied to introduce either an example (exemplification) or a restatement (reformulation). In the case of exemplification (cf. *e.g.* below), the information presented is in some sense included in the previous text and the receiver of the message can assume that there may by other alternatives besides the one mentioned. By contrast, conjuncts expressing reformulation (cf. *in other words* and *i.e.* below) signal that the second unit is to be regarded as "a restatement of the first, reformulating the information it expresses in some way or stating it in more explicit terms" (Biber et al. 1999: 876), as in:

(6) NNSC, Text 1B
In the FSP analysis, subordinate clauses are usually taken as separate units (<u>and so</u> their constituents are interpreted in the framework of the whole unit, <u>e.g</u>. thematic, even though – if taken separately at Level 2 – these would be considered rhematic); see <u>e.g</u>. subordinate clauses containing although or wherever in clause 6 in Table 1 below. <u>In other words</u>, only main clauses are analysed further into individual communicative units. If a syntactic constituent (Level 1) is realised by further communicative units (clauses, semi-clauses or noun phrases), it provides a sub-field, <u>i.e</u>. a field of lower rank (Level 2); within such a sub-field all its constituents operate as separate communicative units with their own FSP.

Example (6), taken from non-native speakers' academic writing, comprises two tokens of *e.g.*, an abbreviation which stands for the Latin *exempli gratia* and means 'for example'. The abbreviated conjunct *e.g.*, whose frequency rate is 1.03-1.09 per 1,000 words, is typically used for exemplification in both corpora, together with the unabbreviated form of the conjuncts *for example* and *for instance*. Apart from the appositive conjuncts used for exemplification, the above example comprises one token of *i.e.*, which dominates in the semantic category of appositive conjuncts used for reformulation or restatement in particular in the NNSC, where it reaches the highest frequency rate of conjuncts from all semantic classes found in my data (1.85); by contrast, it occurs rather scarcely (0.09) in the NSC. This result can be explained by the fact that non-native speakers of English, although experienced in their respective research fields, often find it necessary to enhance their scientific credibility within the academic discourse community by providing the prospective reader(s) with explanations, often in the form of reformulations and restatements, thus helping the reader(s) interpret the text as coherent, as testified above. Another conjunct used for reformulation or restatement shown in Example (6) – *in other words* – also tends to be much more common in the NNSC (0.33) than in the NSC (0.03). As for the resultive/inferential conjunct *and so*, also included above, this will be discussed below.

On the topic of exemplification it is worth noting that native speakers of English use the unabbreviated form of the conjunct *for example* to a much greater extent (0.75) than non-native speakers do (0.43), even when introducing exemplifications in brackets, as in Example (7). But when taken together as a group, the appositive conjuncts *e.g.*, *for example* and *for instance* (cf. Table 2-3) have a similar frequency of occurrence in both corpora, notably 1.68 in the NNSC compared to 1.93 in the NSC. Consequently, it can be assumed that it depends on the individual author's stylistic preferences rather than on cross-cultural differences which of these three conjuncts he/she chooses for exemplification, as in Example (7), where the author resorts to the conjunct *for example* quite regularly. This example represents an interesting way to introduce other authors' voices in an academic text, namely by exemplifying and referring to similar or different standpoints expressed by other authors working in the same field (cf. the frequent use of the conjunct *for example* despite it being applied in all the four cases in brackets).

(7) NCC, Text 3

Interest in communicative language teaching has led researchers in applied linguistics to focus on the use of communication strategies (CSs) by second language (L2) learners. The study of CSs is important, as it looks at how learners are able to use the L2 in order to convey meaning. CSs are defined in different ways by different researchers. Some (<u>for example</u>* Faerch and Kasper 1983) restrict their definition of CSs to cases in which the speaker attempts to overcome linguistic difficulty, whereas other researchers (*<u>for example</u>* Tarone and Yule 1989) consider them to include all attempts at meaning-negotiation, regardless of whether or not there is linguistic difficulty. For reasons that will become clearer later in the article, the CSs that are examined in this study conform to the former, narrower definition. These CSs are referred to by some researchers (*<u>for example</u>*, Poulisse 1990) as compensatory strategies.*

*Research into the use of CSs in second language learning goes back at least 20 years (see, *<u>for example</u>*, Tarone 1978). As different CSs have emerged from the data a challenging task for researchers has been to find useful ways of classifying them. The result has been the appearance of a number of different CS taxonomies, most of which are based on empirical research.*

The conjunct *for instance*, which is shown in Example (8), is in fact interchangeable with *for example*; however, as my results testify (cf. Table 2-3), it is much less common (0.15-0.16) than *for example* (0.43-0.75), and, as Biber et al. (1999: 890) maintain, the use of *for instance* "appears more a matter of author style". Similarly to *for example* and *e.g.*, the appositive conjunct *for instance* can be applied successfully to introduce other voices in an RA, as illustrated below. Consequently, it can be stated that appositive conjuncts such as *e.g.*, *for example* and *for instance* can all be used to enhance the interactive and dialogic character of academic texts.

(8) NCC, Text 2
This enabled them to mate more often, <u>and so</u> produce more offspring with the same characteristic. Sexually selected characteristics (<u>e.g</u>. large horns or elaborate plumage) are often found in males, and this reflects the fact that in many species it is males who do the courting while the role of females is to choose among potential mates. Peacocks, <u>for instance</u>, engage in 'lekking' ritually displaying themselves in areas frequented by peahens. Some scholars think that language fulfils analogous functions among humans. Geoffrey Miller (1999, 2000), <u>for instance</u>, argues that human languages are much more elaborate than they need to be to serve purely communicative purposes. This can be explained by hypothesizing that speaking served the purpose of displaying the (male) speaker's reproductive fitness. Dunbar (1996), who believes that language evolved primarily to facilitate social networking, agrees that it may also have developed a secondary function as a means for men to advertise themselves to women.

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
e.g.	**63**	**1.09**	**80**	**1.03**
for example	**25**	**0.43**	**58**	**0.75**
for instance	**9**	**0.16**	**12**	**0.15**
i.e.	**107**	**1.85**	7	0.09
that is	4	0.08	**8**	**0.10**
what is more	1	0.02		
in other words	**19**	**0.33**	2	0.03
more specifically	**11**	**0.19**	1	0.01
namely	**28**	**0.48**	**10**	**0.13**
specifically	3	0.05	4	0.05
to be specific	1	0.02		
TOTAL	**271**	**4.69**	**182**	**2.35**

Table 2-3: Appositive conjuncts in both corpora

Another type of appositive conjuncts which is worth commenting on is *what is more*, since it is the only type in my data realized by a finite clause. However, with its single occurrence in the NNSC, it is rather exceptional. In addition to this conjunct, Example (9) comprises two other appositive conjuncts – *i.e.* and *namely* – both used for reformulation and restatement, especially in non-native speakers' writing (cf. Table 2-3). The abbreviation *i.e.*, whose origin is the Latin *id est*, can be viewed as an alternative form of the conjunct *that is*, which is, however, much less common in both corpora (0.08-0.10). The reformulatory conjunct *i.e.*, with a frequency of occurrence of 1.85 in the NNSC, is, as stated above, the most common conjunct of all in the RAs written by non-native speakers in my material. It remains to be added that Example (9) also comprises two tokens of conjuncts from semantic classes that are typical in particular of academic texts written by non-native speakers of English, namely the listing (additive) conjunct *moreover* (0.36) and the contrastive/concessive *however* (1.57), the latter ranking among the most frequent conjuncts of all found in academic texts in general (cf. Biber et al. 1999: 885).

(9) NNSC, Text 2A
Examining first the average number of U falling to a paragraph, we notice a striking variability in paragraph lengths, ranging from one to as many as 29 U. It should be noted, <u>however</u>, that paragraphs containing one to three U made up 60.34 per cent of the overall corpus. <u>What is more</u>, paragraphs containing one to six U amounted to 88.31 per cent of the investigated corpus. It follows that the relatively longest paragraphs, <u>i.e.</u> those ranging from seven to 29 U, were clearly marginalized, covering only 11.69 per cent overall. Interestingly, the extreme length of 29 U was detected only in one source, <u>namely</u> in F5, and, <u>moreover</u>, in a single paragraph.

6.4 Results: Resultive/inferential conjuncts

Resultive/inferential conjuncts (cf. Table 2-4) indicate that what follows states the result or consequence – be it logical or practical – of what precedes, thus enhancing the readers' interpretation and establishing discourse coherence. As can be seen from Table 2-4, conjuncts of this group are rather unevenly distributed, some of them (namely *as a consequence, now, for this reason, in that case*) having a frequency of occurrence of one or no token at all in either corpus, while others amount to a normalized frequency rate of 1.06, as is the case of *thus*, which is the most typical resultive/inferential conjunct in the NNSC in my data (for illustration, cf. e.g. Example (10) below).

No. of words in all texts	57,819	Non-native speakers	77,533	Native speakers
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
accordingly			3	0.04
as a consequence			1	0.01
as a result	1	0.02	2	0.03
consequently	**6**	**0.10**	3	0.04
hence	4	0.07	4	0.05
now			1	0.01
of course			2	0.03
(and) so	5	0.09	**19**	**0.25**
so that	5	0.09	6	0.08
therefore	**44**	**0.76**	**59**	**0.76**
thus	**61**	**1.06**	**36**	**0.46**
then	**16**	**0.28**	**39**	**0.50**
for this reason	1	0.02		
in that case	1	0.02		
in this case	5	0.09	2	0.03
in this respect	4	0.07		
in this way	1	0.02	1	0.01
TOTAL	**154**	**2.66**	**178**	**2.30**

Table 2-4: Resultive/inferential conjuncts in both corpora

Drawing on the results given in Table 2-4, it can now be postulated that some resultive/inferential conjuncts are very frequent in both corpora, in particular *therefore* (with a frequency rate of 0.76 in both corpora) and *thus* (with the frequency 1.06 and 0.46 in the NNSC and NSC respectively), which means that these conjuncts represent more than two thirds of all resultive/inferential conjuncts in the NNSC and more than half of all those found in the NSC. It is also worth noting here that *therefore* and *thus* (both shown when used in the NNSC in Example (10) below), along with contrastive/concessive *however* and appositive *for example*, also illustrated below, have been found in Biber et al. (1999: 885) to represent the most typical conjuncts in all academic texts written by native speakers of English; these findings are in agreement with the results drawn from my analysis, although the appositive conjunct *e.g.* and the resultive/inferential *then* have also been found in my data to be very frequent in the texts written by native speakers of English and, in addition, the listing conjuncts *i.e.*, *e.g.* and *namely* occur with a noteworthy frequency in the texts written by Czech speakers of English.

(10) NNSC, Text 5

As it follows from the above mentioned, the originator or producer of newspaper discourse cannot be viewed as an individual; therefore, we can hardly speak of the 'sender' and his or her intentions, which we would normally consider in spoken interaction, for example. In our view, it is not possible to compare the 'communication' that takes place in newspaper discourse between the 'writer' and 'reader', as we would analyze it in face-to-face conversation because with newspaper discourse the negotiation of meaning is excluded (for negotiation of meaning in face-to-face conversation, cf. Povolná 2009). The traditional sender/receiver model is thus insufficient for news discourse analysis and, as Scollon (1998) suggests, should be abandoned. The terms 'writer' and 'reader' need to be understood as general concepts, which do not denote particular individuals.

The relatively frequent use of the resultive/inferential conjuncts *then* (0.50) and *so* (0.25) in the NSC corpus is not surprising at all, since these conjuncts are considered rather informal and typical in particular of conversation (Biber et al. 1999: 886); thus their common application in the NSC in my material gives further evidence of a more informal and dialogic way of expression typically connected with English academic texts written by native speakers. Nevertheless, these two conjuncts also occur in the NNSC; the conjunct *then* when used in the correlative pair with *if* in the NSC is illustrated in Example (11), while the conjunct *so* when used in combination with the coordinating conjunction *and* is shown in Examples (2), (6) and (8) above.

As regards the rather formal conjunct *hence* (0.05-0.07), it is not much represented in either corpus; this result is in accordance with Biber et al. (1999: 887), who state that *hence* is used only in one fifth of all academic texts (cf. Table 2-4 above).

(11) NSC, Text 10

A contrastive frequency of ±0.14 was chosen as the cut-off point for the three categories: if the contrastive frequency is ţ0.15 or above, the representation is regarded as more frequent. If the contrastive frequency is –0.15 or below, then the representation is regarded as less frequent. Since there is no occurrence of cos in the student data, it can be categorized in the 'less frequent' column, although its contrastive frequency is only –0.14. Hence, it was decided that if the figure falls within the range between –0.14 and ţ0.14, the representation of DMs is regarded as comparable. A positive difference in contrastive frequency means the DM is used more frequently in the student data; whereas a negative difference *in contrastive frequency means it is used less frequently in the student data. Table 4 presents DMs which are more frequent and less frequent and those that are of comparable use among the 49 Form 6 Hong Kong students.*

6.5 Results: Contrastive/concessive conjuncts

Contrastive/concessive conjuncts (cf. Table 2-5) mark either contrast or difference between information in different discourse units, or indicate concessive relationships. It follows from the meaning contrastive/concessive conjuncts can express that they contribute to the dialogue between the author of the text and the prospective reader(s) as well as other researchers' standpoints referred to in the text (cf. e.g. Malá 2006, Povolná 2010).

Concession is viewed here as a special case of contrast, notably that between the expected or usual causal relationship and the actual situation (Dušková et al. 1988, Fraser 1999). Therefore, contrastive/concessive conjuncts discussed in this chapter subsume those expressing contrast as well as concession, since "indeed, there is often a mixture of contrast and concession" (Quirk et al. 1985: 1102) and "in some cases, elements of contrast and concession are combined in uses of linking adverbials" (Biber et al. 1999: 878), and therefore it is not always possible to draw a strict borderline between these two semantic classes. Although Biber et al. (ibid.: 879) suggest grouping adverbials expressing contrast and concession according to whether their primary meaning focuses on contrast (e.g. *instead*, *conversely*, *in contrast*) or concession (e.g. *nevertheless*), with regard to the reasons mentioned above, such a distinction is not drawn in this chapter.

Although the most common contrastive/concessive conjunct *however*, reaching the frequency of occurrence 1.57 in the NNSC and 1.43 in the NSC, has been exemplified in several examples above, let me now show and discuss still another one, since it clearly testifies how voices other than the author's own can enter an academic text owing to the application of contrastive/concessive conjuncts such as *however*. It must be admitted, though, that apart from conjuncts there are other language means that enable the expression of contrast/concession and reference to other authors' standpoints, for example, conjunctions such as *although*, one token of which is shown in Example (11) above and another in Example (12), which follows; in the latter case *although* is used in combination with a direct quotation, indicated by inverted commas, i.e. a language means which evidently introduces a voice other than the author's current own into the text.

(12) NSC, Text 9

This work is interestingly different from the simulation work described earlier because it explicitly positions itself within a framework defined by nonlinear dynamical systems theory, and explicitly uses a neural network model. However, McNellis and Blumstein's (2001) work is also characterised by very small lexicons – in their case only four words – and although they consider that their work is "a reasonable first approximation to the system we envision with respect to much larger size vocabularies", proof of this claim is explicitly left to further work.

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
after all	1	0.02		
alternatively			2	0.03
anyway			1	0.01
at the same time	1	0.02	2	0.03
by contrast			4	0.05
conversely	**9**	**0.16**	1	0.01
however	**91**	**1.57**	**111**	**1.43**
in any case	1	0.02		
in contrast	2	0.03	7	0.09
instead			6	0.08
nevertheless	**8**	**0.14**	**18**	**0.23**
nonetheless	1	0.02	2	0.03
on the contrary	2	0.03	1	0.01
on the other hand	**9**	**0.16**	2	0.03
still	**9**	**0.16**	**19**	**0.25**
though	2	0.03	3	0.04
yet	**6**	**0.10**	**14**	**0.18**
admittedly			1	0.01
of course	2	0.03	**8**	**0.10**
once again			2	0.03
on the one hand			2	0.03
rather	2	0.03	**8**	**0.10**
by comparison	1	0.02		
albeit	2	0.03	4	0.05
or else	2	0.03	1	0.01
TOTAL	**151**	**2.61**	**219**	**2.82**

Table 2-5: Contrastive/concessive conjuncts in both corpora

The semantic category of contrast/concession as a whole tends to be frequently expressed not only in my data, with a frequency of occurrence of 2.61 in the NNSC and 2.82 in the NSC, but in academic written discourse in general since, as stated in Kortmann (1991: 161), concession can be regarded as "the most complex of all semantic relations that may hold between parts of a discourse" and therefore it is not surprising that it is frequently expressed explicitly by DMs including the conjuncts discussed in this chapter (for details concerning novice academic writing, cf. Povolná 2010, 2012, Wagner 2011). These markers are used in order to guide the reader(s) through the text and enable an interpretation which is coherent with the author's communicative goals. However, it must be noted that most writers, especially those who come from non-native academic traditions, do not resort to the whole repertoire of contrastive/concessive conjuncts that are at their disposal but usually give preference to a few favourites.

In addition to *however*, other conjuncts typically used to express contrast/concession are, for example, *on the other hand* in the NNSC, where it reaches a frequency rate of 0.16, and *yet* in the NSC, whose frequency amounts to 0.18; both of these conjuncts are included in the following examples, where they introduce other authors' voices in the text. The former conjunct, which is illustrated in Example (13), is more common in the NNSC, where probably it tends to be applied under the influence of the writers' mother tongue, namely the Czech phrase *na druhé straně*. The latter conjunct, illustrated in Example (14), not only introduces into the text a voice other than the author's, but it also illustrates how the other voices can respond to the voices of yet other authors. Example (14) also includes one token of *though*, which is common neither in the NNCS nor in the NSC, having a frequency rate of 0.03 and 0.04 respectively. This conjunct is used together with the resultive/inferential *then*, which occurs in the adjacent clause as part of the correlative pair *if ... then*, thus testifying a tendency by some authors to cumulate certain types of conjuncts.

(13) NNSC, Text 9
The third variable to consider with regard to frequency and choice of taboo language is gender. The usage of swear words has been closely associated with male behaviour and masculinity and seen as more acceptable, even appropriate when coming from a men. Women, <u>on the other hand</u>, have always been exposed to more pressure when it comes to following the rules and living up to the expectations of society (<u>e.g.</u> Cameron 1997, Chambers & Trudgill 1998, Crawford 1995, Romaine 1999). ... Latest research, <u>however</u>, shows that "the use of expletives as symbols of both power and solidarity is no longer the exclusive privilege of males alone" (Bayard & Krishnayya 2001: 1) and that "the frequency gap between men's and women's swearing is decreasing" (Jay 2000: 166).

(14) NSC, Text 2

A basic assumption made by all parties to the debate is that the phenomena they discuss – instances of sex/gender-related variation in linguistic behavior/can in principle be explained in terms of inherited biological traits. Yet as Derek Bickerton (2006) points out in a response to Locke and Bogin, this entails conflating what are arguably two different things: language itself and the uses to which it may be put. Few linguists dispute that there is a biological basis for the mental faculty which enables all developmentally normal humans to produce grammatical speech, but many would join Bickerton in questioning whether such applications of that faculty as gossiping or telling stories are themselves part of our genetic endowment. If they are not, though, then it is surely a category mistake to propose an evolutionary explanation for them.

Another contrastive/concessive conjunct that is worth illustrating owing to its relatively high frequency rate in both corpora (i.e. 0.14 and 0.23 in the NNSC and NSC respectively) is *nevertheless*; one token is given in the following example:

(15) NSC, Text 5

The editorial letters we have looked at from these journals are very similar in their schematic structure to the ones to be analysed here. As far as we can determine, the options available to editors in the decisions they convey are fairly consistent with those used by English for Specific Purposes Journal, as described above. English for Specific Purposes Journal, however, differs from other journals insofar as it can ask writers to resubmit articles as a research note. Nevertheless, similar options are available to Applied Linguistics, which now has a Forum section (Claire Kramsch, personal communication), and TESOL Quarterly has various other sections for more minor articles; the editor of this journal may also refer articles to its sister publication, TESOL Journal

Two contrastive/concessive conjuncts, namely *conversely* (cf. 2 tokens in Example (16) below) and *still* (cf. Example (1) above) have the same frequency of occurrence in the NNSC (0.16); however, their frequency rates in the NSC differ a lot, since *conversely* is used only in one case (0.01) while *still* is relatively frequent (0.25).

Example (16) clearly exemplifies that some writers, such as the author below, who uses the conjunct *conversely* repeatedly instead of resorting to a different one from the same semantic category, give preference to certain types of conjuncts only. The example also testifies the possibility of using appositive conjuncts such as *e.g.* for the introduction of the author's own previous voice (cf. e.g. *Pípalová*

2005, 2006). As already stated, the writers of academic texts often compare their previous attitudes, approaches, results etc. with those that are drawn from their own current research.

(16) NSC, Text 2A

The research into the paragraph-length variation within the register corpora and subcorpora also suggests that a rather prominent role may be accorded to the eye-appeal or paragraphing rhythm, although their impact appears to be most perceptible in relatively closed registers. In the researched corpus, the comparably most pronounced rhythm in paragraphing, presumably governed by the eye-appeal awareness, seems to be characteristic of journalistic writing. Conversely, the greatest variation in paragraph length was characteristic of fiction.

Furthermore, a significant role may be attributed to the type of the selected paragraph build-up, together with the presence (or absence) of a subtle paragraph-internal hierarchy. As we have shown elsewhere (e.g. Pípalová 2005, 2006), higher consistency and stability in paragraph build-up, as a rule, reduce paragraph length. Conversely, build-up instability, inconsistency, or else elaborated internal hierarchy tend to connote lengthier paragraphs. A more thorough scrutiny of this aspect, however, exceeds the focus of the present study.

It remains to be noted that Example (16) also comprises one token of the listing conjunct *furthermore*, which is, as with the majority of listing conjuncts, more typical of non-native speakers' academic writing.

6.6 Results: Transitional conjuncts

Although transitional conjuncts (cf. Table 2-6) can be further subdivided into discoursal and temporal, they are not much represented in my material. Both subgroups mark the insertion of information that does not follow directly from the previous discourse. The former indicate a shift in attention to a different or only loosely related topic, or to a temporally connected event, as the application of *now* in Example (5) above and in Example (17) below indicate. Although Quirk et al. (1985: 636) consider the discoursal conjunct *now* to be rather informal, the examples included in this chapter prove that despite its assumed informality, it can appear even in the formal genre of RAs. The latter, temporal, subgroup of transitional conjuncts, represented by *initially, meanwhile* and *by the way*, each having only one occurrence in the NSC in my data, seek to signal either a move away from the normal sequence in discourse (ibid.: 640), or a subsequent step, as is the case of the temporal conjunct *initially* in Example (18) below.

No. of words in all texts	**57,819**	**Non-native speakers**	**77,533**	**Native speakers**
Types of conjuncts	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**	**No.**	**Norm. frequency**
now	**9**	**0.16**	**13**	**0.17**
initially			1	0.01
meanwhile			1	0.01
by the way			1	0.01
TOTAL	**9**	**0.16**	**16**	**0.21**

Table 2-6: Transitional conjuncts in both corpora

(17) NSC, Text 5
Having outlined the move structure of the letters in general terms, we will now look at two letters in detail. The first has been selected because we consider it to be quite close to the prototypical schematic structure. The second has been chosen because some of its schematic features are more complex.

(18) NSC, Text 9
Word A gets its inputs from Word C and Word E; Word B gets its inputs from Word A and Word C; Word C gets its inputs from Word B and Word E; Word D gets its inputs from Word C and Word B; and Word E gets its input from Word C and Word D. Initially, all the words are unactivated. However, let us suppose that an external stimulus temporarily activates Word B. This causes a ripple of spreading activation to percolate through the entire system, as shown in Figure 3.

7 Conclusions

With regard to the results discussed and exemplified above, it can now be postulated that semantic relations usually considered most informative of all that can hold between segments of discourse are frequently expressed by certain overt guiding signals such as conjuncts in the RAs written by both native and Czech speakers of English included in the analysis. However, Czech researches often find it necessary to express apposition in even more cases than contrast/ concession; this tendency can be caused by non-native writers' need to clarify and exemplify their arguments and enable coherent interpretation so that they can feel more confident and enhance their credibility in their academic discourse community.

The conjuncts considered most typical of all academic written discourse, i.e. *however, thus, therefore* and *for example* (Biber et al. 1999), are commonly used by all authors of the RAs selected for the investigation. In addition, Czech writers frequently apply conjuncts expressing apposition (*i.e., e.g.* and *namely*) and native speakers of English resort to the appositive *e.g.* and resultive/inferential *then* not only to exemplify their arguments and support their reasoning, but also to enhance the interaction and dialogue between the author of the text and the prospective reader(s) on the one hand and on the other those between the author and the relevant previous research including their own previous standpoints.

As regards the assumption that academic texts written by native speakers of English are more interactive and dialogic, thus comprising a higher number of conjuncts, this has been verified only partly, notably with the category of contrast/concession. It must be stated that Czech writers in general apply more conjuncts in their RAs (12.28 x 8.80) in particular when expressing apposition and listing, i.e. the two semantic categories with which they use conjuncts with double the frequency of occurrence when compared to that of native speakers of English. With regard to the most important function of appositive and listing conjuncts it can now be concluded that Czech authors use conjuncts above all to support their argumentation with exemplifications and reformulations and to show the prospective reader(s) how the text is organized and how to interpret it in a way coherent with the author's communicative goals.

As far as the individual types of conjuncts are concerned, there is only minor cross-cultural variation in the RAs included in my analysis, notably in the choice of the most frequent types of conjuncts within each semantic category and also in the frequency rates of the semantic classes as a whole that are most typical of the two corpora, which is apposition in the texts written by Czech authors and contrast/concession in those by native speakers. However, this variation can also result from the differences in particular writers' styles (e.g. a preference for the use of *for example* rather than *for instance* or *thus* rather than *therefore*), the topics under examination (e.g. some requiring frequent exemplification and thus appositive conjuncts such as *i.e.* and *namely*) and individual writers' preferences influenced by previous academic schooling and mother-tongue writing conventions (e.g. the frequent use of *on the other hand*, probably under the influence of a similar phrase in the Czech language).

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CHAPTER THREE

Negotiation of meaning when establishing coherence: The case of *I mean* in academic spoken discourse

Renata Povolná

Abstract

The permanent negotiation of meaning between all discourse participants is an important condition for successful communication in any spoken interaction, including interaction used in academic settings (cf. Povolná 2009, 2010). Many linguistic features typical above all of the spoken variety of the language operate in the negotiation of meaning between discourse participants and thus enhance the establishment and maintenance of discourse coherence.

One of the features typical of spoken discourse which can participate in the negotiation of meaning is the frequent use of what is probably most typically labelled 'discourse markers' (e.g. Schiffrin 1987, Fraser 1990, 1999, Stenström 1994, Lenk 1995, 1998, Jucker and Ziv 1998, Biber et al. 1999, Aijmer 1996, 2002). In spite of the fact that discourse markers "generally contribute little, if anything, to the propositional content of the utterance" into which they are inserted (Stenström 1990: 137), they are crucial for the meaning mediated by speech because they perform various pragmatic functions; for example, they express the speaker's intentions, feelings and emotions, and also the speaker's attitude towards the addressee or the situation under discussion. That is the reason why the aim of this chapter is to discuss and exemplify possible pragmatic functions of one of these markers, namely *I mean*, and to illustrate how this marker can enable the negotiation of meaning between participants in academic spoken interaction and whether it can also contribute to discourse coherence, which is understood here as a dynamic interpretative hearer/reader-oriented, comprehension-based and context-dependent notion (cf. Bublitz 1988, 1999).

While approaching her language data from a pragmatic and discourse-analytic perspective and by using both qualitative and quantitative methods, the author offers results from her research into authentic texts representing academic spoken discourse taken from *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (MICASE) and attempts to provide evidence for her assumption that the marker *I mean* can be used to enhance the smooth flow of spoken interaction and thus the establishing of discourse coherence.

1 Introduction: Coherence in spoken discourse

Authentic spoken interaction, which can be characterized by the permanent negotiation of meaning between all discourse participants in a given communicative situation (e.g. Povolná 2009, 2010), is governed by two main principles: 1. speakers co-operate and 2. speakers take turns (Stenström 1994). The process of turn-taking necessarily implies interactants' attempts to arrive at coherent interpretation and understanding of the message to be conveyed. In this ongoing co-operative achievement participants can be helped by some guiding signals such as what is probably most typically referred to in the relevant literature as 'discourse markers' (DMs). (For a broad discussion on the terms frequently used in the discussions on DMs, cf. Povolná 2008.)

These guiding signals are used by the current speaker mostly intentionally in order to foster the smooth flow of interaction, which entails above all the hearer's adequate interpretation and understanding of the message to be communicated (cf. 'the process of efficient communication' in Miššíková 2007). Such signals "indicate the underlying structure of the discourse or the underlying functions of individual utterances" (Stubbs 1983: 178) and therefore, it is argued, they become crucial for the achievement and maintenance of discourse coherence.

In an ideal case, the hearer's interpretation and understanding of the message comes as close as possible to the speaker's communicative intentions, which means that the hearer's understanding is in agreement with what the current speaker intends to convey in a given conversational situation (cf. 'conversational coherence' in Lenk 1995). Consequently, it becomes clear that speakers' attempts at achieving adequate and coherent interpretation in the permanent process of negotiation of meaning between discourse participants are closely connected with the establishment and maintenance of discourse coherence, which is crucial for any human communication, including spoken interaction which takes place in academic settings, as is the case of the data under examination in this chapter (cf. coherence as one of the seven standards of textuality in de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981).

In agreement with Mey, it is believed that "intuitively, we are able to distinguish coherent talk from incoherent babbling" (2001: 153). In everyday communication, even unexpected reactions come as no surprise "once we are able to place them in their proper sequence, either in physical reality or in the context of the discourse" (ibid.: 156). Accordingly, it is not a relationship between utterances, but rather between the actions produced with those utterances that establishes the coherence or incoherence of spoken discourse.

Since coherence is understood here in conformity with Bublitz (1988, 1999) as a dynamic, hearer/reader-oriented, comprehension-based and interpretative notion, i.e. how participants in a given communicative situation interpret what the current speaker wants to communicate, it follows that coherence is not a state, but a process (Tárnyiková 2002: 56). Coherence is not static, but dynamic and, as discussed, for example, in Povolná (2009), it comes into being only in the process of interaction, which can be characterized by the permanent negotiation of meaning between all discourse participants: in agreement with his/her comprehension abilities and social and cultural background knowledge, each participant creates his/her own interpretation and understanding of what is being conveyed in speech. Moreover, each interlocutor's interpretation and understanding of the message influences the way he/she communicates and tries to formulate his/her contributions to the further development of the communication. These, in turn, influence further contributions uttered by the other participants in a given interaction and so forth, since spoken communication is a co-operative process in which "each contribution should be treated as part of the negotiation of 'what is being talked about'" and, moreover, "it is speakers, and not conversations or discourses, that have 'topics'" (Brown and Yule 1983: 94).

Since coherence is not an inherent quality of discourse, but only relative and a matter of interpretation, any spoken interaction can be considered coherent if it is understood to be coherent by the participants in a given communicative situation. "A text is not coherent in itself but is understood as coherent in an actual context" (Bublitz 1988: 32). Although coherence is based on the language means used, it is also dependent on additional information provided by the entire situational context, i.e. linguistic co-text, social and cultural environment, communicative principles and conversational maxims and the interpreter's encyclopaedic knowledge, the importance of which in the understanding and adequate interpretation of discourse is discussed, for example, in Miššíková (2005: 85-87).

Hence, it follows that all the elements of the act of communication should be taken into consideration in any appropriate investigation into verbal interaction, since "they constitute the factors that determine the character of the exchange of meaning in the context of the communicative situation" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2004: 26).

Since it is not texts but rather people that cohere when texts are interpreted and understood, it can even be stated that for one and the same text there exist a speaker's/writer's, a hearer's/reader's and an analyst's coherence, which may or may not be identical (Bublitz 1999: 2). In addition, since each listening to/reading of a text is performed with a particular communicative intention and in a particular context, the interpretation of the same text by the same hearer/reader or analyst on different occasions need not be identical.

It should be noted that the different planes of discourse, i.e. ideational, interpersonal and textual (Halliday and Hasan 1989), may contribute to overall discourse coherence in varying degrees, "according to context, genre and the purpose of discourse" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2009: 100). Thus in a highly interactive and dialogic type of discourse such as face-to-face spoken interaction, for which overt negotiation of meaning is typical, coherence is negotiated on the spot (cf. e.g. Povolná 2010) and the interpersonal plane of discourse receives greater prominence, while in a less interactive and rather monologic type of discourse such as written academic texts (e.g. research articles), where no overt negotiation of meaning is possible, the textual plane of discourse becomes more significant; therefore in less interactive types of discourse coherence needs to be enhanced by certain overt guiding signals such as text organizers (cf. Chapter Two of this volume).

With regard to what has been stated above, we might say that in order to achieve his/her communicative goals, the current speaker intentionally uses certain guiding signals such as DMs to suggest to his/her hearer(s) a preferred line of interpretation of the ongoing interaction which comes as close as possible to his/her own understanding. On the other hand, the hearer uses these signals as instructions on how to achieve discourse coherence and arrive at an interpretation which is coherent with the current speaker's communicative goals, since coherence is not permanent; it is only a relative and context-dependent interpretative notion (Bublitz 1999: 2). The important role of certain guiding signals has been stressed, for example, by Aijmer (2002), who, calling them discourse particles, states that if they are absent or used wrongly, current hearers may have problems establishing a coherent interpretation of discourse. Discourse particles are used to make the relationships between speakers smooth, to create coherence and simplify the planning and organization of discourse, thus contributing to both the interpersonal and textual functions of language (cf. Halliday and Hasan 1989).

2 Previous research on the marker *I mean*

This section undertakes to show how the marker *I mean* is viewed in some recognized grammars and by scholars whose work is considered most relevant for the investigation.

Although the clausal form *I mean* can be labelled by different terms, it is often discussed together with comment clauses (CCs) (cf. Leech and Svartvik 1994, Crystal 1995, Stenström 1995, Biber et al. 1999). Quirk et al. (1985: 1112-1118), who, in my opinion, provide the most comprehensive classification of CCs of all, do not list *I mean* together with other CCs. They refer to it only when dealing with reformulation, as a means of 'mistake editing' used "in order to correct a phonological or semantic mistake (which is common enough in impromptu speech)" (ibid.: 1313), for which they provide two examples. One of them – *Then you add the peaches – I mean, the apricots* – clearly shows *I mean* in the function of 'mistake editing', since it follows an obvious mistake. However, such clear examples have been very difficult to find in my data. The other example Quirk et al. (1985: 1112-1118) offer – *The first thing, I mean the first thing to remember is that* – introduces something that can be considered clarification or reformulation rather than 'editing a mistake' and represents a much more common use of *I mean.* (For the possible pragmatic functions of *I mean* recognized in this chapter, cf. Sections 4 and 5 below.)

I mean can be also listed among fillers such as *you know, you see, kind of* and *sort of*, which are typical of informal discourse and used when we speak "to allow us to think of what next to say, or just to indicate that we intended to go on talking" (Leech and Svartvik 1994: 10-19). Fillers, also called discourse items by the authors, are put under three headings, indicating a scale from 'purely interactive' (characteristic of conversation) to 'also interactive' functions (more grammatical and used in public speaking and writing). *I mean*, together with some CCs, is placed somewhere in the middle of the scale and regarded as a 'mainly interactive' discourse item.

According to Biber et al. (1999) *I mean* can also be viewed as an insert which comments on a thought rather than the delivery of wording (cf. the first three syntactic types of CCs defined as parenthetical content disjuncts in Quirk et al. 1985: 1112-1118) and included among CCs because it seems to "share enough features with *I think*, *you know* and *you see* to qualify with them as a type (1) CC" (Stenström 1995: 291). Biber et al. (1999: 197) provide an example which includes several tokens of *I mean*: *I mean it's, it's general I suppose I mean if it would be better to switch it on and off which you can do and er, you know, I mean we can't sit here continually talking*. It should be noted that the authors view CCs as closely related to DMs, which "tend to occur at the beginning of a turn or utterance, and to combine two roles: (a) to signal a transition in the evolving process of the conversation, and (b) to signal an interactive relationship between speaker, hearer, and message" (ibid.: 1086). However, as will be illustrated below, it cannot be claimed that *I mean* tends to occur at the beginning of a turn or utterance, although a few tokens in this position have been found in my material (cf. Table 3-2 in Section 4 below).

Crystal and Davy (1969: 48) consider *I mean* and *you know* as parenthetic clauses "which may be embedded in the main clause, or may occur in sequence with it" (cf. 'parentheticals' in Huddleston and Pullum 2002).

When exploring the most important characteristics of conversational English and the ways in which sentences can be connected, Crystal (1975) distinguishes three main functions of connectives, two of which include *I mean*: firstly, connectives that may be interpreted as diminishing or retracting the whole or part of the meaning of what has preceded, among which *I mean* is mentioned as a possible device with a diminishing force; secondly, softening connectives or softeners, exemplified by *you know*, *I mean*, and *you see*, which maintain the continuity of discourse and also seem to be used to express the speaker's "assessment of the conversational situation as informal" (ibid.: 85).

Edmondson (1981) introduces the term 'fumbles' for standardized expressions or fixed formulae the main function of which is "to plug speaking-turn-internal conversational gaps" used by the speaker to gain time, viewing them as "conventionalized ways of plugging such potential gaps" (ibid.: 154), with the result that in fact no such gaps are perceived by the interlocutors. One of the five groups of fumbles the author distinguishes is a group of let-me-explains, among which *I mean* is considered to be most common of all; according to Edmondson, it is used "to communicate the fact that I'm trying to communicate" (ibid.: 154-155).

I mean is also mentioned by Leech et al. (1992) when specifying linguistic characteristics of speech among monitoring features that are present in 'typical' speech and which "indicate the speaker's awareness of the addressee's presence and reactions" (ibid.: 136-140); among examples they include *as well*, *I mean*, *sort of* and *you know*.

Stenström (1994), who uses the term monitor for *I mean*, holds the view that "sometimes the speaker needs to make a new start or rephrase what s/he was going to say in the middle of a turn, often because the listener shows that s/he cannot follow or is not convinced" (ibid.: 131-132). In such situations the monitor "*I mean* comes in handy" and tends to co-occur with *well* and sometimes even with *you know* or *you see*. Similar co-occurrences of *I mean* and some other markers have been found in my data, too.

It is also worth quoting Swan (1995: 329), who claims that *I mean* is used "to introduce explanations or additional details" and belongs among other correcting and softening DMs, such as *I think*, *I feel*, *I suppose*, *I guess*, *so to speak* (ibid.: 156-157). The author gives two examples in which *I mean* is used: *Let's meet next Monday – <u>I mean</u> Tuesday* and *She is not very nice. <u>I mean</u>, I know some people like her, but* ... The former illustrates the correcting and the latter the softening function of DMs as understood by Swan (cf. softening connectives or softeners in Crystal 1975, mentioned above).

3 Corpus and methodology

The present investigation, which uses both qualitative and quantitative methods, is based on the analysis of five texts taken from the *Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English* (MICASE). As the name itself suggests, this corpus represents spoken discourse used in academic settings recorded at the University of Michigan, USA. The texts are taken from three different speech event categories, namely office hours, discussion sections, and study groups. Each category is represented in the corpus by approximately 15,000 words: office hours (two texts amounting to 16,176 words together) concern instructions given mostly by a graduate student on some specific topic or project; discussion sections (two texts of 15,542 words together) are additional sections of a lecture designed for maximum student participation; study groups (one longer text of 15,483 words) are informal student-led study groups. The total extent of text under examination is exactly 47,201 words. In order to obtain comparable results, figures are given both in actual numbers and in normalized frequency rates.

All the interlocutors in the texts are native speakers of American English, for the most part university teachers and graduate or undergraduate students. Since the main objective of the study is not a detailed comparison of the three different speech event categories, but in particular a consideration of possible pragmatic functions of the marker *I mean* in academic spoken discourse, differences between the texts, such as those in the tenor of discourse, are not considered relevant here.

As regards the methods used in the analysis, the texts were examined manually in order to obtain both qualitative and quantitative results although it should be noted that certain expressions, such as the clausal form *I mean*, could be searched for using a customized search engine developed by the University of Michigan Digital Library. The manual examination was indispensable, however, since it was necessary to distinguish the marker *I mean* from the matrix clause *I mean* introducing a nominal object clause; this was especially difficult when the clausal form *I mean* occurred at the beginning of the sentence structure.

With regard to the size of the corpus (approximately 47,000 words only) and its representativeness, it must be stated that, similarly to the corpus and results discussed in Chapter Two of this volume, this corpus represents a small specialized corpus. In agreement with Flowerdew (2004: 18), this is considered here more appropriate than large corpora for an analysis of one particular language feature such as the marker *I mean* and its possible pragmatic functions in academic spoken discourse.

4 Possible pragmatic functions of *I mean*: Overall results

When considering the possible pragmatic functions of *I mean* in a given speech event category, the following factors are taken into consideration in the present chapter: position of *I mean* within the turn (i.e. initial, medial, and final), the position of the turn in which the marker *I mean* occurs within the sequence of turns, the co-occurrence of *I mean* with other pragmatic markers, such as *well, you know, so*, and with some kind of hesitation phenomena, such as repetitions, false starts, slips of the tongue, and pauses, and in particular the entire situational context, which also includes the discourse participants themselves, their mutual relationships and the background encyclopedic knowledge they share, since all the elements of the act of communication determine the character of the exchange of meaning and thus the negotiation of meaning in the context of the communicative situation (cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova 2004).

Different speech event categories	**Office hours** (16,176 words)		**Discussion sections** (15,542 words)		**Study groups** (15,483 words)		**Total** (47,201 words)	
	No.	Norm. freq.	No.	Norm. freq.	No.	Norm. freq.	No.	Norm. freq.
Reformulation	6	**0.37**	1	**0.06**	9	**0.58**	16	**0.34**
Explanation	5	**0.30**	17	**1.09**	32	**2.07**	54	**1.14**
Delay device	3	**0.19**	5	**0.32**	27	**1.74**	35	**0.74**
Total	14	**0.87**	23	**1.48**	68	**4.39**	105	**2.22**

Table 3-1: Pragmatic functions of *I mean* in different speech event categories in academic spoken discourse (MICASE)

Table 3-1, which provides overall results from the three speech event categories studied in this chapter, indicates that the marker *I mean* tends to be used most frequently in study groups, where it reaches the normalized frequency rate 4.39, which means a frequency that is considerably higher than that in the other two types of speech events, since the normalized frequency rate in the categories of discussion sections and office hours is 1.48 and 0.87 respectively. However, the differences in the frequency of occurrence between different categories are not considered most important here, since it is assumed that they can be caused by differences in individual speakers' communicative habits and preferences rather than differences in speech event categories. For example, the number of speakers in the office hours and study groups under investigation is two to five, whereas in the discussion sections this is as many as 18 to 22. Of course, not all speakers are really active, nor do they frequently use the marker *I mean*. Based on my results, it can now be concluded that the number of discourse participants does not influence the frequency of occurrence of *I mean*: the frequency rate in discussion sections (1.48), which have the highest number of participants (18 to 22), is somewhere between the frequency rates of office hours (0.87) and study groups (4.39), which have two to five and four participants respectively.

With regard to what has already been stated, it seems that what is most interesting here are the differences concerning possible pragmatic functions *I mean* can perform in academic spoken discourse. My results prove that most speakers apply *I mean* in particular when they intend to introduce explanations or clarifications, in which case the normalized frequency rate in the corpus as a whole is 1.14 tokens per 1,000 words, i.e. approximately 51 per cent of all occurrences. By using *I mean* in this function the current speaker (cf. Speaker 5 below) attempts to help his/her partners in a given speech event understand what he/she wants to communicate, as evidenced by the example that follows:

(1) (DIS495JU119.7)

S1 *media. okay so tell me how th- some of those things work. <PAUSE: 04> what did you learn from your parents, about politics? <PAUSE: 05> Brett?*

S5 *they usually tell you, well they usually brainwash you and tell you to vote their, <***SS***: LAUGH> the way they vote. [***SU-f***: yeah] so you don't re- really learn too much from my (p-) they're just like vote, uh whatever.*

S1 *they they told you to vote?*

S5 *well <u>I mean</u> over time they're like, yeah I'll uh, okay they're conservative so, they're like, they just kinda, say stuff like liberals don't really know what they're talking about and that kinda stuff.*

S1 *okay*

Note: It should be noted here that short pauses are indicated by dots, while long pauses are indicated by commas in all texts taken from MICASE.

The function of *I mean* comes only second when it is used as a delay device. The normalized frequency rate 0.74 tokens per 1,000 words represents slightly more than 33 per cent of all occurrences found in my corpus. *I mean* occurs in this function when the current speaker wants to gain more time to think over what next to say, which happens relatively frequently in study groups (1.74), where *I mean* as a delay device is applied almost as frequently as when introducing explanations and clarifications (2.07). This finding can result from the fact that all the speakers in study groups are students who seem to take plenty of time to think over what next to say, as, for instance, Speaker 3 in Example (2):

(2) (SGR 999SU146.30)

S2 *well no but I can't even I can't e- like if um you wanted to talk to me about a topic that I feel like I've had a lot of classes in like equality or just like liberal thought in [***S3***: mhm] general or something like that, like, I w- don't think I'd be very good at the conversation.*

S1 *I doubt that.*
S3 *see like I mean, like maybe I don't know um I mean I think that you know a lot more about ac- like Detroit than I do and like things going on there and like, I don't know.*
S2 *I know specific yeah like I know specific things but like philosophical or political wise I can't.*
S3 *but have you taken mo- like I think you've taken more specific classes.*

Last but not least comes *I mean* used for reformulation, since its normalized frequency rate 0.34 tokens per 1,000 words represents only 15 per cent of all occurrences in the data. However, the role of *I mean* as a marker of reformulation cannot be underestimated, since, for example, in office hours it represents the most common function of all (0.37); its presence in this category may be caused by the fact that students usually attempt to express themselves as clearly as possible when talking in small groups of two to five interlocutors, which may be the case of the office hours under my examination (cf. also Example (5) below). Nevertheless speakers use the marker *I mean* in the function of reformulation in all speech event categories, in particular when reformulating something they have already uttered in a way that could be improved upon, which often happens in impromptu speech where online planning is one of the main characteristics (cf. Povolná 2010). *I mean* used for reformulation is most frequent in study groups, where its normalized frequency rate amounts to 0.58 tokens per 1,000 words; this function when applied in study groups is shown in the following example:

(3) (SGR999SU146.7)
S3 *well, um I'm not really sure she like she of course is like you know, fourth fifth [***S2***: yeah] generation but her husband's first generation like he lived in China.*
S2 *and he's kinda the one that, I mean do you think she is more influence in the like the new w- wave part of their business?*
S3 *I think so, and I don't know whether it's more because she's more established here or whether cuz she has an economics degree from U-of M.*
S2 *yeah, or maybe just that's she's female. [***S3***: yeah that's true.] cuz the like things that, the, they that seem to be different from new wave, seem to be, [***S3***: mhm] like more femininish.*
S3 *right that's a good actually that's a really good point I hadn't really thought of it <LAUGH> um <LAUGH>*

Pragmatic function	**Turn position**			**Total**	
	I	**M**	**F**	**No.**	**%**
Reformulation	0	16	0	16	15.24
Explanation	10	43	1	54	51.43
Delay device	3	31	1	35	33.33
Total (No.)	**13**	**90**	**2**	**105**	100.00
Total (%)	**12.4**	**85.7**	**1.9**	**100**	100.00

Table 3-2: Pragmatic functions of *I mean* with regard to turn position
(all speech event categories together)

As for the turn position of *I mean*, in accordance with Stenström (1995) and Erman (1986) three different positions within the turn can be distinguished: 1) at the very beginning of a turn; 2) within the turn; 3) at the very end of a turn. By the turn is understood everything a particular speaker says before the next speaker takes over. As can be seen from Table 3-2, the overwhelming majority of occurrences of *I mean* in my data occur in medial (M) position within the turn (90 cases representing almost 86% of all occurrences). The preference for the placement of *I mean* in M position within the turn has also been proved by Erman (1986). Both his and my results indicate that apart from the M position *I mean* tends to be placed in initial (I) position, although it has been found in this position in 13 cases only, representing approximately 12 per cent of the cases in which *I mean* is used. As regards final (F) position, it is assumed together with Erman (1986: 132) that when *I mean* occurs in F position, it is because of an interruption on the part of a new speaker. This conclusion is evidenced by the two occurrences of *I mean* in F position found in my data (2%), since in both of them the current speaker has been interrupted by his/her interlocutor, as the following example illustrates:

(4) (SGR999SU146.32)

S2 *with h- oh it's so random. Like today I just filled it in on the bus. li- from the last five weeks. <**SS**: LAUGH>*

S3 *yeah exactly like that's how it is with C-K and like it's hard not to just kinda like skimp a little cuz like, [**S2**: yeah] like yeah there's times I spend emailing her there's times I go like to check her office if she's [**S2**: mhm] there like <u>I mean</u>*

S2 *yeah well I [**S3**: (I don't know)] think that if anything I underestimate it and I wish I kept better track because like, [**S3**: yeah] like for example I spent, I like some of the stuff I'm not willing to put down because like I spent like fifty hundred hours at Kinko's because the people there were like, [**S1**: yeah] totally screwing around and like I couldn't get [**S3**: mhm] this really simple thing done, so I don't, I like, [**S1**: I think you should*

include that] I know I get I don't know if I should <u>*I mean*</u> *I, I feel like on one hand I should but on the other hand it was like a ten-minute project or whatever.*
S1 *yeah and you got a little break like you weren't actually working you were just kinda waiting.*
S3 *yeah*

Example (4) includes two tokens of *I mean*, both applied in the function of delay device. The former occurs in the final position within the speaker's turn (cf. Speaker 3 above) although originally it was probably not intended to be used in this position. However, Speaker 2 interrupts Speaker 3 and takes over. As the example testifies, all participants frequently speak simultaneously, which is indicated in square brackets, and use false starts, hesitation features and markers such as *like*, *well, kinda* and, of course, *I mean*, which is regarded as a filler by some studies (cf. Leech and Svartvik 1994, discussed in Section 2).

5 Possible pragmatic functions of *I mean*: Discussion

Let me now consider one after another the individual pragmatic functions of *I mean* recognized in this chapter and discuss their use, in particular with regard to some previous research mentioned in Section 2 above.

(5) (OFC355SU094.7)
S2 *hm. okay.*
S1 *okay. yeah I've I've sat through lots of talk by um, by Mark and uh, uh, Giles, and, I think I understand what they're doing when I'm watching them do it, but then I go off and try to do it and I think why am I going to all this trouble?* <u>*I mean*</u> *what's it getting me? It looks more like, <GESTURING> that, than this. <GESTURING> <***S2***: LAUGH> that's gonna be hard to capture on the tape probably. <LAUGH> [***S2***: hand gestures.] <LAUGH> oh well. details.*

Example (5) shows *I mean* in the function of reformulation. With its 16 occurrences in my data, which means 0.34 tokens per 1,000 words, it is the least represented function of all. Speakers use *I mean* in this function in order to modify what they want to say, either because they are not sure that what they have just said is quite clear to their hearers, i.e. they want to make a new start or rephrase what has already been uttered, or because they want to specify it, either narrowing (cf. the diminishing force of *I mean* mentioned above) or softening the propositional content of what they have just said while indicating that the whole conversational situation is to be considered informal (cf. Crystal 1975, Swan 1995, both discussed above). When speakers use *I mean* for reformulation as a rule they place it in M position within the turn, i.e. after the part of the text they intend to reformulate. Therefore it is not surprising that *I mean* in this function has not been found in the other turn positions. Finally, it can be stated that *I mean* used for reformulation is close to what Quirk et al. (1985: 1313) label 'mistake editing'; it clearly participates in planning and organizing discourse, thus enhancing the negotiation of meaning between discourse participants and fostering the establishment and maintenance of discourse coherence, as discussed above.

(6) (OFC355SU094.9)

S2 *and she suggested that, all of my participants, come from either, this country, or the countries where they speak, their native languages. so, she's*

S1 *as opposed to what? where are they supposed to come from?*

S2 *well no no no, I'm saying that, people who either, speak German and live in the United States, are native speakers of German who live in the United States, rather than, my native speakers of German coming from Switzerland and my native speakers of Chinese coming from Ann Arbor*

S1 *well <u>I mean</u> you're not going to be able, to distinguish, the part that's, that's due to German and the part that's due to American culture?*

S2 *exactly.*

Example (6) illustrates *I mean* used to introduce explanation. As stated in Table 3-1, it has 54 occurrences in my material, thus being the most common function of all recognized in this chapter. Its normalized frequency rate in the corpus as a whole amounts to 1.14 tokens per 1,000 words; in the speech event category of study groups, it is much higher – 2.07. As can be seen from Example (6), *I mean* used for explanation is close to what Edmondson (1981) calls a let-me-explain, i.e. one of the five possible types of fumbles (cf. Section 2 above); it tends to introduce explanations or additional details. The marker *I mean* in this function usually appears in the middle of a turn (cf. Table 3-2), but it can occur at the beginning, as in Example (7). It is used when the current speaker can see that the hearer(s) cannot arrive at an appropriate interpretation and cannot understand the message being conveyed.

(7) (SGR999SU146.10)

S2 *well he was funny about it cuz <***S3***: LAUGH> he he was I don't know he said something to make me feel like, uh, you know people just take on so much and the projects are so intense [***S1***: yeah <LAUGH>] and they do* *so much good work <**SS**: LAUGH> and sometimes they just need more time and I'm like yeah except I basically haven't started. <**SS**: LAUGH> but I didn't say that*

S1 *like I jus- I don't want to_ I mean it yeah it would be cool to get so engrossed in a paper but like I just wanna get this over with <LAUGH> [**S2**: mhm] like I don't, [**S3**: yeah] I wanna graduate.*

S2 *I mean I can see like people wanting to do this for like a doctoral thesis [**S3**: mhm] or some- or [**S1**: yeah] I mean not this but like I can see someone wanting to spend months and months and being engrossed in it, [**S1**: yeah] but, not for something like this.*

S3 *yeah*

S1 *yeah just thirty pages, [**S2**: pssh] or twenty-five in your case. <**SS**: LAUGH> are you done talking or are gonna talk more?*

Example (7) comprises three tokens of *I mean.* The first one is used as a delay device. *I mean* in this function is often accompanied by pauses and hesitations, as illustrated above. The two remaining occurrences of *I mean* introduce explanations, one occurring in I position and the other in M position within the turn. Similarly to the marker used for reformulation, *I mean* applied for explanation clearly contributes to the planning and organization of discourse while enhancing the smooth flow of spoken interaction. By guiding the hearer to an interpretation of the message which is coherent with the speaker's communicative intention it also contributes to discourse coherence.

(8) (OFC320SU153.3)

S1 *so the books that deal with generally, Indonesian textiles, Sumatran textiles Balinese textiles are all over surveys of Southeast Asia, and just float through and look for the Indonesian section. [**S2**: okay] that'll, that'll give you some clues.*

S2 *okay. and mos- I mean do you think we'd be able to, get enough out of the stuff that's on reserve? or would we be going like way beyond that?*

S1 *um i- it might help if you go beyond that, but I would start in the reserves. [**S2**: okay] yeah, for sure*

S2 *okay.*

Example (8) comprises *I mean* in the function of delay device. As shown in Table 3-1 and Table 3-2 above, *I mean* in this function has 35 occurrences in my data, which represents a normalized frequency rate of 0.74 tokens per 1,000 words. It usually occurs in M and sometimes in I position when the current speaker cannot find an appropriate word or an adequate way of expressing his/her communicative intentions, or when he/she can see that the current hearer(s) cannot follow what has already been uttered. *I mean* is usually used to allow the current speaker to think of what next to say and/or just to indicate that he/she wants to go on talking (cf. fillers in Leech and Svartvik 1994 and inserts in Biber et al. 1999, both discussed in Section 2), thus being clearly connected with planning and organizing discourse. *I mean* in this function often co-occurs with hesitation features, for example, *um*, *like, kind of, sort of*, pauses, false starts (most of which are illustrated in the above examples). Verbal fillers such as the marker *I mean*, especially in the function of delay device, indicate that the speaker is busy planning what to say as he/she goes along, i.e. a feature typical of impromptu speech, and as such they are therefore also connected with the organization of discourse (cf. monitoring features in Leech et al. 1982). According to Stenström (1994), there are two main hesitation areas, namely at the beginning of the turn and at what looks like the end but is in fact the middle of the turn. These are evidenced by occurrences of *I mean* in my data. The former case, i.e. the hesitation area at the beginning of a turn, is shown in Example (8).

6 Conclusions

The analysis has proved that owing to the important pragmatic functions the marker *I mean* can perform in spoken discourse, it can be stated that it enhances the smooth flow of spoken interaction and negotiation of meaning between discourse participants, thus facilitating the hearer's adequate interpretation of the message to be communicated and contributing to the establishment of discourse coherence. Speakers use markers such as *I mean* when planning and organizing discourse in order to indicate to the current hearer(s) that they should pay attention to further explanations or reformulations regarding something that has not been expressed sufficiently and clearly (i.e. *I mean* used for explanations and reformulations respectively) or simply to gain more time while searching for the right way of expression (i.e. *I mean* used as a delay device). Since all of us use spoken language to a much greater extent than we use written language (Svartvik 2006), it is very important that we know how spoken interaction is organized structurally and strategically, which necessarily entails a knowledge of the appropriate use of markers such as *I mean*.

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Literary discourse

CHAPTER FOUR

Coherence in literary discourse

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Abstract

The concept of coherence has tended to be regarded as a textlinguistic notion (Toolan 2012). It has been methodically discussed also in theories of discourse, namely in a social theory of discourse (Fairclough 2010). Taking an approach which blends methodologically and theoretically various areas of linguistic study, this chapter aims at exploration of coherence in literary discourse. More specifically, it brings together relevant observations and references to reading and understanding implied messages in literary narratives from functional, pragmatic and cognitive linguistic perspectives. Soon we proceed to an explication of the concept in narratology, regarding coherence as an important feature of (literary) narrative. Analysing aspects and subtypes of coherence in novels and short stories, we perceive literary discourse as a multi-layered structure where "the communicative characteristics of a literary text are the source of coherence of literary significance" (Kikuchi 2007: 2). The chapter also addresses some problematic issues, such as the notion of literariness and literary discourse as resulting in a type of reading different from that studied in mainstream discourse processing research (cf. Miall 2002). The relevance of pragmatic concepts of cooperativeness and politeness in the study of coherence in literary narratives is further discussed; examples of literary discourse are provided to illustrate specific stages and types of inferential processes. The chapter proceeds to implementing recent findings of research in cognitive psychology as pertaining to processes of the reading and comprehension of discourse and to the ways textual information is stored in, and retrieved from, memory (cf. van Dijk 1978) and concludes in a discussion of the dominance of coherence in particular elements of the generic structure of literary narrative as closely related to genre and register characteristics.

1 Introduction

The process of interpreting texts is best seen as analogous to the interpretation of the context of situation. The reader tries to make sense of a complex interplay between cues and the reader's resources. As a matter of fact, the reader's resources are in effect a mental map of the social order (cf. Fairclough 2010). We can view such mental maps as particular interpretations of social realities. Yet a mental map is necessarily just one interpretation of social realities and is open to many interpretations, politically and ideologically invested (Fairclough 2010: 83). The importance of the context of situation brings us to the realization that viewing the context of situation in terms of mental maps enables the reader to read and understand the text on two levels. The first level can be characterized as reading of the situation: certain elements are foregrounded while others are backgrounded, all elements being related to each other in a variety of ways. At the second level the reader is aware of certain specifications which are relevant to the particular discourse type he is dealing with.

Differences between discourse types are important in many aspects, for example socially when the reader understands particular elements of context and situation based on his/her social background and experiential complex. In this way actional components of a text or its parts create what is generally termed as the force of text (cf. Fairclough 2010, de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981). The force of text is related to its coherence in many aspects. Coherence is generally understood as a property of texts, but some authors suggest viewing it as a property of interpretations.

In general a text is coherent when its constituent parts are meaningfully related so that the text as a whole makes sense. This does not automatically require or guarantee explicitness of formal markers of these meaningful relations, and the openness of a text can vary; its coherence can be more or less incomplete and cohesive links lacking (van Peer 1989: 279). Still the reader is usually capable of integrating and inferring the message in a literary text.

Various theories and approaches concentrate on various aspects of coherence. Some of them search for answers identifying the role of a pretext in an interpretation of a literary text, pointing out specificities of the context of creation and context of reception (cf. Widdowson 2004, 2012). In a social theory of discourse the ideological function of coherence has been emphasized (Fairclough 2010: 84). The main idea comes from our belief that a text makes sense only to a reader who is capable of inferring meaningful relations in the absence of explicit markers. As emphasized by Fairclough (ibid.: 83-84) the particular way in which a coherent reading is generated for a text depends upon the nature of the interpretative principles that the reader draws upon. These are associated with particular discourse types in certain naturalized ways.

Dealing specifically with literary discourse, we first need to identify coherence in a variety of conceptions and applications.

2 Approaches to coherence

A complex interdisciplinary view par excellence of the notion of coherence has been provided by Toolan in his chapter on coherence in *The Living Handbook* *of Narratology* (2012: 1-47). Pointing out some defining criteria of coherence as a technical term, namely the generally accepted assumption that coherence denotes those qualities in the structure of literary text that prompt the reader to perceive the text as ‘making sense’ with all parts ‘fitting together well’, he reveals an understanding of coherence as a textlinguistic notion. However, as many text linguists have shown, there is a tension in linguistic analysis of coherence rooted in the high level of generalization of the rules for coherence in text linguistics. More specifically, these rules are too general to reflect unique interfaces and interplays between a particular text and its contexts. Also readers will assess differently what is relevant information in the unique discoursal circumstances. As Toolan (2012: 2) further points out this tension is often summarized as a distinction between (purely linguistic) cohesion and (contextualized) coherence.

Specifically for methodological reasons, we may wish to distinguish clearly between the two – the linguistic rules of text building (in linguistic analysis of text) and contextualized messages (unfolding coherence in text). For the reader, it is crucial to identify what to depict as a situation and what to create as a mental context for meaningful interpretation of a text (cf. Komlósi 2012: 22). The strained relation between the formal characteristics and elements of texts on the one hand and their unique aesthetic qualities and implicit messages on the other, have been discussed many times within the history of linguistic studies and literary criticism. The immense effort of the representatives of the Prague Linguistic Circle to avoid mechanical analyses of texts can serve as one of many examples. Adding further dimensions to their text analyses, namely the functionalist perspective, helped to defend their working methods (cf. Jakobson 1960, Douthwaite 2000).

The importance of both cohesion and coherence has been recognized in text linguistic studies. In their list of major text criteria de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) place cohesion and coherence on the top of their scale; both are described as most contributory features and text creating properties. For instance, in a framework of narrative text structures, coherence plays an important role. Similarly to any text analysis, in the analysis of narrative it is common to include linguistic description of language means used at any language level in the form of preliminary judgment of text qualities leading to more specifically focused multi-layered analysis of expressive means and stylistic devices (Miššíková 2007: 51). Text-internal cohesive links are usually discussed within the syntactic level of text, taking us further to larger syntactic units where text messages are considered in broader contexts. Coherence, commonly defined as text-external quality of text, thus becomes an important feature of narrative. In text linguistics several subtypes of coherence are identified, such as temporal, causal, and thematic coherence as topic-maintenance and -furtherance (Toolan 2012: 4).

Following the discussion on typical features of narrative, such as repetition and near repetition, the tension between the concept of cohesion and coherence is palpable. In classical works on language in literature and stylistics cohesion "refers to all the linguistic ways in which the words of a passage, across sentences, cross-refer or link up" (Toolan 1998: 23); it is viewed as text-internal quality. More recently repetitions and cross-referencing have been recognised as features providing for coherence of text. Coherence is defined as text-external quality aimed at the reader's perception and making sense of a text. Thus coherence is regarded as "the psychological interpretation of a text to create a consistent schema, mental picture of world" (Goatly 2012: 318), while cohesion is classified as a subtype of coherence based on particular types of sense relations: "Coherence which depends upon features of the text such as co-referring expressions or sense relations (synonymy, hyponymy, etc.) is cohesion" (ibid.: 318). The quoted statements are just seemingly controversial and should be perceived as corresponding and complementary: coherent narratives commonly involve a certain amount of repetition and cross-referencing, serving better unity and (logical, chronological, psychological, etc.) continuity. In addition, making sense of text in context involves a certain amount of intellectual work on saying and implicating, i.e. deciphering implicit messages, working out implicatures based on conventional framework, background knowledge, familiar schemata, etc. In this respect, coherence is now recognized as a concept with multiple pragmatically-determined dimensions.

3 The pragmatics of coherence: Cooperativeness and politeness

Viewing coherence as a pragmatically-determined quality, many narrative analysts turn to pragmatics to achieve a fuller account of coherence. In the study of literary coherence the most influential are the linguistic and philosophical traditions in pragmatics associated with the work of Paul Grice (1975, 1989); another tradition brings about a broader and more sociological approach to pragmatic concepts. More recent attempts define pragmatics as the cognitive, social and cultural study of language and communication (cf. Mey 1998, Verschueren, Östman and Blommaert 1995).

Grice (1975) proposes the idea that participants enter conversation with a sincere desire and natural predisposition to cooperate, making their contributions suitably truthful, informative, relevant and orderly. When a speaker's contribution diverges from these qualities (i.e. violating or flouting of conversational maxims occur) conversational implicatures are created. In parity with conversational implicatures in literary text (narration), narrative implicatures are identifiable: the reader of a literary work assumes the general cooperativeness of the author (the story-teller) and draws inferences where incomplete or indirect conversational contributions are made. Gricean traditional pragmatics has undergone complex revision by the relevance theorists, obtaining a more explicitly cognitivist direction. In their understanding, cohesion and coherence are categories ultimately derivable from relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995: 289). In a coherent literary narrative the reader has to be given sufficient overt and covert clues, which will enable him/her to see links and understand the text as a totality or, as Toolan states, to "see a point and a tellability" (2012: 29). Similarly to conversation cooperativeness, coherence is a strong norm of narrative; its absence raises similar reactions as uncooperative behaviour, namely confusion, frustration and rejection.

When aiming at processing of literary discourse another aspect of analytical work in modern pragmatic stylistics has to be emphasised. It is its central interest in interpretations and effects of literary text, which inevitably raises questions about contexts in which texts are interpreted. As noted by Stockwell (2006) "a growing body of work in stylistics marries up detailed analysis at the micro-linguistic level with a broader view of the communicative context" and thus "stylistics necessarily involves the simultaneous practice of linguistic analysis and awareness of the interpretative and social dimension" (Stockwell 2006: 755). As Stockwell further points out, the numerous different developments that can be outlined in modern stylistics "all have in common the basic stylistic tenets of being rigorous, systematic, transparent and open to falsifiability… In short, they present themselves as aspects of a social science of literature" (Stockwell 2006: 755).

Regarding coherence as a pragmatically-determined quality of literary discourse, we adopt a pragmatic stylistic approach to literary text, which can be best characterized as a process of applying pragmatic principles to stylistic analyses of texts. A natural assumption is that Gricean or post-Gricean approaches can explain how characters understand each other and how we understand characters. Of course, we have to consider the layers of discourse and differentiate "between work that applies the pragmatic models to examples of communicative interaction between fictional participants in literary texts, and work that addresses the nature of the interaction between writer and reader" (McMahon 2006: 232). This approach is social in that it focuses on the principles of cooperation and politeness as employed by individuals, affected by the given social contexts in which communication and interpretation of messages take place.

Alongside the Cooperative Principle the Politeness Principle, too, shows relevance to the study of coherence in literary discourse (cf. Miššíková 2012). Considering the setting and situation in literary discourse, we have to acknowledge the importance of the reader's ability to recognize shared background knowledge as well as the patterns of knowledge stored and preserved in our memory. On the one hand, scripts, scenarios, and schemata allow for a relatively quick and allusive style, and they enable readers to process language quickly. On the other hand, the reader's perception and understanding are dependent on the amount and nature of his shared background knowledge, which implies a certain relevance to the Politeness Principle as well: the narrator should provide as many details, pieces of information, as necessary. Providing more information than necessary or giving over specification might be considered as non-cooperative and impolite (the reader feels underestimated in his capacity to perceive the message correctly). Providing judgements on the level of accuracy (truth-telling) and informativeness (amount of information) can illustrate some of the pragmatically-rooted challenges to coherence.

3.1 Politeness in literary discourse: Own way and satisfactory 'face'

The Politeness Principle refers to our wish to get our own way and maintain a satisfactory public self-image or 'face' (cf. Leech 1983). The application of this principle in literary discourse analysis raises objections related to the fact that literary discourse always imposes on the reader's face due to the intimate topics discussed. A simple and straightforward response is that the reader can always decide to read or not to read a particular work. However, the interpersonal element is prominent in some novels and the relationship between narrator and reader is very important. Thus we can observe that the Politeness Principle works here as in real-life situations. The author spends a lot of time addressing and creating an intimate relationship with the reader. Examples are provided by literary texts where the narrator addresses the reader directly and usually through the whole discourse of a novel or a short story. In literary theory, this kind of relationship between narrator and reader is called a sub-plot (Booth 1961). The following opening of a short story can serve as a good example of an intimate relationship between the narrator and the reader:

(1) *I want to tell you something, I have to tell someone. I have to talk. I suddenly understood you are the only person left who will know what I'm talking about. Has that happened to you? You suddenly think, My God, that was twenty, thirty years ago and I am the only person left who knows what really happened.* (LD: 108)

This method of directly addressing the reader continues throughout the short story. The final lines of the story imply the importance of talking to a close friend; for the narrator this very close and only person is the reader. The relationship becomes truly intimate, the narrator makes the reader feel special (there's no one… except you) and her concluding words imply that talking helped her and recommends that the reader do the same sometime. The reader's face is fully satisfied and no impositions on her face are perceived.

(2) *And there's no one I can talk to about it, no one I can tell… except you. Well, darling, do the same for you some time.* (LD: 116)

Politeness can be preserved also in literary texts where the message is less friendly or favourable. Positive and negative politeness strategies are used to save the reader's face as in real-life conversations.

4 Analysing literary text as discourse

The structure of literary discourse usually comprises several levels of representation related to narrator and recipient separated by ontological boundaries which prevent discourse participants at one level of existence from interacting with participants at other levels. The ontological boundaries between the real (i.e. real-world writers and readers) and the fictional world (narrative situation narrators and narratees, fictional-world characters) have been questioned recently by many researchers and they are no longer seen as rigid. We shall leave aside these discussions and seek answers in an approach which implements effectively concepts and principles from pragmatics to (literary) text analysis, viewing it as a multi-layered discourse structure.

Advocates of pragmatic stylistics see its approach as highly beneficial for the exploration of inferential processes involved in interpreting texts (Clark 2009). Applying ideas from pragmatics within the field of stylistics enables the asking of a number of questions accounting for specific inferences. Exploring them we gain insights about individual texts, individual inferences and the nature of literary and non-literary interpretation. Alongside this, coherence is studied in literary text, for instance by looking at ways an inference is derived (i.e. before, during or after the initial interpretation of the text), or focusing on those parts of the text which provide evidence to support the inference. The quality of coherence in text indicates how much support for the inference is provided by the text. More specifically, a pragmatic stylistic approach assumes the viewing of literary text as discourse in which particular messages are to be negotiated in the process of cooperation between the author and the reader accounting for immediate context of situation. As illustrated by the analysed examples, the absence of a natural immediate environment (necessary for working out implicatures) can be overcome by acknowledging fictional settings, situations and contexts provided by the narrator/author of literary text. A pragmatic stylistic analysis of literary discourse includes considerations of the recipient's competence – his or her readiness to understand fully culture-specific messages and a variety of historically and politically determined aspects of a literary work. The application of pragmatic principles and their maxims in the analysis can be highly beneficial to the reader. Let us consider the following message written on a blackboard in the London Underground, used by the Underground's staff to communicate their thoughts to passengers:

(3) *You are probably wondering why the escalators so often aren't working? We shall tell you! It is because they are old and often go out of order. Sorry! Have a good day!* (LD: 87)

The discourse of this message illustrates the principles of cooperation and politeness at work: the author of the message abides by the principle of cooperation and respects the quality maxim – he is telling the truth and in the first sentence he uses a hedge to indicate he might be wrong. He also respects the quantity maxim and he is relevant in speech. The Manner maxim can be considered within the concept of relevance and here the point of view of the recipient is important. From the narrator's point of view, the Manner maxim holds properly – we are sorry but we can do nothing about the problem. From the point of view of the recipient, this is not a relevant explanation – I want to use the escalators, I pay for my ticket, and I want to have them working when I rush to work. This discussion highlights the importance of the outlined framework of the discourse, as well as of the context and situation provided by the narrator of the short story. The principle of politeness is also applicable: the message employs expressions commonly regarded as polite, such as *shall, sorry*, etc., and polite speech acts, such as wishing a good day. However, considering the context of the given discourse, these elements imply humour and irony. As a reader, I may find it humorous that someone who is responsible for the situation uses accusation as a form of apology. An actual real-life recipient of the message, i.e. an Underground passenger, would probably perceive it as ironic and impolite, and even face-threatening. The example illustrates that humour often overlaps with irony. Unlike humour, irony does not always create laughter. It can be appreciated by recipients if they share the same point of view. Example (4) shows that recipients who are close to each other and share the same point of view can perceive and even appreciate humour and irony as a private, intimate mode of communication.

(4) *'You always did say you would marry for money.'*
'Yes, I did. And I am. But I wouldn't marry him if I didn't feel like this about him.'

'But do you feel like this about him because he is so eligible?' enquired Joan, laughing.
'Probably. But what's the matter with that?'
'Would you marry him if he was poor?'
The sisters were now leaning forward, faces close, laughing and full of enjoyment. (LD: 105)

The dialogue in Example (4) illustrates a real-life conversation, and as it matches our experience of spoken discourse we are able to apply pragmatic principles and maxims as usual. The fictional setting of the short story and the particular situation (the conversation takes place in an airport restaurant) and context (two sisters are spending time together, and as one of them has more than an hour to wait before catching a flight they are just chatting, enjoying being together) provided by the narrator substitutes for the natural immediate environment necessary for understanding and interpreting literary discourse. The application of the Cooperative Principle and its maxims enables us to see the close relationship between two sisters and the amusement and enjoyment they get from seeing each other. Both speakers abide by the Cooperative Principle and its maxims, one of them 'playing' the role of an older and more responsible sister. The statement *You always did say you would marry for money* is an indirect speech act, an implied question, which is being answered fully to provide information that is as exact as possible. The response indicates an attempt to abide by the maxim of quality. The hedge *probably* in the subsequent answer indicates that the speaker respects the maxim of quality; she wants to respond truthfully, and at the same time she shows consideration and hesitance with the answer. When the older sister asks in a more direct way, the answer is not verbalized but we understand the implied meaning – the laughing means 'no'. The narrator's notes about their reactions (laughing, enjoyment, leaning towards each other, etc.) provide important and necessary clues, which enable the reader to work out implicatures. On the one hand, the questions imply a true interest in her sister's happiness and also different opinions about what constitutes an acceptable lifestyle. On the other hand, the way the sisters communicate and how they use humour and irony as a means of cooperation show their close relationship. It is the younger sister who speaks in a lighter tone and turns their conversation and the time spent together into pure enjoyment.

The sisters are flattered, entertained and amused because the irony used by the older sister is kind and does not develop into sarcasm. In other words, her questions do not cause offence and remain as what is usually called friendly mocking (cf. Leech 1983).

5 Literary text, context and literariness

Exploring distinctive properties of literary discourse we shall now briefly consider scholarly debates on literary discourse which traditionally focus on interpretation centred either on the text (i.e. a hermeneutic approach) or take a contextual approach. It seems that the major intention here is to propose certain criteria or place requirements on literary production and reception. However, these discussions address the problems of interpretation and literary meaning only marginally, and the majority of them disregard reader responses to literary text. It is not our aim here to discuss problems studied in literary criticism in detail and complexity. Yet certain issues need to be incorporated into our discussion on what is literary discourse and if it results in a type of reading different from that studied in discourse processing in general. To delimit efficiently the scope of this discussion, we shall focus on three particular issues: the role of the reader, the role of genre, and major distinctive qualities (if any) of literature (cf. Miall 2002). Despite the fact that some reader response theorists soon shifted their attention from the reader toward questions of culture and history, believing that readers belong to a particular interpretive community (cf. Fish 1980), many of the issues they raised are of considerable interest. For instance Schmidt (1982) directed his study differently and focused on the conventions of reading, distinguishing between an aesthetic and the so-called polyvalence convention. The polyvalence convention is seen as being in opposition to *monovalence*; it supposes that, in a literary context, readers recognize the possibility of multiple interpretations of the same text (cf. Miall 2002: 324). This capacity of readers to recognize polyvalence in text interpretation can be well explained in pragmatic terms as reader's engagement in the inferential process. Studying inferential processes has been proven as the most beneficial way in which pragmatic stylistics overlaps with literary study, shedding light on questions of literary interpretation, literary criticism and literary value. The following statement by a pragmatic stylistician illustrates the nature of inferential processes: the reader considers and re-considers multiple interpretations to finally arrive at (from his point of view) the most accurate interpretation of a text, together with an appreciation of its newly discovered literary values:

> "*I have sometimes thought I did not think much of a particular text and then found myself thinking about it repeatedly until I changed my mind and decided that it was more significant to me than I had realised. The relative 'stickiness' of inferences may well be an important factor in determining how literary 'value' is acquired by a text*." (Clark 2009: 5)

Another significant convention in literary studies is that of genre (cf. Section 6). It is generally assumed that the features of a text are determined by its particular generic form: genre focuses on the specific qualities and structures of the text. Shifting from its descriptive to an explanatory role, the category of genre "embodies certain social roles that govern the relation between text and reader" (Miall 2002: 325). Many authors have expressed their views on genre assuming that "there is no genreless text" (Derrida 1980: 65). In this respect, genre can be understood as the defining context for all textual behaviour, literary and non-literary. Therefore we can say that genre determines a speaker's textual behaviour in each particular situation, context or sphere. Linguistic variation which correlates with situation, social setting and social role is known as register. Thus we may assume that genre governs register: the category of genre determines the use of a particular register in any given text, the use of actual semantic and syntactic features that create the given communicative situation, together with the speaker's role and attitude (cf. Halliday 1978). As discourse structures genres are characterized by types of story grammar or schemata, they specify situation models characteristic of a given literary text and they enable readers to predict how the text is likely to develop. This provides space for more complex empirical studies on the reading of literary texts, involving a debate about "whether literary texts enjoy some distinctive status or literariness" (Miall 2002: 326).

The term literariness originally implied that there are literary texts which show certain distinctiveness from other text types. The study of literariness has attracted the attention of generations of scholars. More recently the idea of a conventional nature of literature has been emphasized and consequently the idea that literary texts are distinctive by the quality of specific features, dismissed. As demonstrated in stylistics by extensive analytical work on a variety of text types, formal aspects of language cannot guarantee stable meaning and no aspects of language can be labelled as formal (cf. Miššíková 2009, 2011).

In the empirical domain, scholars have studied cognitive processes, pointing out that they apply equally to our comprehension of text and refusing the idea that specific or distinct cognitive processes are in progress when literary text is interpreted. As emphasized by van Dijk (1979: 151) we have to "strictly deny the completely 'specific' nature of so-called 'literary interpretation'" and see differences in terms of pragmatic and social functions of literature.

5.1 Cognitive stylistics approach

Modern studies in cognitive stylistics reveal interesting findings on the cognitive processes by which readers respond to particular aspects of (literary) texts. The approach of cognitive stylistics enables the exploration of ways in which readers get actively involved in the process of making sense of what they read and often critical reading is required to decipher correctly the whole complexity of implied meanings (cf. Verdonk 2002). Theoretically founded on a belief that readers are active within the process of meaning-making, it works with several closely-related notions, notably the notion of 1) psychological distinction between bottom-up and top-down processing in relation to text comprehension, and the conception of 2) schema theory (cf. Jeffries and McIntyre 2010).

Both notions are closely related to the exploration of cohesion and coherence in text. Studied in psychology, the mental processes of integration and inference have been introduced as related to the recognising of cohesive links and the establishing of coherence in texts. The complexity of cohesion and coherence bears direct influence on the readers' understanding of text structures. As first noted by van Peer (1989), in the process of analysing the human perception of texts and messages encoded in linguistic structures, the psychological notion of inference and integration is used to describe the process of completing a text. The following table is adapted from one of his classical papers on reading and understanding literary texts (van Peer 1989):

TEXT
↓

<table>
<tr><td colspan="2">lacking
↙ ↘</td></tr>
<tr><td>text-external reference
⇓
(incomplete) coherence</td><td>text-internal relations
⇓
(incomplete) cohesion</td></tr>
<tr><td>⇓
top-down strategy
↕
inference</td><td>⇓
bottom-up strategy
↕
integration</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 4-1 *Openness in text* (adapted from W. van Peer 1989: 279)

The process of reading a text involves engaging in top-down and bottom-up processing simultaneously.

Another workable conception in cognitive stylistics, often referred to as schema theory, aims at exploration of how readers make use of their pre-existing background knowledge and how they awaken their real-life schematic knowledge and bring it to the process of interpreting literary texts. The problems of packaging knowledge of the world and storing it in the memory for further use, for example in interpretation of (literary) texts, are captured in a series of stages where particular elements of knowledge are identified and termed as schema, scripts and frame. We have discussed frame theory and its application in stylistic analysis in our earlier works (cf. Miššíková 2007, 2009) yet a brief comment on triggering schemas is relevant here. Readers generate images of fictional worlds based on their perception of various cues provided in a text. These cues function as triggers which activate aspects of the readers pre-existing background knowledge of the real world as they read. This then allows them to construct mental representations of the world of the text (cf. Jeffries and McIntyre 2010: 127). More specifically, so-called headers can be identified in the following four types: precondition headers, instrumental headers, locale headers and internal conceptualisation headers (ibid.: 129). In Example (5), two initial headers (following references to locations) can be identified as triggering of a basic VISITOR/RESIDENT INTERVIEW script. This is further specified by additional headers. Once we recognise two or more headers we have arrived at triggering of a particular schema; two and more headers instantiate a schema (Jeffries and McIntyre 2010: 129). The final schema we arrive at is 'a foreign visitor being questioned by the local resident in a guesthouse'.

(5) *'A starburst briefly filled the screen, indicating an internal of adverts.'*
...
He was delighted to find that I was American. 'I've always wanted to see America,' he said. 'Tell me, do you have Woolworth's there?'
Well, actually, Woolworth's is American.'
'You don't say!' he said. 'Did you hear that, Colonel? Woolworth's is American.' The colonel seemed unmoved by this intelligence. 'And what about cornflakes?'
'I beg your pardon?' (BB: 23)

References to locations where the script is likely to be activated can be seen as locale headers, such as 'A starburst briefly filled the screen, indicating an internal of adverts', a triggering of a LOUNGE (or TV room) script. The sentence 'He was delighted to find that I was American' is a precondition header for the triggering of a VISITOR/RESIDENT INTERVIEW script. The invocation of another script by particular action such as 'Did you hear that, Colonel?' can be seen as an instrumental header triggering a more specific script: FOREIGNER/LOCAL RESIDENT CONVERSATION. All references to actions and roles from the script can be termed as internal conceptualization headers, such as comments on other participants, e.g. 'The colonel seemed unmoved by this intelligence' and their utterances, e.g. 'You don't say!', 'I beg your pardon?' Summing up, we have identified four types of headers triggering particular scripts which instantiate a specific schema. To explain the reader's capacity for confusing elements of various (more or less distinct) schemas, a higher form of knowledge organization has been suggested – a superordinate schema called scene (cf. Schank 1982).

5.2 Isotopy as subtype of coherence

Based on our discussion of schema theory, we can say that readers make sense of a text by "establishing a coherent schema or script that accounts for the meanings of a text" (Goatly 2012: 101). This coherent schema is referred to as isotopy – it lies in the *stability* of contextual features, whose variations (i.e. patterns of repetition or contrast at all levels) help to confirm the unity of the text instead of destroying it. The term was originally introduced by Greimas (1966), who borrowed the term from nuclear physics, and whose initial definition was based on a concept of repetition also termed recurrence or redundancy. An analysis of the patterns of repetition and their functions in a literary text shows that all the separate patterns of repetition taken together build new and larger patterns of thematic coherence. Isotopy is a useful concept for establishing such patterns of thematic coherence. Greimas focused on semantics, his concept of isotopy only regarded the repetition semes, while his definition stressed the role of isotopy in making possible a uniform reading of a story and resolving ambiguities. Thus an isotopy is a sequence of expressions joined by a common semantic denominator. As noted by Nöth (1995), when a discourse has only one interpretation, its semantic structure is a *simple* isotopy. For instance, in Example (6) the reader will consider the conventional meanings of words which hint at a series of commonly recognised scripts (SUNNY DAY/AFTER RAIN, PEOPLE WALKING THEIR DOGS, CUSTOMARY LEISURE-TIME ACTIVITIES, etc.), instantiating a final schema 'visitors in a café garden':

(6) *Twenty minutes after the rain stopped, the first visitors came into the café garden. They were two elderly women and a smiling Labrador, very much at home, for they went straight to a certain table at the back, and the dog took his place on the grassy strip there without a command.* (LD: 26)

In a literary discourse this scene plays a role as part of a larger framework and additional interpretations are possible; however, figurative or idiomatic expressions such as 'smiling Labrador' and 'very much at home' are easily understood via selection restrictions which take place quite spontaneously here. The isotopy in this short text sample (i.e. the sequence of semantically related expressions) indicates the (one) theme of pleasantly and habitually spent leisure time.

The simultaneity of two readings, such as in ambiguities or metaphors, is called *bi-isotopy*. The capacity of an average reader to perceive two levels of meaning simultaneously is shaped by his or her background knowledge and experiences, familiarity with the given social and cultural contexts, and also by what is usually referred to as a reader's maturity or competence. In the examples below the narrator is a boy with Asperger's Syndrome who is thus not able to understand abstract, figurative or associative meanings or make sense of contextual relations and implied meanings, and he has no capacity to recognise humour or irony. He has no capacity to select redundant or repeated semantic features, selection restrictions are disabled, and he needs to be given one exact and particular piece of data/ information at a time. In Example (7) he explains his view of metaphor:

(7) *I think it should be called a lie because a pig is not like a day and people do not have skeletons in their cupboards. And when I try and make a picture of the phrase in my head it just confuses me because imagining an apple in someone's eye doesn't have anything to do with liking someone a lot and it makes you forget what the person was talking about.* (HM: 20)

Humorous texts and jokes built on cross-referencing, script oppositions and semantic ambiguity as such make him feel uneasy. He confesses that he cannot tell jokes because he does not understand them. In Example (8) he reacts to the fact that he understands why the joke 'His face was drawn but the curtains were real' is meant to be funny (he provides an excellent semantic analysis of the polysemy and cross-referencing used in a joke) but still he does not find it funny because:

(8) *If I try to say a joke to myself making the word mean the three different things at the same time, it is like hearing three different pieces of music at the same time which is uncomfortable and confusing and not nice like white noise. It is like three people trying to talk to you at the same time about different things.* (HM: 10)

To some extent, there is a parallel here with (non-native and native) speakers lacking broader cultural background knowledge; their inability to recognise specific social situational contexts, regional or local idiosyncrasies causes them to misinterpret or even misunderstand humorous discourse, jokes, puns, advertisements, TV commercials, etc.

The superimposition of several semantic levels in a text is called pluri- or poly-isotopy (Nöth 1995: 319). Poly-isotopy requires a certain amount of cooperativeness between the narrator and the reader and can be explained also in pragmatic terms (cf. Sections 3 and 4 above). Similarly to spoken conversation, in a literary text the author can violate conversational maxims with the aim of deceiving the reader. Example (9) represents non-observance of the maxim and inferences about a character in a novel (Lily) and how her way of life can be understood by the reader:

(9) Listen: Auntie Lily knows the way it really is.
Air is free. What, you know that? Good for you. Okay. Food is free. Ah, you didn't know that one!

The food's piled up everywhere – on shelves, in great heaps and stacks on the floor, in boxes and bags and bins. You want it, you name it – it's yours. (BM: 193)

The reader infers that Lily deceives us by saying that stealing is normal. An implicated meaning is that she pretends to be free and happy. The author thus intentionally communicates an implicature that homeless drug addicts create their own world view and adopt some weird sense of morality (cf. Miššíková 2011).

As stated by Goatly (2012: 101), in literary texts "isotopy is a way of eliminating ambiguity, and selection restrictions have an important role to play because they are one kind of redundant or repeated semantic feature". The decision of the reader as to what feature or meaning level is redundant or repeated mirrors their capacity to recognise (more or less sophisticated) socially rooted, culture-based contexts. This may explain why seemingly non-coherent ambiguous texts are well received by some readers. The following example illustrates the type of literary discourse where effective knowledge of specific historical, cultural, political and social contexts is crucial for correct understanding. A certain familiarity with the British political scene is necessary (implicatures leading to the Tory party, as the speaker is 'conservative' in his political opinions) and also cues provided by the broader context of the novel (for instance, if we know that the speaker is black we perceive his use of expressive language differently).

(10) *You might ask what's a Tory like me doing helping the squatters? A proper Tory mind, not one of your watered-down, middle-of-the-road ones. If I had my way, all the darkies'd get sent back home. Why not? They have their culture we have ours. If you knew the number of people I do who've turned around and found themselves stuck in the middle of the Carib-bloody-bean and it was Bristol City twenty years ago, so would you. And cut down on the social security and all that.* (BM: 162)

Moreover, personal experiential complex can ‘guarantee’ that no two readers perceive and interpret a literary text identically. Example (11) would be understood differently by East Europeans and (native) Americans depending on their social characteristics (age, education, social status, travel experience, etc.).

(11) *‘You need the leaders of both sides to keep the cold war going. It’s the one constant thing. It’s honest, it’s dependable. Because when the tension and rivalry come to an end, that’s when your worst nightmares begin. All the power and intimidation of the state will seep out of your personal bloodstream. You will no longer be the main – what do I want to say?’* (DLD: 170)

We assume that readers in their meaning-making efforts make decisions between two or more isotopical schemas in terms of their saliency. They select from different aspects of what they know about the subject matter introduced in a text and usually opt for the one which is less salient. An exploration of the interface between these selection restrictions and co-text is rooted in semantic study and componential analysis but the results are effectively applied in the analysis of (narrative literary) texts.

6 A functional approach to genre and register

Understanding coherence as a text quality determined by (broader) genre and (more specific) register characteristics we shall now take a functional approach to explain register as a coherent part of the generic structure of narrative. We implement Halliday’s view of interpersonal and textual functions of language (cf. Halliday 1973), conceiving them in agreement with Leech and Short (2007) as matters of pragmatics and rhetoric, that is “ways in which users implement the cognitive and ideational code of language for communicative ends” (Leech and Short 2007: 168). In our discussion of genre and register it is useful to distinguish explicit means that are used to stitch a text together – referred to as cohesion – from the consistent schema of psychologically integrated meanings of a text, commonly referred to as coherence.

It is also worth noting here that sometimes coherence can be achieved by cohesion, but not always. By inference we can make a coherent text out of a non-cohesive one: we can infer the meaning of a text from a piece of information given in a text whose cohesive links are incomplete or lacking. We can think about a short utterance, such as ‘I had to leave early in the morning. At least it wasn’t freezing in the night’ as lacking overt cohesive links except the lexical cohesion created by the antonymy between ‘morning’ and ‘night’. However, by supplying the information that I had to take my old car which has problems with its starter in freezing weather we are able to make a coherent text out of this non-cohesive one.

One of the major theoretical concepts in the systemic functional tradition is that of genre. Genre is regarded as a wider concept which comprises register as the representation of the speaker's personality (his occupation, professional interests, social role in communication, etc.) via language use. The speaker's use of language correlates with the given context and situation but also reflects his social role in discourse: from a socially and situation-rooted discourse we infer not only conceptual meaning but also draw information about the speaker – his occupation, specialization, social background, etc. In this sense genre is a wider concept and includes also variants of contexts and discourse above the sentence level. Goatly uses the term as "Genre = Register + Structure" (Goatly 2012: 143).

The concepts of genre and register are of great importance in the exploration of coherence. A genre is a structured event; its particular ordering of elements is reflected in the discourse structure, such as (literary) narratives, poems or magazine articles and ads. Modern views on genre emphasize its social function and cultural specificity. Martin (as quoted in Goatly 2012: 149) sees genre as "the staged purposeful social process through which a culture is realised in language".

Thus the generic structure of narrative can be seen as comprising specific social aspects and cultural contexts. We shall now consider the elements of narrative structure (i.e. abstract, orientation, complicating action, resolution, coda, and evaluation; cf. Labov 1972) and their register features with respect to their role in establishing coherence in narration.

The role of abstract is to introduce the story before the actual narration begins. It enhances coherence by capturing the 'essence' of the story and bridging the narrative to the preceding conversation. The register will reflect the narrator's social status and cultural background.

The orientation gives information about the time and location, situations, and persons and activities they get involved in. As the narrative begins the (cohesion by) reference is in action (hence the typical use of adverbials and progressive -ing forms of verbs) facilitating coherence as a purposeful meaning-making process. For example:

(12) *It was early morning. I was riding in the Lincoln sedan of Dr Asa Breed. I was vaguely ill, still a little drunk from the night before. Dr Breed was driving. Tracks of a long-abandoned trolley system kept catching the wheels of his car.* (VK: 27)

Similarly to abstract the orientation element is not compulsory but is often used in narratives.

The most essential elements in a narrative are the complicating action and the resolution. The following example is a short narrative which comprises several clauses (typically in simple present or simple past tense) describing a series of linked events in a chronological way:

(13) *From nowhere a knot of reporters appeared; they gathered around Freud and yelled questions, mostly in German. He answered with good humour but seemed baffled that an interview should be conducted in so haphazard a fashion. At last Brill shooed them away and pulled me forward.* (RJ: 11)

The ordering is principal in a narrative genre: the reversed order of the clauses would lead to different interpretations (or confusion).

The last clauses of the narrative bringing the sequence of actions to an end create the resolution, for example 'At last Brill shooed them away and pulled me forward' in Example (13).

The coda completes the narrative and brings the reader back from the past to the conversational present. It has the opposite function to that of the abstract. The transition to the present is usually signalled by a change of tenses (and time adverbs). Consider the sense of completion and the implied message in the final paragraph of a novel:

(14) *Freud himself never took the satisfaction one would have expected from the success of psychoanalysis in this country. Mystifying his colleagues, he called Smith Ely Jelliffe a criminal. His ideas might be famous in America, he said, but they were not understood. 'My suspicion of America', Freud confided to a friend toward the end of his life, 'is unconquerable'.* (RJ: 521-2)

The elements of narrative structure discussed above typically occur in a particular order. However, the evaluation can occur anywhere between the abstract and the coda, such as in Example (14), where the evaluation is part of the coda.

The patterns of textual meaning in literary discourse formed according to register and genre as discussed above illustrate how semantic relations between words create cohesion and coherence. We have already mentioned reference as a coherence-building device but co-reference is also used to build coherence in a text. Firstly we have to point out that there are simple cases of co-reference which bear no special interest for linguistic studies. They often occur in spoken utterances where two or more words refer to the same item and where the speakers involved know what they are referring to but the other participants may be confused and perceive the conversation as non-coherent. The notion of co-referencing becomes relevant when studied in wordplays used in newspaper headlines, humorous texts and jokes because they show “how linguistic forms can be used to achieve readings that pick out the same entity more than once” (Safir 2005). Here it is not always easy for the reader to judge whether two expressions are co-referring or not, and understanding of these texts depends on readers’ assumptions that some repeated phrases are co-referential. They have to search for cues in the complexity of a text because final clauses can bring significant cues. The following sentence borrowed from Goatly (2012: 201) implies humorous interpretation when the reader assumes that the anaphoric pronoun co-refers with the last noun phrase matching in number and gender: *As he uttered the word he dropped his voice, and she didn’t quite catch it*. Cataphoric references attract more explicit contexts after the pronoun and the reader’s initial interpretation (first evoked by anaphoric reference) is reconsidered. For example, sentences such as ‘If you’re using one of our Single Processors and don’t know it, check our list of fastest to slowest to find out’ typically occur in informal (spoken or written) discourse. The ambiguities implied in these texts often create humour and as such are purposely elaborated in non-literary registers.

7 Conclusions

In our discussion on coherence in literary discourse we have mainly focused on perception of narrative texts such as novels and short stories. In general agreement with fundamental theoretical works in the field we have stated that a) coherence is a crucial quality of narrative structure (Toolan 2012), b) the reader’s response, genre and distinctive features of literature are major issues in delineating literary discourse (Miall 2002), and c) we have denied the specific nature of literary interpretation, claiming that cognitive processing of literary discourse is the same as in any other type of discourse (van Dijk 1979). Along with these assumptions we propose to consider social contexts and pragmatic aspects of narrative structures, taking into account specific characteristics of genre and register while noting that formal characteristics of text do not guarantee its stable meaning. In relation to this, we view the tension between cohesion and coherence, which arises from their distinctive nature (purely linguistic vs. contextualized), as unnecessary. Cohesion is neither necessary nor sufficient for coherence and it is now widely agreed that “coherence is ultimately a pragmatically-determined quality” (cf. Toolan 2012). Thus by our work with literary narratives we propose an analytical framework which combines effectively methods of textual and discourse analysis, exploring foregrounded (register) features and (rhetoric and stylistic) devices at all discourse levels, proceeding from the semantics of the text to pragmatic and socio-cultural dimensions of literary discourse (Verdonk 1995). Taking a closer look at sentence structures, ambiguity and semantic components of lexical items, we have been able to pinpoint specific cases where cohesion can be classified as a type of coherence, as well as to exemplify types of coherence created on the basis of cohesive links (e.g. co-referencing).

The approach presented draws its theory from three main fields of linguistic study. Firstly, the approach of systemic functional linguistics (cf. Halliday 1978) has been considered. We have reflected on the interpersonal and textual functions of language in the definition of genre, viewing it as a broader concept encompassing register and discourse structure (cf. Goatly 2012). Secondly, the approach of pragmatics (cf. Leech 1983) and pragmatic stylistics (cf. Leech and Short 2007, Clark 2009) has proven highly beneficial in the study of inferential processes in literary discourse interpretation, revealing in full the complexity of problems on the reader's and the narrator's part (e.g. reader's capacity and involvement in the meaning-making process, literary value creation and appreciation, etc.). Last but not least, the study of cognitive processes in literary discourse (cf. van Dijk 1978) and cognitive stylistics (cf. Toolan 2012, Jeffries and McIntyre 2010) has contributed to the study of coherence by the frame and schema theory.

The review of theoretical approaches to coherence and the analytical framework proposed in this chapter, supported by the analysed samples of literary narratives, enhance a view of coherence as a dominant property of literary text. We hope to have demonstrated the role of coherence (and its subtypes) at particular discourse levels and to have reflected the constant and close interplay between cohesion and coherence in the process of text-building and meaning-making.

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Newspaper discourse

CHAPTER FIVE

Coherence and cohesion in newspaper discourse with a focus on crime reports in the modern British press

Renata Jančaříková

Abstract

Newspaper discourse, although written and monologic, is a form of communication and social interaction during which an exchange of information takes place, and thus it naturally encompasses meaning creation and meaning interpretation. Despite no direct contact between the sender and the recipient a specific form of interaction determined to a certain extent by the genre takes place between the interactants, albeit of different and distinct character in comparison with spoken interaction. Since the present study aims to map some crucial aspects of the process of news consumption including meaning interpretation, it examines a range of features of coherence and cohesion in newspaper discourse with a focus on crime reports in order to demonstrate that both coherence and cohesion aid readers considerably in the process of making sense of newspaper discourse.

1 Introduction

However simple it may sound, the primary purpose of reading a newspaper for readers is still to get information (rather than entertainment), i.e. to learn the latest local and/or national and international news – ideally, to obtain reliable and objective accounts of events and affairs relevant and newsworthy to readers, who 'live and exist' in a particular social and cultural context. Therefore, the primary task of a newspaper, its editors and journalists should be to meet this expectation and provide their readers with such information – a task relatively easy to define in theory but extremely difficult to perform in practice. This assumption naturally raises a number of essential questions and issues to consider, such as what kind of news is newsworthy to the readers of a particular paper, what the readers expect to find in 'their' paper, what language a newspaper uses to present information, etc. Another important issue for both journalists and researchers is the issue of objective reporting, if such reporting exists at all, as some newspaper analysts argue (e.g. Fowler 1991).

Considering the prominent roles of modern media, newspapers are no longer mere transmitters of information; they also act, or at least attempt to act, as creators and promoters of particular social views and attitudes as well as moral guardians and agenda setters (cf. e.g. Temple 2008). In this regard the interpretation of meaning in newspaper discourse becomes an issue more crucial than ever before. It is a widely acknowledged belief that more is communicated than actually written or said, and in newspaper discourse it seems to be particularly true.

Newspaper discourse as a type of written discourse differs from spoken discourse mainly in that it is planned, prepared and well thought-out and it does not allow negotiation of meaning between the sender and the recipient; in other words, there is no "explicit construction of meaning" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2011: 1). Yet despite the absence of contact between the two, newspaper discourse still is and should be approached as a 'form of communication'; it can be seen as 'a communication process' which involves the encoding and decoding of messages and thus naturally also 'interpretation of meaning' and 'discourse interpretation' in general. In this regard, cohesion and cohesive devices play a central role in newspaper discourse since they enhance coherence and enable the reader to make sense of discourse.

It is worth noting that not all linguists understand the relationship between coherence and cohesion in the same way. In Hasan's (1989) framework, the interaction of cohesive devices (labelled by Hasan as 'cohesive harmony') serves as a basis for perceived coherence, so coherence and cohesion are viewed as mutually interdependent; in other words, coherence is seen as following from cohesion. Other linguists, for example Hoey (1991), Tanskanen (2006), Dontcheva-Navratilova (2011) and Povolná (2007), view the two as complementary but in essence independent of each other. In this perspective, as Tanskanen (2006) explains,

> ... coherence is not inherent in text as such, but rather it is the result of the interpretation process and ultimately depends on the relation between the receiver and the text; …. cohesive devices predispose receivers to find the coherence … (ibid.: 20).

Since in this view coherence is not a property of text or discourse itself but is derived from text or discourse by the receiver, it is not unusual that some receivers will find a particular text meaningful and coherent, whereas to others the same text may be uninterpretable, for example, due to a lack of background knowledge (ibid.). Nevertheless, whether coherence and cohesion are seen as interdependent or independent of each other, they unarguably aid or even govern the interpretation of meaning, and are indispensable constituents of human communication, whether spoken or written.

If follows from the above that language must be interpreted and not just 'passively consumed' in order to be meaningful to a language user. Language itself enables humans to communicate their meanings but if communication is to happen and be successful, the interpretation of meaning by the recipient has to happen too. With regard to newspaper discourse, which is the focus of the present chapter, it would be simplistic and wrong in essence to assume that the journalist encodes a particular meaning and the receiver – the reader – decodes it, i.e. interprets it, in exactly the way intended by the journalist. It should also be noted that the sender in this context is not an individual journalist because a journalist's original report undergoes a number of changes during the strict and elaborate process of editing by several editors and sub-editors, and the report published finally in the newspaper is thus 'a joint product' rather than a 'product of an individual', so the meaning is not encoded by an individual, i.e. a journalist himself/herself. Moreover, the 'joint product' should be in accordance with the paper's 'editorial line', which is to a large extent governed by the intended/implied readership of the paper, to whom the discourse should be coherent in the first place.

At this point it needs to be emphasized that the readers of a particular newspaper represent a heterogeneous rather than a homogenous group. Still, newspapers need to and do work with the concept of 'implied readership' (cf. below), because they need to identify their 'target group' in terms of age, profession or social status, as these will determine the range of topics and type of news, the language used, and also the advertising potential, for example. Despite such generalisations the readers of a particular newspaper do not represent an easily identifiable group with identical views and opinions. It can by no means be assumed that 1) all readers will derive the same meaning from the discourse, and 2) that the meaning derived by the readers is the same as the intended one. Still, the same text or discourse may be coherent to individual readers, although possibly in a different way because there are a number of factors which participate in the process of meaning and discourse interpretation, such as the reader's background and personal experience, his/her social status and identity, views and attitudes, and the social context (whether permanent or temporary), etc. Therefore, what particular readers make of a news report and what kind of view or attitude they adopt is a far more complex issue which goes far beyond the traditional 'encode/decode' process.

To sum up, all these factors support the above-mentioned view that coherence, i.e. "the underlying functional connectedness or identity of a piece of spoken or written language" (Crystal 2008: 62), is not a property of text itself but rather a more dynamic concept constituted by linguistic and situational, social and cultural context in which both the sender and the recipient play a central role. Cohesion, i.e. "the syntactic or semantic connectivity of linguistic forms at a surface-structure level of analysis" (Crystal 2008: 62-63), aids the process of meaning interpretation by the receiver. Meaning interpretation is inevitably connected with and enhanced by the knowledge of certain established (albeit subconscious) patterns by the reader, many of which are often genre-specific and participate substantially in the processes of both meaning creation and meaning interpretation.

2 Production vs. consumption

The processes of newspaper discourse production (including meaning creation) by journalists/newspapers are at least to a certain extent based on and influenced by the so-called 'implied readership/audience' (e.g. Richardson 2007). A newspaper's and a journalist's mission in general should be to provide factual and objective news accounts, and yet various newspapers will not report on the same event in the same way. It should be mentioned here that 'objectivity' in newspaper discourse is extremely difficult, if not impossible, to define and achieve in practice. In Fowler's (1991) view, for example, everything is presented from a certain point of view, i.e. not by neutral authority but by people. Fowler, who is particularly interested in the social character and social role of language in mediating and promoting ideology, claims that news production involves constant judgements; journalists and editors make constant choices as to the content of the newspaper, inclusion and exclusion of information as well as language choices. Among other things, these seem to be at least partly influenced by the 'expected/implied' audience. If a newspaper is to fight other newspapers (i.e. its business competitors) successfully and sustain its position in the newspaper market it must delimit its readership with their assumed expectations, tastes, views and preferences, which will all play a role in deriving coherence from a particular text or discourse. Even in newspaper reports, which are not primarily associated with views unlike editorials or columns, certain messages as to social views and attitudes are communicated 'between the lines' and these are consistent with the editorial line of the newspaper, which is determined at least partly by its 'implied' or 'intended' audience. This is not to suggest that the readers of a particular newspaper share the same views and beliefs; the process of meaning interpretation is influenced by many external factors, as mentioned above. On the other hand, if a majority of a newspaper's readership are Conservative voters (as it is the case with *the Daily Telegraph*, for example), certain readers' views and attitudes are presupposed and reflected in the newspapers' rhetoric. Whether these messages are duly interpreted (i.e. as intended by the newspaper) by the readers is, however, a completely different and highly individual matter, and needless to say, largely out of the newspapers' power.

As stated above, even newspaper reports are not devoid of views and attitudes (White 2006, Jančaříková 2012), as might be assumed mainly judging from their chief purpose, i.e. reporting on recent events or topical issues. Certain views and attitudes, not necessarily the same as those encoded by journalists, will be derived by the readers themselves in the process of making sense of the discourse, which may still be coherent to the readers. In view of the above, readers should not be seen as mere recipients of information but rather as active participants with their own perspectives, experience and background knowledge, which will all naturally enter the process of meaning interpretation and play a key role in deriving coherence from discourse.

3 Material under investigation

Newspaper discourse encompasses a large number of discourse types which have their own distinctive features that are determined by the discourse type itself and also the topic/theme. Therefore, any research into newspaper discourse must take these factors into account to avoid superficial generalizations.

The present study draws on my long-term research into the language of crime reports and their subtype – 'verdict reports', i.e. reports that announce the verdict in high-profile murder cases, the victims being children (killed by one of the parents) or teenagers killed by strangers. Within the research 40 articles about ten murder cases (i.e. four reports about each) from four different British national daily newspapers (both broadsheets and tabloids) were analyzed to map the typical discursive strategies in this type of reports, mainly with a focus on the status of the victims and killers. The aim of the qualitative analysis presented in the following sections is to explore coherence and cohesion in a particular type of newspaper report and thus demonstrate the wide range of linguistic devices that newspapers and journalists may employ not only to inform effectively but also to achieve the desired effect on or desired response from the audience, since language choices are the essence of newspaper discourse and contribute largely to meaning interpretation by the reader.

4 Coherence in newspaper discourse

Discursive meaning should not be narrowed just to the processes of encoding and decoding meanings; what also has to be taken into account are particular discourse practices and genre-specific or professional practices and techniques, which naturally influence and help to construct discursive meaning (Richardson 2007).

As advocated above, newspaper discourse is ‘a form of communication’ which, as any other type of communication, has its underlying principles which enter the processes of both discourse production and discourse consumption, and thus both the creation/transmission of meaning and meaning interpretation. Drawing on the Hallidayan terms of ‘field’, ‘mode’ and ‘tenor’ (Halliday and Hasan 1989), a newspaper report can be defined as an act of communication which involves primarily transmission and consumption of information (i.e. field) conducted between the sender, i.e. the newspaper, and the recipient, i.e. the implied reader (i.e. tenor) in written form (i.e. mode). These categories help to define the situation, i.e. the context in which the interaction takes place, as they reflect aspects that govern the language choices in any language use. In this regard, the reader’s expectations play a fundamental role both in the process of meaning interpretation and the discourse production. These expectations stem mainly from the reader’s background knowledge and previous experience of the same ‘discourse type’ or ‘genre’. It is useful to mention here that within his framework of critical discourse analysis of the media, Fairclough (1995: 76) views the two as distinct categories, ‘genre’ being “a way of using language which corresponds to the nature of the social practice that is being engaged in”; as such it can be described as “the overarching category for analysing discourse types”. ‘Discourse types’, as Fairclough states, “often draw upon two or more genres”, although there are also discourse types which “are closely modelled on single genres” (ibid.). Discourse types typically found in newspapers include ‘hard-news’, ‘soft-news’, editorials, feature articles, etc. In this sense, what contributes to the coherence of the text/discourse is mainly the typical generic structure of these discourse types. As for newspaper reports, it is *the headline – lead – body copy* structure, which in van Dijk’s framework (1988) represents the so-called ‘schematic structure’ of this particular discourse type.

The ‘headline’ has two basic functions – a summary of ‘what’ and ‘who’ and an ‘eye catcher’, but it does not necessarily have to fulfil both these functions at the same time. The headline may primarily attract the readers’ attention and the factual information will follow in the sub-headline and/or the ‘lead’ (Example 1). The repetition of information (in the headline and the lead) contributes to the dramatic effect and emphasizes the main theme. On the other hand, the headline may be purely factual, i.e. a summary of the main facts elaborated on in the lead (Example 2). Mainly in quality newspapers (i.e. broadsheets), where any open judgements or evaluations are ‘forbidden’, the headline and the lead will primarily summarize the facts (Example 3).

(1) **Headline**: *Barbaric*
Sub-headline: *Life for race-hate thugs who murdered Kriss, 15*
Lead: *Three Asian thugs were caged for life yesterday for the “barbaric” race-hate murder of a white boy of 15.* (Sun, November 9, 2006)

(2) **Headline**: *Teenager given 14 years for murder after trivial row led to 'horrific' attack*

Sub-headlines: *Victim had celebrated his 16th birthday a day earlier; Killer did not want to lose face over dispute in shop*

Lead: *A teenager who killed the school-leaver Jimmy Mizen during a frenzied scuffle in a south London bakery was given a life sentence and ordered to serve a minimum of 14 years yesterday after an Old Bailey jury found him guilty of murder.* (Guardian, March 28, 2009)

(3) **Headline**: *Man who killed his son in revenge for wife's affair gets life*

Lead: *A father who murdered his four-year-old son and stabbed his teenage daughter to take revenge on his estranged wife for having an affair was jailed for life yesterday.* (Daily Telegraph, March 6, 2008)

As the examples above illustrate, the headline and the lead contribute largely to the coherence, as they communicate the main theme and position the event in a particular context. They are not only closely interlinked; the headline may even be extracted or derived from the lead. The lead, as Bell (1991: 183) states, is "a summary of a story", but it should not be viewed as "a stand-alone abstract".

> The journalistic lead has a dual function. It must begin to tell the story as well as summarizing it. It therefore has to introduce the orientation material which a face to face narrator might consign to several separate descriptive sentences – *who*, *when* and *where*. It must provide a springboard for telling the whole story, not just a summary (1991: 183).

It follows from the above that the lead focuses the story and in itself is 'a micro-story', because it practically tells the story in one sentence (ibid.). In this regard the lead is even more important than the headline. This is in accordance with a typical journalistic practice applied in newspaper discourse known for more than a century as 'the inverted pyramid' (e.g. Diller 2002) or 'the top-down principle' (e.g. Ungerer 2002), i.e. the information is ordered according to its importance, with the most important information mentioned at the beginning. Due to these features a newspaper report is a relatively stabilized, firmly established and recognizable discourse type (Fairclough 1995), from the point of view of both the journalist and the reader.

In van Dijk's framework, both the headline and the lead express or at least signal 'a theme' (which van Dijk also calls 'a topic'), which is part of 'the semantic macrostructure' of the discourse. Having previous experience of these practices and particular discourse types the reader makes inferences about the main topic and his/her expectations are thus naturally incorporated in the process of meaning interpretation.

At this stage the reader is also aided by the typical layout of a newspaper report – the lead may be printed in bold (usually in tabloid newspapers, cf. Appendix, Figure 1) and thus made a prominent part of a report. But even if bold type is not used (cf. Appendix, Figure 2), it is the reader's expectation based on his/her experience of newspaper reports as a particular discourse type that the first paragraph conveys the most important information. The two reports (Figures 1 and 2) report on a different murder case and are taken from a tabloid and broadsheet respectively; still, they represent the same discourse type and the leads contain the same or very similar types of information, i.e. they answer the principal questions of 'who' and 'what' and also 'why' (e.g. a father killed his son in revenge for his wife's affair and was given a life sentence).

This is not to suggest that all newspaper reports necessarily follow this pattern, but it is definitely a very strong, traditional and deeply rooted convention in newspaper discourse that the lead summarizes and focuses the story. In addition it may also put the event in a wider context, for example, identify something as a social problem, as can be seen in Example 4:

(4) *The father of Jimmy Mizen yesterday attacked Britain's culture of "anger, selfishness and fear" after seeing a school dropout jailed for murdering his son*. (Daily Telegraph, March 28, 2009)

Since the killer had a criminal past and was known to the authorities, the victim's father blames his son's death also on British society, which in his view has abandoned traditional values and failed to fight the problem of juvenile violence, which the newspaper has chosen to include in the lead in order to point out a serious social problem. A similar strategy is used in the Daily Mirror report on the same event (Example 5).

(5) *The dad of murdered teenager Jimmy Mizen demanded an end to "angry Britain" yesterday as his son's killer was jailed for life.* (Daily Mirror, March 28, 2009)

As Examples 4 and 5 illustrate this strategy is not limited to a particular type of newspaper, i.e. a broadsheet or tabloid.

5 Cohesion in newspaper discourse

As mentioned above, in written discourse cohesion and cohesive devices contribute largely to the coherence since negotiation of meaning between the sender and the recipient is not possible, and thus the context of the situation as well as the ‘actors’ have to be described explicitly. Coherence as “the result of the interpretation process” (Tanskanen 2006: 20) is derived from text/discourse by the receiver and it does not necessarily have to be the same for all receivers. It has also been pointed out previously that apart from providing readers with news newspapers communicate certain views and attitudes, or even ideology. In view of a particular paper’s implied readership it can be assumed that a certain meaning interpretation is encouraged, whether overtly or covertly, since it is expected that there will be a certain consensus about what is considered acceptable or moral within a particular community. Thus, issues of immigration or the country’s involvement in foreign wars, for example, can be depicted differently in a primarily right-wing newspaper and in a left-wing one. On the other hand, there are issues on which there is a wide consensus in society, such as filicide or child abuse, so the interpretation of meaning itself will not differ; the newspapers will, however, use different language means to convey the same facts/information.

Apart from information, views and attitudes are communicated to readers; it is in the first place language that has the capacity to transmit these, whether overtly or covertly. The interplay of grammatical and lexical devices, which at the same time may also have a cohesive function, thus contributes to the coherence of discourse and also the effectiveness of news.

It should be pointed out that extensive research has been carried out on the topic of cohesion since Halliday and Hasan (1976) published their seminal work *Cohesion in English* and described cohesion as being realized by ‘grammatical cohesive ties’ (i.e. conjuctives, reference, substitution and ellipsis) and ‘lexical cohesive ties’ (i.e. reiteration and collocation), although as others later pointed out (e.g. Tárnyiková 2002, Hoey 1991), and the authors themselves further acknowledged, these categories are not always strictly distinguishable; the original model was modified to reflect the fuzziness of the original categories. As other researchers (e.g. Martin 1992, Tanskanen 2006, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2011) emphasize, the reader’s background knowledge and experience as well as knowledge of certain discourse types and strategies (often genre specific) also have to be taken into account in the interpretation of cohesive devices. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2005: 29) offers a comprehensive and useful summary of cohesive relations, which reflects the complexity of cohesion and can be used to explore cohesion in various genres. She defines cohesive devices as a) grammatical (conjunction, reference, substitution and ellipsis), b) lexical (repetition, synonymy, antonymy, meronymy and hyponymy) and c) structural (parallelism, given-new information and theme-focus organization).

5.1 Grammatical cohesion

Due to the nature of newspaper discourse it is not surprising that cohesion is realized mainly on the lexical level, which, however, is not to suggest that grammatical cohesive devices are less important. Grammatical cohesive links are also employed (e.g. those of reference) but in comparison with spoken discourse and other types of written discourse their repertoire is not as extensive. The category of 'reference' is obviously most prominent since it is necessary to refer repeatedly to people or things mentioned throughout the discourse. Due to the nature of newspaper discourse, 'endophoric' reference prevails, i.e. the referent is mentioned in the text. Apart from the basic cohesive function, referring expressions, for example personal pronouns, may be used to create or enhance the dramatic effect of the news, mainly by the employment of 'cataphoric' reference. Although it may be found in any part of a newspaper report, it is particularly effective at the beginning, even in headlines, where it is important to arouse the readers' interest, as can be seen from the headlines below (Examples 6-8).

(6) *Lured to his death by gay killer letter* (Daily Mirror, October 17, 2006)
(7) *STOP IT* (Daily Mirror, March 28, 2009)
(8) *What she did to my princess was evil* (Daily Mirror, September 24, 2008)

In Example 6 the reference by the pronoun *his* introduces the victim, whose identity will be revealed if the reader reads on; in Example 7 the reference of the pronoun *it* is to be clarified in the coming context as a big problem of British society (i.e. juvenile crime and violence); in Example 8 the female referred to by *she* is obviously assigned responsibility for something particularly horrible and the following paragraph reveals that it was the child's own mother who killed the girl. It should also be noted that all these examples are taken from a tabloid, where dramatic effect seems to be one of the most important goals for the journalist.

The repetition of a referring expression in a few successive sentences may also contribute to the dramatic effect or emphasize a particular feature of a person, for example, the nature of the killer, as in Example 9. This description, however, is taken from the prosecutor's speech, the main aim of which was to describe the killer and the background to the murder in court. As such it is close to a narrative which was carefully prepared and probably well thought out by the speaker, i.e. the prosecutor. For the same reason, as it is a revealing description of the killer's nature, it was probably chosen by the journalist for inclusion in the article because to a certain extent (due to the facts included) it presents an evaluation of the killer and her behaviour; the newspaper's objectivity is not put in jeopardy because the description and evaluation is clearly attributable to a source other than the newspaper. It is mainly for this reason that quotations from witnesses, family members, judges, detectives and others involved are used extensively in the serious press, although in the popular press quotations are also extremely frequent, used mainly to enhance the dramatic effect.

(9) *Joanne Hill could not come to terms with the fact that her daughter was disabled.*
Instead of seeking help from the social services she quite deliberately and consciously acted to kill Naomi. She quite simply wanted Naomi dead. She couldn't cope with caring for Naomi and left a lot of the everyday care to her husband. She even suggested to him that Naomi should be adopted, but he would never agree to that because he doted on her. (Daily Telegraph, September 24, 2008)

The full name of the mother is given at the beginning so as to state who is being talked about and each successive sentence begins with the pronoun *she* clearly pointing at the mother as the one fully responsible for the girl's death. In spoken form, uttered by an experienced lawyer, the speech must have been particularly effective.

Some researchers, for example Tárnyiková (2002), consider even the morphological categories of 'tense', 'voice' and 'mood' to be important cohesive devices. In terms of tense, it is the consistent use of a particular tense in the verdict reports that helps the reader to understand the sequence of events, for example the past tense is used to give an account of the murder itself in the reports under investigation. The consistent use of the past simple makes these accounts close to a narrative and at the same time enhances their factual/informative character. In the verdict reports the identity of the killer is known and can therefore be clearly stated. It is mainly the constant use of the active voice which moves the agent to the foreground and enables the assigning of responsibility for the victim's death to a particular person and for him/her to be 'pointed at' in the discourse. There is no reason for the passive voice because in these reports the agent must be clearly identified – he/she represents 'evil' as opposed to 'good' as represented by the victim. The passive would have the opposite effect, i.e. the agent would be suppressed and the result would be 'a depersonalised text' (ibid.: 36).

5.2 Lexical cohesion

As mentioned above, lexical cohesion, i.e. "cohesion which is realised by the selection of vocabulary" (Tanskanen 1995: 531), is demonstrated in newspaper discourse more prominently and more 'visibly' than grammatical cohesion, because it is mainly the choice of vocabulary that helps to position the event as well as the reader in a particular social and cultural context, which is necessary for deriving coherence from discourse. On the other hand, this is not to suggest that grammatical and lexical devices are separate phenomena; it must be emphasized that cohesion for the reader follows from their interplay in the first place.

Before proceeding to concrete examples of lexical cohesion in the material under investigation, it is useful to sum up at least the basic approaches to lexical cohesion within the models proposed by Halliday and Hasan (1976), Hasan (1984), Hoey (1991) and Tanskanen (1995). Halliday and Hasan originally distinguished only two categories of lexical cohesion (i.e. 'reiteration' and 'collocation'), which later proved insufficient and led to the modification of lexical cohesion relations by Hasan (1984: 2002), who proposed two completely new categories of 'general' and 'instantial' relations; the former included 'repetition', 'synonymy', 'antonymy', 'hyponymy' and 'meronymy', the latter 'equivalence', 'naming' and 'semblance'. Still, Halliday and Hasan consider cohesion and coherence as interdependent phenomena.

According to Hoey (1991), lexical cohesion, due to its high frequency of occurrence, is the main contributor to the creation of texture and is stronger than grammar; lexical relations may create cohesion between neighbouring sentences (i.e. local cohesion) as well as across larger chunks where cohesion operates between sentences separated by several other sentences (i.e. distant cohesion). The connections between the sentences, which Hoey labels as 'bonds', play a key role in discourse coherence in that they ensure "topic continuity" and activate "relevant discourse-processing knowledge" (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2011: 42).

Tanskanen (1995: 533) aims to define cohesion in more general terms in order to provide a model which could be used for analysis of cohesion in different types of discourse and under different conditions. Therefore, she proposes two general categories: 'reiteration' and 'collocation'. Unlike other researchers she abandons traditional terms from lexical semantics, such as synonymy or antonymy. Reiteration within her model comprises a) repetition (*map – map*; *a plan – planned*); b) equivalence (*establish – set up*); c) generalisation (*buses – public transport*); d) specification (*public transport – underground*); e) co-specification (*buses – underground*) and f) contrast (accept – refuse). Collocation comprises a) ordered set (*Monday – Thursday*) and b) implication (*winter – cold*; *armies – war*).

Tanskanen's research into lexical cohesion shows that reiteration is more frequent than collocation and "dominates especially under more difficult communicative conditions" where cohesion is relatively dense (i.e. greater proximity between items in pairs); collocation "is used to a greater extent in less demanding conditions", where the cohesion is less dense (i.e. there are greater distances between items in pairs) (ibid.: 537).

The repertoire and frequency of occurrence of lexical cohesive devices depends at least to a certain extent on the discourse type, i.e. the range and types of cohesive devices employed in a narrative, for example, will differ considerably from those in an advertisement or a newspaper report. Also, various discourse types allow inner variation, i.e. newspaper reports can be further sub-divided into a number of sub-types, usually depending on the main theme. Within the sub-type of crime reports these include, for example, reports on robberies, accidents, murders, verdict reports, etc. In order to depict the variation in the newspaper reports under investigation and map principal differences between the serious and popular British press it appears particularly suitable to deal with lexical cohesive devices in terms of general categories as discussed by Tárnyiková (2002), i.e. 'lexical replacement' and 'lexical relationships', which are closely intertwined with naming strategies in crime reports.

All the crimes reported in the reports under investigation are high-profile murder cases of very young children killed by a parent, or murders of teenagers who have been killed in a particularly violent and abhorrent way; as such they have enormous potential as 'human stories', which seem to be replacing hard news such as foreign news and political or investigative reporting in the modern press (Franklin 2008). The victim and the killer(s) are thus central to the reports since the events happened in real life to real people. From the very beginning the main participants are clearly identified not only as 'victim' vs. 'killer', but also as 'good' vs. 'evil', 'innocent' vs. 'vicious', 'helpless' vs. 'sadistic, cruel'. The participants are identified as individuals and at the same time via their social roles, for example, *a mother/ father* vs. *a child*, *an altar boy* vs. *a school dropout*, etc. These labels help to express the contrast between the participants and also accentuate their positive and negative qualities, as well as to reinforce particular cultural stereotypes. It is mainly lexical replacement and repetition that are employed in both the serious and popular press to achieve these goals. As can be seen from Example 10, the most important information about the killer is not her name but her social role of *a mother*, and on top of that *a young mother*, who failed to fulfil her main role, i.e. the principal role of a woman – a mother. Moreover, her low social status is further reinforced by stating that she is *a former crack addict*.

(10) *<u>Young mother</u> jailed over "horrific cruelty campaign against two-month-old son. (headline) – <u>A young mother</u> has been jailed for a horrific campaign against her helpless two-month-old son who died after her last attack ... – <u>Former crack addict Claire Biggs, 27</u>, had already seen her first child taken into care ... – Even <u>Biggs</u> admitted ... – In evidence <u>Biggs</u> insisted ...,* etc. (Daily Telegraph, March 11, 2009)

Once the identity of the killer (i.e. a young mother and a former crack addict) has been established in the text, she is further referred to consistently by her surname only, which in this context and mainly in comparison with the victim may be considered as a device creating distance between the killer and the reader. The victim is primarily described as a very young child (*the little boy, baby*) and the repeated mention of his age as well as emphasis on his helplessness clearly enhance his status as a victim, for which cf. the lexical chain below (Example 11).

(11) *two-month-old son – her helpless two-month old son – Rhys's chest – the little boy's wrist and shoulder – helpless son – the baby – Rhys came under the care– Rhys was known to the local authorities- ...*, etc. (Daily Telegraph, March 11, 2009)

In contrast to the mother, who is referred to in the rest of the report by her surname, the victim's positive status is further reinforced by the use of his first name (*Rhys*) or *baby*, which may encourage certain attitudes and feelings towards the victim, for example the reader's sympathy. Naming is thus "a very useful device in promoting a particular response from an audience" (Reah 2002: 59). Since the two above examples (Examples 10 and 11) are taken from a broadsheet it is worth mentioning how the same event is reported in a tabloid. *The Sun* report from the same day builds on the killer's identity as *a mother* and mainly as *a crack addict*. Unlike broadsheet newspapers, tabloids can afford to and will make open evaluations of people's actions and behaviour, and so evaluative adjectives are employed to accentuate the negative status of the killer via the use of 'unexpected' collocations, such as *a sadistic mum* or *monstrous mum* (Example 12).

(12) *Crack addict tortured her baby until he died ... – A sadistic mum jailed yesterday ... – Crack addict Claire Biggs – pony-tailed Biggs, 27, convicted of assault ... – the monstrous mum, whose boyfriend was found guilty ... – Biggs – Biggs ..., etc.* (Sun, March 11, 2009)

The reference to the victim (Example 13) is very similar to the reference in the *Daily Telegraph* report (Example 11), for example, the repetition of the noun *baby*, the use of the adjective *helpless*, etc. As for the victim's age, indirect reference is made by use of the adjective *tiny* and the noun *tot*, which can be also described as devices of lexical replacement and at the same time add to the emotional effect of the report.

(13) *Crack addict tortured her baby ... – ... for torturing her baby – ... for killing two-month-old Rhys ... – ... helpless Rhys suffered ... – the tot – tiny Rhys – Rhys ..., etc*. (Sun, March 11, 2009)

The labels *monstrous mother* and *sadistic mother* are particularly effective examples of lexical replacement; they are descriptive and evaluative at the same time. Moreover, they are not only means of lexical cohesion as they also enhance the deeply rooted stereotype of the main female role of mother. It is worth mentioning that the 'bad mother motif' is one of the strongest stereotypes in crime news, whereas 'a bad father motif' is virtually non-existent. The fatherly qualities of a man are not normally questioned; more attention is paid to the motive of the man for killing his own child than with killing mothers (cf. Appendix, Figures 3 and 4). Generally, men who kill seem to be less newsworthy for the media than women who kill and they are rarely depicted as bad fathers (Jewkes 2004).

Similar labels which mediate the low social status of the killer, i.e. lower than the reader's status, and which also elaborate on social and cultural stereotypes can be used to emphasize the assailant's 'otherness' as compared to the law-abiding majority of 'us'. The lexical means employed thus also contribute to the coherence, as they refer not only to individuals but also mediate and reinforce the cultural and social reality. As Example 14 illustrates, the lexical choices are made carefully to identify the 'good' and 'evil' by hinting at qualities typically associated with a certain type of behaviour or background (i.e. *a former Roman Catholic altar boy* vs. *a cannabis-smoking school dropout*). The effect is even stronger when such a representation strategy is used in one sentence to contrast the victim and the killer, or two successive sentences, as Example 14 shows.

(14) *The father of <u>Jimmy Mizen</u> yesterday attacked Britain's culture of "anger, selfishness and fear" after seeing <u>a school dropout</u> jailed for murdering his son. <u>Jake Fahri, a 19-year-old cannabis smoking school dropout,</u> slashed <u>the former Roman Catholic altar boy's</u> neck with a glass dish in a bakery last May.* (Daily Telegraph, March 28, 2009)

The Sun report of this case from the same day is probably based on the same primary text provided by a news agency (judging from the type and range of information included), as with today's press this is common journalistic practice (Franklin 2008). In terms of naming, however, *The Daily Telegraph* and *the Sun* differ. The labels used by *the Sun* are more radical and evaluative, as is typical of tabloids, mainly in reference to the killer. The noun *thug*, which reoccurs in *Sun* crime reports and is thus a firmly established concept to *Sun* readers, is used in the headline, then repeated and reinforced by the evaluative adjective *twisted* in the lead, and in the following text it is replaced by another negative label, *a street yob* (Example 15). Such labelling has an increasing negative effect.

(15) *<u>Thug who murdered Jimmy, 16</u> given life ... – <u>twisted thug Jake Fahri</u> was jailed yesterday for murdering <u>altar boy Jimmy Mizen</u> ... – <u>Fahri, 19,</u>*

swaggered away ... – <u>street yob Fahri</u>, who also lived just a street away ... – <u>the 5ft 7 in drug dealing rap music fan</u> ..., etc. (Sun, March 28, 2009)

As Example 15 illustrates, lexical replacement is an effective means of lexical cohesion in crime reports and at the same time has a wide communicative potential which various newspapers exploit with respect to the presumed needs and expectations of their audiences. From the above examples it is also clear that tabloids are evaluative and emotional, as they typically present their readers with ready-made views and opinions, where serious newspapers encourage a particular meaning interpretation covertly, for example, by the inclusion of negative information that lowers the social status of the killer (for more on reference and naming, cf. Jančaříková 2009). Particular lexical choices thus focus the reader's attention on certain facts and characteristics which encourage the intended meaning interpretation.

6 Conclusion

The aim of the present analysis was to explore coherence and cohesion in a particular type of newspaper reports, i.e. verdict reports, and thus demonstrate the multifaceted character of newspaper discourse. Qualitative analysis was performed to map some typical features of verdict reports in order to illustrate the enormous potential of language choices.

It was argued that coherence is derived from the text by the reader and thus may vary to a certain extent because the process of meaning interpretation is partly influenced by each individual reader's experience, background and social and cultural context. Meaning interpretation does not, therefore, lie in pure encoding and decoding of the messages and has to be considered in relation to the above-mentioned. Coherence and cohesion are interconnected but not necessarily interdependent.

Cohesive devices, both grammatical and lexical, have been shown to further contribute to coherence, and it is mainly their interplay that makes a newspaper report a diverse, effective and coherent whole. Their repertoire and frequency of occurrence is determined mainly by the discourse type and also the main theme.

In verdict reports endophoric reference has been identified as the main means of grammatical cohesion. The identity of the participants has to be established as early as possible but not necessarily by the person's name in the first place; where effective, the first mention of the referent is done via his/her social role. Another crucial means of grammatical cohesion employed in verdict reports is the consistent use of the active voice, which helps to assign the full responsibility for the killing to the killer.

Out of lexical cohesive devices, mainly lexical replacement and repetition are employed in the reports under investigation. Apart from their cohesive role lexical means and naming strategies have been shown to have a wide social and cultural potential as they may encourage a certain meaning interpretation or evoke a particular type of response from the audience and also reinforce various social and cultural stereotypes.

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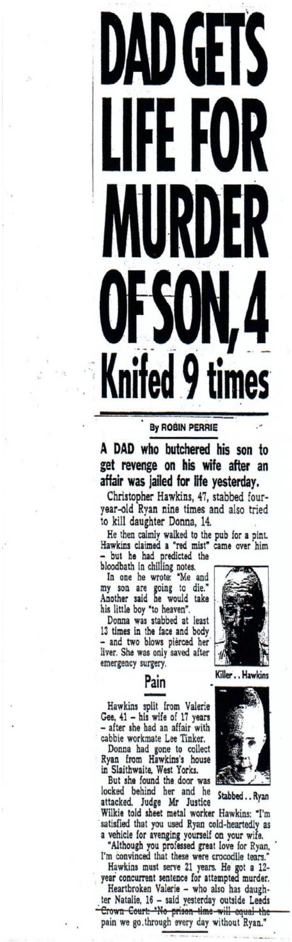


DAD GETS LIFE FOR MURDER OF SON, 4

Knifed 9 times

By ROBIN PERRIE

A DAD who butchered his son to get revenge on his wife after an affair was jailed for life yesterday.

Christopher Hawkins, 47, stabbed four-year-old Ryan nine times and also tried to kill daughter Donna, 14.

He then calmly walked to the pub for a pint. Hawkins claimed a "red mist" came over him – but he had predicted the bloodbath in chilling notes.

In one he wrote: "Me and my son are going to die." Another said he would take his little boy "to heaven".

Donna was stabbed at least 13 times in the face and body – and two blows pierced her liver. She was only saved after emergency surgery.

Killer . . Hawkins

Pain

Hawkins split from Valerie Gee, 41 – his wife of 17 years – after she had an affair with cabbie workmate Lee Tinker.

Donna had gone to collect Ryan from Hawkins's house in Slaithwaite, West Yorks.

Stabbed . . Ryan

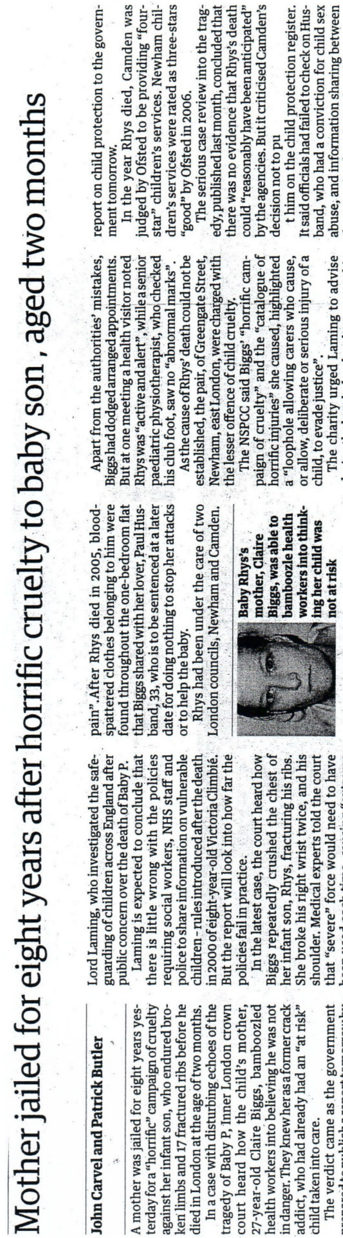
But she found the door was locked behind her and he attacked. Judge Mr Justice Wilkie told sheet metal worker Hawkins: "I'm satisfied that you used Ryan cold-heartedly as a vehicle for avenging yourself on your wife.

"Although you professed great love for Ryan, I'm convinced that these were crocodile tears."

Hawkins must serve 21 years. He got a 12-year concurrent sentence for attempted murder.

Heartbroken Valerie – who also has daughter Natalie, 16 – said yesterday outside Leeds ~~Crown Court: "No prison time will equal the~~ pain we go through every day without Ryan."

Figure 1: Murder of Ryan Hawkins (Sun)



Mother jailed for eight years after horrific cruelty to baby son , aged two months

John Carvel and Patrick Butler

A mother was jailed for eight years yesterday for a "horrific" campaign of cruelty against her infant son, who endured broken limbs and 17 fractured ribs before he died in London at the age of two months.

In a case with disturbing echoes of the tragedy of Baby P, Inner London crown court heard how the child's mother, 27-year-old Claire Biggs, bamboozled health workers into believing he was not in danger. They knew her as a former crack addict, who had already had an "at risk" child taken into care.

The verdict came as the government prepared to publish a report tomorrow by Lord Laming, who investigated the safeguarding of children across England after public concern over the death of Baby P.

Laming is expected to conclude that there is little wrong with the policies requiring social workers, NHS staff and police to share information on vulnerable children – rules introduced after the death in 2000 of eight-year-old Victoria Climbié. But the report will look into how far the policies fail in practice.

In the latest case, the court heard how Biggs repeatedly crushed the chest of her infant son, Rhys, fracturing his ribs. She broke his right wrist twice, and his shoulder. Medical experts told the court that "severe" force would need to have been used each time, causing "extreme pain". After Rhys died in 2005, blood-spattered clothes belonging to him were found throughout the one-bedroom flat that Biggs shared with her lover, Paul Husband, 33, who is to be sentenced at a later date for doing nothing to stop her attacks or to help the baby.

Rhys had been under the care of two London councils, Newham and Camden.

Baby Rhys's mother, Claire Biggs, was able to bamboozle health workers into thinking her child was not at risk

Apart from the authorities' mistakes, Biggs had dodged arranged appointments. But at one meeting a health visitor noted Rhys was "active and alert", while a senior paediatric physiotherapist, who checked his club foot, saw no "abnormal marks".

As the cause of Rhys' death could not be established, the pair, of Greengate Street, Newham, east London, were charged with the lesser offence of child cruelty.

The NSPCC said Biggs' "horrific campaign of cruelty" and the "catalogue of horrific injuries" she caused, highlighted a "loophole allowing carers who cause, or allow, deliberate or serious injury of a child, to evade justice".

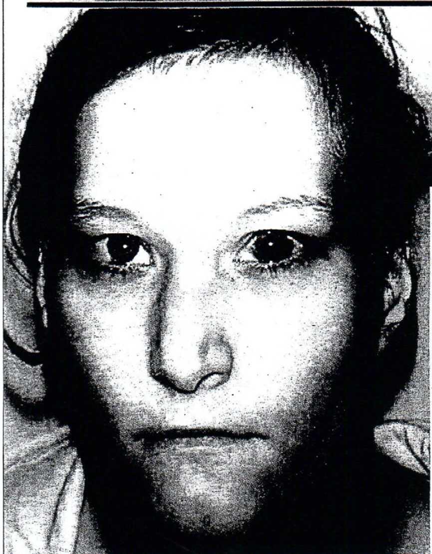
The charity urged Laming to advise closing the loophole when he presents his report on child protection to the government tomorrow.

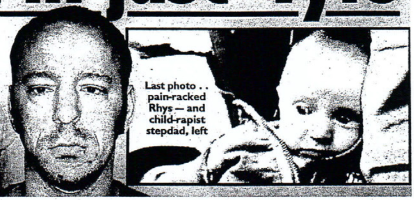
In the year Rhys died, Camden was judged by Ofsted to be providing "four-star" children's services. Newham children's services were rated as three-stars "good" by Ofsted in 2006.

The serious case review into the tragedy, published last month, concluded that there was no evidence that Rhys's death could "reasonably have been anticipated" by the agencies. But it criticised Camden's decision not to pu t him on the child protection register. It said officials had failed to check on Husband, who had a conviction for child sex abuse, and information sharing between the agencies deteriorated.

Figure 2: Murder of Rhys Biggs (Guardian)

Crack addict tortured her baby until he died...and she'll be out in just 4yrs





Monster . . . the evil eyes of brutal mum Claire Biggs in new picture

A SADISTIC mum jailed yesterday for torturing her baby until he died in agony was dragged sobbing and screaming from court — despite facing just FOUR years behind bars.

Crack addict Claire Biggs – who blamed her child-rapist boyfriend for killing two-month-old Rhys – was sentenced to eight but is likely to be freed in barely half that.

Horrified judge Lindsay Burn said that despite public "revulsion" at the evil pair, his hands were tied since all they could be convicted of was cruelty. That was because helpless Rhys suffered so many broken bones it was impossible to tell exactly what killed him.

By JAMES CLENCH

Pony-tailed Biggs, 27 – convicted of assault – wept as the judge told her: "You turned on a tiny baby and deliberately injured him repeatedly."

Blunders

The monstrous mum, whose boyfriend was found guilty of wilful neglect for doing nothing to help the tot, was then taken struggling to the cells by two dock officers.

Protesting her innocence, she screamed: "I didn't kill him. Ask him why he killed him."

Lover Paul Husband, 33, will be sentenced later. Care agencies – since blasted for shocking blunders in an echo of the Baby P scandal – were meant to have been keeping an eye on tiny Rhys in Newham, East London. But they knew nothing of his stepdad's 1993 child-rape conviction. One "at risk" child had already been taken off Biggs. Two others she gave birth to since have also been taken into care. Inner London Crown Court heard that thankfully she can have no more.

Rhys died in hospital after his ribs were snapped 17 times during his short, miserable life. A wrist and shoulder were also broken.

Cops discovered a bloodied teddy bear and clothes at the home of the mite – who would have been constantly screaming in pain.

A bizarre text from Biggs found on her lover's phone read: "To my daddy: I know that I cry a lot and that you find it hard sometimes. Love your little son Rhys."

j.clench@the-sun.co.uk

Figure 3: Murder of Rhys Biggs (Sun)

Life for father who killed girl to pay back wife's infidelity

By Nick Britten

A FATHER who drugged then suffocated his three-year-old daughter in revenge for his wife's infidelity was jailed for life yesterday after being convicted of her murder.

Gavin Hall, 33, fed Amelia, known as Millie, sleeping pills and cuddled her for an hour before smothering her with a cloth soaked in chloroform.

He then sent text messages to his wife, Joanne, who was upstairs asleep, blaming her and explaining what he had done.

Intending her to find them the following morning, he added to the scene of horror by killing the family's two cats and laying them out next to Millie's body and her teddy bear, before trying to kill himself.

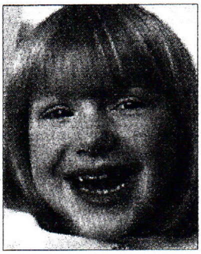
Hall, a hospital radiographer, admitted killing Millie two days before her fourth birthday.

But he denied murder, claiming that he was driven to despair and mental illness after discovering that his 31-year-old wife was having an affair with a married judge and had been advertising herself on internet sex sites.

Yesterday, after a jury at Northampton crown court found Hall guilty, Judge Charles Wide, QC, ordered him to serve at least 15 years.

Outside court, Millie's mother, who has reverted to her maiden name of Rainsley, said: "My children, Millie and Lucy, were our pride and the love and joy of our lives. It is incomprehensible to us as to how anyone under such circumstances could deliberately take away such a beautiful little girl as Millie.

"Millie will always be remembered as a happy, lovely and beautiful little girl



Smothered: Millie Hall

and I am proud to have been her mum."

Supt John Jones, of Northamptonshire police, said the investigation "is possibly one of the most tragic cases I have dealt with in 28 years as a police officer. The image of Millie lying dead on the duvet will stay with me for the rest of my life".

The Halls, who met in the 1990s while they were medical students in Northampton, had a rocky marriage which disintegrated in the months before Millie died.

Miss Rainsley, a nurse, said that following the birth of their second daughter, one-year-old Lucy, Hall showed no interest in her and she began looking on the internet for others to have sex with.

She said Hall had not wanted Lucy and she had told him she was leaving the family home in Irchester, Northants, and taking the children.

She met the married part-time judge, James Muir-Little, 45, with whom she exchanged naked pictures and explicit sexual fantasies before they twice met for sex.

When Hall found out, he

Continued on Page 3

'I killed my angel and I have not joined her'

Continued from Page 1

was devastated. Last Nov 29, consumed by "anger, jealousy and bitterness", he dressed Millie in her best pyjamas before feeding her sleeping pills.

For an hour he cuddled her then placed a cloth soaked in chloroform over her mouth, strangling and suffocating her as she fought for life.

Having taken sleeping pills himself and set the scene for his wife to find, he tried to commit suicide by using chloroform and slashing himself.

In the morning Miss Rainsley came downstairs to a blood-spattered living room to be confronted with her daughter lying dead under a duvet over which were laid the cats.

Hall was barely conscious on the sofa but still alive. He later told police: "I killed my angel and I have not joined her."

Judge Wide accepted that Miss Rainsley's behaviour had caused an "emotional disturbance" in Hall's mind.

"When you found your wife had been unfaithful and saw the extraordinarily sexually explicit e-mails, these circumstances were particularly distressing for you.

"The killing of the cats on Sunday night was, I am quite satisfied, part of the creation of this scene of horror that you were preparing for your wife. She would come down and find Millie dead, the cats dead lying on the duvet, and you dead, to punish and hurt her.

"There was no doubt you were ill but not so ill that you are guilty of manslaughter."

Last night the Law Society said Judge Muir-Little's actions would not be investigated. The Lord Chancellor's Department said it would not investigate as no complaint has been made.

Figure 4: Murder of Millie Hall (Daily Telegraph)

Political discourse

CHAPTER SIX

Coherence and persuasion in political speeches: Ideological coherence in coherent discourse

Olga Dontcheva-Navratilova

Abstract

This chapter explores coherence in political discourse. It approaches coherence as a multifaceted phenomenon comprising conceptual connectedness, evaluative and dialogical consistency, and textual relatedness and suggests a model for the analysis of discourse coherence. While applying this model to the analysis of political speeches, the study focuses on discourse strategies and linguistic devices which contribute to the persuasive force of political rhetoric by creating a coherent discourse representing the speaker as a reliable and credible political actor. The findings of the investigation demonstrate the primacy of interpersonal meanings in the perception of coherence in political discourse. The author argues that the interpersonal dimension of meaning in political speeches provides a frame of reference for the perception of ideational coherence, which is based on discourse topic organization, continuity of referents and temporal anchoring of the discourse in the moment of speaking, and for the interpretation of cohesive signals. The choice of strategies for the construal of coherence is regarded as closely interwoven with persuasion strategies which orators use to achieve their communicative intentions.

1 Introduction

Political interaction can broadly be seen as reflecting the total complex of relations between people living in society, although more specifically it is understood as social relations related to the making of institutional – typically governmental or party – policy. Political discourse, which encompasses all types of verbal interaction concerning political issues and/or taking place in a political context, reflects the ideologies[1] of participants involved in the process of political interaction and exploits the potential of language to construct identities and

1 In agreement with the understanding of this concept by critical linguists, ideology is defined here as the way a social group or a society views objects existing in its world, explains how the world functions, and assigns values to these objects and processes (Fowler 1986: 11).

power relations helping political actors to persuade others to accept a particular ideological representation of reality (e.g. Wilson 1990, Chilton and Schaffner 2002, Chilton 2004, van Dijk 1997, 2002, 2006, Wodak 2007a). As previous research has clearly shown (e.g. Wodak 1996, 2009, Simon-Vandenbergen 1997, Fetzer 2002, Honoban 2008, Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012), the interpretation of meaning conveyed in political discourse is heavily dependent on multifaceted contextual factors. Consequently, in the process of discourse comprehension, interactants establish complex intertextual, interdiscursive, social and (inter-) cultural connections which may yield variation in the resulting interpretations. Thus research into political discourse is bound to explore not only the linguistic, but also the socio-cultural, psychological and ideological factors affecting the ways in which political actors convey social meanings and make rhetorical and linguistic choices in order to legitimate their ideological views and to guide the audience towards a discourse interpretation which suits their communicative purposes.

Coherence, viewed here as the subjective perception of meaningfulness and purposefulness of discourse, is obviously an essential aspect of political discourse, as political actors need to take into consideration to what extent the potential discourse interpretation derived by the audience would be in agreement with the one intended by them. Moreover, constructing coherence in political discourse is closely related to persuasion, i.e. it is associated with making others accept the speaker's point of view. My understanding of the interconnection between coherence and persuasion draws on Sperber et al.'s (2010) approach to discourse processing, which is related to the concepts of epistemic trust and vigilance. Within this approach, the assessment of the trustworthiness of a message is carried out on the basis of two types of epistemic vigilance processes, namely assessment of the reliability of the speaker and assessment of the reliability of the content conveyed. In order to be accepted as a trustworthy source of information, a politician needs to represent him/herself as a competent and authoritative political actor of impeccable reputation who possesses reliable information and is willing to share this information with the audience (cf. Sperber et al.'s (2010) competence, attractiveness and benevolence). This is associated with the establishment of consistent and continuous interpersonal relations between the speaker and the audience and the perception of the 'existential coherence' of the political actor, i.e. the projection of a coherent image of him/her and of the institution he/she represents, which is constantly under construction in the negotiating of the relationship between the self and the other(s) (Duranti 2006: 469). Content reliability is to a large extent dependent on discourse coherence in terms of assessment of the consistency of new information with background knowledge and previously processed information. The persuasive force of political discourse can therefore be enhanced by a well-constructed argumentation based on coherent shifts of topic, consistency of the viewpoint projected in the discourse and the use of explicit markers of logical relations helping the listener to follow and accept the discourse interpretation intended by the speaker.

This investigation into coherence in political speeches strives to explore how strategies for the construal of discourse coherence are closely interwoven with persuasion strategies which political speakers use to achieve their communicative goals, and if necessary get past the epistemic vigilance of the audience. The working assumption taken as a starting point for this analysis is that while striving to persuade the audience to accept their ideologically biased representation of reality, political speakers endeavour to enhance their credibility through the establishment of a dialogic framework for the negotiation of a coherent representation of identities, social roles, value systems and relationships with the audience, and by constructing a coherent logical argumentation to support their claims and actions. The chapter proceeds as follows: firstly, the framework for the analysis of discourse coherence is presented to explain the approach adopted in the present study; secondly, since coherence strategies are conceived as genre-dependent (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012), a brief description of the rhetorical structure of political speeches is given; the analysis then relates the persuasive strategies used by different political speakers to various linguistics devices contributing to the perception of coherence in political discourse.

2 Analysing discourse coherence

In agreement with the approach adopted in this volume, discourse coherence is conceptualized here as a dynamic interpretative notion. It can be regarded as an instantiation of the 'interpretation potential' (Sarangi 2004) of a text activated in the process of a particular interpretative decoding in which the interactants create their own discourse from the text by assigning it intentionality and recreating its meaning, while projecting their personal opinions, attitudes, feelings and emotions onto the interaction (Dontcheva-Navratilova 2012: 19). Consequently, the construal of discourse coherence is seen as context-dependent, inherently subjective and heavily affected by the interpreter's own resources for interpretation, including "knowledge and expectations about human action in and surrounding discourse" (Gough and Talbot 1996: 224). This implies that the perception of coherence derived by different interactants involved in the same interaction may diverge and indicates that discourse understanding is a matter of degree. The scalar nature of coherence may explain instances of misunderstanding or misinterpretation in human communication, which occasionally may lead to disturbed coherence, incoherence or breaks in communication (Bazzanella and Damiano 1999, Bublitz and Lenk 1999). The perception of discourse coherence is also undoubtedly enhanced by cohesive relations holding in a text; however, due to the collaborative nature of coherence and the dependence of discourse interpretation on the entire situational context, cohesion in itself cannot be considered as a necessary or sufficient condition for coherence (Bublitz 1988, Tárnyiková 1995, Seidlhofer and Widdowson 1997).

When interpreting discourse, interactants negotiate ideational, interpersonal and textual meanings encoded in text (cf. Halliday 1978, 1981). Therefore, discourse coherence may be seen as a multifaceted discourse property encompassing conceptual connectedness on the ideational plane (propositional or topical coherence), evaluative and dialogical consistency on the interpersonal plane (interactional or evaluative coherence), and textual relatedness on the textual plane of discourse (cohesion). An investigation into discourse coherence is then supposed to take into account aspects of coherence on all three planes of discourse in order to provide an adequate analysis of this complex phenomenon[2]. While not pretending to be exhaustive, the following discussion of features contributing to the perception of coherence on the ideational, interpersonal and textual planes of discourse intends to outline a model for the analysis of discourse coherence, which is summarized in Figure 6-1 below. The majority of the parameters comprised in the model are open-set; the possible values of the closed-set parameters are provided in brackets.

Figure 6-1: A model for analysis of discourse coherence

<u>Ideational plane of discourse</u>

1. Topic continuity
    a. referents
    b. action frames
    c. time
    d. location
    e. logical relations
    f. topic shift markers
2. Patterns of thematic progression
3. Logical relations holding between discourse segments
4. Generic structure

<u>Interpersonal plane of discourse</u>

1. Participants' relationship
    a. participants' identities
    b. speaker/hearer (writer/reader) alignment towards each other

2 For a detailed discussion of the interplay of ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning in the perception of discourse coherence, cf. Dontcheva-Navratilova (2012).

c. politeness strategies
2. Interaction
   a. type of interaction (monologic/dialogic/mixed; prepared/spontaneous)
   b. exchange structure
      i. adjacency pairs
      ii. preference structure
3. Evaluation
   a. categorization of participants, actions and events (distance/solidarity)
   b. expressing opinion and judgement (degrees of certainty, agreement/ disagreement)
   c. averral/attribution of opinion/ judgement
   d. expressing subjectivity and emotions (positive/negative attitude, degree of intensity)

Textual plane of discourse

1. Lexical cohesion
   a. reiteration
   b. collocation
2. Grammatical cohesion
   a. reference
   b. substitution and ellipsis
   c. discourse markers and conjunctives
   a. structural parallelism, theme-rheme articulation

On the ideational plane, coherence is derived from the perception of continuity and interdependence of ideational meanings conveyed in the text and inferred by the interactant on the basis of mental models activated during discourse processing (van Dijk and Kintsch 1983, Givón 1995, 2001). The most salient aspects of ideational coherence are continuity of discourse topic and logical relations holding between segments of discourse. The organization of discourse content in relation to a discourse topic – often called 'topical' or 'propositional' coherence (cf. Giora 1985, 1997, Givón 1995, 2001, Gernsbacher 1997) – is traceable on the basis of continuity of referents, action frames, time, location and logical relations holding between entities and actions in the mental representation of the text. It should be noted that since the interpretation of reference and spatio-temporal markers is pragmatically determined, it is dependent on the shared background knowledge of the interactants and their experience in discourse processing (cf. e.g. van Dijk 1997, Miššíková 2005). Obviously, the perception of discourse coherence is fostered by cohesion relations as they facilitate the construction of continuity of occurrences of conceptual content items in discourse and make explicit logical relations holding between events and phenomena represented in discourse. The relevance of utterance themes to discourse topic at paragraph, discourse segment, and global level is conveyed by patterns of thematic progression (linear, continuous theme and derived theme) (Daneš 1974, 1995). A change in the type of thematic progression, together with sematic shift markers, such as changes of time or place or introduction of new referents, may indicate topic boundaries. Coherence at transition points in discourse may be fostered by formal topic-shift markers, such as adverbial linkers. Since discourse organization may be genre-specific, coherence may also be derived on the basis of the function of a rhetorical move in the generic structure even in cases when the relevance of the paragraph/discourse segment topic to the global discourse topic is indirect.

The perception of coherence on the interpersonal plane is partially dependent on the type of interaction in which the participants are involved. Thus in dialogic spoken interaction, which presupposes shared pragmatic context of communication, all-participants involvement in discourse production and collaborative negotiation of meaning and management of discourse, interactional coherence stems to a large extent from the continuity of communicative acts, which can be analysed on the basis of adjacency pairs and preference structure. Written interaction comprises a production stage, during which the author tries to anticipate the implied readers' expectations and reactions and interacts with the audience by constructing a discourse world based on mental representations, and an interpretation stage, during which the reader processes the discourse taking into consideration the collaborative efforts of the writer and looking for their signals in the text. Therefore, in written monologic discourse the importance of interaction structure may be seen as to a large extent given by generic conventions (cf. Hoey 2001). In all kinds of discourse, however, the perception of coherence on the interpersonal plane stems from the consistent representation of participants' identities and mutual relationships, and is further enhanced by coherent construction and interpretation of evaluative meanings, related to the continuity of the interactants' attitudes and feelings towards the entities and phenomena about which they are talking or writing. These aspects of interpersonal coherence are related to the establishment of contact and continuous appeal to the interlocutor and/or the audience realized by the use of forms of address, markers of social dialect and politeness, various lexical resources signalling group affiliation, evaluation of social actors, actions and events, and structures attributing opinions and judgments to the speaker/writer or a third party (cf. van Leeuwen 1996, Hunston and Thompson 1999, Martin and White 2005).

Coherence on the textual plane is associated primarily with the use of cohesive devices which guide the listener/reader towards a discourse interpretation intended by the speaker/writer. In agreement with Halliday (1981), cohesion is seen here as instrumental to the perception of coherence on the ideational and interpersonal planes of discourse. Operating on both the global and local coherence levels, cohesive devices facilitate the establishment of lexical and grammatical links between parts of the text and between the text and its context. Within the present approach, grammatical and lexical mechanisms for establishing cohesion relations are regarded as interdependent. The categorization of grammatical cohesive means generally follows Halliday and Hasan's (1989) framework, although, in agreement with Cornish's (2008) cognitive approach, reference interpretation is extended to encompass both deictic and anaphoric reference, since they are regarded as referring directly to mental representations and not to the occurrence of lexical or grammatical items in the text. The interpretation of lexical cohesion relations is seen as a collaborative achievement of the interactants which is dependent on their background knowledge through the knowledge of routines, activity types and complex schemata motivated socially, culturally and ideologically (Tanskanen 2006); thus it is associated with evaluation and interpersonal coherence. By participating in the build-up of local or global cohesive chains, lexical and grammatical cohesive means help maintain the availability of referents, action and events in the mental representations of the interactants, while by establishing their referents as thematic across larger parts of the text, cohesive chains indicate the boundaries of global and local topical segments. The cohesive role of discourse markers to indicate discourse topic shifts and to make explicit logical relations holding in the unfolding discourse enhances the perception of ideational coherence (cf. Povolná 2010).

The above discussion of aspects of coherence suggests that the perception of coherence stems from the interplay of meanings derived on all planes of discourse. When constructing a discourse world the speaker/writer projects into the discourse his/her culturally, experientially and ideologically-biased judgements and attitudes and assigns status and value to actors, events and actions related to them. Thus ideational and interpersonal meanings can be seen as contributing jointly to the efforts of the speaker/writer to impose his/her ideological perspective and to persuade the listener/reader to accept the suggested perception of discourse coherence. The listener/reader, however, may not understand or accept the point of view of the speaker/writer and construct a different discourse world which agrees with the culturally-, experientially- and ideologically-biased point of view of the listener/reader, but diverges from the discourse interpretation intended by the speaker/writer.

3 Analysing political discourse

The need to account for the interdependence of socio-cultural and linguistic practices when analysing political discourse motivates the cross-disciplinary approach and the eclectic research methodology typically applied in political discourse analysis. This study is no exception. It applies essentially qualitative methods which are rooted in the discourse analysis tradition. While drawing on recent linguistics anthropology research into the role of narrative accounts for the construction of a political identity (Duranti 2006), this investigation uses the analytical tools of genre analysis (Swales 2004, Bhatia 1993) for the interpretation of rhetorical, formal and functional choices in context-sensitive discourse. In addition, it uses insights from critical discourse analysis in the discussion of the potential of linguistic devices to construct identities (e.g. van Dijk 1997, 2006, Wodak 2007a, 2007b), to categorize social actors (van Leeuwen 1996) and to legitimize political values, identities and ideologies (Chilton 2004, van Leeuwen 2007). Thus, drawing on Chilton's (2004) essentially cognitive approach, the coherence of the discourse world represented in political discourse can be interpreted on the basis of the positioning of political actors with respect to a particular place, time and social group, seen as a 'deictic centre' shared by the in-group and associated with the values of true and right. This defines the ideological viewpoint for the evaluation and categorization of social actors, values and spatial-temporal settings as proximal or distal, true or false and right or wrong.

4 Rhetorical structure of political speeches

Political speeches are an instance of prepared monologic discourse delivered "orally by a politician in front of an audience, the purpose of which is persuasion rather than information and entertainment" (Dedaić 2006: 700). Since political speeches vary according to the occasion on which they are delivered (e.g. inaugural/resignation, electoral campaign, electoral victory/defeat, bill proposal, state of the union address, ceremonial address), the speaker (e.g. local or national political leader, leader of an international organization, parliamentarian, political candidate) and the intended audience (e.g. local, national, international, media), it is appropriate to approach them as a genre-colony, i.e. a grouping of closely related genres which share the same communicative purpose (Bhatia 2004: 58). The macro-communicative purpose shared by all types of political speeches is to persuade the audience to accept the speaker's understanding of reality and to support the ideologically biased views and policy he/she suggests. The rhetorical structure of political speeches comprises a sequence of moves which are associated with different persuasion strategies aiming at the reinforcing of the identities of the participants and their relationships, the establishing of the suggested ideological framework, and persuading the audience to take action or dissuading it from doing so. Obviously, there is variation in the rhetorical structure of different types of political speeches; however, since this study focuses on coherence in relation to persuation, rather than at a genre analysis, these differences will not be taken into consideration.

The rhetorical moves within a political speech are typically organized within three main sections: (1) the opening, often called 'salutation', (2) the body, which subsumes a sequence of moves constituting the argumentative part of the rhetoric, and (3) the ending, typically termed 'closure'. In the opening section the speaker strives to establish contact with the listeners by addressing them directly and by asserting his/her personal involvement with the audience, the occasion and the issue at hand. While using various persuasive strategies, such as direct appeal, self-disclosure, joke, narrative of belonging and establishing common ground (cf. Donahue and Prosser 1997), the speaker endeavours to create a coherent discourse by categorizing political actors from his/her ideological perspective and anchoring them with respect to action frames, spatio-temporal settings and events. By aligning him/herself with a particular ideological position, the speaker also contributes to the construal of his/her identity and existential coherence by representing his/her behaviour and attitude to people, values, facts and ideas as consistent and continuous.

The sequence of moves comprised in the body of a political speech allows for considerable variation according to the type of rhetoric, occasion and intended audience. Drawing on the Aristotelian mapping of the domain of rhetoric, political speeches may pertain either to deliberative or to epideictic rhetoric, depending on whether their intention is to urge the audience to undertake or restrain from undertaking a certain future action, or to praise or censure people, acts and events taking place in the present or in the past (Kovalyova 2005: 41). The full-fledged structure of the body of political speeches encompassing seven basic moves – asserting the centrality of the issue, introducing the situation, evaluating the situation, describing prospects and indicating problems, suggesting solutions to problems, outlining a course of action, evaluation of expected outcomes – is typically present in deliberative speeches, such as bill proposals and electoral campaign and state of the union addresses, which aim at persuading the audience to vote for or act in accordance with a suggested action plan. Epideictic speeches, e.g. inaugural and ceremonial addresses, have a symbolic function related to the evaluation of people, acts and events from the ideological perspective of the speaker and thus usually do not include the problem–solution sequence of moves. The persuasion strategies occurring in the body of speeches, such as a narrative of achievements, casting the present as a natural extension of the past, unification of in-group as opposed to out-group perceived as victim or threat/enemy, appeal to authority, appeal to logic, reference to statistics, appeal to emotions and humour (cf. Donahue and Prosser 1997, Halmari 2005), are intended to anticipate and respond to the favourable or hostile reactions of the audience while allowing the orator to build a coherent discourse world which might be shared by all participants in the communication.

The last and commonly brief rhetorical move – the closure – has the primarily interpersonal function of marking the end of the speech by thanking the audience for their attention and expressing wishes concerning the well-being of the 'in-group' broadly sharing the ideological point of the view of the speaker and the success of the intended action plan; it is often realized by routine phrases.

As is obvious from the brief discussion of the rhetorical structure of political speeches above, the individual moves of the speech contribute in different ways to the persuasiveness of the rhetoric. By construing the voice of the speaker in relation to his identity and ideological viewpoint, the salutation part focuses on persuading the audience to trust the orator, while the subsequent moves of the body convey moral judgements and urge the audience to commit themselves to a particular future behaviour complying with the ideology and the action plan of the speaker. Finally, the closure projects the interpersonal relations established between the speaker and his audience and their assumed commitment to a particular behaviour into the future, thus presenting them as continuous. The persuasive force of the rhetoric can therefore be seen as a function of the ability of political speakers to present themselves as reliable and credible political actors; this is inherently related to building up a coherent discourse using both logical argumentation and appeal to emotions to support the views and claims of the orators.

5 Coherence and persuasion strategies in political speeches

This investigation into the interplay of coherence and persuasion strategies in political speeches explores the linguistic devices which contribute to the persuasive force of political rhetoric by creating a coherent discourse representing the speaker as a reliable and credible political actor. The material used in this study comprises speeches delivered in English by political leaders at national and international level, e.g. presidents of the USA, prime ministers of Great Britain, leaders of international organizations, leaders of political movements. In agreement with the common practice in political discourse analysis, the orators are the acknowledged authors of the speeches, both in terms of content and rhetorical style, despite the fact that some preparatory work on the speeches may have been done by teams of advisers. The analysis has been carried out on the printed form of the speeches only, occasionally taking into account the manner of delivery and the reaction of the audience; it is assumed, however, that for the purposes of an analysis of the interplay of coherence and persuasion strategies, the written records yield enough grounds for analysis and interpretation.

Interpersonal coherence

Since this study argues that interpersonal meanings provide a frame of reference for the perception of ideational coherence and cohesive relations, the analysis begins with a discussion of interpersonal coherence and related persuasion strategies. In agreement with the model for the analysis of discourse coherence discussed above, in political discourse interpersonal coherence is related primarily to the construal of identities, the establishment of relationships between political actors and the expression of emotions, opinion and judgement.

When opening a speech the orator strives immediately to establish contact with the audience by addressing them directly, by asserting his/her personal involvement or by pointing to background knowledge and experience he/she shares with the listeners. The salutation part of speeches uses various persuasion strategies to build a coherent opening of the rhetoric.

1. Direct appeal and claiming common ground

The strategy of direct appeal aims at opening the channel of communication and aligning the speaker with the audience. The forms of address make the first contact with the audience and set the formality level for the whole interaction; they depend on the occasion and are typically conventional. Thus in the highly formal and ceremonial address (1) delivered by the Director-General of UNESCO Federico Mayor at the *Third International Symposium of World Heritage Cities* in Bergen (Norway) the use of titles and honorifics is intended to give deference to the institutional representatives, while defining the relationship of the orator with the audience as that of an institutional leader with officials of partner organizations by claiming a common commitment to an institutional ideology supporting UNESCO's *World Heritage Convention.*

(1) *Mr Chairman,*
Mr Minister of the Environment,
Mr President of the Organization of World Heritage Cities,
Distinguished Mayors of World Heritage Cities,
Friends,
Ladies and Gentlemen,
Two years ago I had the pleasure of being present in Fez at the official launching of the Organization of World Heritage Cities (OWHC). I am delighted to be with you again today in another beautiful city, whose living past is preserved in the site of Bryggen, protected under UNESCO's World Heritage Convention.
(Mayor, Address of the Director-General of UNESCO, 1995)

The speaker assumes the institutional identity and institutional voice granted to the leader of an intergovernmental organization, i.e. he speaks for the organization rather than for himself (cf. van de Mieroop 2007). This institutional voice construes an important aspect of the interpersonal coherence of the discourse. Later in the speech it is expressed among other means through the ambiguous inclusive first-person pronoun *we*, which may be interpreted as referring to the collective identity of the organization Mayor represents, as in *We are therefore planning to develop it as a new six-year programme – one in which, I hope, all your cities will eventually participate*, or to indeterminate groups including the audience, as in *At the same time, they [historic cities] signal across all frontiers that we are united by what distinguishes us; that – in the words of Rabindranath Tagore – "individuality is precious because only through it can we realize the universal"*. This pragmatic strategy of over-inclusion, i.e. reference to indeterminate groups including the audience, allows the orator to assume wider agreement with the ideology proposed (Bull and Fetzer 2006: 15), which can then set the viewpoint for a coherent evaluation of social actors, actions and events throughout the speech. The use of the marked form *friends* and of the expressive vocabulary items *pleasure*, *delighted* and *beautiful* shows personal involvement and strong positive evaluation, thus qualifying the participants' relationship as that of in-group members. This contributes to the build-up of evaluative coherence associated with the categorization of participants and the expression of subjectivity and emotions. The existential coherence of the speaker and the continuity of his commitment to the issue at hand is stressed by the temporal indicators *two years ago* and *again today* and asserted by reference to a set of related events of the *Organization of World Heritage Cities* in Bergen and Fez which presupposes shared background knowledge and experience on the part of the interactants.

2. Claiming common ground, narrative of belonging and humour/joke

On less ceremonial occasions the use of direct appeal may be combined with claiming common ground, narrative of belonging and the humour/joke strategy to reflect an effort to create a less formal and more immediate relationship between the speaker and the audience. In his resignation speech (2) delivered in 2007 at his Sedgefield constituency Tony Blair does not use forms of address. Still, he addresses the audience by a conventional act of thanking and a formulaic opening phrase which shows deference (*it's a great privilege*) and appeals to the audience by the pronominal form *you*, while anchoring the discourse in a shared deictic centre (*here*, *today*), and asserting mutually favourable evaluation (*wonderful and warm welcome*). The speech is delivered in a rather emotional way, which is indicated among other things by the non-fluent delivery of the opening part in which the speaker thanks his friends and family. The relationship with the audience is further strengthened by mentioning specific individuals and reinforced by a joke concerning Maureen's wish for 'four more years', which really makes the audience laugh, thus expressing sympathy and implying that they all know what kind of speech is about to be delivered. Another joke referring to a list of priorities concerning John Burton's loyalty enables Blair to express explicitly his feeling of belonging *to the Labour Party, Sedgefield, to my constituency, where my political journey began* and to assert that he shares common background knowledge, ideology and experience with the audience. The purpose of the speech – to resign – stated declaratively and anchored in the moment of speech, the relationship of the resigning leader with his supporters and their common experience provide the frame for a coherent interpretation of the unfolding discourse which reviews the most important events during Blair's terms of office.

(2) *Thank you all very much.*
It's a great privilege to be here with you again today and to thank all of you for such a wonderful and warm welcome.
And especially Maureen and her friends, who gave me such a wonderful welcome. The only thing is, when I was coming in she said "Four more years!", and I had to say, "Maureen, that's not on message for today".
I just have to say a special word of thanks for John Burton. John has been my agent for many years now and he is still the best political adviser I have got. In all the years I have known him he has always been steadfast in his loyalty to me, to the Labour Party, and to Sunderland Football Club, not necessarily in that order. We won't get into that. It has been my great good fortune at certain points in my life to meet exceptional people, and he is one very exceptional person. […]
So, I have come back here to Sedgefield, to my constituency, where my political journey began and where it is fitting that it should end. Today I announce my decision to stand down from the leadership of the Labour Party
(Blair, resignation speech, 2007)

An important aspect of a resignation speech is that it offers the speaker one of the last opportunities to use the institutional voice assigned to him/her by virtue of the office held and to reflect on his/her legacy. Blair's speech shows the coexistence of the official voice (*we/our*), which asserts the collective identity of the party and nation, e.g. *The terrorists who threaten us around the world will never give up if we give up. It is a test of will and belief, and we can't fail it*, with his personal voice (*I/my*) concerned with the evaluation – approval of disapproval – of his acts and decisions, e.g. *And I decided we should stand shoulder to shoulder with our oldest ally. And I did so out of belief.* This interplay of the institutional and the personal identity of the speaker is constructed coherently throughout the discourse, with the personal voice prevailing in the closure: *I give my thanks to you, the British people, for the times that I have succeeded, and my apologies to you for the times I have fallen short. But good luck.*

3. Representing the present as a natural extension of the past

Evoking history and continuity is one of the emblematic persuasive strategies used in American inaugural addresses. The inaugural address reflects the moment when, by his/her inauguration, the President-elect is transformed from a party leader in the partisan struggle into a head of government and state, President of all Americans, who acquires an institutional identity and can use the institutional voice for the first time (cf. Trosborg 2000). Despite the differences in the rhetorical style of the politicians who have delivered the speech, inaugural addresses share numerous characteristic features stemming from the symbolic character of the act of inauguration and the need to construct the institutional identity and voice of the new President. As evidenced by (3a) and (3b) taken from the inaugural speeches of Barack Obama and George Bush respectively, both presidents explicitly refer to the act of taking the oath as a symbol of a continuity from the past to the present and future; they evoke their ancestors to claim their right to be part of the tradition of American leadership and thus assert the existential coherence of the institution. In Obama's speech, this continuity is highlighted by the repetitive pattern of *So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans* (cf. Trosborg's iconicity), which presents this state of affairs as natural and inevitable. The temporal frame serves as a basis for the coherence of actors, actions and events mentioned in the discourse world as represented in the speech. In addition, both politicians enhance the dialogicity of their discourse by using similar and conventional expressive vocabulary items – *humbled*, *grateful* and *honoured* – to disclose to the audience their state of mind.

(3a) *My fellow citizens:*
I stand here today humbled by the task before us, grateful for the trust you've bestowed, mindful of the sacrifices borne by our ancestors. […]
Forty-four Americans have now taken the presidential oath. The words have been spoken during rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace. Yet, every so often, the oath is taken amidst gathering clouds and raging storms. At these moments, America has carried on not simply because of the skill or vision of those in high office, but because we, the people, have remained faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents.
So it has been; so it must be with this generation of Americans.
(Obama, Inaugural address, 2009)

(3b) *The peaceful transfer of authority is rare in history, yet common in our country. With a simple oath, we affirm old traditions and make new beginnings.[…]*
I am honored and humbled to stand here, where so many of America's leaders have come before me, and so many will follow. We have a place, all of us, in a long story – a story we continue, but whose end we will not see.
(Bush, Inaugural address, 2001)

Although both presidents represent the present as a natural extension of the past, they differ in the way they construct their institutional identity and voice as they thread these into their discourse. Bush represents himself as one in a sequence of *so many of America's leaders* and, in a way, similarly to Blair's concern in his resignation speech, seems to be preoccupied with his place in history. Although clearly ambiguous, his use of *we* in *We have a place, all of us, in a long story,* by proximity readily invites America's leaders as referent, rather than the American people. On the other hand, Obama's rhetoric constructs a presidential identity which is closely associated with the American people; by assuming the voice of *we, the people,* Obama not only uses intertextuality to enhance credibility by appealing to the authority of the constitution, but also claims the right to speak on behalf of the people as in his election slogan *Yes we can*. Rather than focusing on the leaders, Obama evokes the challenges that the country has faced and its achievements, which are attributed not only to the leadership, but to all Americans who have remained *faithful to the ideals of our forebears and true to our founding documents*, i.e. existentially coherent. The opening of his speech also coheres thanks to the contrastive cohesion relation holding between the metaphorical expressions *rising tides of prosperity and the still waters of peace* and *gathering clouds and raging storms* and *those in high office* and *we, the people*. It is rather emblematic that Obama uses the traditionally distal demonstrative *those* to refer to the presidents and the proximal *we*, including the speaker, to refer to the people.

While the foundations of the speaker's identity and voice as well of his/her relationships with the audience are set in the opening part of political speeches, their construal continues in the body of the speech. Persuasion is coherently embedded in the discourse to represent the speaker as a credible and reliable political actor willing to share his views and knowledge with the audience. This allows the speaker to assert his/her existential coherence by representing his/her behaviour and attitude to people, values, facts and ideas as consistent and continuous and set the ideological perspective for coherent evaluation of political actors, actions and events represented in the discourse world.

Ideational coherence and cohesion

Ideational coherence stems from the continuity of discourse topic and logical relations holding at the local and global level of discourse. As the continuity of referents, action frames, time, location and logical relations is potentially fostered by cohesion relations which facilitate the access to other occurrences of the same item in the mental representation of the text (de Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 48), ideational coherence will be discussed together with related cohesion relations.

1. Appeal to authority and emotions

The discourse topic of a political speech is typically associated with the occasion on which it is delivered; therefore it can be assumed that the participants in the event can anticipate it and activate the mental models necessary for adequate discourse processing. Thus the orator can rely on the availability of some of the mental representations necessary for coherent discourse interpretation in the minds of the audience. In his speech delivered in 1963 on the occasion of the March on Washington (4), Martin Luther King relies on these activated mental models when resorting to Lincoln and the Emancipation Proclamation signed by him to back up his claim that *that the Negro [who] is still not free* should be granted his legal rights, which constitutes the global discourse topic of the rhetoric. Although Lincoln's name is not mentioned directly, there is hardly any doubt that the listeners would identify the authority to whom King alludes, as apart from referring to the *great American* who signed the Emancipation Proclamation and in whose *symbolic shadow* the partisants of the civil rights movement literally and symbolically stand, he also evokes intertextually Lincoln's Gettysburg address, which opens with the sentence *Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth on this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the proposition that all men are created equal.* Thus King strives to persuade his audience by supporting his ethical appeal with the authority of Lincoln and one of the founding documents of American democracy.

(4) *Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity.*
But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American society and finds

himself an exile in his own land. So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition.
(King, Address at March on Washington, 1963)

In addition to resorting to authorities, King appeals to the emotions of the audience by referring repeatedly to America's black citizens as the Negro, which may be interpreted as reflecting the negative attitude of segregationalists towards them, and by using a sequence of emotive, often contrastive metaphors depicting the situation of black people. As typical of political discourse, the container metaphor (*lonely island of poverty, languishing in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land*) conceptualizes society as a bound space in which those who have the power to define societal values and norms are situated in the normative centre while those who are regarded as not complying with the established ideology (i.e. *the Negro*) are relegated to the periphery or cast outside of the societal space. The lexical items comprised in the metaphors form local cohesive chains, e.g. *poverty – prosperity*; *injustice – captivity – segregation – discrimination*; *island – ocean – land*, coherently framed by the anaphoric repetition of the temporal indicator *one hundred years later* which reiterates paraphrastically the opening phrase *five score years ago* and stresses the length of the period elapsed since the abolition of slavery, thus making the demands for desegregation even more pressing. The use of the inclusive *we*, which projects the collective identity of the participants in the civil rights movement into the discourse, enhances its persuasiveness by allowing the orator to assume wide support for his ideas and demands, which are further developed in the rest of the body of the speech.

2. Narrative of achievements

As a persuasion strategy, the narrative of achievements enables the speaker to expand on the discourse topic by referring to outstanding past deeds and by associating him/herself with these to prove his/her intention, dedication and ability to succeed in facing similar challenges and leading the party, nation or movement towards the aim at hand. This strategy is applied by Barack Obama in his victory speech in 2008 to present the major events of the past century through the perspective of the life story of a 106-year-old black woman, who has cast her vote in the elections (5). While asserting the historical importance of his election to the presidency, Obama invites the audience to see the past through the eyes of one of *the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election*, the typical American. In addition, her Afroamerican origin associates her closely with the new President-elect, who is thus represented as one of 'us'. This personalized perspective on recent history guarantees the coherence of the passage based on the cohesive chain referring anaphorically to the *woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta, Ann Nixon Cooper* who has witnessed a century of American history – a life span which is an outstanding achievement on its own.

(5) *This election had many firsts and many stories that will be told for generations. But one that's on my mind tonight is about a woman who cast her ballot in Atlanta. She's a lot like the millions of others who stood in line to make their voice heard in this election except for one thing – Ann Nixon Cooper is 106 years old.*

She was born just a generation past slavery; a time when there were no cars on the road or planes in the sky; when someone like her couldn't vote for two reasons – because she was a woman and because of the color of her skin.

And tonight, I think about all that she's seen throughout her century in America – the heartache and the hope; the struggle and the progress; the times we were told that we can't, and the people who pressed on with that American creed: Yes we can.

At a time when women's voices were silenced and their hopes dismissed, she lived to see them stand up and speak out and reach for the ballot. Yes we can.

When there was despair in the dust bowl and depression across the land, she saw a nation conquer fear itself with a New Deal, new jobs and a new sense of common purpose. Yes we can.

When the bombs fell on our harbor and tyranny threatened the world, she was there to witness a generation rise to greatness and a democracy was saved. Yes we can.

She was there for the buses in Montgomery, the hoses in Birmingham, a bridge in Selma, and a preacher from Atlanta who told a people that We Shall Overcome. Yes we can.

A man touched down on the moon, a wall came down in Berlin, a world was connected by our own science and imagination. And this year, in this election, she touched her finger to a screen, and cast her vote, because after 106 years in America, through the best of times and the darkest of hours, she knows how America can change. Yes we can.

(Obama, victory speech, Election Day, 2008)

Obama's review of achievements enables him to represent his electoral victory as the logical consequence of a continuous sequence of events on the national and global scene – the abolition of slavery, the granting of equal rights for women, the end of the Great Depression, World War II, the American space programme and the fall of the Berlin Wall. As the first non-white president of the USA, he stresses in particularly the legacy of the civil rights movement through the events in Montgomery, Birmingham and Selma and by reference to Martin Luther King, the *preacher from Atlanta who told a people that We Shall Overcome*. The association with King is enhanced by some parallels in their rhetorical styles, such as the use of metaphors and repetition. The rhythmical reiteration of the electoral slogan *Yes we can* at the end of each one-sentence paragraph organizes the list of achievements into rhythmical units. The President-elect is represented as voicing the views of the people, thus boosting the patriotism of the audience and enhancing both the ideational and interpersonal coherence of the speech. The reaction of the audience who join the speaker in repeating the slogan proves the effectiveness of this strategy in enhacing the dialogicity and persuasiveness of the rhetoric.

3. Narrative of achievements, reference to statistics

The persuasive force of a narrative of achievements may be fostered by the use of superlatives and reference to statistics. These strategies are frequently combined in State of the Union addresses, as the President is expected to provide convincing factual information to report on the state of the nation and prepare the ground for suggested future plans. Clinton's 1999 State of the Union address (6) provides a good example of this.

(6) *Tonight I stand before you to report that America has created the longest peacetime economic expansion in our history – with nearly 18 million new jobs, wages rising at more than twice the rate of inflation, the highest homeownership in history, the smallest welfare rolls in 30 years – and the lowest peacetime unemployment since 1957.*

For the first time in three decades, the budget is balanced. From a deficit of $290 billion in 1992, we had a surplus of $70 billion last year AND NOW we are on course for budget surpluses for the next 25 years.

Thanks to the pioneering leadership of all of you, we have the lowest violent crime rate in a quarter century and the cleanest environment in a quarter century.

(Clinton, State of the Union address, 1999)

The temporal frame in which the passage is coherently anchored in the moment of speaking (*tonight*) allows the speaker to assess retrospectively the progress from the past to the present situation. While making part of cohesive chains referring to economical, financial and social issues, the superlatives *the longest peacetime economic expansion* and *the highest homeownership* are accentuated by the general temporal indicator *in history*, while *the smallest welfare rolls*, *the lowest peacetime unemployment, the lowest violent crime rate* and *the cleanest environment* are accentuated by the more specific temporal phrases *in 30 years*, *since 1957* and *in a quarter century.* Numbers are also used to specify the economic expansion and the budget – *deficit of $290 billion in 1992* and *surplus of $70 billion last year.* The use of factual data improves the credibility of the speaker, while the superlatives highlight positively evaluated achievements and assign the credit for them to the orator and his party.

4. ‘Us’ against ‘Them’

One of the most effective persuasion strategies used by political speakers is the unification of the in-group in opposition to an out-group perceived as an opponent or threat. This strategy is typically used in introducing and evaluating the situation and indicating the problems moves of a political speech. The speech delivered by David Cameron at the Conservative Party conference in 2011 (7) exploits this strategy to represent his evaluation of the situation after the Conservatives won the elections in 2010 and to outline the priorities of his policy.

(7) *The new economy we're building must work for everyone. You know the real tragedy of New Labour's economy? Not just that it was unsustainable, unbalanced, overwhelmed with debt. But that it left so many behind.*

Labour talked opportunity but ripped the ladders of opportunity away. We had an education system that left hundreds of thousands unprepared for work. A welfare system that trapped millions in dependency. An immigration system that brought in migrant workers to do the jobs that those on welfare were being paid not to do.

We had a housing system that failed to meet demand, so prices shot up and fuelled an unsustainable boom. And we had a government that creamed the taxes off the boom to splurge back into benefits – redoubling the failure all over again. Labour: who tell us they care so much about fairness, about justice, who say they want to hit the rich and help the poor – it was Labour gave us the casino economy and the welfare society.

So who's going to lift the poorest up? Who's going to get our young people back to work? Who's going to create a more equal society? No, not you, the self-righteous Labour Party. It will be us, the Conservatives who finally build an economy that works for everyone and gives hope to everyone in our country.[…]

Let's turn this time of challenge into a time of opportunity. Not sitting around, watching things happen and wondering why. But standing up, making things happen and asking why not.

We have the people, we have the ideas, and now we have a government that's freeing those people, backing those ideas.

So let's see an optimistic future. Let's show the world some fight. Let's pull together, work together. And together lead Britain to better days.

(Cameron, leader's speech, Conservative Party conference, Manchester 2011)

While using the inclusive *we* to position himself as the leader the party (*It will be us, the Conservatives*) and the nation (*We have the people, we have the ideas,* *and now we have a government*), Cameron evaluates negatively the New Labour economy by qualifying it as *unsustainable, unbalanced, overwhelmed with debt.* He thus holds his political opponent – 'them', the Labour Party – responsible for problems related to the education system, prices, taxes and what he calls *the casino economy and the welfare society*. In order to strengthen support for his policy he strives to engage the audience at the Conservative Party conference by using a series of rhetorical questions to which the speaker himself provides the answer. This essentially interpersonal persuasion strategy aims at decreasing the distance between the orator and the audience and inducing agreement by involving the audience in the thinking process and presenting the answer provided by the speaker as the product of a mutual agreement between the orator and the audience (Halmari 2005: 117). The answer provided by Cameron is that it is 'us', his party, *the Conservatives who finally build an economy that works for everyone and gives hope to everyone in our country*. This allows him to address the audience by the anaphorical repetition of the imperative *Let's* in a direct appeal to unite under his leadership and support the solution to problems and the action plan suggested by him. The construal of a coherent representation of 'us' against 'them' is facilitated by assigning to 'them' the agency of actions evaluated by use of negative lexis, such as *unprepared*, *trapped*, *dependency*, *failure*, while the agency of positively evaluated actions is assigned to 'us' and indicated by lexical items expressing positive attitude, e.g. *optimistic future*, *hope*, *better days*.

Persuasion strategies associated primarily with the construal of ideational coherence are inherently related to the perception of coherence of the interpersonal plane of discourse, as the situation described as well as problems and solutions suggested by the speaker are presented and evaluated from his/her ideologically biased point of view and are affected by the relationships established between the speaker and the audience.

6 Conclusion

The aim of this investigation into coherence and persuasion in political speeches was to show that the persuasion strategies used by political speakers to represent themselves as credible and reliable political actors are closely interwoven with devices contributing to construal of discourse coherence at the interpersonal, ideational and textual planes of discourse.

As this study has demonstrated, political speakers strive to persuade the audience to accept their ideologically biased representation of reality by enhancing their credibility through the establishment of a dialogic framework which allows them to negotiate a coherent representation of value systems, social actors, actions and events and by constructing coherent logical argumentation to support their claims and actions. The persuasion strategies used in the salutation are associated with the establishment of the reliability and existential coherence of the speaker together with the construction of his/her relationship with the audience. In the body of political speeches persuasion strategies are coherently threaded into discourse topic development based on a continuous representation of social actors involved in a logical sequence of temporally framed actions and events the interdependence of which is fostered by cohesive relations. The persuasive force of the argumentation is enhanced by expressive and evaluative lexical items which convey a consistent categorization of actors, actions and events and emphatic evaluation of the issue under consideration. Since the results of this investigation have shown that the interpretation of ideational meanings and cohesive relations depends on the alignment of the speaker with the audience and the ideological perspective from which the speaker conveys his/her evaluative judgments and attitudes, it can be claimed that interpersonal meanings are primary in the perception of coherence in political discourse.

To conclude, it should be noted that while this investigation hopes to have shed light on the interdependence between persuasion and the perception of coherence in political speeches, it has certainly not provided an exhaustive analysis of all linguistic means that politicians have at their disposal to enhance the persuasive force of their rhetoric. However, what seems to be clear is that the interpretative perception of discourse coherence is a result of the interplay of meanings pertaining to all – interpersonal, ideational and textual – planes of discourse.

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