Michela Canepari, Gillian Mansfield, Franca Poppi (Eds.)

The Many Facets of Remediation in Language Studies

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INTRODUCTION

The notion of remediation can be taken to refer to a series of linguistic, cultural and psychological processes by means of which language and discourse are transformed and refashioned into new forms. Remediation functions via language, that is, the system through which we interpret and construct our understanding of reality, and at the same time, it functions through the sense of self we perceive and project onto others. Therefore, remediation can relate to the elaboration of new and hybrid text-types as well as representations of identity. For instance, politicians have always insisted on the 'identification-with-the-politician process' whether in Presidential addresses, political advertising campaigns, TV political interviews and so on. Thus, a series of procedures remediating their original identity is brought to the fore, as personal, collective and national identities converge or diverge, since the identity creation and recognition by the public the campaigns address, are key to gaining electoral consensus.

However, remediation can also take the form of recontextualisation (Calsamiglia, van Dijk 2004), reconceptualisation, and intralinguistic translation of exclusive expertise in knowledge that is suitable to the background of the addressee. In these cases we witness a shift from subject-orientation to addressee-/audience-orientation (the addressee becomes a participant in the communicative situation; cf. Jakobson's [1966] 1987 conative function) (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001); and from objectivation to subjectivation (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001). As a consequence, this implies a departure from the typical features of Languages for Special Purposes, such as lexical precision (Sager, Dungworth, McDonald 1980), monoreferentiality in context (Gotti 2008), textual precision (Merlini Barbaresi 1988), economy (Sager, Dungworth,

McDonald 1980), conciseness (Gotti 2008) – as in compounding –, and depersonalisation (Gotti 2008) and lastly objectivation (Dressler, Eckkramer 2001) – as observed in nominalisations and 3rd person passives. Typical examples of this process are, for instance, Patient Information Leaflets (PILs), which are characterised by the omission or reduction of information for prescribers, reduction of technical detail, as well as simplification of terminology, explicitation and reformulation (Mauranen 2006) which, in turn, can be defined as typical strategies of knowledge dissemination. In the same vein, but in a somewhat different way, we can also list information books as attesting to the link between remediation and knowledge dissemination. They are one of the essential vehicles for popularising and spreading knowledge among a juvenile audience. Bought and read with the aim of satisfying one's own personal curiosity on a specific topic, and thus "for interest or pleasure", or as parallel resources in classrooms (Mallet 2004: 623), they compete with and endorse school textbooks or coursebooks by exploiting devices and characteristics of more innovative and "modern" media, and by disseminating expert discourse (Derewianka and Coffin 2008: 187-188). They subscribe to the idea of popularisation as a sort of intralingual translation (Gotti 1998), which also involves a process of creation and re-elaboration (Paladin and Pasinetti, 1999: 15).

In point of fact, the popularisation of legal language offers lay viewers a hybrid type of discourse, where the intertextual quotations of different literary genres may be interspersed with the dialogic interplay of questions and answers in court. This allows for the reinterpretation and reformulation of justice and of the rhetoric of law and signal at the same time the transition between the technical and specialised kind of discourse that the law requires and a simple way of phrasing, describing,

explaining (Anesa 2013: 211) or even reformulating and thus representing it.

Furthermore, since in our present times, dominated as they are by virtual communication, contacts among speakers belonging to different languages and cultural backgrounds are increasingly frequent, lexical innovation and interference have been growing exponentially. Lexical borrowings very often occur in situations of language maintenance, that is, when the preservation by a speech community of its native language continues from generation to generation (Winford, 2003: 11-12). They are among the most common types of neological processes that are remediated in the recipient language and thus enrich it.

Journalism too, and sports journalism in particular, recontextualises its protagonists as heroes from the epic tradition, whose actions produce a desirable result for the collectivity, despite the personal cost at times involved. They do this because, like epic heroes, they possess virtues such as courage and determination or cleverness, as well as physical and mental attributes such as youthfulness or a blithe spirit. The same virtues are found in Homeric heroes such as Achilles, Hector and Odysseus and their triumphs and tragedies evoke the same kind of responses as, we might surmise, epics of the Homeric type.

Finally, the process of remediation can also be induced. This is for instance the case with non-native speakers (NNSs) who can, in fact, be guided to remediate their discourse management abilities, and eventually conform to native speaker (NS) use, by being made to notice the differences between NS and NNS usages and reconsider their own pragmatic choices in any communicative event.

In the light of these preliminary considerations, the contributions in this volume span a wide spectrum of text genres and subgenres in which remediation is examined in numerous

forms of formal and informal communication. The papers are roughly collocated in broad sections, according not only to the mode and medium of communication (Remediation and Discourse, Remediation and Media, Remediation and Social Media), but also in terms of the intra- and interlingual transpositions that are discussed in a comparative vein (Remediation and Translation). Needless to say, since the contents of many papers spill over into other sections, they may well be relevant to the discussions elsewhere.

Remediation and the Media

Focussing on the translation process from specialised and paper-based documents to popularised and online disclosures, Malavasi presents a comparative study of two small corpora containing Corporate Social Responsibility Reports and webpages published in printed and digital format, which imply a different kind of user/reader. Indeed, she notes not only the greater or lesser density of information that each text type contains, but also the way in which the information is structurally and linguistically organised, and concludes that the adaptation to the media and to the audience necessarily entails the provision of different knowledge and a recourse to dissimilar visual aids and language strategies.

Nisco's paper similarly focuses on media discourse and analyses the way in which British newspapers represented the so-called 'Tottenham summer'. Critical Discourse Analysis is therefore applied by the author in synergy with Corpus Linguistics, in an attempt to identify the main discursive strategies adopted in the conceptualization of identity.

In her paper, Fina investigates the degree and nature of translators' intervention in two tourist mini-guidebooks promoting Puglia. Throughout her work, the author analyses the

strategies of cultural adaptation adopted, in order to assess the degree of cultural mediation involved and the effectiveness of the translator's choices.

Antonucci's paper discusses the localisation strategies adopted in the rendition of advertising campaigns for beauty products that appeared in the British, Indian and Italian editions of *Marie Claire*. Thus, within her text, the author investigates the extent to which the advertising message is adapted to the local reality of the target culture.

Logaldo also focuses on the language of advertising, analysing how Augmented Reality requires an 'augmented' approach that considers, on the one hand, how the verbal and the visual codes interact, and, on the other, how the simultaneous perception of real and virtual layers may produce meaning. In her paper, the author demonstrates how the interplay between verbal text and imagery in 'augmented advertising' is essential for the connection between online and offline information.

Remediation and Social Media

Now moving more specifically into a framework of social networking and some of its more popular forms, this section contains contributions that examine the social media that are taking an ever-increasing role and prominence in everyday life.

Sindoni focuses on the discourse of blogs in social networking communities and applies a lexical corpus-based analysis to a complex web-based networked platform, Livejournal, which hosts millions of blogs, including both personal journals and corporate blogs in a wide range of blog categories that comprise more and less formal areas of discourse. The basic research questions she tackles is whether it makes sense or not nowadays to distinguish between the traditional categories and features of written and spoken modes in a blogging environment, and to

what extent spoken and written discourse is actually changing in a digital domain. Furthermore, she concludes that while, as we might expect, a formal written expression is avoided in favour of the spoken code, an interesting characteristic feature of bloggers is the use of a particular resource, e.g. visual representation as a means of expression and limiting written expression simply to captions of their pictures or drawings.

Introducing another kind of "immediate" social networking in the present age of Web 2.0 and New Media that has made its mark more recently, Borrelli classifies *Instagram* as a form of remediation of the traditional travel journals or travelogues. He emphasizes the sharing aspect of images that are appropriately anchored them with a caption, which thus creates an intersemiotic and multimodal narrative of a person's travels combining the visual with the verbal. Moreover, the interactive nature of the application affords not merely participation on the part of the writer of the travelogue, but also and more significantly that of his/her followers who are able to make their own contributions by using hashtags, for example, to comment on similar issues to those originally launched by the writer.

With the purpose of developing intercultural awareness and competence in network-based language teaching (NBLT), Grazzi discusses the pedagogical implications and potential of online collaboration between a group of Italian and American students taking part in a European funded project, *Telecollaboration*. This project is discussed in the context of remediation through the texts that the learners make available to each other. In agreement with his project partner, Grazzi claims that NBLT should be made a necessary component part in the foreign language-learning syllabus since it helps to maximise cooperative practices within a web-mediated, multilingual and multicultural learning context. Participants are actively involved both as native speakers and non-native speakers as they carry out

remediation activities in selective corrective feedback in the learning activities they collaborate in.

In her contribution, Moschini presents an original form of remediation in an analysis of a video "Yes, We Can" uploaded on YouTube, which purports to be used as a political endorsement of Senator Barack Obama during his presidential election campaign. Indeed, the video features Obama pronouncing an electoral speech, accompanied by celebrities and musicians echoing his words in hip-hop fashion. The paper analyses a seemingly complex multilayered/multicultural text where different remediations occur, not only in the verbatim quotes from Obama's New Hampshire concession speech, but also through the interdiscursive nature of a political speech that is deeply rooted in an example of African-American musical.

Remaining in the field of politics, Mattiello investigates, in a contrastive study of British/American English and Italian discourse, the ways in which social networking sites such as Facebook contribute to the process of conversationalisation and popularisation in political discourse and thus affect the representation of a politician's identity. In particular, she compares the linguistic means and rhetorical/discursive strategies that politicians use to construct their identities not only on Facebook, but also in more traditional forms of political discourse. Mattiello concludes her study by examining the resulting political profiles from the cross-cultural point of view of their impact on their audience.

Identifying signature blocks as mediated actions that adapt handwritten signature to new practices in the digital era, Plastina discusses the creating and appending of signature blocks in a corpus of emails and newsgroup posts. In particular, she focuses on the site of engagement, social agents and mediational means as the key components, in an attempt to discover whether any significant differences occur in the decontextualisation and

recontextualisation process. Her results reveal some remarkable differences in the type and frequency of information content where she witnesses personal identity still striving to gain its own autonomy in virtual sites of engagement.

Remediation and Discourse

Adami's paper sets out to investigate the multiple linguistic representations of identity in Cosh Omar's debut play *The Battle of Green Lanes* (2004), in which various characters of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin engage in complex and often clashing performances of cultural 'remediation', split between uncertainty of belonging, cultural displacement and religious fundamentalism. The analysis focuses on character-to-character communication and explores the pragmatic and stylistic resources of dramatic discourse, as well as the stage directions and characters' descriptions that the author cunningly employs to depict the anxieties of a composite and fragmented community.

Also displaying an interest in identity negotiation, Arizzi's chapter focuses on political communication, and in particular, investigates how personal, collective and national identities converge or diverge in US Presidential campaign commercials. Providing a brief diachronic perspective on identity representation in political commercials of the last sixty years, this paper outlines how national identity can be both in line, or at odds with, individual and collective identities and how the integration of visual, musical, and linguistic genres may empower the political message.

Castello's chapter explores a corpus of elicited informal and formal interactions in English between pairs of Italian university students of Mediazione Linguistica e Culturale at the University of Padua (Italy) and a control corpus of interactions between

English native-speaker students at the University of Melbourne (Australia). The aim is to investigate some aspects of the discourse co-constructed in the two corpora, as well as to gain insights into the Italian students' discourse management ability. Specifically, the non-native and native uses of discourse markers, hedging expressions, and subject-verb contraction are investigated. The paper also discusses the findings and their implications for teaching spoken interaction to intermediate/advanced EFL learners.

Cacchiani's chapter adapts notions from genre analysis and LSP research, contrastive textology and studies on knowledge dissemination in order to analyse and contrast the generic structure potential, as well as aspects of domain-specific knowledge construction, in a selection of section (sub-) headings in UK Summaries of Product Characteristics and Patient information leaflets. The outcomes of her analysis confirm the close link between knowledge dissemination strategies, patient orientation and subjectivation.

Cavalieri approaches remediation in the legal sector by examining the discourse of internationalisation in a university context in Memoranda of Understanding (MoU), as published on official university websites. Using a corpus of MoUs, her main aims are to discover the rhetorical strategies that are exploited when legal language undergoes remediation for the web and the role played by promotional discourse in the remediation of MoUs for university web pages. In doing so, she seeks to discover how a legal genre can actually be modified and rendered in a multimodal context of World-Wide Web, whether, and more specifically, to what extent the strategies typical of the popularisation of ESP are exploited for this purpose.

Giordano's chapter investigates the legal, discursive and rhetorical features in the courtroom drama 'Rumpole of the Bailey', focusing on the episode 'Rumpole and the Golden

Thread'. The linguistic analysis tries to ascertain whether and to what extent certain characters' discursive and rhetorical features not only entertain the viewers but also inform, instruct and lead them through the intertwining of civilised British culture, local barbaric practices, complex legal systems and procedures, the critical condemnation of imperialism, and the unethical connection between politics and law in a now independent country.

Ponton's study takes a narrative/stylistic perspective on the oral genre of the football match report, exploring a corpus of samples taken from BBC Radio 5-Live and adopting the classical Labovian components, i.e. abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution and coda (Labov 1972). After suggesting that, in our current post-modern social context, football and footballers occupy a particular niche, as their deeds, like those of epic heroes, are discussed, analysed, dissected by pundits and experts and passed on through popular culture (e.g. Maradona and the 'hand of God' episode), he then goes on to analyse the reporters' discourse in terms of stylistic features and rhetorical tropes such as alliteration, metaphor, ellipsis, tricolon and hyperbole.

Remediation and Translation

This section opens with the analysis of false Anglicisms which Furiassi develops in his article. The aim of this paper is to prove that the word formation processes, which are involved in the coinage of false Anglicisms, coincide with those active in the development of some vocabulary features of extraterritorial Englishes. Taking Caribbean English as a prototypical example, the paper thus highlights the similarities between false Anglicisms and lexical items of extraterritorial Englishes.

The aim of Toma's chapter is to explore the use of the Italian phrase *al fresco* in the English language. Its Italian core meaning, i.e. "in the shade" or "a cool place", has been extended and reinterpreted in English to mean "in the open air". A corpus-based analysis of the Italian expression *al fresco* is first carried out using the itTenTen10 corpus to verify its meanings and usage contexts. Then its use in American English is observed both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) to check the author's initial hypothesis. The frequency and usage of the false Italianism alfresco in American English are explored in two different periods of time, the 1990s and the 2000s, to observe its semantic profile and increase over these two decades.

Taking the emblematic case of the participatory English Heritage website, plural landscapes and collective engagement through the new social media, Paganoni's paper aims to illustrate how transmedia storytelling attempts to bring together the voices of social actors from different locales in a new discursive space, where the notion of heritage as a public value is prioritised. In fact, she shows how digitally enhanced interaction on heritage discourse appears not only to be narrowing the gap between the narrating and the narrated cultural world, but also it appears to be preserving local heritage affectively through actual participation in it.

By presenting a research project in translation teaching, designed for a class of students in Economic and Financial translation, Falco's paper investigates the changes which the advent of New Information Technologies has brought about in translation teaching.

Molino's paper equally addresses issues related to translation, presenting a state-of-the art overview of research on the translation of academic discourse from and into English, and

suggesting that this type of translation has only recently undergone systematic examination.

Di Martino and Di Sabato's paper is written in a pedagogical vein, but focussing mainly on language teaching from the perspective of translation. Thus, the paper sets out to investigate the relationship between translation and language teaching, highlighting the usefulness of translated literature in a foreign language class, and presenting different materials and activities that might prove useful in language learning contexts.

Sezzi's paper deals with the popularisation and spreading of expert knowledge, and focuses on young readers who are not only lacking in specialised knowledge, but have also a limited understanding of the world, due to their early phase of cognitive development (Myers 1989). She focuses on the re-mediation process that meets the tastes and background encyclopaedia of particular lay readers, by discussing the re-mediation strategies which are implemented to facilitate children's access to knowledge and through which they are engaged.

Finally, Manfredi's paper explores the impact that the digital era has had on mass media communication. In particular, the author investigates the process of remediation that the headlines contained in Tables of Contents undergo in the digital online version of a printed magazine on popular science (*The National Geographic* in particular). Her aim is to assess whether the differences between printed and online publications in general might be due to practical constraints, issues of global communication and/or the need to cope with the rhetoric of 'immediacy' and 'transparency' typical of the new media.

In conclusion, this volume comprises many aspects of remediation and confirms its potential as a fruitful area of study and research, particularly in the digital era, but also as far as media communication in general is concerned regarding formal and informal language, expert and lay dissemination of

knowledge. We hope these contributions will stimulate the reader into finding further examples of the multifaceted forms that remediation takes on in written and spoken communication.

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From Corporate Social Responsibility Reports to Sustainability Webpages: An Analysis of Convergences and Divergences

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Abstract

The paper reports on the results of a comparative study of two small corpora including the CSR reports and webpages generated by a sample of European companies working in three different sectors (Oil and Gas, Banking, and Food-Beverages-Tobacco). In an attempt to analyse the process of intralingual and intersemiotic translation of information from printed into digital materials, the two sets of documents will be examined for the kind of information they release, their textual organisation, paratextual elements and linguistic peculiarities. The results suggest that the high information density, preeminence of hard data and focus on performance typical of CSR reports are counterbalanced on the Web by more generic, simplified and grand claims about the companies' long-term commitment to sustainability.

1. Introduction

Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR, Lantos 2001; Dahlsrud 2008) has recently become a fashionable item on the company's agenda, and a significant hub around which corporate communication revolves (Goodman 2000; Christensen 2002). It was only as a consequence of an increasing demand for morality, transparency and more ethical practices, that public concern over the conduct of business has intensified. Companies have

therefore been under mounting pressure, from investors, governments, and many other primary as well as secondary stakeholders, to demonstrate their integrity, and to report on social, environmental and financial issues.

Accordingly, corporate social reporting (Gelb and Strawser 2001; Snider, Hill and Martin 2003; Nielsen and Thomsen 2007; Williams 2008) has begun to be considered the main route through which companies can reach out to a broader public and inform them about financial and non-financial aspects of their performance.

Nowadays, as a result of the technological advances and the proliferation of new communication tools and channels such as the World Wide Web, traditional and paper-based forms of communication have been complemented by electronic or digital disclosures. It is almost indisputable that the Internet provides the ideal medium for distributing corporate communications, reporting on the company's performance including its CSR activities, and disclosing data efficiently and at a low cost. Drawing on the considerable literature on the subject (Boardman 2005; Pollach, 2005; Bamford and Salvi 2007; Garzone, Poncini and Catenaccio 2007), websites are unanimously regarded as a virtual shop window, which is functional not simply to divulge multimodal information about firms and their products cheaply and in a timely manner, but also to showcase the admirable values and commendable principles which guide them in the management of their everyday businesses.

Therefore, a presence online has been increasingly established by economic actors to parade an ethos of themselves as trustworthy subjects and responsible corporate citizens. In some cases, electronic pages turn out to retain the layout and appearance of the hard-copy communications printed and distributed by companies to a multifarious audience of stakeholders. Nonetheless, in other cases, on-line texts are more

than ‘cutting and pasting’ printed documents on a website; they diverge from paper disclosures: they are reformatted for the Web to incorporate some features typical of the Web (e.g. links, ‘live graphics’, search engines or feedback facilities to name but a few).

It is in the light of the considerations put forth so far that the paper sets out to investigate the ways in which paper-based CSR reports are ‘translated’ for the Web. In an attempt to examine the process of intralingual and intersemiotic translation of information from printed into digital materials or transposition of knowledge from specialised discourse into popularised discourse (Calsamiglia 2003; Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004), the study focuses on a sample of CSR reports and webpages published by six prestigious companies. The materials used for the study as well as the methodology adopted will be described in more detail, in the next section. This will be followed by a macro- as well as micro-analysis of the two sets of texts selected (Section 3), and by a discussion of the main findings obtained (Section 4).

2. Materials and methods

The study is based on two small yet comparable corpora which are made up of the CSR reports (approximately 140,000 running words) and Web pages (circa 255,000 tokens) generated by six European companies working for three key sectors: Oil and Gas, Banking, and Food-Beverages-Tobacco. For each sector, two leading groups were identified and selected: Eni and Royal Dutch Shell for Oil and Gas; Unicredit and Credit Suisse for Banking; SABMiller and British American Tobacco for Food-Beverages-Tobacco. As regards the criteria for corpus design, the firms under study were carefully selected among the top 100 in the ranking drawn up by Lundquist in 2012, of the leading

European companies that use their websites as a platform for corporate responsibility communications (Lundquist 2012: 21-23).

The rationale for the study, which was designed to investigate the interaction between printed and digital texts together with the recontextualisation of specialised knowledge into lay conceptualisations, motivated the identification of some companies that do not fill their web site with text 'recycled' from paper-based documents, but have CSR-dedicated web pages that are manifestly distinct from reports (here it is assumed that printed documents and those available on the Web in a .PDF format coincide).

For reasons of homogeneity and comparability, only the verbal text of the CSR reports and web pages under study was gathered and included in the corpora, whereas tables, charts, diagrams, images, and other visual aids were accounted for separately.

From a methodological perspective, a preliminary study was carried out manually. In an effort to recognise convergences and divergences across the two sets of documents collected, their textual organisation, the type of information they release and the paratextual elements they feature were examined. This study was meant to explore the different textual processes and rhetorical structures of disseminating knowledge among experts (in the case of CSR reports), and of popularising knowledge for a broader and heterogeneous audience (in the case of Web sites).

Besides, with the support of corpus linguistics tools (Sinclair 2003 and 2004) and the software package *WordSmith Tools 5.0* (Scott 2008), the list of keywords of the web sections vs. the reports was generated and the phraseology of a selection of nodes inspected for the purpose of shedding some light on the language strategies adopted by companies in digital vs. printed CSR disclosures.

3. The analysis

3.1. The macro-analysis of CSR Reports and Web pages

A preliminary comparison of the two collections of documents under study suggests that they vary in their length and structuring of information. On the one hand, the reports commonly show a 'limited' number of sections and sub-sections which cover the main pillars of CSR, i.e. environmental issues, economic concerns and support for communities or society at large. On the other hand, the Web pages appear to discuss the same CSR-related issues yet follow a drill-down approach which entails first providing information at a summary level and then 'delving' deeper into the foundation of it. First level electronic pages, which provide summary information, are 'supplemented' with very detailed data targeted at interested readers at a second and third level.

Specifically, a more focused content analysis reveals that a different selection of information is being discussed in the CSR reports and in the webpages. The process of 'remediation', recontextualisation or 'translation' of contents from printed into digital materials does not simply involve the fragmentation, elaboration and expansion of the information which is found condensed, encapsulated and packed into shorter and fewer segments in CSR reports. Notably, the priority given in hard-copy documents to highly relevant facts and updated undertakings is counterbalanced on the Web by the pervasiveness of more general and introductory considerations on the company, its partners, CSR values and 'values translated into actions'. This is exemplified in extracts 1 and 2 taken from the British American Tobacco CSR report and webpage, respectively.

(1) Culture and values
Diversity

We have very diverse customers, suppliers and other stakeholders, and want a diverse workforce to meet their needs. We are committed to improving the diversity of our senior management teams, focused on gender and nationality. We are supporting the career development of female managers to increase the number of women in senior roles. In 2012, we had 64 nationalities working in our global headquarters. The number of women in management roles remained steady at 32% – we hope our diversity initiatives will address this. However, we are pleased that, with 25% female representation on our Main Board, we met the target recommended by the UK Government. (British American Tobacco CSR report)

(2) Diversity

Diversity helps us to understand our consumers, customers and stakeholders and to meet their needs. It also provides different ways of looking at challenges, encouraging creativity and innovation. To maintain a diverse workforce we need to attract talented individuals from different backgrounds and make sure our culture supports them. Our corporate values have always included a statement on how diversity gives us a competitive advantage but we need to ensure our people fully embrace this value and promote it globally. Our focus on diversity includes having greater demographic representation across our senior management, focused on gender and nationality. We continue to support the career development of our female managers, with the aim of increasing the proportion of women in senior management roles. This includes drawing up development plans for our senior women and monitoring progress against them; assigning mentors; and encouraging recruitment consultancies to draw up gender-balanced candidate shortlists when we recruit externally. You can view data on the proportion of women in senior management in our sustainability data centre. (British American Tobacco CSR webpage)

The two examples above clearly show that in the migration of information from the written to the digital disclosure, the emphasis is switched from numerical and factual data in the

former to more 'basic' and background considerations on CSR principles, such as diversity and career development, in the latter.

More holistically, owing to the genre-specific patterns of reports, the texts considered in this study are also characterised by high information density, preeminence of hard data and focus on performance and achievements. Conversely, on the Web, primacy is attributed to the company's mission, and stress is laid on its dedication to sustainable initiatives and co-operation with internationally renowned organisations. It is also thanks to internal and external hyperlinks, which make the Internet surfer jump somewhere else within or outside the same website, that extra information is relayed on the CSR projects supported by the company together with distinguished partners.

However, this does not imply that in the digitisation of CSR information firms do not provide numerical evidence of their reliability. The reports were found to rely on a diversified repertoire of visual aids, such as charts, tables (see figure 1), boxes and diagrams (see figure 2), to present figures and to draw the reader's attention to some 'sensational' data or performance. On the other hand, in CSR webpages facts and statistics do not appear to be totally ignored but more recurrently encapsulated into the text and approximated (see example 3), or converted into bulleted or numbered lists (see example 4).

Customer Experience Measurement (CEM), Instant Feedback

Country	Questionnaires submitted	Content	Key results
Germany	10,320 to Small Business (SB) and 3,885 to Medium Enterprise (ME) segment	Strategy meetings, advisory feedback	• 42% response rate for SB, 41% for ME • High satisfaction levels: over 90% in both segments are highly/very satisfied
Austria	4,872 to Small Business; 902 to Medium Enterprise	SB financial review feedback and ME strategy meetings	• 44% response rate for SB and 38% for ME • High satisfaction levels with 89 points for SB and 91 points for ME
	501 to Small Business and craftsmens	Meeting's feedback on "Craftsmen & Partner Program"[4]	• 42% response rate • High satisfaction levels (higher than 4,55 on a scale 1-5)

Figure 1. Unicredit CSR report

(3) We are continuing the implementation of our most sophisticated listening approach, the Customer Experience Measurement, throughout our countries submitting more than 14,000 questionnaires to Small an[d] Medium Enterprises in Germany and roughly 6,000 in Austria. In Bulgaria we carried out an ad hoc survey concerning the service quality at our corporate branches (Unicredit CSR webpage).

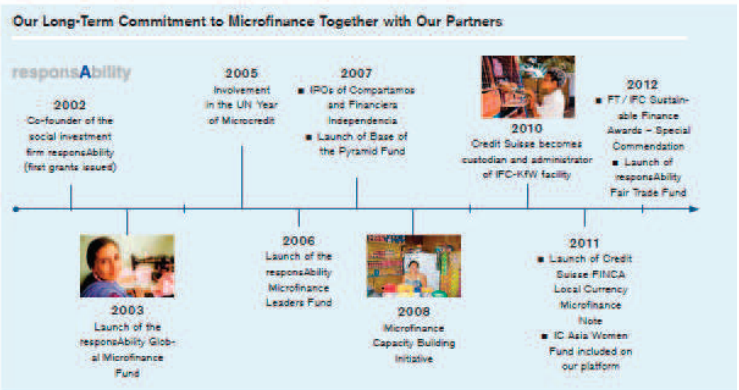

Figure 2. Credit Suisse CSR report

(4) For example, together with partner banks we founded responsAbility Social Investments AG in 2001 and now offer a range of microfinance investment funds in conjunction with this company. By mid-2013, the responsAbility Global Microfinance Fund, which reported more than 850 million in assets under management, had provided loans to over 650'000 microentrepreneurs in 66 countries through more than 200 microfinance institutions (MFI). A private equity fund that was launched in 2007 also enables investors to participate directly in small and medium-sized enterprises and microfinance institutions. At the same time, we offer various investment and advisory services in the microfinance sector. - At the beginning of 2011, we included the IC Asia Women Microfinance Fund in our range of products. This fund is a MIV that focuses on the region as well as women in particular. (Credit Suisse CSR webpage)

Moreover, objective proof of firms' sustainability derives in paper-based disclosures from the repeated recourse to boxes, where awards are listed and quotes attributed to important management figures reproduced (see figure 3).

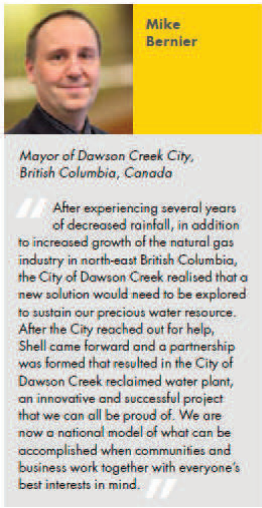

Figure 3. Shell CSR report

The more objective and third-party evidence given by companies in their reports to demonstrate their dependability is turned on the Web into more generic and grand claims where the source of information is rarely specified.

3.2. The micro-analysis of CSR Reports and Web pages

From a more linguistic perspective, the dissimilarities between CSR webpages and reports can be effortlessly recognised if some keywords of the former vs. the latter are identified and examined in their phraseology and co-occurring words. Among the first 30 keywords, a selection of some content words is schematically shown in Table 1 together with their ordinal rank and related frequency of occurrence.

Rank	Word	Frequency
5	HIV	157
8	AIDS	145
9	PROGRAMME	402
10	WASTE	206
13	WATER	691
18	BIODIVERSITY	217
25	HUMAN	423
26	SUSTAINABILITY	627

Table 1. CSR webpages vs. reports: Keywords with related ordinal rank and frequency of occurrence

A quantitative and more qualitative analysis of the keywords listed in Table 1 reveals that CSR webpages vs. reports are permeated by more conspicuous references to the *programme*s (see example 5) and initiatives developed by companies together with international and local partners to impact positively on the society and the environment at large. On the web, companies'

devotion to the environment manifests itself in the pervasiveness of constructions which highlight the attempts made to *reduce, reuse,* and *recycle waste; improve water availability* or *efficiency; contribute, enhance* and *promote biodiversity* (instance 6).

(5) In Ghana, our Responsible Retailing *programme* works with experts from the Health and Work Environment Agency on issues such as alcohol's effect on the body, underage drinking, excessive drinking, and alcohol and pregnancy. (SABMiller website)

(6) Assessing *biodiversity* is part of the impact assessments we perform for any new major project or large expansions to existing operations. This can influence decisions and project design. If an area is rich in *biodiversity we engage with the local communities and experts and develop biodiversity action plans.* (Shell website)

Furthermore, on their websites, the firms selected appear to insist on their support for a number of initiatives aimed at contributing to a community's well-being. The firms' 'voice' as good corporate citizens makes itself heard thanks to the high incidence of signals which point to their commitment to society and communities. Specifically, the analysis of the keywords *HIV, AIDS,* and *human* in their co-text suggests that the companies strive to give illustrations of themselves as promoters of a number of actions which attempt to foster *respect for human rights* (ex. 7)*,* develop *human capital, fight against* or *reduce the spread of HIV/AIDS.*

(7) In these policies, Credit Suisse states that it will not finance or advise companies where there is credible evidence of *involvement in human rights abuses* such as, e.g., forced labor, employment of children, or the use of violence against local communities and indigenous groups. (Credit Suisse website)

Finally, digital vs. paper-based disclosures turn out to 'reverberate' with general and simplified statements about companies' engagement in *sustainability,* their devotion to the environment, contribution to society, and support for responsible economic development.

(8) *Sustainability* Governance We have prioritised the improvement of our governance mechanisms and reporting activities. Our overriding goal is to fully integrate *sustainability* into our daily activities and to communicate effectively with our stakeholders. (Unicredit website)

Conclusions

The analysis presented in Section 3 suggests that the translation process from specialised and paper-based documents to popularised and online disclosures entails changes in textual structure, paratextual elements and linguistic features.

Specifically, hard-copy reports, which turn out to be shorter than webpages (with the only exception of Unicredit), can be considered 'summary' documents supplemented with 'soft' or electronic disclosures where additional information can be found. The remarkable content density which is suggested to be peculiar to reports is counterbalanced in webpages by information fragmentation and expansion. Long portions of CSR webpages are dedicated to background considerations, and technical or numerical information tends to be incorporated into the text and presented discursively rather than visually. Accordingly, in the digitisation of CSR disclosures, the charts, tables, diagrams, boxes and other visual aids that reports are interspersed with are replaced on the web by numbered or bulleted lists and discursive explanations of data.

Furthermore, the factuality, categorical truth and third-party evidence of CSR reports are toned down in webpages where

priority is given to future commitments and support for international programmes. Detailed and data-based descriptions of achievements are replaced by sections which outline companies' priorities, cooperation with renowned organisations and contribution to CSR-related projects.

To conclude, the analysis suggests that the adaptation to the media and to the audience entails the provision of different knowledge and the recourse to dissimilar visual aids and language strategies.

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(Re)Mediating the 2011 UK Riots: A Corpus-Based Discourse Analysis of the Social Actors Involved in the Events

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Abstract

August 2011 can be regarded as a benchmark in the UK's recent history: a protest started on the outskirts of London soon turned into a countrywide wave of riots. Mark Duggan, a 29-year-old man, was shot dead by police in Tottenham, on 4th August. Officers of the Metropolitan Police Service stopped a minicab carrying Duggan as a passenger, who was suspected of being involved in drug trafficking and of being in possession of a handgun. However, since the circumstances of his killing were uncertain and controversial, on 6th August, Duggan's relatives and friends peacefully marched towards Tottenham Police Station, requiring information about his death. A chief inspector spoke to them, but they wanted to see a higher-rank officer and they were, instead, left waiting in vain for hours. When the police tried to disperse the demonstrators, they began to protest. Violence then sparked from Aug. 7th to 10th, with rioting, arson and looting in London and elsewhere in England. Violent clashes along with the destruction of police vehicles, double-decker buses, civilian homes and businesses occurred in Hackney, Brixton, Peckham, Battersea, Croydon, Ealing and East Ham, and in other cities including Birmingham, Bristol, Liverpool, and Manchester.

The media soon began to cover the events, and the press was no exception; due to its extensive coverage, the so-called 'Tottenham summer' was variously reported by the British

newspapers, with differing representations for the participants involved. Such linguistic portrayals will be the focus of this contribution, and will be interpreted as a signal of the political, social and cultural stances of the newspapers under investigation. Indeed, the analysis of the depiction of the participants can provide useful insights into the ways in which individual and collective identities are conceptualized and reproduced *in* and *by* discourse, to be then conveyed to readerships.

1. Theoretical and methodological framework

As far as the theoretical and methodological approach is concerned, especially in the past, most linguistic research on media language and newspaper discourse adopted a Critical Discourse Analysis perspective (Bell 1991, Fairclough 1995, 2003, Fowler 1991, Fowler et al. 1979, van Dijk 1988, 1989, 1991, 1998), carrying out a close analysis of a small number of texts offering significant insights into questions of ideology and power. However, the arbitrary selection of the texts to be analysed was one of the main reasons for criticism, since it resulted in findings that seemed less representative and less generalizable. In more recent years, another approach has gained increasing popularity: corpus-based discourse analysis (Baker and McEnery 2005, Baker 2006, Baker et al. 2008, Gabrielatos and Baker 2008).

Although the association of quantitative and qualitative techniques is not a new practice (Stubbs 1994, Biber et al. 1998), the group of scholars based at Lancaster University (Baker, Gabrielatos, McEnery, and so forth) have provided a more 'systematised' form, combining two approaches: corpus linguistics (CL), on the one hand, which takes into account large amounts of texts that could not be analysed with manual

inspection and uses computational tools to uncover significant linguistic patterns, and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), on the other hand, which carries out close analysis of texts considering the wider social context. While the corpus-based aspect of this approach is mostly informed by the notions of keyness and collocation – and its related concepts of semantic preference and semantic prosody, CDA provides the categories (*topos*, topic) to be used when grouping collocates and keywords on the basis of the semantic prosody that they express (Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 10).

Generally speaking, the advantages of a corpus approach when carrying out CDA concern, in the first place, the fact that larger amounts of data make the findings more credible than those based on a limited number of examples; by pinpointing emerging patterns with keywords, collocates and concordances, it allows the uncovering of hidden ideologies in media texts. Therefore, a much more detailed picture of the emerging linguistic phenomena can be obtained. Indeed, as Fairclough (1989: 54) notes, "[a] single text on its own is quite insignificant: the effects of media power are cumulative, working through the repetition of particular ways of handling causality and agency, particular ways of positioning the reader, and so forth". Despite the fact that most of the British newspapers make no attempt to be unbiased, more or less explicitly revealing their stances (via the amount of coverage given to particular events, their editorials, the selective publication of readers' letters, or their language choices as far as collocations and colligations are concerned), there is also a great deal of ideological burden that goes unnoticed and that works through the unconscious and subtle repetition of the dominant mental schema that Fairclough (1989) refers to. A corpus analysis of large numbers of texts can identify such repetitions and their strategies to position readers. For the average reader,

uncovering the extent to which an article is biased is certainly not an easy task. While processing and understanding the discourse, and in order for the discourse to signify, the reader "has to take on board the paradigms and stereotypes that are implied" (Fowler 1991: 232).[1] Therefore, "a corpus analysis will allow us to see which choices are privileged, giving evidence for mainstream, popular or entrenched ways of thinking" (Baker et al. 2013: 25).

Claiming that neither CDA nor CL need be subservient to the other, each equally contributing to the analysis of the corpus, the Lancaster-based researchers state that each approach (CL and CDA) can help triangulate the findings of the other, both being used as entry points to create a virtuous research cycle (Baker et al. 2008: 295; Gabrielatos and Baker 2008: 7). They thus try to demonstrate "the fuzzy boundaries between 'quantitative' and 'qualitative' approaches." Showing that 'qualitative' findings can be quantified, and that 'quantitative' findings need to be interpreted in the light of existing theories, Baker et al. (2008: 296) call for some kind of bridge-building between the two areas.

The other major theoretical reference for this study is provided by Van Leeuwen's (1996, 2008) framework posing actors and actions as elements of great interest in any linguistic or discourse analysis. If representation is primarily based on practice, namely on what people do, on people's actions (Bourdieu 1986, Butler 1993), similarly in linguistics, Van Leeuwen has adopted the view that "all texts, all representations of the world and what is going on in it, however abstract, should be interpreted as representations of social practices" (2008: 5). In the attempt to investigate the ways in which the participants of social practices

[1] So newspapers can be said to construct readers but, at the same time, readers have no passive role since meaning is created from the interaction between texts and readers (McIlvenny 1996); in this view, decades ago, Hall (1973) proposed the significant notion of 'resistant readers'.

are portrayed, Van Leeuwen suggests an analytical framework to account for the "socio-semantic inventory of how social actors can be represented" in English (1996: 32). He adopts the term 'social actors', stressing that in any discourse people are evaluated through the way they are linguistically construed. This focus on social actors is strictly connected to the sociological concept of agency, which has been of major importance in CDA to explore the ways in which the potential resources of language are 'exploited' to create meaning and seems pivotal to examine the emerging depictions of the protagonists of the riots.

In this context, the notion of 'remediation', which entails the idea of transformation and reformulation (from an interlinguistic perspective), can be very useful for the scope of this study, to highlight the ways in which the same event has been reported by the press. Indeed, there seem to be several significant differences among the newspapers relating to how the events were mediated and re-mediated with differing portrayals of their participants and causes. Indeed, in the process of remediation, the audience is certainly a major factor heavily affecting the ways in which the events and their main actors are presented. "[N]ewspapers cater to their audiences: editorial decisions, topic selection, and presentation of events, the amount of detail in the story, the pictures and images accompanying it, all reflect the perceived needs of a target audience" (Busà 2013: 34). Therefore, the writing of news reports is based on a set of common values that are assumedly shared by potential readers; the style, vocabulary, the level of sophistication of language, even the choice of topics, vary to suit the expected readership. Such strategies are employed to make the news available to the newspapers' average readers, which is the reason why (according to Conboy 2003: 47), they can be said to actively design a community of readers. In fact, in doing so, newspapers create new forms of power and new forms of access to representation which have a

performative character: they construct and perform identities for the subjects involved in their semiotic productions, thus affecting social relationships through language and discourse. So, far from merely describing the events going on in the world, they create them. To this extent, discourse can be said to have the reiterative power to produce the phenomena that it regulates and constrains (Butler 1993). Such performative power – that substantially and considerably affects people's everyday life – lies in the elites who support authoritative conventions and ideologies and control the flow of information.

Bearing in mind that anchoring social and cultural research into a deeper understanding of media discourse and language analysis helps pinpoint power relations and institutional dynamics, the following sections will give a detailed overview of how some of the social actors involved in the 2011 UK riots were linguistically construed by the British press, and what identities were performed in the very act of reporting the events.

2. Corpus description and steps of analysis

Four newspapers were selected for inclusion in the corpus, two were representative of the so-called quality press – namely *The Guardian* and *The Times* together with their Sunday editions, respectively *The Observer* and *The Sunday Times* – in addition to two newspapers representative of the so-called popular press – namely the *Daily Mail* and the *Daily Mirror*, with their Sunday editions, respectively the *Mail on Sunday* and the *Sunday Mirror*. In point of fact, both the quality and popular newspapers included in the corpus have different political orientations: *The Times* and the *Daily Mail* have traditionally featured a conservative editorial stance, while *The Guardian* and the *Daily Mirror* have usually supported the Labour Party and more liberal views.

The articles included in the corpus are reports, features, editorials, and op-eds (opposite the editorial page) (Franklin 2008, see also Bell 1991); letters were omitted since they express the readers' opinions and views on the riots rather than the newspapers' portrayal of the events, which is not the scope of the investigation. The corpus collected for this study consists of 942 articles with a total number of 776,257 running words. The newspaper articles were gathered over a time-span ranging from the beginning of August to December 31st, 2011: since the events occurred between 6th and 10th August 2011, the corpus is meant to cover the first five months soon after the unrest, which can be regarded as the most salient period for press coverage.[2]

Once downloaded, the articles were saved in .txt format to be processed by a software tool. The software tool employed for corpus investigation was *Wordsmith Tools* 5 (Scott 2008). Table 1 provides detailed information on the article distribution in each newspaper, showing the number of articles and tokens per newspaper (newspapers are listed by number of tokens, also comprising their Sunday editions).

Newspaper	**No. Articles**	**No. Tokens**
The Guardian	441	398,189
The Times	215	203,821
Daily Mail	121	103,865
Daily Mirror	165	70,382

Table 1: Corpus description by number of articles and tokens

[2] The web-archive *LexisNexis* was used to retrieve the data by searching for the keyword 'riots' in the aforementioned newspapers (when it appeared within the document headline or lead paragraph) over that specific time period. However, since articles dealing with other kinds of riots taking place all over the world were also brought up among the results, a further 'refinement' of data was carried out, manually inspecting the articles, in order to make sure that only the articles dealing with the 2011 UK riots were included in the corpus, and to eliminate double articles so as to have real figures on which to base a faithful analysis.

As is evident, *The Guardian* features the highest number of articles and tokens, signaling the special attention given to the events by this newspaper. Such discrepancy is also explained by the fact that, on December 5th, *The Guardian* started publishing a special section called "Reading the Riots. Investigating England's Summer of Disorder", the first empirical and sociological study realized by a newspaper in collaboration with the London School of Economics into what was defined as the most serious civil unrest in a generation.[3]

In the first place, the identification of the main participants in the news reports seemed a crucial step in the examination of how they were represented by the newspapers. An initial, qualitative reading of a randomly selected sample of articles (5% of the total number per each newspaper) was carried out to identify the principal actors, clarifying the roles they were assigned. The emerging 'actors' could be distinguished as follows:

- Mark Duggan;
- the rioters;
- the police and other authorities (MET, fire brigades, politicians);
- the local people and residents (whose homes and businesses were damaged by the rioters).

This contribution will exclusively concentrate on the linguistic representations of two participants, in particular: Duggan and the rioters.

The qualitative analysis was followed by a corpus analysis, based on word lists, frequency information and, above all, concordance data. To this extent, it is worth noting that a comprehensive analysis concerning the rioters as a group or

[3] The study aimed at a better understanding of why the riots occurred and spread from Tottenham – north London – to other parts of the capital and cities across England. Further information is available at: http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/sep/05/reading-riots-study-guardian-lse and http://www.guardian.co.uk/uk/2011/dec/05/reading-the-riots-methodology-explained.

social actor necessarily includes an investigation of other terms that were also used to refer to them, such as 'looters', 'offenders', 'thugs', 'mob' – to name only those with higher frequency, appearing among the first 1,000 ranking positions (Table 2 shows the ranking positions, frequency and percentage of the main lexical items referring to the social actors under investigation).

N	Word	Freq.	%
80	Rioters	1,325	0,13
180	Looters	613	0,06
210	Duggan	531	0,05
279	Mark	410	0,04
400	Offenders	302	0,03
493	Thugs	252	0,03
510	Mob	238	0,02
1032	Looter	119	0,01
1036	Yobs	119	0,01
1696	Offender	67	-
1897	Mobs	58	-
2840	Yob	35	-

Table 2: Frequencies of terms relating to the main social actors

A list of concordances was generated for each newspaper searching for the keywords 'Mark/Duggan', to highlight the ways in which this participant was described by the British press. Then, in the attempt to further analyse the other major actor, namely the rioters, another list of concordances was retrieved with the keywords 'rioter*/ looter*/ offender*/ thug*/ mob*' which appeared as the most frequent and representative terms to define the whole group. To such keywords, the pre-modifying adjective 'young' was also added since it was frequently found in nominal groups like 'young people', 'young groups of', etc. (age being a remarkable feature through which

the rioters were defined). Due to the very high number of concordances retrieved, a close reading of 300 randomly selected concordances in each newspaper was carried out to focus on the descriptions and/or evaluations of the rioters, and to examine the potential differences in such construals. In order to have a representative sample of all the articles published by each newspaper, 100 randomly selected concordances were retrieved on three occasions, in order to increase the possibility of having a significant variety of instances featuring the keywords under investigation, in spite of the fact that some concordances could appear repeatedly.

3. Focus on the participants: Mark Duggan

Mark Duggan, the 29-year-old man living in Tottenham (London) who was shot dead by police, was under investigation by a subdivision of the Metropolitan Police, Operation Trident, on suspicion that he was planning to commit a crime and was in possession of a handgun. Due to the numerous changes in the police reports concerning what happened and to the fact that circumstances remained very controversial, the media gave varying accounts of who Duggan was when describing the events that led to his shooting.

Searching for the keyword 'Mark/Duggan', 98 concordances could be retrieved from the *Daily Mail*, 85 of which actually referred to Duggan (rather than to other people called Mark, the verb 'to mark' or the noun 'mark'). From a close reading of the extended lines, the keyword can be said to co-occur with a series of recurring images that are summarized in the Table below.

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrence
Mark/ Duggan	alleged drug dealer, suspected crack cocaine dealer	15%
	gangster-related descriptions (Tottenham 'gangsta', senior member of a gang, the nephew of notorious crime boss, 'one of our fallen soldiers')	10%
	father of four	6%
	local man	4%
	an innocent victim and family man	3%

Table 3: ***Daily Mail***

As emerges from the highest percentages of the recurring concordances displayed in Table 3, the *Daily Mail* seems to describe Mark Duggan mostly in terms of a drug dealer and a gangster. Great prominence is given to the reporting of Duggan as the nephew of a well-known crime boss (boasting his gang had more guns than the police), to his friends' words claiming he was one of their 'fallen soldiers' – once again clearly recalling the world of gangs – when not explicitly calling Duggan a 'Tottenham gangsta'. Rather little emphasis is given to the reporting of his relatives and friends who describe him as an innocent victim and family man, a loving father idolising his children. From such data, further concordances – that were not so frequent as to appear with a high percentage of occurrences in Table 3 – could still be retrieved. Among them, the interview to one of Duggan's primary school teachers claiming that Mark

was one of the most disruptive children, always carrying a knife and beating up other pupils, together with reports stating that Duggan was said to have become 'paranoid' about his own safety (thus carrying a gun for protection).

Moving to the *Daily Mirror*, 63 concordances could be retrieved with the keyword 'Mark/Duggan' – of which 47 had Duggan as their actual referent – with the most frequently recurring expressions displayed in the table below.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
Mark/ Duggan	Mr Duggan	20%
	a local man	9%
	police shooting victim	4%

Table 4: *Daily Mirror*

Table 4 shows that the *Daily Mirror* usually employs the courtesy title 'Mr', which is a sign of respect in itself, and often describes Duggan either as a local man (thus resorting to what seems to be a 'neutral' expression to give information on him) or as the victim of a police shooting (highlighting the fact that, strictly speaking, he was a victim whose life was taken away in a fatal shooting in ambiguous circumstances). The newspaper also mentions Duggan's gangster image, but with some hedging and usually clarifying they are referring to police sources ('he was described as a "well-known gangster" by police sources'), unlike the *Daily Mail*.

Moving to the quality press, with *The Times*, a slightly more complex frame emerges from the 131 concordances retrieved – 110 actually referring to Duggan (Table 5).

Keyword	Recurring images emerging from concordances	% of occurrence
Mark/ Duggan	Mr Duggan	35%
	no gangster, a loving father, a family man sitting at home and playing the PlayStation with his kids (family/friends' portrayals)	10%
	an important player in the criminal underworld, a suspected gunman, well-known to police, involved in gun crime and drug dealing (police portrayals)	8%
	a local man and father of four	4%

Table 5: ***The Times***

The Times seems to be more cautious in describing Duggan. First of all, he is mentioned with the courtesy title 'Mr', and a remarkable emphasis is given to the polarity emerging from his family and friends' portrayals as well as from police sources depicting him, at the same time, as a drug dealer having a role in the criminal underworld and a loving father, as a man under close surveillance and a man spending his time with his kids.

With its 323 concordances (293 concerning Duggan), *The Guardian* certainly offers the most articulated picture of Duggan, covering a wide range of aspects of his life, personality and activities. The newspaper gives plenty of information about him, drawing on a variety of sources – ranging from police to family – and allowing equal opportunities and space to differing

viewpoints. Due to this variety, the percentages of occurrences of the concordances are very low, since there seems to be no significantly prevailing depiction of him.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
Mark/ Duggan	29-year-old man and father of four	4%
	well loved, an angel, a loving family man, a good dad who idolised his kids, a loving boy with a good heart, known to the police but with no criminal convictions, peacemaker, harassed by the police for years (family and friends' portrayals)	3%
	unarmed at the moment he was shot	2%
	Tottenham man/resident	2%
	hardened north London gangster and drug dealer, in possession of a gun, followed by police believing the situation was a 'crime in action', having some illegal drugs in his blood (police portrayals)	2%

Table 6: ***The Guardian***

The many sources that *The Guardian* employs in its reports result in what seems to be a more balanced approach, devoting a lot of space to contrasting positions in an attempt to clarify the circumstances in which the shooting took place. Even when mentioning the gangster image, *The Guardian* claims that some of the messages posted by Duggan's friends on his Facebook page 'could suggest a possible gang involvement' since they referred to him as a 'soldier', a 'true star boy', and a 'five star general', still carefully hedging the utterances.

4. Focus on the participants: the rioters

Moving to the portrayal of the second social actor under investigation, the rioters, the *Daily Mail* seems to have a very 'oriented' focus. Table 7 displays the most frequent and representative ways in which they were depicted as emerging from the concordances that could be retrieved.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
rioter*/ looter*/ offender*/ thug*/ mob*/ young	hardened or known criminals having previous criminal convictions or cautions	10%
	alienated, angry, disaffected young people with no respect and a severe disregard for property and community	5%
	cheating the benefits system, claiming disability benefits, and getting council houses	4%
	under 25, the youngest rioters being 11 in London and 9 in Manchester	3%

Table 7: *Daily Mail*

The prevailing image of the rioters emerging from the *Daily Mail* is that of 'hardened criminals' who should have been in prison. The paper underlines the fact that British society needs to face this new criminal underclass, tackling the sick and irresponsible behaviour of those they define as young thugs. Such reporting is aptly achieved by choosing a specific set of sources: police sources, claiming that offenders were often linked to gangs, together with conservative political sources, in particular, the Home Secretary Theresa May – a representative of the Conservative Party – who stresses that the vast majority of rioters were not protesting, they were merely thieving, driven by a desire for 'instant gratification'. In agreement with the positions adopted by May, the newspaper appears very straightforward in defining the rioters as greedy (having identified greed as the main – and almost exclusive – reason for their deeds), still blaming others – the police, the Government, 'society' – for their actions, not accepting their responsibilities. So the rioters' deeds are solely described as opportunistic looting targeting luxury brands, with no other political aim.

As for the *Daily Mirror*, the depiction of the rioters features a series of recurring issues in common with the *Daily Mail*; above all the rioters are depicted as career criminals motivated by non-political reasons apart from sheer, greedy opportunism. As Table 8 shows, the most frequent descriptions emerging from the 300 randomly selected concordances represent this social actor as being brazen and bold, too angry and upset to feel any kind of fear or shame for what they were doing. At the same time, the newspaper also underlines that the very young age of the rioters and looters involved in the events – termed as 'morality-free kids' – urges the British society to face the moral issue raised by this generation of adults of tomorrow. However, the paper also

seems to attempt a more in-depth reporting, highlighting the need for the youth to believe they have a place in society.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
rioter*/ looter*/ offender*/ thug*/ mob*/ young	brazen, feeling no fear, angry and upset, shameless, mindless and merciless, with no political agenda	10%
	young, children as young as 8 were reported to have joined the looting, most rioters were under 24, the youngest in London was 8	5%
	disadvantaged, poor, on benefits, failing at school and black	5%
	young black men still feeling huge resentment towards the police	3%

Table 8: ***Daily Mirror***

Among the other concordances that did not feature a significantly high percentage of occurrences, but were still part of the reporting of the *Daily Mirror*, the newspaper highlights the police claims according to which the Home Secretary Theresa May was warned, twice, that widespread rioting was likely to happen since the atmosphere on the streets was at a boiling point. However, she completely dismissed the idea, thus explicitly stressing the responsibilities of the Conservative Party (of which May was a representative).

The other major topic that finds some relevance in the *Daily Mirror* (and that was not mentioned by the *Daily Mail*) regards the 'race factor': while acknowledging that these riots cannot be

named race riots, the paper states that race played a part in the 2011 events – mostly due to the resentment felt by young black people towards the police. They overtly define race and religion as 'the unspoken element' in the events, which seems, at least, an attempt to further 'problematise' and contextualise the whole issue.

With *The Times* more points in common with the *Mirror* can be (surprisingly) noted, among them the description of the rioters as criminals, young, poor, on benefits, with low education, black, with an indication of race as a significant element in the events. However, interesting dissimilarities continue to emerge. Table 9 shows a remarkable emphasis on the rioters' feelings of hopelessness, abandonment, and neglect, which seems to provide a sort of explanation for the events. The newspaper insists on the fact that young people feel they have no stake in society, something which the Government needs to address.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
rioter*/ looter*/ offender*/ thug*/ mob*/ young	poor, failing at school or excluded from school, unemployed, stripped of aspiration and hope (infected by a distorted morality), abused, abandoned or neglected, feeling no one really needs them, vulnerable, young black men complaining they had been shown a lack of respect	10%
	known criminals, uncontrollable looters, feral rioters	6%
	male, young, more than 50% under 20	5%

Table 9: *The Times*

Going into more detail (although not emerging from Table 9), *The Times* underlines that the youth's greed is a reaction to the perceived greed of MPs and bankers, which sheds a new light on their reasons for rioting, while highlighting, at the same time, that these riots were political. Indeed, according to the newspaper, they were born out of a heady concoction of rising inequality, widespread social disenfranchisement, economic volatility and growing youth unemployment.

While stressing the urging need to tackle the complex questions lying behind the events, the newspaper interestingly (and perhaps surprisingly, given its well-known political stance) devotes its attention to the voices of the young rioters themselves, to allow some space to their points of view on the matter. According to these voices, the riots were about striking back against inequality, they were meant to signal a 'payback time' towards police and their power abuses. Thus, again, they were political to that extent.

As for the portrayal of the rioters in *The Guardian* (Table 10), we can notice the confirmation of a position that emerged in *The Times*: the rioters' reasons are definitely political. In contrast with an early generalised political consensus on the fact that the riots were 'non-political', the paper overtly tackles the issue of what could be 'more political than a generation deprived even of political consciousness, knowing only frustrated consumerism, and believing power lies not in Downing St but JD Sports'. In fact, the rioters are described as far more politically conscious than many first thought.

Apart from their consumeristic nature, which also played a part in the events, these riots were reported as a war between youth and government and/or the authorities representing a political and economic system that was only working for a minority of people (their targets ranging from the prime minister

and MPs' expenses to cuts to social services, bankers' bonuses, university fees and the ending of the education maintenance allowance). *The Guardian* identifies a set of extremely serious problems affecting the relations between the police and youth, resulting in an explosive potential for the riots. Great emphasis is also given to the perceptions, feelings and thoughts of the rioters (emerging from the interviews held as part of the 'Reading the Riots' sociological research) as pivotal motivations for the disturbances, as shown in Table 10.

Keyword	**Recurring images emerging from concordances**	**% of occurrence**
rioter*/ looter*/ offender*/ thug*/ mob*/ young	feeling a deep-seated and visceral antipathy towards police, widespread anger and frustration at the way police engage with communities, concerned about disintegrating relations between police and young people (due to stop and search tactics), indicating policing as a very important factor in causing the disturbances, interpreting the riots as a battle, a war	10%
	perceiving a lack of justice and respect, feeling dislocated from the opportunities available to others, feeling a profound sense of alienation, harbouring a range of grievances, a pervasive sense of injustice that was economic (no jobs, no	6%

	money, no opportunity) or more broadly social (how they felt they were treated compared with others), saying their confrontations with police made them feel powerful, feeling they had nothing to lose	
	coming from the most deprived boroughs in England, poverty being one of the key reasons behind the riots	5%
	mainly young and male, coming from a cross-section of local communities, with previous convictions is not reliable	5%
	united to fight against a common enemy: the authorities	2 %

Table 10: ***The Guardian***

According to the newspaper and the enquiries it resorts to, poverty is thought to be one of the key reasons behind the August riots, together with a sense of alienation uniting a part of the rioters, namely black people, who feel they are unfairly and disproportionally targeted by the police's stop and search tactics.

The most striking element emerging from the most frequent and representative extended concordance lines retrieved in *The Guardian* is that among the major factors fuelling the riots there was a deep anger together with a sense of distrust and antipathy towards the police, mainly due to their discriminatory and unfair targeting of some people, in particular. These feelings led those involved in the riots to put hostilities aside and unite against a common enemy: the authorities. Moreover, the newspaper is the one that more overtly admits that although the riots were not

‘entirely about race’, race is still a hot and tricky issue among minority groups who feel alienated and not belonging to the British society. Indeed, many rioters interviewed by *The Guardian* complained about racial discrimination, mentioning a mixture of racism and Islamophobia that they could distinctly perceive and that fuelled their anger and lawlessness.

Conclusions

In an attempt to summarise the findings emerging from the afore-mentioned analysis, the four newspapers under investigation can be regarded as featuring different attitudes towards the social actors examined, Duggan and the rioters.

The *Daily Mail* employs a series of linguistic devices to report the events that seem to enhance the emotional properties of the words and phrases employed to elicit a sense of shared and irrevocable condemnation for Duggan’s lifestyle (downplaying the act of shooting by the police and suggesting a sort of moral justification, after all ‘he was just a gangster’) as much as for the rioters’ misdeeds (putting all the blame on them). There is hardly any form of hedging in the articles, resulting in a very judgemental position, something which is also reflected in the very limited number of sources chosen for quotation: they almost exclusively refer to institutional or political (Conservative) statements together with those by police authorities (the MET). Indeed, the newspaper seems to grant very little access to the rioters in terms of self-expression and representation, which consequently produces a rather unbalanced reporting of the different viewpoints.

As for the *Daily Mirror*, there are few occurrences in which Duggan is described as a well-known gangster; overall the newspaper does not offer many instances of negatively evaluative language, it employs fewer connotative expressions

that appear to aim at a slightly less biased representation of Duggan. In fact, he is most often depicted as a victim of a police shooting. Similarly, in the case of the rioters, while expressing its strong disapproval for the people it defines as 'morality-free kids', the newspaper also attempts an analysis into the causes of the riots. More specifically, while giving a negative portrayal by describing the protagonists as coward, violent, wild, outrageous, and arrogant, the newspaper also stresses the fact that the country needs to face the challenges posed by the events by tackling important issues. Therefore, generally speaking, even when some negatively connotative words and/or phrases are employed, they are usually mitigated by some kind of hedging, toning down utterances that might trigger certain images in the minds of potential readers. On the whole, the newspaper adopts an approach that aims at accounting for a variety of perspectives and viewpoints. Indeed, references to different sources are more numerous than in the previous newspaper: institutional and political voices (both Liberal and Conservative) find their space, as well as those of police authorities and ordinary people giving their impressions and comments on the disturbances.

The Times seems to offer a wider and more cautious depiction of both Duggan and the rioters, further problematizing the violence spreading across many cities in the UK (as a reaction to the politicians and bankers' greed), and admitting a political dimension that was invariably dismissed by the popular press. Thus, despite employing negative words and/or phrases, it still appears rather balanced in the reporting of the events due to a constant use of hedges, thus avoiding being too assertive – something which might seem appropriate given the unclear circumstances in which everything happened. More importantly, the newspaper chooses to quote a variety of sources – Duggan's family, politicians, police authorities and officers, ordinary people and the rioters themselves – quoting contrasting views,

and thus contributing to a more complex analysis that opens up a space for various linguistic representations.

The general picture of both Duggan and the rioters offered by *The Guardian* can be deemed very balanced: there seems to be a strong emphasis on the responsibilities of a third participant involved in the initial events, namely the police, not only in the shooting of Duggan but also in the subsequent management of the relations with the family and the media, something which does not appear (at all or, at least, not so clearly) in the other newspapers. Similarly, the rioters' misdeeds are reported but, at the same time, their reasons are also accounted for. Far from downplaying their responsibilities, this approach aims at providing an in-depth analysis to explain the events.

Therefore, the newspaper certainly offers the most comprehensive and exhaustive portrayal of the social actors under investigation, since it draws on a wide range of sources from lay to expert – family, police, national and international press – providing as many details as possible on the events and the people involved (with a lot of hedges even when negatively connotative words or phrases are employed).

Triangulating such data, it is worth noting that some core elements seem to be kept constant across the newspapers, firstly, in relation to the fact that the riots were so 'newsworthy' that both the quality and popular press thoroughly reported the events (despite some differences in their coverage). The second transversal element, common to all newspapers, is the way the British press has construed the events and the participants, for instance, with a focus on violent deeds and – expectedly – on sensational bad news. However, some specific elements are brought in to *re-mediate* the events according to different potential readerships. So in the production process the newspapers can be said to follow diverging paths when it comes to the reports about Mark Duggan and the rioters, and the kinds

of identities that they linguistically construe and perform for the two social actors. Such dissimilarities heavily affect the way they construe the events *in* and *through* discourse, while featuring different forms of engagement with the political and social dimensions of the riots.

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Effectively Promoting Puglia in English: assessing mediation through the Seven Standards of Textuality

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Abstract

The translation of tourist texts can be considered a specialised type of cross-cultural communication (Agorni 2012: 5), which requires a certain degree of mediation since it involves negotiating into other lingua-cultures the cultural markers characterising a given destination. This study aims to investigate the degree and nature of translator intervention in two tourist mini-guidebooks promoting Puglia. More specifically, we will attempt to assess the effectiveness of the strategies adopted by the translator by using the Seven Standards of Textuality (De Beaugrande, Dressler 1981). The analysis shows that the translations of the two texts have different degrees of mediation. This lays the ground for future investigation of the translators' profile and of the quality of the Puglian translation system in the tourism domain.

1. Mediation in tourist translation

The complexity of tourism discourse has been widely acknowledged and has sparked off considerable debate on the classification of the language of tourism as a specialised discourse (Gotti 2006; Cappelli 2006; Nigro 2006; Francesconi 2007). This complexity is due mainly to the interdisciplinary nature of tourism discourse (Calvi 2005), the combination of components from everyday language with more complex

elements, the presence of cultural references, and the specifically-devised pragmatic and textual features that are employed to ensure successful interaction and reader's involvement (Agorni 2012: 6).

These issues become more significant when tourist texts are translated into other languages. A number of cross-cultural studies on tourist promotion show how different perceptions of the holiday experience are strictly related to different culture-bound values and beliefs (Manca 2008; 2011; 2012; 2013; D'Egidio 2009; 2014; Fina 2011; Katan 2012) and determine language patterns that are used to fulfil specific communicative purposes. Thus, tourist translation becomes a complex process in which the values and beliefs underlying culture-bound perceptions need to be *re-mediated* across cultures, and meanings negotiated accordingly (Katan 2004).

Tourist translation has been widely identified as an activity involving mediation. The starting point is the definition of 'mediation' provided by Hatim and Mason (1997: 147), that is "the extent to which translators intervene in the translation process, feeding their own knowledge and beliefs into their processing of the text". However, as pointed out by Katan (1999: 420), "the beliefs we are concerned with are not those of a mediator's (ethical or ideological) position, but rather beliefs about the (communicative) needs inherent between texts and their readers".

Agorni (2012) analyses the translator's intervention in the translation of tourist texts and highlights how tourist translation becomes "an extremely interesting case of cross-cultural communication" (2012: 6), where meanings are negotiated, values mediated, and identities reshaped through a variety of discursive strategies that operate both at textual and cross-cultural level.

Significant insights into mediation in translation come from studies by Manca (2008, 2011, 2012, 2013), who shows that different forms of promotions can be detected in different cultures, and highlights how translating for tourist promotion implies re-mediating culture-bound values and beliefs in order to achieve a target-oriented equivalence (2012: 64).

A key point in the aforementioned studies concerns the pragmatic implications that discursive strategies have in the translation of tourist texts. The importance of the strategies adopted by the translator lies in the persuasive effects they might produce, as the translator intervention will have significant outcomes not only in terms of readers' awareness, but also in terms of appreciation of the features characterising the destinations and attractions, and the values they convey (Poncini 2006). Thus, the more the translator exerts mindful, reasoned and mediation-oriented intervention, the more likely the translated tourist text is to effectively perform its persuasive function by raising readers' interest.

In the light of these observations, it can be said that the degree of translator intervention is related to translation quality issues. Studies by Pierini (2007) and Munoz (2012) provide examples of how a faithful transposition of the ST without any mediation often results in breakdowns of communication and consequently in low quality translations, which do not accomplish the intended persuasive function. Starting from the premise that the effectiveness of tourist translation depends on the degree of mindful intervention by the translator, the aim of this paper is to analyse a small corpus of English translations of tourist material promoting the Puglia region and assess the effectiveness of the strategies adopted. Rather than providing a mere classification of strategies and translation errors, for the discussion of the strategies used and the assessment of their effectiveness we will refer to the Seven Standards of Textuality (de Beaugrande and

Dressler 1981). Before going through the analysis, a brief discussion on translation quality assessment (TQA) is needed.

2. Translation quality assessment: perspectives and problems

Speaking of translation quality assessment (TQA), the most well known and most discussed model is the one developed by House (1997). This model is developed on the concept of 'equivalence', based on Halliday's systemic and functional theory (1994), and draws on Prague school ideas, speech act theory, pragmatics, and corpus-based differences between spoken and written language (House 2001: 247). As House says (2001: 243), investigating translation quality implies addressing the crucial question of the nature of the relationship between the source text and its translation. As there are different ways in which a text can be translated, there will also be different ways of assessing the quality of the translation (Magris 2006: 183). This is the reason why quality has been and still is a widely debated concept, which has raised a variety of concerns and around which a number of theoretical models have been developed[1]. Rather than going through the various approaches, which would be outside the scope of this paper, we will focus instead on an important observation made by House (2001: 255):

> [...] the nature of translation as a linguistic-textual operation should not be confused with issues such as what the translation is for, what it should, might, or must be for.
> In approaches to translation criticism such as those squarely oriented towards the purpose and effect of a translation in a new cultural environment, it is unfortunately often the case that no clear line is drawn between translations and other (non-equivalence oriented) multilingual textual operations. One way out of this conceptual (and

[1] For a full account of the different views on TQA see House (2001) and Magris (2006).

methodological) confusion seems to be to make a clear distinction between a translation and a version, a distinction which can, as I have tried to show above, only be made if one posits functional equivalence as an incontrovertible criterion for translation.

Due to the complexity of tourism discourse and the network of implications produced by translator intervention, tourist translation cannot be limited to a linguistic-textual operation, nor can aspects such as the function and the effect of a translated text be disregarded. It is not by chance that Kelly (1997: 35) configures tourist translation as 'adaptation', an activity which is halfway between translation and 'rewriting'. This is the main reason why the Seven Standards of Textuality (rather than House's model) are used in this study as a reference model to assess the effectiveness of the strategies used. House herself (2012: 180) discusses the relationship between text linguistics and translation, highlighting the fact that this approach involves a shift from a static to a dynamic view of the text:

> Several of these textuality standards reveal that in producing and understanding texts in translation one must go beyond linguistic analysis and look at a text's psychological and social basis. […] Characteristic of this strand of text linguistics is its dynamic view of a text as part and parcel of human psychological and social activities. There is of course a great affinity between this paradigm and the practice of translation, the latter being solely concerned with texts as linguistic strings but also with the human beings involved in selecting, comprehending, reconstituting and evaluating texts.

The belief underlying the choice of the Seven Standards of Textuality is that an excessively fragmented framework of criteria operating at single levels would not fit the complexity of tourism discourse, whose language patterns are determined by cultural orientations and produce effects on multiple levels simultaneously. Obviously, this study is not meant to provide a "final judgement" (House 2001: 255) in terms of readers'

response, as such judgement can be formulated only by involving directly the final receivers of the translation.

3. The Seven Standards of Textuality in tourist translation

The Seven Standards of Textuality are used to analyse a text not only in its formal features, but also in the various components of its communicative context: cohesion, coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality, intertextuality. Cohesion and coherence are text-based Standards, while the others are user-centred Standards (for definitions and discussion, see De Beaugrande and Dressler 1981: 1ff).

Starting from the premises that a target text can be defined as such only if it is cohesive and coherent and that if cohesion and coherence are not met there is little or nothing to discuss about the other Standards, we will focus on the user-centred Standards and see how they can be applied to the translation of tourist texts. In order to make them match the numerous aspects of translator intervention, they were re-defined from a translation perspective.

Intentionality relates to the *skopos* (Vermeer 1989) of the target text and its communicative function. The function of the target text can be the same as the source text's or differ upon specific instructions provided by the commissioner of the translation. Depending on which of the original author's intentions the translator wants or is required to keep or delete, s/he will give more prominence to certain aspects by adopting specific linguistic strategies. As we will see, intentionality also implies dealing with author's stance. Acceptability relates to "tailoring the translation according to reception in the target culture" (Katan 2009: 82), not only in terms of stylistic conventions but also by taking into account specific culture-

bound thinking patterns that affect tourists' perceptions and expectations. Informativity involves favouring "the maximum level of uptake with the minimum cognitive effort" (Katan 2002: 188). This means that the translator will need to adopt a series of strategies to 'adjust' information taking into account what outsiders may already know and what type of information would be difficult for them to process. Situationality refers to the context of situation to which given information belongs: information should be delivered in a way that allows readers to identify a specific context, which will serve as a reference frame for retrieving more elements if those present in the text are not sufficient.

In this paper the Standard of Intertextuality will be not dealt with, as we may assume that if the previous Standards are satisfied, readers will have all the necessary elements to fully avail themselves of the text and its content.

Drawing on the terminology developed by Greimas (1966), we will also frame the fulfilment of these Standards within the three text functions *vouloir*, *savoir*, *pouvoir*. A *vouloir* tourist text aims to create desire and stimulate interest, a *savoir* text aims to provide knowledge, a *pouvoir* text focuses on practical information and is focused on 'doing'.

4. Assessing the effectiveness of translator intervention through the Seven Standards: an application

We will now apply the Seven Standards of Textuality to the English translations of two tourist mini-guidebooks. More specifically, we will try to assess the effectiveness of the strategies used by discussing them in terms of fulfilment or failure. Due to space constraints, the analysis presented in this paper will not cover the whole texts but will rather include a selection of significant examples from each one. Whenever one

or more Standards are not satisfied, translation solutions or reformulations are provided.

4.1 The corpus

The corpus used for the aforementioned wider project currently includes eleven mini-guidebooks, which were published in 2011 by *Regione Puglia* and downloaded[2] from the multimedia section of the official tourist website promoting Puglia (www.viaggiareinpuglia.it), and three printed pamphlets produced by both *Regione Puglia* and *Provincia di Lecce*. They are all bilingual (Italian and English), with the English translation on the right side of the pages.

So far, the Seven Standards model has been tested on two mini-guidebooks:

i) *"Girapuglia"*[3], a mini-guidebook proposing food and wine itineraries all over Puglia;

ii) *"Gallipoli forever"*, a pamphlet promoting the sea town of Gallipoli.

4.2 The analysis

i) *"Girapuglia"*

The mini-guidebook *"Girapuglia"* is made up of twelve sections which correspond to twelve different food and wine itineraries. Despite the title, however, the guidebook promotes not only Puglia gastronomy but also covers cultural sites and activities.

Let us start from the front page and focus on the following translation:

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[2] The mini-guidebooks are available at: http://www.viaggiareinpuglia.it/multimedia/elenco/guideturistiche/it (last accessed January 2014)

[3] Available at: http://www.viaggiareinpuglia.it/multimedia/1120/it/GiraPuglia (last accessed January 2014).

Source text	*Target text*
12 itinerari enogastronomici in una regione buona come il pane	12 wine and food itineraries in a region good like bread

Table 1: Italian subheading and English translation in *"Girapuglia"*

As can be seen, retention has been chosen as a strategy to render the Italian idiom *buona come il pane* ("good like bread" rather than the more idiomatic "as good as gold") in English. In Italian, this expression is basically used to describe people, but in this context it acquires an added meaning, as it is used to highlight the quality of Puglian cuisine. The values underlying the use of this metaphor are probably those of simplicity and authenticity. The literal translation "good like bread" not only sounds very odd in English but also does not convey the intended values. Thus, two Standards are not fulfilled: Acceptability, because the English translation does not stick to the target language stylistic conventions, and Intentionality, because the values intended by the source text author are not conveyed and, as a result, a *vouloir* feature gets lost here. As mentioned above, the prima-facie English translation of the Italian idiom would be "as good as gold". However, this solution would satisfy Acceptability but not Intentionality. As can be noticed in Figure 1, the front page features a Puglia-shaped *ciabatta* loaf:

Figure 1: "Girapuglia" Front Page

This picture is symbolically meaningful as it visually recalls the same values of simplicity and authenticity conveyed by the title. This means that in the translation of the title the reference to bread should be maintained. The solution I propose is:

"12 wine and food itineraries in a region as good as homemade bread"

with the structure "as good as" satisfying Acceptability, as it reminds readers of the more familiar English idiom "as good as gold", while the adjective "homemade" conveys the values of simplicity and authenticity, as these lie in the natural ingredients which homebaked bread is made of, and keeps the same *vouloir* feature as the source text, since it stimulates the readers' desire to visit Puglia and taste local bread. It should be noticed that in the proposed translation "bread" has been preferred to *ciabatta* as the latter might not be well-known for a lingua franca audience. A further mediating translation could be:

"12 wine and food itineraries in a region as good as a homemade *ciabatta* loaf".

We will now move to the list of contents. This section indicates the page number of each itinerary, and each itinerary has a corresponding title. The twelve titles corresponding to the twelve promoted itineraries have been translated as follows:

Source Text	*Target text*
1. Venti di zagare	1. The scent of oranges
2. Frutti della tradizione	2. Fruits of Tradition
3. Il verde dell'Adriatico	3. The Green Adriatic
4. Profumi di bosco	4. The Scent of Woods
5. Segreti d'acqua	5. The Secrets of Water
6. Rosso come il sole	6. Red like the Sun
7. Figli della terra	7. Sons of the Earth
8. I colori del Golfo	8. The Colours of the Gulf
9. Eredi della storia	9. Heirs of History
10. La culla del Negroamaro	10. The Cradle of Negroamaro
11. Il viola del Barocco	11. The Purple of Baroque
12. Il richiamo del mare	12. The Call of the Sea

Table 2: Paragraph titles and English translations in "Girapuglia"

Before discussing the English translation, a few aspects of the Italian titles are worth highlighting. These titles convey a perception of the holiday in Puglia based on abstraction and sensory experiences, as they contain a variety of words relating to the five senses, in particular sight (*verde, rosso, colori, viola*) and olfactory (*venti*, here intended as 'scents', *profumi*). These features have been already identified by Manca (2013) who highlights how, in line with the Italian culture's high-context orientation (Hall 1990), the focus is on the emotions determined

by sensory experiences rather than on factual and practical information. The titles have been translated literally into English. The only exception is the first title, in which the Italian word *venti* ("winds") has been translated with "scent", and the Italian word *zagare*, ("orange blossoms"), has been translated with "oranges". In the former case, the word "scent" makes explicit what the word *venti* refers to in this context: the idea is that of wind blowing, making orange trees shake, and spreading a fruity scent in the air. In the latter case, the translator makes the target text simpler by opting for the more generic word "oranges" instead of the specific "orange blossoms" (*zagare*) mentioned in the source text.

The remaining titles have been merely transposed into English without any type of mindful intervention. This choice has implications at the cross-cultural level. Indeed, as widely discussed by Manca (2013), a discourse of tourism focused on abstraction and emotions fits the Italian culture's high context orientation, but not the British culture's low context orientation, which implies preference for factual information. Considering that an English tourist translation is very likely to be destined not only to an Anglo-American audience but also to people belonging to other cultures, the translator should resort to concepts which are more likely to be shared and accepted by more cultures, without necessarily depriving the English translation of the *vouloir* feature characterising the source text. The main concern raised by the English translation is that readers are not given enough details to contextualise the information and decide which itinerary to choose. This implies a failure in Informativity, because the translator has not taken into account the readers' expected knowledge and the information lacks a specific context of situation. As a result, Situationality is not reached, either. Furthermore, the concepts used in the original text might be too abstract and ambiguous for other

cultures; and this would determine a failure in Acceptability. How could this translation be improved? Italian readers themselves might find it difficult to understand what the information actually refers to. Useful elements to improve the translation can be retrieved from the website promoting these itineraries[4]. Unlike the downloadable mini-guidebook, in the webpage dedicated to the itineraries for each title a specific geographical area is mentioned, for example:

"Itinerario 1: Gargano – Venti di zagare".

Therefore, a possible solution to satisfy both Informativity and Situationality could be to add the geographical reference in the English titles. For example:

"Oranges in the Gargano".

However, further re-mediation can be exerted to keep the same *vouloir* feature as the source text by using a more concrete image rather than the abstract one conveyed by the word "scent". In the following translation

"Sweet oranges in the Gargano",

the geographical reference "in the Gargano" would satisfy Informativity and Situationality, while the adjective "sweet" would compensate for the olfactory experience implied in the source text by replacing the abstract concept conveyed by *venti di zagare* with the more concrete gustatory experience implied by "sweet oranges".

Another interesting title is number 7. The corresponding itinerary on the above mentioned website refers to Valle d'Itria,

[4] Available at: http://www.mtvpuglia.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&id=120&layout=blog&Itemid=54&lang=it (last accessed January 2014).

and part of the description reads as follows: "The gastronomy of the area still preserves the tradition and tastes of the countryside"[5]. These lines suggest that the aim of the itinerary is to experience authenticity and tradition. Thus, in translation the *vouloir* feature conveyed by the metaphor *Sons of the Earth"* could be transformed and made more effective by combining it with *pouvoir* elements. A possible solution could be:

7. Valle d'Itria: from the field to your table

with the expression "from the field to your table" conveying a more concrete idea of authenticity and tradition in food preparation, and the geographical reference "Valle d'Itria" (kept in Italian) satisfying Situationaliy. The same method can be applied to the other titles in order to make them eye-catching and useful at the same time.

We will now analyse the following paragraph:

Source Text	*Target text*
I più grandi scrittori-viaggiatori hanno celebrato a più riprese le emozionanti albe sul mare Adriatico, fra la maestosità dei castelli vedetta e l'operosità dei porti marinari. E delle bontà del mare narra, innanzitutto, la gastronomia tipica.	Many travel writers have celebrated the beautiful sunrises over the Adriatic sea, the imposing watch towers and the busy maritime ports of this area, whose typical gastronomy is based mainly on fish.

Table 3: Paragraph from "Girapuglia" and English translation

[5]Available at: http://mtvpuglia.it/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=1163:itinerario-7-valle-ditria-figli-della-terra&catid=120:gli-itinerari-girapuglia&Itemid=54&lang=en (last accessed January 2014).

In the first part, the use of the adjectives *imposing* and *busy* in the target text perfectly substitutes nominalisation (*maestosità* and *operosità*) which, as Manca suggests (2013) is due to the need for abstraction characterising the Italian language. Thus, Acceptability is satisfied in terms of stylistic conventions. Intervention has occurred at two levels in the second part: 1) the syntactic level, with the coordinating sentence of the source text being replaced by a subordinate in the target text and the marked thematic structure by a non marked one; 2) the conceptual level, as the concepts of *narrare* (to tell a story) and *bontà del mare* (goodness of the sea) have been deleted in favour of a more denotative description ("whose typical gastronomy is based mainly of fish"). Even though the overall simplification fits the more factual and denotative English style, the deletion of the concept *bontà del mare* determines a failure in Intentionality, because the author of the source text probably used the concept of *bontà* to create desire. A possible solution could be to use once again an adjective that conveys the same meaning as *bontà*:

[...] whose local gastronomy is based mainly on delicious fish

with the adjectives "local" and "delicious" performing the same *vouloir* function as *bontà*.

We will now analyse how the translator has dealt with culture-bound terms (see Petillo 2012 for an analysis of the difficulties involved when translating cultural references in tourism discourse). In the following passages

Source Text	*Target text*
1. […] assaporare il pescato dei trabucchi […]	1. […] taste seafood from a traditional *trabucco* fishing platform […]

2. […] imponenti masserie […]	2. […] imposing *masseria* farmstead […]
3. […] da apprezzare nelle carni servite nei tipici "fornelli" […]	3. [...] meat is served in the typical "fornelli" [...]
4. La fragranza del pane di Altamura, unica Dop da forno d'Europa […]	4. The fragrant Altamura bread is Europe's only baked Dop product […]

Table 4: Culture-bound terms in "Girapuglia"

the translator has used translation couplets and triplets (Newmark 1988) to adjust information according to the readers' expected knowledge so as to ensure the maximum uptake with the minimum cognitive effort. More specifically, the translations "*trabucco* fishing platform" and "*masseria* farmstead" perfectly satisfy not only Informativity but also Intentionality: the additions "fishing platform" and "farmstead" provide the information necessary to understand what the text is about, and also maintain the same *savoir* function as the original. In the last two cases, however, no intervention can be detected to clarify the meaning of the culture-bound concepts *fornelli* and *Dop*. In the third example, the word *fornelli* (which literally means "burners") refers to butcher shops equipped with barbecue grill. Informativity is not satisfied here because the word *fornelli* alone does not help outsiders understand what they are and decide whether they are interested in this gastronomy experience. Thus, the whole sentence could be reformulated in more than one way:

1. "... meat is instantly grilled and served in the *fornelli* (butcher shops with barbecue grill)"
2. "... meat is served in the *fornelli*, butcher shops that double up as eateries".

Similarly, in the fourth example, non-Italian readers might not know that *Dop ("Denominazione di Origine Protetta")* is the Italian designation equivalent to the English PDO ("Protected Designation of Origin"). However, a mere substitution from *Dop* to PDO would clash with the *pouvoir* function of the text, since Italian products display the Italian designation, not the English one. Therefore, readers need to look for the label reading "Dop" if they want a quality certified product. In order to satisfy both Informativity and Intentionality, the translator should re-mediate this concept as follows:

"The fragrant Altamura bread is Europe's only Dop certified product [...]"

with the word "certified" making it clear that *Dop* is the certification they need to look for to make sure that they are buying high quality products.

In the light of this analysis, we may observe that we are not dealing with a low quality, Google translation, nor with a high quality one. In fact, while some of the interventions analysed so far could be associated to a skilled, professional translator, the cases in which the translator has not intervened mean that we have to question the level of professionalism.

We will now move to the analysis of a few passages from the Gallipoli pamphlet.

ii) *"Gallipoli forever"*

This pamphlet was obtained at a local info point in Lecce. Like *"Girapuglia"*, it covers a number of aspects of Gallipoli, but has more detailed descriptions.
Let us start with the translation of the titles of paragraphs. The following two titles were selected because they are the most interesting to analyse:

Source Text	*Target text*
1. Profumo di mare, respiro del vento	1. Sea breeze and fresh air
2. Riti e feste	2. Religious Rites and Traditions

Table 5: Paragraph titles and English translation in "Gallipoli forever"

The first title conveys a sensory experience, expressed by the words *profumo* (scent) and *respiro* (breath). Unlike the *"Girapuglia"* mini-guidebook, the translator has not provided a literal translation, but has intervened on the text using the more concrete and more widely shared concepts of "sea breeze" and "fresh air", which satisfy Acceptability. In the second title, instead, the addition of the adjective "religious" provides readers with the specific context of situation. Indeed, the word "Rites" alone could have referred also to non-religious traditions. Thus, the strategy used satisfies Situationality, allowing readers to quickly decide whether the content of that paragraph might be interesting for them or not.

Let us focus on the following paragraph:

Source Text	*Target text*
Arrivati a Gallipoli, percorrendo corso Roma, dei segreti di questa città si può cogliere ben poco. Sono ormai un ricordo l'eleganza e la compostezza delle facciate lineari e colorate delle palazzine di fine Ottocento/primi Novecento, schiacciate e soppiantate dall'avanzare dei profili in vetrocemento e dalle insegne del neon.	As you enter the town, if you only take a look at Corso Roma then you will not find out much about the 'real' Gallipoli. Along this road, many small 19th-20th century buildings that had perfectly geometrical, neat and elegant facades have now been replaced by reinforced concrete and glass blocks with neon signs.

Table 6: Paragraph from "Gallipoli forever" and English translation

This is undoubtedly a case of complete reformulation without distorting the meaning of the source text. As can be seen, in the English version the translator sticks to the conventions of the tourist genre and addresses directly the reader by using the pronoun "you". Furthermore, the abstract nouns *eleganza* and *compostezza*, used to describe the facades, have been replaced by the adjectives "elegant", "neat" and "geometrical", which convey exactly the same meaning. Thus, Acceptability is satisfied in terms of stylistic conventions.

What is particularly interesting, however, is the very last part of the paragraph. Regardless of the promotional function of the pamphlet, the source text author decided to clearly express his/her negative opinion about the modern part of the town. However, the author's overt criticism expressed by the past participles *schiacciate* (suppressed) and *soppiantate* (displaced), which clearly have a negative semantic prosody, has been downsized in the target text by using the more neutral "replaced". This has clearly to do with Intentionality, and also

opens discussion upon the crucial issues of the relationship between author, commissioner, and translator and the degree of freedom when dealing with the author's stance. Thus, in this case further investigation is needed to determine whether the author and the translator had previously agreed on a more covert criticism or whether this was imposed on the translator by the commissioner.

The translator has often intervened on the text by reformulating whole paragraphs and adding new information where relevant. An example is the following:

Source Text	*Target text*
Riprendendo la strada principale, si incontra un frantoio ipogeo, interessante da visitare perchè ben tenuto e perché, al suo interno, conserva le macine e gli altri meccanismi per la lavorazione delle olive.	Now go back to the main street. You will come across a well kept underground oil mill. It was restored a few years ago and today you have to buy a ticket to get in. The inside is particularly interesting because you can take a look at millstones and other machines used to make oil.

Table 7: Paragraph from "Gallipoli forever" and English translation

Here not only has the translator reformulated the source text in a personal and simplified style that fits the target language conventions, but s/he has also given a *pouvoir* function to the text by adding a piece of information that readers might find useful if they want to visit the site, i.e. "It was restored a few years ago and today you have to buy a ticket to get in". In terms of the Seven Standards, Informativity is satisfied because the translator has transferred the background information related to

the oil mill, but has also provided useful information for potential visitors.

Such reformulations and additions occur throughout the whole pamphlet and it is not possible to analyse them all here. The observation that can be drawn from this analysis is that the English translation of this pamphlet is of a higher quality than that of "Girapuglia", and this leads us to think that the person entrusted with this task might be a professional translator.

Conclusions

In this paper we have analysed the degree and nature of translator intervention occurring in the English translations of two mini-guidebooks promoting Puglia, and have tried to assess the effectiveness of the strategies adopted by the translator by using the Seven Standards of Textuality as a reference model.

The conclusions that can be drawn from this study are two-fold. First of all, the degree of mediation varies between the two guidebooks, as in "Gallipoli forever" substantial intervention occurs, while in "Girapuglia" intervention is not consistent. An investigation of the profiles of the translators entrusted with this work and of criteria according to which they were selected will probably shed light on how the translation system in the tourism domain works in Puglia and how it could be improved.

On the other hand, at a theoretical level, the Seven Standards of Textuality model has proved to be potentially valid to evaluate the effectiveness of the strategies used. Starting from the premise that tourist translation is a reader-oriented process, the user-centred Standards of Textuality take into account the complex network of socio-cultural implications involved in tourist translation. Furthermore, the analysis has shown that the Standards are strongly interrelated between each other, and this helps cover multiple aspects, at multiple levels, at the same time.

The Seven Standards model is being tested further on the other material of the corpus, and further investigation will hopefully provide useful suggestions on how tourist promotion of Puglia in English can be improved in a re-mediating perspective.

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The language of beauty: localisation processes and transcreation phenomena in nationally-targeted advertisements

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Abstract

The aim of the paper is to carry out a pilot synchronic analysis of the language of cosmetics advertising, taking into account the adverts for beauty products collected from three different 2012 national editions (British, Indian, and Italian) of the monthly magazine Marie Claire. The data – collected both in a parallel and a comparable corpus – concern nationally-targeted advertisements of the same products and are used to examine the localization strategies through which the message (both visual and verbal) gets adapted to fit the targeted locale (Pym, 2003). The focus is on nationally-targeted advertisements, localization strategies and transcreation processes. Special attention is paid to the culture-specific traits of the textual advertising strings.

1. Introduction

Translation in the field of advertising is known more for its "disaster stories" (Anholt 2000:17) than for its achievements. History has indeed recorded many cases of advertising 'disasters'. Among them, policy advisor Simon Anholt cites ads which – once backtranslated – read like this: "it takes an aroused man to make a tender chicken" (ST: It takes a tough man to make a tender chicken), "the ideal ink to prevent pregnancy" (ST: The ideal ink to prevent embarrassment), "so good it makes you want to eat your fingers" (ST: It's finger-licking good), and

"Corpse by Fisher" (ST: Body by Fisher) (*ibid.*). Advertising 'catastrophes' are the indication that something went wrong in the process of *localisation* (which also includes, peripherally, translation). When an advertisement runs smoothly and flawlessly through magazine pages around the globe, it means that the process of localisation, which comprises also the translatorial act, has been capable of responding to the reader's culturally-related expectations and the demands, in a word, of meeting local cultural tastes (Ho 2004: 235). The aim of this contribution is to shed light on the phenomena of localisation and transcreation through a synchronic analysis carried out on beauty product adverts contained in three editions – British, Indian, and Italian – of the glossy magazine *Marie Claire*. This paper arose from an interest in the differing communicative styles (displayed by specific and distinguished lexical choices) employed in the advertisements that appeared in three different 2012 issues (henceforth MC UK, MC Italy, and MC India). This research is particularly focused on how adverts are adapted (localised) to conform to the profiled consumer through specific rhetorical strategies which conform, pragmatically, to what Kramsch names the "general structures of expectation established in people's minds by the culture they live in" (1998: 17).

In order to understand the utility of extended research carried out by a team, I conducted a pilot analysis on a small scale corpus. I discuss here the preliminary results which seem to confirm the value of research on a larger corpus and highlight the importance for Western scholars to look outside the borders of the Western hub.

2. Localisation and Transcreation in Advertising

The term localisation which I have used above refers to "the process of modifying products or services in order to account for differences in distinct markets"[1] and it applies both to "adapting software for particular geographical regions (locale) and to taking a product and making it linguistically and culturally appropriate to the target locale where it will be used and sold" (Kramsch 1998: 17).

As David Katan aptly puts it; "Differences in technical consumer information provide just one example of the way each culture has its own appropriate ways of behaving" (Katan 2012 [1999]: 11). In the act of localisation, translation plays a 'minor role' and localisation companies often choose to out-source the work of freelance translators rather than pay them for in house work (Pym 2013: 5).[2] The multistep process of localisation requires the supervision of a project manager and the skills of "people competent in terminology, revising, testing, software engineering, and yes, translation […]" (Katan 2012 [1999]: 11.). While out of the academy, localisation is mainly associated with software and website 'translation', in the academy it is often assimilated with the process of culturally and linguistically adapting a text; in the latter perspective, it applies to the translation of promotional material which I discuss here. Endorsing the communicative styles of the target culture, the translator 'localises' the advertisement exploiting target text (TT) endogenous rhetorical features in order to make the text successful for the different, profiled audience.

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[1] Quoted from www.lisa.org, the official website of the Localization Industry Standards Association which has been shut down. See also B. Esselink (2000), *A Practical Guide to Localization*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin; A. Pym (2004), *The Moving Text. Localization, Translation, and Distribution*, Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin; http://usuaris.tinet.cat/apym/on-line/translation/translation.html. Last accessed January 2017.

[2] URL: http://usuaris.tinet.cat/apym/on-line/training/2013_localization.pdf. Last accessed January 2017.

Popular culture, morals, religious beliefs and legislations play a prominent role in the process of localisation (Gill 2007: 76). What is inoffensive in one culture could be offensive for another; so it comes as no surprise that in what looks like a decent copy of the December 2012 Marie Claire UK, found in a hotel hall in Sri-Lanka, a label is attached which says: "Reader Discretion Advised. This magazine contains content with images and themes that may be considered offensive. Reader discretion is advised". In a multi-cultural and multi-religious *non-lieu*, like a Sri-Lankan hotel lounge, the guests are invited to turn over the pages of Marie Claire with discretion. For the Muslim readers the exposure of female body parts may be considered offensive but having said this, the advertisements of dildos in the final pages of MC UK (missing in MC Italy and MC India) may be considered 'sensitive content' even for many Western readers.

Localisation is called into action also when creating a new brand name or renaming an old one. De Mooij cites the famous renaming of *Coca Cola* for the Chinese market into *kekou kele* (*tasty* and *happy*). This operation of localisation was consistent with the use of connoting brand names with positive values and goodwill in the Chinese market (De Mooji 2004: 189). When translators localise an advertisement they do it by focussing on the cultural kernels of the target reader; as Munday states in advertising translation: "the unit of translation is not just the text but the culture" (Munday 2004: 209).

The professional in charge of advertising translation – which goes far beyond translation – is also called a *transcreator*. Both a *translator* and a *creator*, the transcreator translates the ST, usually back-translates it and provides the client with a rationale for linguistic choices and cultural adaptations. Transcreators recollect the cultural seeds of the target audience and use them in their process of linguistic *mediation* and cultural *remediation*. By its own nature, advertising translation draws, and quite

predictably so, from many disciplines such as marketing, psychology and reception theories, to name but a few (Adab, Valdés 2004: 164).

3. Case study: preliminary results

As previously stated, the pilot study was carried out on a small collection of advertising texts contained in 2012 Marie Claire UK, Italy, and India. Being a women's magazine largely (but not uniquely) dedicated to fashion and beauty, I decided to work on ads concerned with beauty products and perfumes. As a selection criterion, I chose and manually collected only ads whose structure presented a headline, a body, and a "pay off" line. The amount of ads for each magazine which responded to the criteria of analysis were 20 in MC India, 23 in MC UK, and 16 in MC Italy.

The first significant piece of information at this stage of the research was that MC UK and MC Italy have very similar advertising lines, showing a considerable presence of international ads (50 in the British ads, 60 in Mc Italy, 8 in MC India) and promote the same or very similar products; on the other hand, MC India has a very distinct ethnic identity, it displays very few international brand ads and focuses more on national products to beautify Indian women.

The aim of the research was to find ads for similar or for the same products which could be used, in a wider analysis, to compose respectively comparable and parallel corpora and look at the linguistic choices and communicative styles employed by the three localized versions of the magazine. Both differences and similarities drawn from such a comparison would constitute a useful source for trainee translators. Comparison of the same advert, translated in different languages or localised for a different culture, as it shall be noted, raises very challenging

questions as to whether it is still the case that we can talk of *translation* of a certain promotional text or rather *transmutation* of the ad: "[…] legal restraints, norms and socio-cultural differences can combine to produce what might, at first glance, seem a bizarre set of (non) parallel texts" (Katan 2012: 11).

The initial scrutiny did not produce the expected results as it was not possible to find a product advertised in all three magazines and parallel texts were found only in MC UK and MC Italy (6 adverts). Similar product ads allowed some form of comparison but no perfect match was initially found. Furthermore, it was not possible to compare British and Italian anti-aging cream advertisements with the Indian ones because Marie Claire India contained only 1 advertisement of an anti-aging product (non-localised, with the image of a Caucasian woman). On the contrary, MC UK and MC Italy showed a prevalence of anti-aging product ads. In fact, in the Italian edition of the magazine almost all the ads for face creams were about fighting *treacherous* wrinkles while the UK edition seemed less concerned with aging but more interested in looking natural and with having healthy skin (in a ratio of 6:3 in the sample collection of ads). A wider collection of texts and more extended research would allow us to make general statements about the trends of advertising in the three sister publications and eventually help us to better understand cross-cultural divergences in the advertising language of each edition.

A peculiarity which is unique to Marie Claire India is the presence of the same advert repeated twice and even three times in the same issue. In one of the 3 cases, there was a difference in the quality of the page on which the ad was hosted (the shampoo ad was once printed on stiff, glossy paper and the other two occurrences on a normal magazine page).

In summary, once the ads were selected, the communicative styles of the three magazines were placed under scrutiny even

though a real comparison between parallel ads (same product, different languages) was possible only between MC UK and MC Italy. The ads contained in MC India were retained in order to continue a comparison between similar ones (i.e. shampoo ads, cold cream ads, etc.).

Although MC UK and MC Italy show many similarities in their use of persuasive language, borrowing massively from linguistic oratory features, in the products advertised, the differences between the two countries outlined two distinct ways of addressing the reader. By including the ads gathered in MC India, it is clear that each magazine exploits different styles to make sure it pulls its audience in.

4. Indian (English) beauty

Compared to the British and the Italian editions, Indian advertisements usually comprise a heavy amount of *body copy* with syntax that is typical of Indian culture and the Indian variety of English. Displaying some typical sociolinguistic features of the Indian variety of English (e.g. "make magic thrice as fun" where *thrice* is commonly used in India and does not have the archaic flavour it would have in the UK if used today), Indian ads show a tendency towards redundancy and repetition (even of the ad itself, as previously stated), and an inclination to be more explicit than Italian and British ads. This tendency towards transparency and disambiguation can be noted in statements like "it removes dirt and dead skin from your face" or "The Secret of dull, lifeless skin is out; Make your dull, dark and lifeless face glow with life with Oxybleach", sentences which would constitute a doomed campaign in a Western magazine, by inadvertently associating the product with negative attributes before its use.

Moreover, from the data collected, Indian advertising's communicative style shows a tendency to address the reader directly and to 'call things by their real name,' not disguising or 'softening' certain 'brutal' realities. Less canny, we could say, if we look at those ads with Western lenses. Here are two examples taken from cream adverts (*Pond's White Beauty* and *Oxy-Facial Kit*) purporting to prevent brown spots and the advert of a 'facial kit' which is meant to impart oxygen to the skin:

[1] *Pond's White Beauty*
To what extent will Sun Spots show on your skin by the end of this summer?
If your score is 5 then moderately spotted is how your skin can look by the end of this summer. Thankfully, Pond's White Beauty blocks sun spots even before they appear. […]
stay spotlessly fair even in the summers without worrying about Sun Spots.

[2] Do you know what your favourite facial lacks?? Oxygen.
Introducing Oxy-Life Facial kit.
Only facial that gives a high boost of Pure Oxygen to your skin.
Now ask your parlour for Oxy-Life facial. Get a glow full of life.
How does OxyLife Professional Facial give pure oxygen to the skin?
It has a unique Oxysphere Technology developed in Germany.
This technology enables pure oxygen to be trapped in each product of the kit: cleanser, scrub, cream, gel and pack. […]
These oxygen enriched products go deep inside the skin to give a visibly radiant face that glows with life.

The Western eye, accustomed to being exposed to split-second, intrusive, vivid messages – which often lead to a real "sign-fatigue" (Gill 2007: 83) – may be impressed by the pace of the Indian ads, which display a milder, non-aggressive tone. The bodycopy is quite extended and the use of interrogative

sentences is not provocative (as it is in MC UK and Italy) but more 'educational' compared to the typically elusive messages found in Western advertising campaigns.

By virtue of the principle of textual economy, the same sentence "if your score is 5" could presumably be rendered with "if you score 5" in a British ad and the same holds true for "by the end of this summer" which would be "by the end of the summer". The use of lexical chunks like the reassuring "thankfully", "then" in the first ad and "Now" in the second, exhibit a didactic tone which is uncommon in MC UK and MC Italy, where each word carries a strong semantic load and no surplus textual fabric is 'allowed'. The use of two question marks in place of one is also unusual to the Western eye. These are nationally-targeted advertisements and as such the use of these lexical cues are presumably expected by the Indian reader and are pragmatically coherent in the sense that they are "meaningful within the situational and cultural context" (Kramsch 1998: 28) in which they are uttered.

Redundancy is also a trait of Indian ads, and it is manifested in the repetition of the nominal group "Oxy Facial" and especially in the sentences "stay spotlessly fair even in the summers without worrying about Sun Spots" and "to give a visibly radiant face that glows with life", in which the second 'surplus' sentence ("without worrying about Sun Spots" and "that glows with life") expands and reinforces the idea expressed in the first segment.

The cream's brand name (Pond's *White* Beauty) introduces one of the main targets of Indian adverts. Cream advertisements all cohere around the issue of whitening the skin. Among the most frequent lexical occurrences are *bleach*, *pre-bleach cream*, *bleaching experience*, *lightening*, *lighter*, *skin darkening*, *brown spots*, *sunscreen*. For those familiar with Indian culture it comes as no surprise that a fair complexion plays such a crucial role. The adjective *fair* is here intended in the Indian English (Pathak,

2005) nuance meaning a not too dark a skin (not fair in the Western sense) and it is a collocation which occurs very often in matrimonial ads: one of the most requested qualities of an eligible bride is a fair complexion and the adjective "fair" occupies the first or second position when listing qualities in marriage ads.[3] Bearing this in mind, it is not difficult to understand why MC India contains 99% of cream advertisements concerned with eliminating dark spots, lightening skin and protecting against the sun.

The data collected from a single edition of MC India demonstrated that there was a fairly homogeneous trend in Indian ads and a larger corpus would allow us to corroborate preliminary research data. On the whole, the Indian copy is always completed with extensive, descriptive and explanatory textual strings, even for products which could have exploited purely the power of the image and used no text (i.e. life-style ads for sunglasses, accessories, jewelry, etc.).

Looking at the preliminary results of the research we may assert with a reasonable degree of certainty that compared to the Indian ones, the British and Italian ads exploit the potential of language in a different way; their rhythm is more 'keyed-up', less explicit and less descriptive, in a word, more intangible.

British vs. Italian ads: instrumental vs. affective orientation

Both British and Italian advertisements rely a great deal upon inference, iconic language forms and implicit connections. Exploiting the oral features of the language, both MC UK and MC Italy exhibit a massive presence of marked structures,

[3] Here are some '*matrimonials*' taken from Hindustani Times: "Good looking, *fair*, slim" (HT, 1 August 1999); "Smart *fair* complexion" (HT, 1 August 1999); "Very *fair* attractive, slim, very Indian, simple and affectionate" (HT, 1 August 1999); "Very pretty, *whitish*, attractive features" (HT, 1 August 1999); "Cultured, *fair*, slim, vivacious and intelligent, daughter of millionaire" (HT 4 July 1999); "*Actually fair-complexioned*, beautiful tall girl" (TI 6 November 1994) (Pathak 2005: 8, emphasis mine).

implicit coordination, a lack of grammatical cohesion, imperatives, exclamation marks, and interrogatives (Lombardo 1999: 111). The illocutionary force of the imperatives contained in MC UK and Italy and the use of very provocative questions typical of the "orate mode" (Kramsch 1998: 40) in the two editions would presumably be perceived as far too aggressive by an Indian audience accustomed to a less colloquial and more composed communicative style.

Despite the apparent similarities between the British and Italian languages of advertising, from the samples collected, some differences emerged in the use of hedgers and in the exploitation of technical jargon. The hypothesis is that in their communicative styles and lexical choices, British and Italian ads reflect the differentiation outlined by David Katan between 'affective' (i.e. emotive) and 'instrumental' (i.e. non-emotive) cultures:

> Le culture emotive "aprono il loro cuore" mentre le culture non emotive credono più nell'autocontrollo. Culture più emotive (incluso il Giappone) tenderanno ad evidenziare più che i fatti le emozioni e le relazioni, e lo faranno anche attraverso un'accentuata comunicazione non verbale. Al contrario, le culture non emotive quali la Germania, la Gran Bretagna e gli Stati Uniti sono portate a dare precedenza ai fatti e alle questioni più che agli individui. Ciò che viene detto ha maggiore rilevanza di come viene detto. Esprimere l'emozione è considerato imbarazzante e perdere il controllo è percepito negativamente. (Katan 1997: 51).[4]

The implicit assumption of this linguistic approach is that the groundmass of a language is constituted by its culture and this is

[4] "Affective cultures tend to 'open up their hearts' whereas instrumental cultures tend to believe in self-control. More affective cultures (which include Japan) tend to place more emphasis on emotions and relationships rather than facts and they tend to use non-verbal communication to do this. On the contrary, instrumental cultures such as Germany, Britain and the US, tend to give precedence to facts and arguments more than to people. *What* is said has more relevance than *how* it is said". Courtesy translation by Emma Wallis.

unequivocally reflected in the differentiation outlined by Katan. This distinction results in a differentiated use of the visual and textual body surrounding the product advertised in each culture and language. The Italian communicative style displays a more 'emotive' attitude towards the product advertised. Less matter of fact, less realistic, the Italian ads make use of more 'emotive' metaphors (e.g. Siero di giovinezza infinita, Coltiviamo la bellezza, Un gioiello per le tue labbra, etc.) and adopt a more cumulative and hyperbolic style through the use of intensifiers, superlatives and longer adjectival chains.

Intensification, in the words of Partington, plays the crucial role of revealing the speaker's intent to amplify the message: "Intensification is a direct indication of a speaker's desire to use and exploit the expression of hyperbole. In other words, s/he tells the listener that what is being said is sincerely vouched for. The importance of intensification in the communicative process is that it is a vehicle for impressing, praising, persuading, insulting, and generally influencing the listener's reception of the message" (Partington, 1993: 178).

A recurrent pair of adjectives in the ads collected, presumably coupled to intensify the message and make it more impressionistic, is the co-occurrence of the collocation "anti-rughe anti-età". No occurrence was found of the collocation "anti-wrinkle anti-age" in the British ads as the two adjectives were always used separately and alternatively.

This difference in the communicative style of the two magazines is also related to the differentiation explored by Katan – and drawn by Edward T. Hall's concept of '*contexting*' – between Low Context Communication orientation (LCC) and High Context Communication orientation (HCC). According to Hall, on a communication axis the context is the "amount of information the other person can be expected to possess on a given subject" and the text is "the transmitted information" (Hall

1983: 61): "The basic concept is that individuals, groups, and cultures (at different times) have differing priorities with regard to how much information (text) needs to be made explicit for communication to take place" (Katan 2012: 245).

HCC cultures rely a great deal on what is given from the context ("what is understood, the meta-message" [Katan 2012: 245]) while LCC cultures are more focused on the text transmitted ("what is said, the text of the message" [Katan 2012: 245]):

> Cultures vary in their orientation towards expressive or instrumental communication according to their HCC or LCC orientation. Orientation can be inclined towards feeling or facts, the person or the issue. Expressive cultures are happy wearing their heart on their sleeve (not a common English expression), whereas instrumental cultures believe more in self-control. (Katan 2012: 289)

The Italian language belongs to a HCC culture and as such reveals a tendency to be cumulative and hyperbolic while the English spoken in Britain or the USA belongs to a LCC culture and thus is more matter-of-fact and succinct: "The English language itself, as a lexico-grammatical system, is decidedly LCC in comparison with many other languages. The language is well-adapted to explication, and less suitable for the signaling of pre-established social relationships, as Muehlhaeusler and Harré (1990: 32-33) note" (Katan, 2012: 254).[5] Although there are many variables operating and generalisations of this sort may be risky, we may undoubtedly assert that some cultures work more on the LCC axis rather than HCC (Katan, 2012: 291). To be aware of this differentiation means to possess a mental

[5] Britons and Americans share the same lexico-grammar system (Katan 2012: 254-5) but they speak two different cultures. Katan identifies the main difference in the fact that the USA is much more oriented to LCC than the UK. Thus more oriented to "textual explication" (Katan 2012: 255).

framework through which to look at languages and be alert, when thinking or doing translation, to criticalities connected with it.

In Katan's scheme – adapted from Victor (1992) and Simons *et.al* (1993) – a differentiation could be drawn according to the emphasis placement in Low Context operating mode and High Context operating mode (Katan 2012: 250).

LCC	HCC
Text	Context
Facts	Relationship/feelings
Directness	Indirectness
Consistency	Flexibility (in meaning)
Substance	(social/personal) appearance
Rules	Circumstances
Monochromic	Polychromic

Table 1: List of typical features of LCC and HCC orientation (Katan 2012)

By way of example, here is the advertisement of the same anti-age cream taken from MC UK and MC Italy in which the Italian localised ad shows a tendency towards emotiveness and abstraction compared to a more substance oriented, factual style of the British ad. The gap between consistency (in LCC orientation) and flexibility (in HCC orientation) in meaning is here clearly exposed:

[…] Skin appears renewed and energized, youthfully radiant.	[…] La pelle appare più morbida, più distesa, virtualmente senza età. La Mer, dove cominciano i miracoli.

Table 2: Extract from La Mer cream advertisement.

The adjectives "renewed" (rinnovata) and "energized" (energizzata) are conveyed through the intensified "più morbida" (softer) and "più distesa" (more lifted/tighter) which define the texture of the skin, the feeling it would give if touched. The British advert's adjectives seem to promote the factual retrieval of a certain vigor and energy (which will allow your skin to look radiant, thus younger). What the British ad proposes is a substantial improvement whereas the 'tactile' Italian adjectives are more 'emotive' in the sense that the product makes you feel "virtualmente senza età", virtually and miraculously young, then. The presence of a sentence which is missing in the British "La Mer, dove cominciano i miracoli" seems to reinforce this impression of a magical transformation. Presumably, localising the advert for the Italian segment of consumers, it was felt necessary to add a more persuasive string to amplify the illocutionary force of the message. This seems to be typical of the Italian ads when compared with the British ones and it is an aspect which is worth further investigation. It is as if Italian advertisements are attached to a sort of *pre-pay off* to make the message more effective (and emotive).

With respect to the use of technical or semi-technical jargon it was noted that the Italian lexical repertoire is richer and more convoluted compared to the MC UK advertisements, confirming the hypothesis of a more cumulative and hyperbolic communicative style. In the scheme drawn by Katan, this attitude reveals a tendency towards *flexibility in meaning* aiming

at creating around the product an aura of medical precision in order to induce reliability. British ads do contain technical medical jargon but they use it more moderately. Moderation is also evident in listing the benefits related to a product's use. In this respect, moderation is expressed in MC UK through the use of verbal hedges (mostly the use of *help* + verb) in place of the bold, secure and promising statements of the Italian ads.

According to the British Committees of Advertising Practice (CAP), "No advertisement should mislead by inaccuracy, ambiguity, exaggeration, omission or otherwise" (Wilmshurst, MacKay 1999:175-7) and concerning the use of hyperbole, the CAP states: "Obvious exaggerations ("puffery") and claims that the average consumer who sees the marketing communication is unlikely to take literally are allowed provided they do not materially mislead".[6] The Italian Istituto per l'Autodisciplina Pubblicitaria (IAP) claims: "La comunicazione commerciale deve evitare ogni dichiarazione o rappresentazione che sia tale da indurre in errore i consumatori, anche per mezzo di omissioni, ambiguità o esagerazioni non palesemente iperboliche […]".[7] Apparently, exaggeration is allowed in both countries as long as it does not deceive consumers. What marks the difference, then, is the *cultural perception* of what is "puffery" or "esagerazioni non palesamente iperboliche".

The Italian advertisements seem to feel more at ease with promising tangible results and they do it by using a highly technical language which adds objectivity and reliability to the promise. The different approach in MC UK and MC Italy is shown in the following sample in which an anti-wrinkle cream is advertised both for the British and the Italian market:

[6] Available at: http://www.cap.org.uk/. Last accessed January 2017
[7] Available at: http://www.iap.it/it/codice.htm. Last accessed January 2017.

TRUST SCIENCE OUR LATEST INNOVATION DIRECT FROM L'ORÉAL SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH **NEW REVITALIFT LASER RENEW** CONTAINS 3% PRO-XYLANE & HYALURONIC ACID	**REVITALIFT LASER X3** EFFICACIA TESTATA APPUNTAMENTO CON LA BELLEZZA Per chi è disillusa, per chi è tentata dai trattamenti dermatologici e per chi è super esigente: Revitalift Laser x 3 di L'Oréal Paris. […]
RE-PLUMPS Wrinkles appear reduced, plumped with moisture. RE-FIRMS Skin feels firmer. REFINES Skin looks smoother.	Il TRATTAMENTO CHE SFIDA UNA SESSIONE LASER L'azione anti-età di una crema dalla texture straordinaria si misura con l'efficacia di una sessione di laser dermatologico. E i risultati si vedono. La tecnologia offre varie alternative per porre rimedio ai segni del tempo che passa, dai trattamenti più invasivi alle sedute estetiche con macchinari soft. C'è chi fa scelte drastiche, chi prova di tutto e chi, invece, preferisce un trattamento cosmetico. Per questo dalla ricerca scientifica dei laboratori L'Oréal Paris oggi nasce REvitalift Laser

	X3 Trattamento profondo anti-età. La sua efficacia, dopo 8 settimane di applicazione, è stata testata direttamente contro quello di una sessione di laser CO2 frazionato (una tecnica riconosciuta dai medici per combattere l'invecchiamento cutaneo). I risultati sono sorprendenti: il miglioramento sulle rughe sottili del contorno occhi è confrontabile, e questo grazie alla formula d'avanguardia a base di Pro-Xylane potenziato al 3%. Revitalift Laser X3 agisce correggendo le rughe, migliorando la densità cutanea, rendendo la pelle più compatta e i contorni del viso più definiti. […].

Table 3: Extract from L'Oréal Paris cosmetics advertisement

The two adverts present two different bodycopies which converge only in the passages underlined. The choice to have two different names for the cream, a much longer text in the Italian magazine, the use of a narrative preamble to convince the reader of the efficacy of the product which challenges a laser session depends on localisation choices but also, and mainly, on marketing and financial reasons. Moreover, there is a passage which is parallel and it shows once again some of the characteristics previously highlighted. As we can see, the

English text uses milder tones, through the use of the mitigating "appears, feels, looks" while the Italian advert has a more radical attitude manifested in the use of "correggere, migliorare, rendere, definire". The use of verbal hedgers in the English text tone down expectations while the Italian verbs provide the reader with very high expectations which reach a climax in the assurance that the face's oval shape would somehow be made more definite. The Italian narrative, almost literary passages which are not in the British ad exploit all the potential of the emotive language to persuade Italian consumers to regain trust in cosmetics ("per chi è disillusa, super esigente") and buy a cream which exceeds laser surgery. The use of technical jargon ("sessione laser CO2 frazionato, laser dermatologico, texture, pro-xylane potenziato al 3%", etc.) supports the persuasive purpose. Let us look at another example taken from an Aveda shampoo advertisement.

[…] Helps reduce hair loss due to breakage, to help you keep the hair you have longer. Tap the power of Ayurveda (the ancient art of India) fused with 21st century technology – in densiplex™, an invigorating blend of turmeric and ginseng. Densiplex™ helps revitalize the scalp around the follicles when massaged in. […]	[…] Riduce del 33%** la perdita dei capelli dovuta a rottura e li mantiene più a lungo. Dalla fusione tra il potere dell'Ayurveda (l'antica arte indiana per la cura del corpo) e la tecnologia del XXI secolo nasce Densiplex™, un trattamento rinvigorente a base di curcuma e ginseng, che grazie al massaggio aiuta ad energizzare e

	riequilibrare la cute nella zona dei follicoli. Una scoperta rivoluzionaria per i capelli che tendono a diradarsi. […]

Table 4: Extract from Aveda Shampoo advertisement

Interestingly, if not surprisingly, also in this advertisement the British ad exploits verbal hedgers to mitigate expectations (keeping realistic) – "Helps reduce hair loss […], to help you keep the hair you have longer" – while the Italian advertisement is even provided with a percentage – "Riduce del 33% la perdita dei capelli […] e li mantiene più a lungo". The use of percentages is typical of beauty-product ads to add scientific research reliability to the text. Again, hedging is obliterated in favour of certainty. This is a striking difference which needs to be further investigated. As far as the rest of the ad is concerned, it is worth noting the extension of "ancient art of India" with "antica arte indiana per la cura del corpo" and the extension of an "invigorating blend" turned into "un trattamento rinvigorente" which confirms the attitude of the Italian language to employ a richer lexical repertoire. As was the case with the previous example, even this advertisement has a final passage in the Italian edition which is missing in the British one. Italian ads favour a final incisive statement which sums up what was said above in the ad. Where the Italian readers feel reassured by textual richness, the British readers prefer concise statements and do not feel comfortable with too reassuring a text.

5. Localisation matters

From these preliminary results it appears clear that cultural dimensions influence the process of localisation which includes translation (or transcreation): localising a product to be sold in

different countries requires a deep knowledge of the target culture and a flaw in this process may occasion serious problems for the brand. Language reflects a culture kaleidoscopically and in localising an ad, the bodycopy (along with the visual components) needs to be adapted from beginning to end. Through a process of linguistic alignment, the translator operates a "cultural alignment" (Kramsch 1998: 43) using a "pragmatic, target-culture oriented approach" (Adab and Valdés 2004: 171). Different sociocultural perceptions of how an advertisement should talk to us affects the way it should be translated. A functionalist approach to this text typology seems to be the most suitable, bearing in mind that the function, the *skopos* (Reiss 1971), of promotional translation is to transplant an advertisement into another terrain and – in plain words – allow business to move on. The role of translators in aiding a product to be successfully launched on a market should by no means be underestimated; a mistake in this kind of translation may threaten the destiny of a product's commercialisation in a country; "When the cultural target is missed, the advertising or promotional campaign is doomed" (Torresi 2010, p. 161). The first step for translators to take is a full immersion in domain-specific texts in order to familiarise themselves with the language in use at the time for a given product: "[t]he ability to recreate that motivation to buy in B2C [Business to Consumer] translation can only be achieved through the critical observation of large amounts of B2C texts in the target language and culture" (Torresi 2010: 120).

From the data collected so far some recurrent patterns in communicative dynamics have emerged. Each local edition of the Marie Claire magazine represented a precious source of information. From a specifically linguistic perspective, each edition shows dissimilar lexical choices in the (ab)use of specialised language, adjective chains and superlatives.

Compared to the British more paratactic, succinct and factual style, the Italian ads are more hyperbolic and less realistic in outlining benefits, thus confirming the differentiation between LCC orientation and HCC orientation. Furthermore, where the British and Italian ads exploit some linguistic strategies which resemble spoken language (e.g. use of incomplete sentences, disjunctive grammar, absence of linking words, implicit connections [Lombardo 1999: 119]), the Indian ads opt for the use of complete sentences and explicit connections, 'unaware' or indifferent to processes of textual economy. A larger collection of texts, with a qualitative and quantitative analysis, would allow us to draw even more general conclusions from these preliminary results.

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ARvertising and the Remediation of Meaning

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Abstract

Augmented Reality (AR), a recent technology that involves the overlay of virtual contents on physical objects, poses new challenges to linguists. As I will try to argue, AR seems to require an 'augmented' approach that considers not only how the verbal and the visual codes interact, a feature of media discourse already explored by multimodal analysis (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001, 2009), but also how the simultaneous perception of real and virtual layers may produce meaning (Furht 2011; Logaldo 2012). The interplay between verbal text and imagery is still vital in AR. Particularly in 'augmented advertising' (*ARvertising*), the presence of printed Quick Response (QR) or Augmented Reality (AR) tags is essential for the connection between online and offline information. On the other hand, there are relevant textual differences involving the verbal discourse, specifically the claims. While focusing on advertising, my analysis also investigates meaning-making processes activated by AR from a more general perspective. A crucial instance is that of defining semantic continuity or signalling the communicative function of semantic gaps. In fact, despite identification codes and systems of geolocalisation, the alignment between virtual and actual objects is far from following a one-to-one correspondence.

1. From multi- to 'augmented' modality

"Language use in the new media is not considered as an exceptional or deviant form of communication. Rather, it is seen as yet another platform where human beings use language to produce meaning" (Locher, Mondada 2014). In the past two decades, computer-mediated communication (CMC) has been a regular subject of research. Among the synchronous and asynchronous forms of discourse investigated by linguists, we find emails, blogging, real-time chat and instant messaging (Crystal 2001, 2009, 2011; Posteguillo 2003, Herring *et al*. 2013; Locher, Mondada, 2014). While focusing on the language change produced by these comparatively new expressions of CMC, most of the studies have equally shown that the border between virtual and actual experience has increasingly become porous, producing a constant, two-way passage of meaning.

Augmented Reality (AR) adds new facets to the forms of CMC already explored by linguists. As the adjective 'augmented' suggests, AR involves the production of additional meaning. This aim is obtained through the co-existence or, rather, overlay of actual and virtual layers. "It is like the Internet but it is outside the Internet" (Sterling 2009: 139): no longer perceived as confined behind the display of a computer, virtual information overlaps with the actual world, creating new scenarios of sense. Some AR applications are so radical that they seem to actualise Kress and van Leeuwen's statement that new technologies – "increasingly ubiquitous, multi-purpose and 'natural' in terms of their interfaces" – might "create a fourth dimension of communication in the same way that writing created a third" (2001: 11). The reference to spatiality is significant: signs occur in space; therefore, any change in space determines a reconfiguration and re-contextualization of the sign (Poster 2001: 125-126). The introduction of ubiquitous

computing, involving the omnipresence of handheld devices for the display of words and pictures, has deeply transformed the notion of text. Even without resorting to technologies (still under study) that would allow us to write directly *over* the world, we may observe how texts have turned into an interplay of complex surfaces (Cayley 2005) while space is, actually, "penetrated by discourse" (Rodowick 2001: 3). Until a few years ago, CMC was considered as somehow separated from the real environment (Klopfer *et al*., 2005: 311), but now the world itself has turned into a *canvas* (Hemment 2004), into "a kind of state space that iteratively and aggregately serves to define its meaning in practice" (Eaket 2011: 5).

With AR, writing is no longer consigned to the two-dimensional space of the page or screen. Nor is its hypertextuality entirely contained within the Web, in which case it might be analysed in terms of hypermodality (Lemke 2002). As an experiment carried out at the Otis College of Art and Design (Los Angeles) in 2011 shows, texts occupy a sort of in-between space. *Between page and screen* is the title of a book which contains no words but only AR tags whose algorithms and pattern markers can be scanned by the digital camera, decrypted by the software and transformed into virtual imagery and textual substance. "Page, don't cage me" states Amaranth Borsuk, the author, in an interview; "the screen is a shield, but also a veil". *These "inscrutable black and white geometric patterns [...] conjure language"* (Francis 2012). Indeed, the letters forming the text seem to pop out of the monitor and overflow into the surrounding context (Fig. 1).

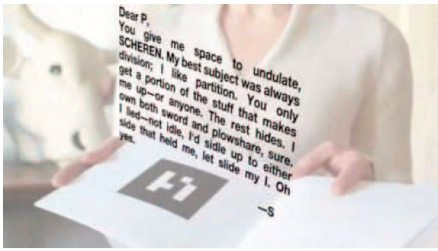

Figure 1[1]

The overlay of virtual contents (both verbal texts and imagery) on physical objects shows a complex modality. In a sense, AR both confirms and questions the multimodal notion of "framing". Kress's view is radical: "without *frame*, no *text*; without *framed* entities no communication […]. To be in a world of meaning is to be in a world of *frames*, of *framing*, of *syntagms*, of *arrangements* and of the constant remaking of all these in transformative representation" (Kress 2009: 154, my emphasis). On the one hand, texts are still visualised on screens and therefore framed. On the other hand, it would be more correct to refer to AR as an 'open frame'. In fact, 'augmented' modality is a bi-directional process, towards the Web and towards the physical context. The overall meaning can hardly be enclosed within a screen: it results from the way the information framed within the display interacts, at the same time, with the digital data provided by the online connection as well as with the actual context. The different levels appear as totally interdependent in the creation of new – though constantly unstable – syntagms.

2. QR codes in *ARvertising*

In 2011 AR and QR codes were also introduced into advertising. Although they simply seemed to replace more traditional

[1] Available at: <https://frombehindthepen.wordpress.com/tag/between-page-and-screen/>, last accessed May 2015.

barcodes on ads and packages, their innovative function was that of allowing the user to connect to online contents without typing an Internet address; furthermore, the possibility of generating virtual imagery and 3-D texts could be exploited to turn the ad or even the package itself into an interactive experience. For this reason, they have since been considered an important tool for "non conventional marketing".[2]

As in the experiment shown above, also in 'augmented advertising' – or *ARvertising*, as it was soon redefined – textuality occupies an in-between space. On the one hand, it is undeniable that AR and QR (Quick Response) tags are *physically* there. In fact, it is interesting to observe that such cutting-edge and virtually oriented technology seems to bring us back to what had almost been dismissed as a dying medium, the print, made of a writing surface and ink, or its equivalent. Even bloggers have perceived the emphasis on print given by the presence of tags in augmented advertising[3]. The author of a post dated August 4, 2010, commenting on a magnified QR code that appeared on a billboard in Manhattan (Fig. 2), claims that "there are hundreds of websites that generate QR codes for free. What technology did they pioneer? Large format *printing*? I think that's been done" (Henry 2010). We can also notice that, along with the encryption of information, the codes are often integrated with verbal elements. Conceived as a means to give information without typing it, QR tags show how alphabetic signs are inevitably making their re-appearance in the picture, not only to make the design more appealing, but also to make the codes distinguishable from one another (Fig. 3). This means that they retain a visual significance in the actual environment. On the other hand, the function of these enigmatic black and white modules is that of transposing meaning on a different level: the

[2] Available at: <http://www.arvertising.com>, last accessed April 2015.
[3] Available at: <http://www.augmentedadvertising.com>, last accessed April 2015.

Web. By scanning them, the user can connect to online contents and have access to videos or interactive activities such as games.

Figure 2[4]

Figure 3[5]

Despite critiques based on the remark that very few people actually scan them - either because they do not have a QR code reader app on their mobile phones or because the scanning process is not one hundred percent effective (Patel 2012) - the presence of QR and AR tags has become more and more pervasive. This is particularly true for the period between 2011, when QR codes were first introduced, and 2014. Sometimes the code is unobtrusively placed in a corner of the billboard or page, but its size and position can vary. In some cases, the code can actually invade most of the space available, thus appearing as a central feature in the text.

The practice of using AR and QR codes has strongly affected verbal discourse too, particularly the claim. As my analysis on a corpus of 60 ads appearing between 2011 and 2014 highlights, the claims placed near the tags are radically different from those appearing near the logos of the company or brand in more traditional ads. This was particularly evident in 2011 and 2012, when AR technology was in its heyday. In terms of modality, these claims show a prevalence of the deontic mode, namely, they use the imperative to give instructions and exhort. This feature is also observable in traditional advertising (Tanaka

[4] Available at: <http://daily.publicadcampaign.com/2010/07/get-it-uncensored-calvin-klein-campaign.html>, last accessed September 2013.
[5] Available at: <http://2d-code.co.uk/bbc-logo-in-qr-code/>, last accessed May 2015.

1999: 30). However, the claims contained in *ARvertising* do not instruct consumers about the product/brand or exhort them to buy it because of what may be experienced in the real world, but aim at leading the user to online, related contents (Bazzoffia 2010). The imperative mode is used either to give directions about what you must do with your handheld device in order to open virtual contents ("Scan", "Download", "Connect"); or to celebrate the interactive experience you may get through the scanning process ("Get it uncensored!"[6], "Make the world interactive"). Along with the spreading of *ARvertising*, claims have increasingly presented a combination of both the directive and exhortative modes:

The Beetle. Same soul different shell. Juiced up. Forget what you remember (After all the advertising should be as impressive as the car). Just grab a phone or tablet, download the app and let the show begin" (Volkswagen).

Intrigued? Scan this QR code with your smartphone to see where it takes you (KVSC).

Only recently claims have started to omit instructions about how to activate the code – taking it for granted that by now the user knows how to do it – and have limited their message to a celebration of the interactive experience. Verb forms have changed accordingly, from the imperative to the indicative and infinitive (active or passive voice), or are sometimes altogether omitted, giving way to nominal phrases:

Angels have been seen falling to earth. News spreads fast (LYNX)

A chance for everyone to step into the world of National Geographic (National Geographic);

[6] Available at. <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=r32RNUiamiI>, last accessed September 2013.

The interactive racing game. Wirelessly controlled by your iPhone. Unexpected experience (Hyundai);

Lately, the claim has been replaced by the mere name of the brand printed near the QR code (e.g. "Domino's Pizza").

Yet, even the seemingly neutral last examples, which make no direct reference to AR or QR tags, ultimately confirm the full acquisition of an 'augmented' modality. The power of language is no longer exploited to enhance the appeal of the product or brand with the connotative echo of words. It is meant to prompt a series of decoding processes, which will actualise that echo into layers of information (websites, online videos, pictures, music) and a multiplicity of interactive experiences that can be shared both on social networks and in the actual world, endlessly remediating meaning and changing the perception of the cognitive environment.

3. Semantic complexity in AR

According to a study carried out by eMarketer in the United States in 2012, 40.7% of QR codes printed on ads directly linked to product information, the brand/company website, or a purchase opportunity; 12.7% of QR codes connected to videos; 7.8% of QR codes lead to online marketing or social networks.[7] These figures show that in *ARvertising* most meaning-making processes are transposed online. In fact, while AR technology has turned the world into a dimension in which virtual practices can be actualised, Web 2.0 has increasingly transformed the Internet into the storing place of actual experience, through social networks or other online repositories of information (clouds) and folksonomic tools (tag clouds).

[7] Cf. "Mobile Barcodes Drive Traffic to Brand Sites from Print." eMarketer Inc. Web. 21 Mar. 2012. Available at : <http://www.emarketer.com/Article.aspx?R=1008916&ecid=a6506033675d47f881651943c21c5ed4>, last accessed May 2015.

Since the connections between the two dimensions are potentially infinite, an analysis of semantic processes in AR could only really be exhaustive if "the entire Internet [could] serve as source" (Locher and Mondada, 2014; for an introduction to the concept of 'web as corpus' and its application in linguistics, see Kilgariff 2001). Yet it is evident that such a corpus would be highly difficult to define. Even tag clouds and other folksonomic tools that measure hyperlinking practices must monitor constant variation, in order to be considered reliable tools for the "visualizations of semantic fields", that is, of the "'chain of understanding' that semantically links groups of people tagging and consuming tags" (Lamantia 2006). Hence, an analysis of semantic processes in AR-based forms of communication cannot scientifically explore all the possibilities of the medium; it can only assess the distinctive modes by which meaning may be activated within it.

A study of this kind needs to start from the acknowledgment that augmented reality is a multi-layered context. In fact, AR is not a hybrid dimension located midway on a *continuum* between the real and the virtual environments, as represented in early graphs (Milgram, Kishino 1994: 1321ff); rather it consists of variously and, at least potentially, infinite overlapping planes, according to complex modes of integration/incrustation (Hughues *et al*. 2011: 48ff). The awareness of the necessity of establishing a continuity of sense between physical and digital data is crucial to AR, since without sense-relation there would be no 'augmentation' (Sterling 2009: 139). Technically speaking, the consistency between the real and the virtual dimension is guaranteed by the alignment and subsequent hyperlinking obtained with QR and AR tags. In fact, these codes also contain finder and timing patterns which, used along with systems of geolocalisation (GPS), allow the alignment to take place in real time. Yet, despite this immediate, 'algorithmically determined'

connection, in AR semantic continuity – considered both as semantic relation between units of meaning and as paradigmatic, syntagmatic or derivational sense relation (De Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981; Cruse 2000: 145ff) – is very difficult to define.

AR seems to combine the semantic complexity shown by semantic processes in real environments to the one shown by semantic processes in virtual environments. Just as the former has been widely explored by linguists, particularly from a pragmatic perspective (Leech, 1983), the latter has been a constant subject of analysis by computer scientists. Tim Berners-Lee, the inventor of the World Wide Web, was among the first to feel the importance of representing semantic processes in the Internet. These processes, as he highlighted, go far beyond mere keyword-based hyperlinking (Berners-Lee *et al*. 2001) and always depend on a multi-layered structure. As the name suggests, his 'Semantic Layer Cake' intends to emphasise this point (Table 1).

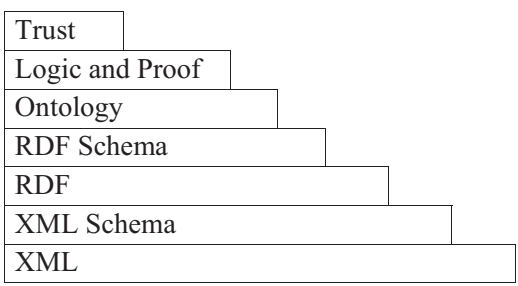

Table 1. Graph based on Tim Berners-Lee's Semantic Layer Cake (2001).

We notice in this graph a close connection between the description of semantic categories in the Internet and those routinely explored with reference to natural language-based communication. The four bottom layers define the code or standard and its grammar ("vocabulary, syntax, sentence structures and models, encryption rules"), its formal categories

("expression, design, granularity"), and meta-dimension (meta-data, "saying anything about anything"). Accordingly, the top three layers – 'Trust' ("authentication, trustworthiness of statements"), 'Logic and Proof' ("establish truth of statements, infer unstated facts") and 'Ontology' ("vocabularies, shared meanings") – take us back to the fundamental debates involving modality, truth of statements and inferential strategies in verbal communication (Searle 1969; Berners-Lee *et al* 2001).

However, the fact that in AR semantic connections involve not only the items contained in the Internet but those belonging to both the Internet and the real environment, further complicates the problem. Let us consider, for instance, the layers that represent 'Trust' ("Authentication, trustworthiness of statements"), Logic, and Proof ("Establish truth of statement, infer unstated facts'). The main assumption, on which AR is based, is that "it is not reality, but the perception of reality which is augmented" (Hughues *et al.* 2011: 47). Yet, even from this perspective, AR deeply questions logical categories, particularly truth conditions, and not only according to behaviourist (Quine, 1953, 1960) or pragmatic criteria (Leech, 1983), but also according to those of modal logic (Gödel 1995). In fact, if a necessary statement may be true in all possible worlds, in augmented environments statements can only be contingent, that is, true with reference to the alignment between real and virtual contents produced at that particular time and place. This process also questions temporal and spatial deixis: indeed, the browsing process and the resulting interaction of real and virtual data may alter shared notions of now/then, here/there, this/that, for instance, when reconstructions of hypothetical, past or future settings are overlaid on the real world. As regards the "inference of unstated facts," it can be argued that AR should ideally allow to connect to different contents and proceed according to associations generated by the user, not imposed by the system.

While context awareness is still essential in marketing, complete predictability would ultimately go against the grain of the medium (Hinze, Buchanan 2005: 2). Although subtle ways can be found to induce consumption (just think about the use of Pokémon Go as a marketing tool[8]) , ARvertising remediates traditional advertising by strongly relying on inferential processes rather than by imposing prefabricated dreams. All these processes naturally lead to the ontological layer ('vocabularies, shared meanings'). The assumption that context is invariably an 'ontospace' imbued with people's knowledge of the world (Leech, 1983), personal beliefs, expectations and desires (Pata 2011; Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 15; 38) is true for every environment in which communication occurs; however, in AR the overlapping of actual and virtual planes makes ontological explanations about the notion of "what is real" even more elusive.

4. Semantic gaps

The study shows that context in AR is an open dimension, which constantly implicates a questioning of the categories of semantic continuity. Virtual layers can be connected with physical ones according to processes of meaning extension (Hughues *et al*. 2011: 58). At the same time, semantic gaps can deliberately be produced by the intersection of semantic fields, linkages to distant items, connections that are not immediately obvious, metonymic or, as is more often the case, metaphorical associations involving different conceptual domains.

[8] "Pokéstops "are locations in the game where users can top-up on free essentials. So far, they are seemingly randomly placed throughout popular locations in the game, cafes, shops, restaurants and landmarks. The reason businesses are so interested in these locations is because players need to be nearby to activate them. This means that Pokéstops are driving hoards of people to the local area so they can top-up on in-game items." Available at: <http://www.tmpmagnet.co.uk/blog/2016/07/can-businesses-use-pok%C3%A9mon-go-as-a-marketing-tool>, last accessed December 2016.

ARvertising tries to exploit these associations for marketing purposes. Some augmented ads supply virtual interactive imagery that emphasise the technical characteristics of the product[9], while others promote the brand by activating interactive games that are connected with it only by metonymic/metaphoric associations. The latter strategy is well exemplified by a campaign proposed by Kellogg's on the *Honey Nut Cheerios* box: by scanning the QR code on the package, the user can play a game with a hive that "comes alive." [10] In this example the association seems to be rather obvious, but there are numerous AR applications that show how layers can be connected by the loosest of threads (Hughues, Fuchs, Nannipieri 2010). In most cases, we must necessarily resort to Haas's notion of interaction of core vs. peripheral semantic fields (Cruse 2000: 203, 216) and to Black's theory of metaphors as associative implications (1962). In a 2014 Häagen-Dazs campaign titled 'concerto timer', for example, by downloading the app the user was able to listen to a violin concert, which was said to last exactly the time needed to allow your ice cream to reach the ideal softness, but also to synaesthetically evoke the pleasure of tasting it[11]. Semantic gaps may also actualise Lakoff's and Johnson's theorisations about ontological and epistemic correspondences and image-schemas (1980): another recent campaign by Kellogg's, for instance, allows you to connect to online newspapers by scanning the code on the package, relying on the shared script according to which we read the morning news while having breakfast[12].

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[9] See, for instance, the 2008 campaign of Mini cars. Available at: <http://technabob.com/blog/2008/12/17/mini-augmented-reality-ads-hit-newstands/>, last accessed August, 2013.

[10] Available at: < http://gamepocalypsenow.blogspot.it/2010/04/honey-nut-cheerios-augmented-reality.html />, last accessed September, 2013.

[11] Available at: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vYJWifof8vY>, last accessed May, 2015.

[12] Available at: <http://www.mobilemarketer.com/cms/news/video/10309.html>, last accessed September, 2013.

5. Conclusions

In conclusion, the study has confirmed that in AR context is an "open and extensible" (Hinze and Buchanan 2005: 2), multi-layered dimension that combines the complexity of communication in both actual and virtual environments. The potential connections between the different levels are far from being predictable. Meaning-making processes can be activated in a variety of ways, according to semantic continuity or, as is more often the case, following semantic gaps deriving from meaning extension. As in the actual world, so in AR context is "a psychological construct, a subset of the hearer's assumptions about the world" (Sperber, Wilson, 1995: 15; 38). However, the perception of space and of the cognitive environment is radically different from the real/virtual dichotomy of the past and increasingly more difficult to read from an ontological perspective. *ARvertising* exploits this for marketing purposes, showing us only too well to what extent the Web permeates our daily lives and has become indispensable to produce meaning.

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Discourse in *BlogEng*. A multimodal corpus linguistics analysis

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Abstract

Blogs have been investigated from a range of fields of studies, such as linguistics, media and communication studies, computer-mediated communication (CMC), among others. The language of blogs in English (*blogEng*, cf. Sindoni 2013) is the focus of analysis of this paper. Based on Halliday's notion of language mode variation (1987 [2002]), this work investigates how verbal and non verbal resources are intertwined in blog entries in a social networking community (i.e. *LiveJournal*). Considering that lexical corpus-based analyses can reliably approximate MF/MD results (Tribble 1999; Scott, Tribble 2006), this approach can explain how the traditional categories of speech and writing are blended in blogging environments, also taking the contribution of other resources into account.

Variation is thus studied in two sub-corpora extracted from a larger corpus studied elsewhere (cf. Sindoni 2013), respectively analyzing spoken/written variation and observing how multimodal resources are used in combination with verbal language. Furthermore, the integration and relative status of each resource within the two sub-corpora have been investigated, invoking the new notion of *resource-switching* (Sindoni 2013). This study reports on how the corpora have been tagged and annotated and how they have been explored to account for language mode variation, using keyness and lexical bundle analysis. Furthermore, reflections on spoken-like and written-

like discourse features and on the use of other multimodal resources are provided in the concluding remarks.

1. Blogs in research literature

Blogs have been classified according to their discussion of external events (i.e. *filters*, Blood 2002) and to the impact and influence bloggers may have as *citizen journalists* (Lasica 2002; Gillmor 2003), *public intellectuals* (Park 2003) and *opinion leaders* (Delwiche 2004). Other studies focus on the sociodemographics of bloggers and individuals' motivations for using a specific medium (Papacharissi 2004; Herring et al. 2005a, 2005b; Kaye 2005; Nowson and Oberlander 2006; Li 2007; Sanderson 2008). Early classifications were also helpful in outlining the main differences in purpose and scope, for example those theorized by Herring et al. (2004) in the tripartite categorization of *diary blogs*, *filter blogs* and *k-blogs* (i.e. k[nowledge]-blogs). Relatively recent reports, however, reveal a partial decrease in teenage use of blogs after an exponential growth in the crucial lustrum between 2005 and 2010 (Lenhart et al. 2010).

Blogs have also been defined in various ways, but what most definitions have in common is that they include posts published in inverted chronological order and that they need technical affordances to be aggregated. Linguistic studies in digital media, and especially digital media in English, can be useful in tackling these meaning-making events in terms of variation of speech and writing, but also in broader terms, for example to measure the integration of semiotic resources. Research literature has amply discussed social and verbal aspects in blogging and also multimodal properties to some extent, but no systematic attempt has been made so far to take into full account the many resources that come into play *at the same time* in blogs. This

paper intends to fill this gap, also trying to capture the textual and semiotic transition from macro-blogging to micro-blogging in English, here defined as *blogEng* (Sindoni 2013), that is holding sway in the contemporary mediascape.

The process of transition from macro-blogging to micro-blogging can be explained in terms of genre analysis, i.e. the evolution from web genres characterized by more static formats (i.e. single webpages and websites in the form of personal journals) to more fluid web genres, incorporating commenting activities in web-based platforms, video/media sharing communities and social networks. What used to be a full-length entry, akin to conventional pieces of writing but in digital formats, is now turned into a quick and concise form of digital writing, in some cases blurring into spoken-like models of communication, for example in status updates in *Facebook* or tweets in *Twitter*. Status updates and tweets are both examples of how blogging is being transformed in the digital mediascape. On a sociosemantic level, Thibault maintains that blogs can and should be studied in broader terms, also because the possibility of hypertexting in digital media has reshaped language, and in particular *written language* (2012).

The blog environment selected for this study is a complex web-based networked platform, i.e. *Livejournal*, where millions of blogs are hosted, including both personal journals and corporate blogs. *Livejournal* incorporates a wide range of blog categories of various nature. Within this platform, it is in fact possible to observe the coeval existence of traditional forms of blogging and of less conventional ones for example those based on micro entries that can be assimilated to status updates or even tweets. The galaxy of blogs featured in *Livejournal* is thus functional for observing the phenomenon in its transitional phase.

The research questions that this paper is addressing are: does it still make sense to distinguish between speech and writing in the digital domains? How are spoken and written discourse changing in blogs? And also assuming that web-based environments are made up of ensembles of complex semiotic resources, how can such diversity and complexity be tackled?

2. Theoretical framework and method

The "instability" of blogs as a genre is a starting point for analysis. How can blogs be placed in context? Blogs are a product of media, which are here interpreted as social and technological systems that individuals use to produce, store, distribute and consume symbolic materials on a mass scale (Graham 2004). Media can also be seen in terms of production, consumption, distribution and transformations of meanings: this goes by the name of *mediation* (Silverstone 1999). Relevant discussions on genres can be found within systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) and critical discourse analysis (CDA) frameworks, but mediation offers a perspective to both approaches that "emphasizes the technological means by which meanings are *moved* within and between cultures, often over very long periods of time, and how these constrain modal potentials" (Graham 2004: 64). With regard to mediation or "texts in the media", Graham contends that given the efflorescence of debates on genres and modes in both SFL and CDA, the notion of mediation may seem unnecessary, if not useless. However, both SFL and CDA focus on the notion of context, converging on related concepts, such as "heteroglossia", "semogenesis", "genealogy", "diachronic change", "agnation", "genre hybridity", and "syntagmatic change" (see Graham 2004; Fairclough 1992; Halliday 1978; Lemke 1995; Luke 2003; Martin 1999). All these theories in effect propose ideas of

continuity, transition or transformation of texts and/or genres across time and space, thus immersing texts in contexts and within communities. This perspective seems particularly relevant for the study of blogs and especially so in this transitional moment.

Based on Halliday's view on language modes and language mode variation (1987 [2002]), this work argues the case for the study of speech and writing as meaningful semiotic resources among others, such as images, music, videos and animated *gifs*. It also investigates how speech and writing are intertwined in hybrid digital texts, sampling blogs in networking communities (i.e. *LiveJournal*) as a case study.

Variation across speech and writing has been traditionally studied using multifeature/multidimensional analysis (cf. MF/MD analysis, Biber 1988). However, other studies attest that lexical-based corpus analyses can reliably approximate MF/MD results (Tribble 1999; Scott, Tribble 2006). Assuming that a lexico-grammatical approach can explain how the traditional categories of speech and writing are blended in blogging environments, this study reports on how the corpus has been built and explored to account for language mode variation, using keyness analysis and lexical bundle analysis for verbal data in a quantitative fashion (Sindoni 2013). A quantitative approach can explain how the traditional categories of speech and writing are blended in blogging environments, but says nothing about the contribution of other resources in meaning-making events within blogging communities. Verbal language is in fact immersed in a semiotic environment made up of several components and resources and this paper contends that a purely linguistic and computational analysis does not do justice to all that comes into play in such complex communicative events. How then has it been possible to compute and interpret variation?

Variation was studied in two sub-corpora extracted from a more general corpus, namely the *LiveJournal Corpus* (LJC), made up of c. 1 million words and including verbal data. The latter corpus has been explored more fully elsewhere (Sindoni 2013), but here the two subsections, called LJ1 and LJ2 respectively and including 150 entries each, were compared to another two corpus sub-sections, extracted from the *LiveJournal Corpus with Semiotic Resources* (LJC_SR). The latter incorporates resources other than verbal language, such as visuals, videos, tags, gifs, etc. LJ1 and LJ2 sub-corpora were explored to study spoken/written variation and compared to LJC_SR corresponding sub-sections (i.e. LJ1_SR and LJ2_SR). This procedure allowed observations on how multimodal resources are used in combination with verbal language. Furthermore, the integration and relative status of each resource within the corpora have been investigated elsewhere via the new notion of *resource-switching* (Sindoni 2013).

3. Corpus construction, tagging and annotation

Some preliminary notes account for the creation and tagging of the overall LJC, tackling issues such as 1) representativeness, 2) the selection of sampling units, and 3) method of data collection. Representativeness has been computed by lexical saturation, which means that the linguistic features chosen for analysis show little variation. To measure corpus variation, the corpus has been divided into several segments of equal size (i.e. LJ1, LJ2 … LJ10), based on its tokens, and the corpus is saturated because each addition yielded approximately the same number of new lexical items. Sampling units are blog entries and the overall LJ corpus includes c. 1 million words, whereas specific information of the sub-sections discussed in this paper are provided in Table 1.

A further question that is seminal in any multimodal analysis is the issue of annotation, arguing the case for a problem-oriented approach, particularly flexible to address specific research questions, i.e. annotating only the phenomena relevant to the present study.

After the creation, tagging and annotation of the corpus, an in-depth analysis of the two corpora subsections was undertaken, exploring questions related to non verbal semiotic resources involved and variation across speech and writing in verbal data, respectively.

The notion of *resource-switching* explains the alternation of semiotic resources in LJC_SR. This notion is different from another notion, that of *mode-switching*, in that the latter is limited to the description of alternation between speech and writing in synchronous events (Sindoni 2011, 2012). Mode-switching has been used to study the alternation of spoken and written discourse in other web-based genres, for example in video-based digital interactions. Participants have the chance to use both speech and writing at the same time, speaking but also sending written comments for a range of communicative purposes. This happens in real time and affects conversations in a number of ways that have been discussed elsewhere (Sindoni 2011, 2012, 2013). However, other complex uses of semiotic resources can be detected in *other* environments and participants have the possibility to deploy these resources, such as speech, writing, visuals, etc. in different ways and for different communicative purposes. With regard to the notion of *mediation* discussed in the previous section, other web-based meaning-making events are carried forward by participants who are in different places, such as in videochats, but also at different times, as in the case of blogging that is typically instantiated in *asynchronous mode*. This means that bloggers can make use of the resources they have at their disposal and with relative

freedom. Blog readers, in turn, have the possibility to interact with these texts, by contributing with other metatexts (i.e. *comments*), which most typically are written, but may also take advantage of other resources, for example *tagging* and *hypertexting* (Sindoni 2013). The combination of these resources is still rather unexplored, despite the fact that the idea of a high integration of resources is widespread in both lay and academic discourse on the matter. In order to of explore this phenomenon more systematically, the author devised the notion of *resource switching* to deal with questions such as alternation, relative status and preferential use of all the semiotic resources involved in communicative exchanges and in the construction, distribution and consumption of blogging meaning-making events (Sindoni 2013).

4. Discussion of results

That the number of words and the number of other semiotic resources would be strikingly different does not come as a surprise. Material and technical affordances have it that words are much more copious than all other resources taken together in almost any kind of text, with the exception of non-verbal texts (e.g. photos, paintings, drawings with no captioning and music with no lyrics). Communication, at least in Western tradition, is solidly grounded in verbal language. Commonsense would suggest that it is perhaps meaningless to compare number of words with the number of other resources in any given digital or non-digital text. However, the following analysis showed some interesting results in terms of *resource aggregation*. In other words, the comparison between entries that included resources other than verbal language and entries that were made up exclusively of verbal language is a task well worth undertaking.

The two subcorpora LJ1 and LJ2 were compared and respective figures are reported in Table 1 below:

Corpus	Numb. of entries	Tot. numb. of words	Tot. numb. of images	Word/image ratio	Numb. of entries including images
LJ1	150	105,512	365	289.07	51
LJ2	150	54,804	609	89.99	60

Table 1. Resource-switching in context

As can be seen, word/image ratio is rather different, consequently entries with and without images were separated in the attempt to monitor resource-switching and to validate empirically the much-heralded idea of integration of semiotic resources in *blogEng* environments. The corpus containing visual materials was called *posts-cum-images*, whereas the corpus containing only verbal language was called *image-free posts*. This was done to recompute word/image ratio: results are shown below in Table 2:

LJ1	Total number of words	Total number of images	Word/image ratio
Posts with images	14,996	365	41.08
Image-free posts	90516	-	-

Table 2. *Posts-cum images* and *image-free posts* in LJ1

LJ1 was turned into LJ1_Images (i.e. *posts-cum-images*). It includes far fewer words, and word/image ratio changed dramatically from 289.07 to 41.08. Similar results were detected in LJ2_Images (i.e. *posts-cum-images*), in terms of changes in word/image ratio. These observations were also tested in all

other sub-corpora and yielding similarly striking results. From the study within this specific corpus, resources tended to aggregate more frequently with similar resources. In other words, *images tend to cluster with other images and words tend to coalesce with other words*. This leads to the conclusion that *posts-cum-images* are much less wordy than *image-free-posts* and this challenges the common idea of the high integration of semiotic resources in web-based texts. However, a full discussion of this phenomenon goes beyond the scope of this paper.

A further step of the present work was taken in order to study more verbal data, with the goal of addressing variation across speech and writing in blogs.

Variation across spoken-like and written-like discourse features of verbal data was studied via keyword analysis and lexical bundles analysis, which were used to survey the most prominent and frequent linguistic features that are functionally related to the blog as a genre. Keyness is a measure of statistical unusuality, showing the most and least frequent keywords in a corpus with another, more general corpus, acting as a reference.

To check whether corpus size affected the results, five different wordlists were used to create five different keyword lists with five different reference corpora, namely British National Corpus, FLOB, International Corpus of English - Great Britain component (ICE henceforth) and the latter's two subcomponents, i.e. the spoken and written sections (ICE spoken and ICE written henceforth). Ultimately, reference corpora size did not affect the results, so the ICE corpus was selected as it allowed a comparison between its two subcomponents, the one including spoken texts, the other including written ones. Table 3 below present the top ten items listed for positive keyness with the three selected reference corpora.

N.	ICE as RC	ICE_ spoken as RC	ICE_ written as RC
1.	his	his	his
2.	he	he	he
3.	him	her	I
4.	her	him	him
5.	comments	comments	you
6.	tags	tags	her
7.	eyes	eyes	comme
8.	boy	boy	nts
9.	said	man	what
10.	man	head	want
			just

Table 3. Positive keyness

N.	ICE as RC	ICE_ spoken as RC	ICE_ written as RC
1.	uh	uh	the
2.	uhm	uhm	of
3.	of	I	is
4.	is	that	which
5.	the	yeah	by
6.	yeah	yes	be
7.	yes	it	in
8.	which	well	may
9.	that	m	are
10.	mm	mm	however

Table 4. Negative keyness

With regard to positive keyness, the three keyword lists have 5 items in common and the top two items are featured in the same order. The overall ICE-based list and the spoken ICE-based list display 9 items in common, whereas the spoken ICE-based and the written ICE-based have 5. Finally, the overall ICE-based list and the written ICE-based list have 5 items in common. The picture is even more revealing in the negative keyword lists. No common item was found in all the three lists, nor a majority of similarities between the overall list and the spoken ICE-based list, where 5 items are in common. No common item, however, was found between the spoken and the written keyword lists. The overall and the written, finally, display 3 items in common. After a concordancing search to analyze these occurrences in context, findings help understand the spoken/written variation in the corpus.

From this comparison, it emerges that these texts exhibit in-between discourse features, because they lack features typical of written genres, but also features typical of spoken genres. With regard to the lack of spoken-like discourse features, negative keyness is revealing. For example, interjections, such as *uh*,

uhm, *yeah*, *yes*, *mm* and *m*, and discourse markers, such as *well*, significantly appear in the top items in the negative keyness lists. In a similar fashion, items such as *that*-clauses as verb complements, *that*-relative clauses and *that*-clauses as adjective complements all have positive loading along Dimension 6 (i.e., online informational elaboration) in Biber's original MD/MF analysis (1988). With regard to the lack of written-like discourse features, we may cite some significant examples: *of* as a preposition adds a negative weight to Biber's Dimension 1 (i.e., involved vs. informational production). Tribble (1999) argues that *of* and *the* are usually associated with nouns, also claiming that in academic prose *of* is used as a post-modifier in the N1 + *of* + N2 structure. The definite article *the* is also associated with nouns. *Which* for sentence relative displays a negative loading along Dimension 1, *by* signals by-passives and the conjunction *however* displays positive loading along Dimension 5 (i.e., abstract vs. non abstract information). However, both prepositions *by* and *in* display negative loading along Dimension 1.

With regard to positive keyness, the *aboutness* of these texts comes to light, for example with items such as *comments* and *tags*, that unambiguously refer to the web arena. Other items are equally interesting, for example the occurrence of nouns such as *boy* and *man*, complemented by male pronouns such as *he*, *his* and *him* that with their striking high keyness (these items all appear in the top ten items with the overall ICE and the spoken ICE acting as reference corpora) point to a distinctive masculine world featured in LJC.

But how do words co-occur in such texts? An analysis of lexical bundles is of help when trying to enrich a quantitative analysis with contextual cues, as lexical bundles are words that tend to co-occur in a text (Biber et al. 1999). Bundles have been identified using a frequency-driven approach. In other words,

they are simply the most frequently occurring sequences of words, with a cut-off point of 30 occurrences per 100,000 running words. Bundles emerging from the analysis were divided into functional groupings, i.e. *stance*, *discourse* and *referential bundles*, following Biber and Barbieri (2007). *Stance bundles* express epistemic evaluations and attitudinal/modality meanings and include epistemic, desire, obligation, intention/prediction and ability. *Discourse bundles* frame overall discourse structure and include topic introduction, topic elaboration/clarification and referential identification/focus. *Referential bundles* identify an entity or select some specific feature of that entity which is deemed important and include imprecision bundles, bundles specifying attributes and time/place/text-deixis bundles. The top 15 lexical three-word bundles in LJC including relative categorization are shown below in Table 5:

1. *one of the*	bundle specifying attributes
2. *in front of*	place bundle
3. *out of the*	place bundle
4. *a lot of*	imprecision bundle
5. *be able to*	ability bundle
6. *do you want*	desire bundle
7. *I don't know*	epistemic bundle
8. *I want to*	desire bundle
9. *you want to*	desire bundle
10. *I don't think*	epistemic bundle
11. *I wanted to*	desire bundle
12. *the end of*	bundle specifying attributes
13. *going to be*	prediction bundle
14. *part of the*	bundle specifying attributes
15. *the rest of*	bundle specifying attributes

Table 5. Top fifteen lexical bundles in LJC

Stance bundles display the highest incidence, including c. 60% of the most frequent bundles in the overall corpus. They can be easily associated with speech and usually include the beginning of a mental clause plus a projection. In conversation, the most frequent category includes a personal pronoun + lexical verb phrase (+ complement-clause fragment). This structure is common in the LJC bundle dataset, as in *I don't know*, *I want to*, *you want to*, *I don't think* and *I wanted to*. The bundles in this category display a singular first or second person pronoun plus a stative main verb. They are typically used to begin a clause and end with the beginning of a complement clause: either a *that*-clause (*that* may be omitted), a *to*-clause or a *wh*-clause. Conversational bundles express stance, as they convey meanings such as personal opinions, beliefs and/or feelings (Biber and Conrad 1999; Biber et al. 1999). Most bundles that can be associated with writing, conversely, are building blocks for extended noun and prepositional phrases. More specifically, such bundles are *one of the* and *part of the*. They are both noun phrases with *of*-phrase fragments, as in *I think she's* <u>*one of the*</u> *most interesting characters* and *the* <u>*part of the*</u> *male brain*. These bundles cover a variety of functions, but mostly physical and metaphorical descriptions. They are actually common in both spoken and written texts, as they specify places, time, amount, size, etc. Overall, a trend towards a more frequent use of spoken-like discourse features can be detected from such an analysis.

5. Conclusions

The new notion of resource-switching has proved useful in contradicting the idea that semiotic resources are well integrated in digital environments. Resource-switching explores the alternation of resources through multimodal corpus linguistics

methods and shows that semiotic resources are less integrated than they are usually assumed to be. Quite strikingly, resources tend to aggregate with similar resources and bloggers tend to select *one* preferential resource, be it writing or visual, and adhere to it in rather predictable patterns. In other words, if bloggers or blog commentators express themselves via writing, they tend to discard other resources, at least to a significant degree. Conversely, if they are more interested in visual representations, they are likely to use writing merely in a subservient role, for example in captioning their pictures, drawings or animated *gifs*.

Keyness and lexical bundles analysis yielded results that confirm the assumption that the language of blogs in English (i.e. *blogEng*) includes spoken-like and written-like discourse features. Bloggers, at least those bloggers from the platform selected for the study, avoid both formal and standardized prose, but also language features typical of spoken conversation. Their English is placed along the *continuum* representing the transition from the purely (and, as such, abstract) spoken to the purely (equally abstract) written discourse, but blogs in LJC show a marked proximity towards the spoken end of such a cline. Broadly speaking, *blogEng* is written, but likewise exhibits an informal, less controlled and unrevised language use, highlighting the conversational nature of these web-based events.

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Telecollaboration and the Remediation of Intercultural Communication

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Abstract

This paper illustrates the phases of a research project called *Intercultural Telecollaboration*[1] that is based on the remediation of linear written discourse via the integration of digital tools. The aim of this study is to discuss the pedagogical use of hypermedia to promote Telecollaboration, which represents one of the greatest achievements of Web applications that has so far focused on the improvement of foreign language learning and intercultural competence. Ten Italian high-school students of English and ten American intermediate-level students of Italian were paired up and interconnected online in order to use their L2s to discuss several conversational topics regarding their sociocultural backgrounds. Participants were encouraged to improve their mutual intelligibility through *e-partnering*, which consists in the voluntary exchange of selective corrective feedback. In addition, a pre- and a post-survey were conducted to collect qualitative data about the students' experience in taking part in the project.

1. Introduction

The aim of this paper is to present an Italian-American research project called *Intercultural Telecollaboration*, which was co-

[1] This project is a recipient of the European Language Label Award for Innovative Projects in Language Teaching and Learning 2012-2013.

designed by Stefano Maranzana[2], a PhD student in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching, and myself, and carried out between September 2012 and March 2013. The project was the product of a partnership involving Rosella Manni, a teacher of English who coordinated a group of ten volunteer Italian high-school students attending the final year at the *Liceo Classico Statale "Ennio Quirino Visconti"* of Rome, and a group of ten volunteer American intermediate-level students of Italian from the University of Arizona, coordinated by Maranzana. This report is geared towards high-school and university foreign language teachers, so as to provide a practical example of how to create a web-mediated multilingual and multicultural learning environment, which furthers "the vision of the classroom as a discursive space" (Byram, 2008: 98). This project follows the so-called network-based language teaching (NBLT) approach (Belz 2005*a*, 2005*b*; Kern, Ware, Warschauer 2008; O'Dowd and Ritter 2006; O'Dowd and Ware 2009; Warschauer and Kern 2000), which has contributed significantly to innovations in foreign language education and teacher education over the last few years. The following quotations illustrate the fundamental assumptions behind this study.

O'Dowd and Ritter (2006: 1) hold that Telecollaboration consists in

> the use of online communication tools to bring together language learners in different countries for the development of collaborative project work and intercultural exchange. This type of network-based language teaching (NBLT) covers a wide range of activities and exploits a variety of online communication tools, including email, web-based message boards, and videoconferencing.

[2] Stefano Maranzana is a PhD student in Second Language Acquisition and Teaching (SLAT) and an Italian instructor of Italian at the French and Italian Dept. of the University of Arizona, Tucson, AZ.

Hence, the strict connection between a language and the culture of its users is important for NBLT, where the dynamic contact between the L1 and the L2 is conducive to the experience of "otherness" (Pennycook 2001: 142) which is supposed to heighten the learners' cultural awareness. Belz (2005*a*: 48) affirms that "telecollaboration is characterized by institutionalized technology-mediated *intercultural* communication for the purposes of FL [foreign language] learning and the development of intercultural awareness (Byram 1997; Harden and Witte 2000; Kramsch, 1998)." Whereas Kern *et al.* (2008: 281) observe that:

> NBLT research explores what happens when learners are brought together with texts, media, and other speakers of the language in computer-mediated contexts of interaction.

Finally, Byram's (2008: 17-18) views on the pedagogical importance of favouring contacts between students who belong to different languacultural backgrounds leads to a reconceptualisation of the language teacher's role in the age of globalisation. The author concludes that

> the task for language educators is above all to educate, to promote an ability to change perspective and to challenge what is taken for granted. [...] We can never escape our own languages − whether we have just one or several when starting a new language − but in taking different perspective, language learners of any age or disposition can be brought to a greater critical awareness of themselves and others and thereby become more adequately educated for an international world. This is the real challenge for all language education.

Maranzana and I believe that NBLT should complement the ordinary FL syllabus and contribute to maximise cooperative practices within a web-mediated, multilingual and multicultural learning context. Notably, our approach to research falls into the more general framework of Vygotsky's (1978) sociocultural

theory (SCT) and its present-day applications to SLA (Lantolf 2000; Lantolf and Thorne 2006; van Lier 2004), which emphasise

> the importance of human agency and societal context in the L2 development process [...] Central to this approach is that human activity is mediated by material artifacts and by symbolic sign systems, the most important of which is language. (Thorne 2000: 225).

These were the basic principles that inspired us in designing the research project that will be discussed in the next paragraphs.

2. The implementation of *Intercultural Telecollaboration*

Maranzana and I conceive of the Web as an artifact that provides a hypermedia-based constructivist learning context whereby the *remediation* (Bolter and Grusin 1999) of linear written discourse via the integration of digital sources (e.g. verbal texts, audiovisual documents and hyperlinks) can promote authentic asynchronous interaction and favour sociocognitive processes in language use (Thorne 2010; Batstone 2010). Consequently, the design of our intercultural telecollaboration project was based on activities that presupposed the use of advanced digital resources. We were particularly interested in experimenting with technologies that could help participants discuss a variety of topics concerning their own cultural backgrounds and lifestyles by using the foreign languages they were studying in institutional learning contexts. Therefore, the Italian participants were supposed to speak English with their American partners and, conversely, the American participants should speak Italian with their Italian fellow students. This way, we believed, students would be induced to carry out their communication tasks cooperatively, and exchange peer-to peer selective

corrective feedback when necessary. In other words, one of the main purposes of our intercultural telecollaboration project was to facilitate second language learning by fostering a collaborative rather than competitive attitude among the members of our discourse community, who were supposed to interact within the authentic, albeit virtual, environment of the Internet.

We recruited twenty volunteer students during two introductory meetings held in Rome and Tucson (AZ), respectively. We described the mission and purpose of our study and informed the participants about their assignments. Then we conducted a pre-survey online that we had previously prepared to gather some general information about the second language the participants were studying. Once we had collected these data, we gave participants instructions on how to accomplish their tasks by using the digital resources we had set up: a dedicated website[3] and a wiki[4]. These were interconnected and accessible only to our students and the project coordinators. The website contained several pages, where participants could find:

a. The overall description of the project and short biodata of its three coordinators.

b. A Powerpoint presentation of the project and a Powerpoint manual with guidelines on how to carry out their assignments.

c. A list of relevant cultural topics to choose from, with short background notes and links to websites that could provide participants with additional informative materials.

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[3] Intercultural Telecollaboration, http://telecollaboration.webs.com/home Last accessed January 27, 2014.

[4] Intercultural Telecollaboration, http://interculturaltelecollaboration.wikispaces.com/ Last accessed January 27, 2014.

d. A direct connection to the wiki that participants were requested to use in order to carry out their communicative tasks.
e. A list of the participants and teams. Each team was composed of one Italian and one American student whom Maranzana had paired up randomly.

The topics that participants were free to choose from in order to carry out their online discussions are listed below. Some of them had been suggested by participants in the pre-survey:

1. First of All, Talk About Yourself
2. Abortion
3. A Picture, A Culture
4. Careers
5. Death Penalty
6. Education
7. Facebook and Privacy
8. Football
9. Genetically Modified Food
10. Music
11. Nightlife or Weekend Activities
12. Old-Fashioned or Modern Families
13. Peer-to-Peer Downloading
14. Soccer
15. Stereotypes
16. Surveillance
17. Swearing
18. The Family
19. Traditions
20. When You Were a Kid
21. Your Ideal Vacation

Due to the fact that there is a time difference of eight hours between Rome and Tucson, synchronous communication was almost impossible, therefore, Maranzana and I opted for asynchronous interaction. Here follows a description of the students' main assignment:

a. Each team chooses a topic from the list of themes provided on the project web site.
b. They carry out asynchronous discussions by uploading their written texts onto their personal page on the wiki. Here, they can also add audiovisual materials (e.g. pictures, videos, etc.) and links to other websites (e.g. You Tube, Wikipedia, etc.) to share additional information.
c. In each team, one of the students uploads his/her text between Monday and Wednesday, to start a discussion.
d. His/her partner replies by Saturday, the same week.
e. Teams are free to exchange language feedback (i.e. corrective peer review).
f. Each team may choose to develop the same topic or move to a different one the following week.

Students were free to elaborate their discussions as they chose, but they were encouraged to use the links provided in the website for each topic, as a source of inspiration. They were also reminded that the main goal of their activity was to promote intercultural learning. Therefore, they were expected to complement their personal views with opinions that they believed characterise their culture.

As regards the so-called *netiquette, e*.g. socially acceptable conduct online, participants had to be respectful of the schedule and try to post on time. Besides, students were told that expressing personal disagreement was acceptable, provided they

explained their different points of view and were open to consider their interlocutor's ideas and beliefs.

Thanks to a forum hosted on the wiki, every participant was allowed to follow the ongoing discussions by reading the contributions that each team had uploaded, and then interact with them by posting their own messages. This way, participants created an interconnected community of practice (CoP) (Wenger 1998).

The Italian students worked on this project at school, during regular English classes, which the teacher had dedicated to Telecollaboration. However, they often continued their work at home. On the contrary, the American students worked on this project in their spare time, as the project was an optional activity.

Participants were allowed to use online monolingual and bilingual dictionaries, if necessary.

As for the coordinators, our task was to provide guidance and advice when asked by participants. We were not supposed to correct or mark their work, however we assessed the whole process together with the students and assigned them credits for their commitment. We also provided participants with technical support in the use of the digital technology.

3. *Intercultural Telecollaboration* and peer feedback

As project coordinators, we told participants that they were free to provide reciprocal corrective language feedback to improve the overall intelligibility of their texts. This way, a peer review process was activated, which not only helped to disambiguate opaque or inappropriate lexicogrammar expressions, but most of all promoted a reflexive attitude intrinsic to the interlocutors' communicative performance. Ware and O'Dowd (2008: 46) call this kind of voluntary peer feedback, "e-partnering". In other

words, we managed to provide learners with a zone of proximal development (ZPD) (Lantolf and Thorne 2006; van Lier 2004; Vygotsky 1978) whereby they would commit themselves to offer reciprocal support to carry out their joint intercultural endeavour successfully. Participants were invited to provide *selective* corrective feedback and take into consideration especially those deviant forms which would affect the flow and the overall intelligibility of their written messages. To this purpose, students implemented interpersonal strategic accommodation skills (Jenkins 2000) and focused more on content rather than form. In some cases, though, some students tended to overcorrect their partners' texts. Within our cooperative framework, NSs' peer assistance was intended as a non-prescriptive "orientation" (Kohn 2011: 80). E-partnering led to the negotiation of forms and meanings between interlocutors, which enhanced their language awareness.

Here are two examples of peer corrective feedback from the corpus of our students' texts. The first is from an Italian participant to her American partner. The second, instead, is from an American participant to her Italian partner. In both cases, students show appreciation for the L2 spoken by their partners (*affective feedback*, see Ware and O'Dowd, 2008: 47), and they give some advice for a more appropriate wording of some expressions (*lexicogrammar feedback*). Moreover, they ask for clarification of two opaque expressions.

Ex. 1. *Tutto ciò che mi hai scritto è scritto davvero bene! Le uniche due cose da dirti sono: quando scrivi: "ma adesso sono molto dedita" in italiano sarebbe meglio usare un'altra espressione al posto di dedita e scrivere quindi: "ma adesso sono molto presa" oppure "adesso sono un'appassionata". Poi quando scrivi: "non stiamo nello stesso esterno" intendi quando vivete in stati diversi?*[5]

[5] Translation: Everything you wrote was very well written. The only two things I'd like to say are: when you write: *"ma adesso sono molto dedita"*, it would be better to use a different expression in Italian, instead of *dedita.* So you should write: *"ma adesso sono*

Ex. 2. *When you say "your relation with the church is confused" i am not sure what you mean? maybe you are not sure about your religious beliefs. I think i understand though.*
The word you used "Fecundated" is not correct. I believe what you meant to write was "Fertilized" This is what we call when the sperm from the man meets the egg from the woman. (hahah awkward i know but this is what we say) Instead of saying "the medicine world" in english we change the word medicine to the adjective "medical" so it is correctly written "The Medical World" Other than these small corrections, your english is PERFETTO!!!)

Maranzana and I observed that the integration of e-partnering was largely welcomed by most participants. This is in line with Ware and O'Dowd's (2008: 56) conclusions about the importance of peer feedback that is focused on language form in NBLT.

5. Conclusions

The pedagogical implications of Telecollaboration are heading towards a comprehensive reconceptualisation of Foreign Language Teaching, whereby the purpose of language education is to go beyond the traditional exonormative model of the NS standard language and the instrumental dimension of language use, to include the learners' critical reflection on their own sociolinguistic identity as successful L2 users, and the acquisition of a deeper awareness and knowledge of the cultural values, beliefs and attitudes that inform their languaculture. Interestingly, qualitative data collected through the participants' post-survey have shown that:

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molto presa", or else: *"adesso sono un'appassionata"*. Then, when you write: *"non stiamo nello stesso esterno"* do you mean when you live in different states?

1) Most students believed that Telecollaboration contributed to improve their command of the L2, particularly as regards fluency in writing and lexis. This shows that intercultural Telecollaboration could well be integrated into mainstream L2 syllabuses, as it contributes to the enhancement of the learners' language skills.

Interestingly, the participants' feedback connected to the improvement of their intercultural competence (see points 2, 3, 4 ,5 and 6) reveals that the main goal of this telecollaboration has been achieved. Most of respondents say that the knowledge of their partners' different cultural background improved through cooperative practices and that telecollaboration gave them the opportunity to reflect on their own culture in a comparative way.

2) About 50% of respondents found Telecollaboration particularly important as regards what they had learnt about the American and the Italian cultures.

3) Most respondents found that the American and Italian cultures are not too different as regards young people's views in the following areas: sports, family, traditions and celebrations, spare time, friendship.
4) Most respondents focused on cultural differences in the following areas: ethical and moral issues, political institutions, cuisine and food, the educational system (school and University).
5) The majority of participants found the themes for discussion quite engaging.
6) Some of the participants would have liked to have discussed the following themes: politics; art; economics; music; the health care system.

7) Most respondents felt the need to improve their lexis and skills in writing and speaking. Comparatively, improving their grammar and the knowledge of the foreign culture were perceived as less important. These data are consistent with the improvement of learners' communicative competence, that is, with the main aim of the communicative approach to foreign language teaching.

Finally, participants gave a positive feedback and useful advice regarding the introduction and improvement of Telecollaboration and cooperative practices within the foreign language classroom, as points 8, 9 and 10 seem to suggest.

8) Respondents appreciated the following aspects of Telecollaboration: the use of digital multimedia, the symmetric relationship with their partners, the exchange of ideas and personal views with same-age people from another country, and peer feedback.
9) Respondents highlighted the following critical aspects of Telecollaboration: a) sometimes participants did not meet the deadline in posting their contributions; b) sometimes the partners' texts were not very clear; c) the wiki platform was not always easy to use.
10) Some respondents suggested that the project coordinators should have chosen less demanding themes for discussion, because it was difficult to write about them in the L2. Moreover, they suggested integrating video calls into Telecollaboration, e.g. via Skype.

In conclusion, the experience of NBLT that has been reported here shows the great potential of Telecollaboration as a learning tool that leads students towards a deeper understanding of how

worldviews are shaped by language and culture. As Kramsch says (2009: 200):

> I propose reframing the notion of third place as symbolic competence, an ability that is both theoretical and practical, and that emerges from the needs to find appropriate subject positions within and across the languages at hand.

This study indicates that the implementation of telecollaborative practices in the foreign language classroom can a) foster multilingualism and the development of learners' "intercultural citizenship" (Byram, 2008); and b) support cooperative practices and second language learning through Internet-based communication. It is thus advisable that further applied research be carried out in this area.

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When Music Meets Politics or the Remediation of Obama's New Hampshire Concession Speech

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Abstract

In February 2008 a YouTube user named "WeCan08" uploaded *Yes, We Can*, a video that is now considered a key example of the so-called 'YouTube political endorsement'. It was a black and white collage-style music video that featured Senator Barack Obama pronouncing an electoral speech together with many celebrities and musicians echoing his words in a hip-hop manner. The video, produced by the rapper will.i.am, immediately went viral and helped the popularisation of the motto, which became a secondary slogan for Obama's first presidential campaign.

Combining functional linguistics and multimodal meaning-making decoding practices, the paper will analyse this complex multilayered/multicultural text where different remediations occur, starting from the lyrics of the song which are *verbatim* quotations from Obama's New Hampshire concession speech. The essay will also explore the hip-hop rendering of the political speech as an example of interdiscursivity since it is deeply rooted in African-American musical and discursive practices.

1. Introduction

In February 2008 a YouTube user named "WeCan08" uploaded *Yes, We Can*[1], a video that is now considered a seminal example

[1] Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jjXyqcx-mYY>, last accessed December 2013.

of the so-called 'YouTube political endorsement' (Moschini 2010: 150). It was a black and white collage-style music video that featured Senator Barack Obama pronouncing an electoral speech together with many celebrities and musicians echoing his words in a hip-hop manner as his voice plays in the background.

The music video was produced by will.i.am (the member of the famous American hip-hop group Black Eyed Peas) and directed by Jesse Dylan, the son of Bob Dylan. It premiered on the national media on ABC News in February 2008 and - a few days later - was featured on the Obama campaign's community blog. The video immediately went viral and helped to contribute to the popularisation of the motto "Yes, we can", which became a secondary slogan for Obama's first presidential campaign.

Yes, We Can is a complex multilayered/multicultural text where different remediations occur: the lyrics are all quotations from Obama's concession speech in the New Hampshire presidential primary - a speech that has become a classic of American political discourse; the motto itself (that became the title of the song) is an example of an interlinguistic/intercultural shift because it is the translation of the Spanish slogan of the United Farm Workers; the hip-hop rendering of the political speech is an intersemiotic/intercultural reformulation since it is deeply rooted in African-American musical and discursive practices (Alim 2006).

The aim of this paper is to study the remediation of Obama's electoral message through the analysis of the linguistic, cultural and semiotic "translations" (Torop 2000) that take place in the music video. Adopting a combination of functional linguistics and multimodal meaning-making decoding practices, the author will identify the main verbal and visual argumentative strategies used in the text and investigate the musical rendering of the political speech as an example of "interdiscursivity" (Bhatia 2010).

2. Remediation, recontextualisation and resemiotisation

In their study *Remediation: Understanding New Media*, Bolter and Grusin define "remediation" as a process of "repurposing" that takes "a property from one medium and reuse[s] it in another" (1999: 45). According to the authors, this "widespread practice [is] a defining characteristic of the new digital media" (p. 45) that involves a "necessary redefinition" of the used contents since remediated texts embrace a multilevel intertextual discourse with their earlier contexts of use and cannot be read independently.

In the present case, a political speech is remediated as a hip-hop song and its related music video is, in turn, remediated as a user-generated content on a video-sharing platform. Thus, to fully 'unpack' the realisation of meaning in the final product (the video uploaded on the web) it is necessary to analyse the processes of "recontextualisation" (Bernstein 1990, 1996) and of "resemiotisation" (Iedema 2001, 2003) that occur at discourse level (Prior and Hengst 2000). "Recontextualisation" and "resemiotisation" are concepts that can help analysts to verify how many modes and resources are used to create meaning and how and why the same meaning has been reified and materialised through different discourses and mediational means.

Furthermore, "recontextualisation" is a process that extracts texts or part of them from their original context and places them in other contexts. Since the meaning of texts depends on their context, their recontextualisation implies a change in meaning and very often a change in their communicative purposes.

The concept of "recontextualisation" was originally developed by Bernstein (1990, 1996) as a tool for analysing pedagogic texts, but it has been extended to examine discourse as it unfolds across a number of interrelated social contexts (Linell 1998). In addition, Sarangi (1998) proposed a dynamic vision of contexts

according to which, when a text is recontextualised, some aspects are foregrounded while others fade into the background. The result is the emergence of a Bakhtinian situation of multiple voices, which – in many cases – have an intertextual relation with other texts and orders of discourse.

The process of "recontextualisation" identifies the transformative trajectories of discourse across times and places in an intertextual chaining (Fairclough 1992) or genre chaining (Swales 2004) that may also involve shifts in genre and even in mode. Such transformative processes are amplified and further reshaped by the affordances provided by digital media, like multimediality, multimodality and interactivity. To cope with these complex semiotic negotiations Iedema (2001, 2003) theorised the process of "resemiotisation" that investigates "how meaning making shifts from context to context, from practice to practice, or from one stage of a practice to the next" (2003: 41).

Iedema's concept extends Jakobson's "intersemioticity" (1971: 261), that is, the translation among different linguistic meaning systems, "to include translations that occur between different semiotic systems and their materialities" (2001: 24). The Australian scholar also aims at integrating Berstein's perspective (1990), on the reason why meanings are recontextualised, in a dynamic point of view that traces "how semiotics are translated from one into other as social processes unfold" (Iedema 2003: 29).

3. The communicative context

Before the analysis of the different resemiotisation processes that occur in the video *Yes, We Can*, it appears to be necessary to briefly focus on the context in which the discursive act took place since it was a very peculiar historical, cultural and communicative context. Indeed, during the US 2008 presidential

campaign, the web became the new relevant *medium* of propaganda and it fundamentally changed the political competition. For the first time, carefully scripted electoral texts competed with blogs, ads and videos created by individuals and, consequently, candidates – who did not have total control over messages – were forced to change the way they campaigned (Smith and Lee, 2008).

Will.i.am's video was one of the messages that highly influenced the presidential race. It is out of the scope of the present paper to explore the digital remediation of the text, but it is important to point out that it affected the connotation of the video since the latter became a seminal example of 'YouTube political endorsement' (Moschini 2010: 150) giving rise to a chain of multimodal answers made up of comments and video-responses[2]. The semiotic relevant focus of the digital discourse was the video itself since, as Adami affirms (2009: 388), YouTube comments tend to break Grice's "relevance maxim" (according to which the information provided by each turn of a conversation is usually appropriate to the immediate needs at each state of the transaction) and tend "to be consistent with […] the most salient semiotic resource", apparently following "a multimodal relevance maxim" (Sindoni 2013: 205).

The video was also posted on will.i.am's personal website[3] and here a link invited viewers to "take action". This link led to another site named "hope.act.change" [4], where personal videos were daily uploaded and where the exhortation to "join the conversation" constituted a collective imperative to answer the 'call of duty'. Users became part of this 'socially responsible' community producing and uploading contents and ideally raised their status because they could become part of those who have

[2] After Obama's victory in 2008, the comments on YouTube were disabled.
[3] The address of the page (now dismissed) was <http://www.dipdive.com/dip-politics/ywc>.
[4] The web page (now dismissed) was <http://www.hopeactchange.com/>.

the power to influence, to actually move society towards a common future, as the name of the site suggests. The exhortation to "join the conversation" was addressed in English and Spanish in order to invite the millions of Latinos living in the United States to be part of the campaign (Moschini 2010: 154).

4. The video

The title of the video, Obama's claim "Yes, we can", was originally a message for the Latino community because the slogan is the translation of the Spanish motto of the United Farm Workers "*Sì, se puede*". This phrase was first used in 1972 by the UFW founders – Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta – during a manifestation in Phoenix, Arizona and, since then, it has been widely adopted by other labour unions and civil rights organisations. The original formula of the slogan is shouted in will.i.am's video by Adam Rodríguez, a Puerto Rican actor, while raising his left arm with his hand closed in a fist: an "image act" that reinforces the connotation of the chant (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 121ff).

At a linguistic level, the translation of the Spanish "*se puede*" with "we can" is an example of an interlinguistic/intercultural shift, that needs to be decoded considering that "we" is a fundamental term in American political discourse: it embodies the 'exceptionalism' of the American experiment that - eventually - turned the British Royal "we" into "We, the People", the emblem of a Republican "Civil Body Politick" (Sacerdoti Mariani 1985). In addition, the plural pronoun "we" is functional to convey Obama's vision of that "Civil Body Politick", where he traces such a unifying narration with words that present the spiritual chant: "when <u>we</u>'ve been told that […] <u>we</u> can't, generations of Americans have responded with a

simple creed that sums up the spirit of a people: Yes, we can […]" (emphasis added).

The motto offers an example of the blending of voices in a recontextualised text (Sarangi 1998), because the rallying cry of the Latino immigrants echoes in the words of the presidential candidate and is transformed into a chant celebrating the values of the American Dream. At the same time, as highlighted in the previous paragraph, the political slogan used as the title of a hip-hop song resonates with the discursive practices of the Black community. Finally, the digital remediation of the political slogan charges it with the participatory values above described because the people who see it are asked to take a stand in the political fight in order to change the world.

Indeed, the music video presents two main communicative functions: the first is to directly endorse Obama's message and the other is to ask for the viewers' adherence to it. A 'call to action' that is visually expressed in the last shots by the white word "hope" which is progressively transformed into the red coloured exhortation to "vote". Here, the layout positions the message in the right upper section of the screen, the one dedicated to new/ideal information in Western countries (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 186ff), giving salience to the moral connotation of the action, while the colour transition and the final red font colour carry out interpersonal meaning since they attract the attention of the viewers (O'Halloran 2008: 450). The co-contextualisation of linguistic and visual elements creates a semantic expansion (Royce 1998) because the image of will.i.am on the left of the dark empty setting and the written message are interdependent and "play a role in a verbal projection" (Martinec and Salway 2005: 363), with the singer having the role of the Sayer and the text functioning as the projected wording.

The seriousness of the required engagement is semiotically reinforced by the choice to select a black-and-white mode that

connotes the video with a solemn aura and detaches it from its pop cultural source. Indeed, the black and white mode of the video lowers the emotional impact of the communicative act because "the complete de-saturation of color vehicled by black-and-white mode, expresses a maximally toned down [and] neutralised feeling" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2002: 356).

At the same time, the strong framing of the images portrays them as separate units of information (Kress and van Leeuwen, 1996: 214) and it is functional to underline the different roles in the communicative act. In actual fact, Obama is visually represented as 'on offer' because his gaze is indirect, while the rapper will.i.am looks directly at the viewers: an "image act" that demands their adherence to the message (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996: 121ff) he verbally endorses through the repetition of Obama's words. Also the eye contact tries to reduce the represented social distance between the participants and the viewers, which is visually made shorter by the close personal shots that frame in the head and the shoulders of the senders (Hall 1964).

5. The lyrics

As previously mentioned, the lyrics of the song are *verbatim* quotations of the concession speech given by the then-Senator Obama on January 8, 2008 in New Hampshire: a speech that has become a classic of American political discourse. More in detail, the lyrics of the song are drawn from the final part of the speech, where Barack Obama envisions his version of the American Dream, which is able to offer social cohesion. The language selected by the candidate for this aspirational epilogue features a high degree of epistemic modality that aims at expressing his certainty.

The lyrics open with the impersonal pronoun "it" that functions as an anaphoric reference to the title of the song and a cataphoric one to the epistrophe "Yes, we can". The pronoun itself is the theme of two attributive intensive clauses ("It was a creed written into the founding documents […]" / "It was the call of workers […]") and of two receptive transitive material sentences realised by passive verbal groups ("It was whispered by slaves and abolitionists […]" /"It was sung by immigrants […]"). The scope of both the performed actions and the attributes is to add information about the founding creed.

At a textual level, the reiteration of the pronoun and the parallel structure are devices that create texture; at a communicative level they reinforce Obama's inclusive rhetoric since the structural cohesion helps him to combine different and sometimes conflicting stories, like the written tradition of the founding documents and the oral tradition of the agentive actors ("slaves"/ "abolitionists"/ "immigrants"…). Indeed, Obama traces a journey through many fundamental stages in American history and tries to unify the historical myth of those who fought against colonialism with the struggle for freedom of the civil rights battle "telling two stories as if they were one and the same narrative" (Charteris-Black 2011 [2005]: 283).

Obama's inclusive rhetoric pervades all the lyrics as can be inferred from the two connected lexical chains, one expressing the idea of the union ("we"/ "one people"/ "one nation"/ "together"/ "American story"), the other listing the elements that have been composing such collective history ("founding documents"/ "slaves"/ "abolitionists"/ "immigrants"/ "workers"/ "women" and so on). An inclusiveness outlined also by the use of the first plural personal pronoun, as in the fragment "[…] <u>we</u> are not as divided as our politics suggests, […] <u>we</u> are one people, <u>we</u> are one nation" (emphasis added), where a combination of contrastive rhetoric and rhetoric of anti-rhetoric,

aims at shortening the distance from the electorate and helps portray Obama and his followers as the 'true keepers' of the American founding (and ethical) values.

At a rhetorical level, Obama's epilogue is made memorable by the massive use of poetic devices, such as alliterations, tricolons and repetitions. It also features a rhythmic progression, favoured by the parallel syntactic structure, which arouses emotions. The importance of rhythm traces back to African-American oratory and Obama exploits it from the beginning of the extract where the repetition of the motto stimulates his audience. Indeed, when Obama gave this speech, people started to engage with him in a call-and-response manner chanting the slogan in a crescendo.

The intensity of the rhythm rises in the last part of the epilogue where Obama uses a climax of direct or alluded intertextual references, the aim of which is to re-affirm his inclusive rhetoric: the verb "ring" which echoes Martin Luther King's renowned speech, the expression "from sea to the shining sea" that recalls the famous patriotic song *America the Beautiful* and, finally, the motto "Yes, we can" prosodically stressed by his intonation.

6. The hip-hop resemiotisation

Bhatia defined interdiscursivity as the "appropriation of all forms of semiotic resources across texts, genres, social practices and cultures" (2010: 37). In his opinion, interdiscursivity features encoders "operating within and across generic boundaries to create new but essentially related and/or hybrid forms […] within locally accepted communicative practices and shared generic norms" (p. 35).

In the case analysed here, the hip-hop resemiotisation (Iedema 2003) of Obama's concession speech sees the clash of two

potentially conflicting social actions because an electoral speech aims at gaining consensus and becoming the mainstream discourse, while "hip-hop is usually viewed as a means […] to replace the master narrative" (Dawkins 1998: 78).

The rhetorical resource which composes such a short-circuit in this interdiscursive musical endorsement is the call-and-response mode, a communicative pattern that – as said above – Obama exploits throughout his epilogue. It is a mode that has been historically used to express adherence to content (van Leeuwen 1999: 72), but is also "one of the fundamental categories of black discourse and hip-hop language" (Keyes 1984:145).

In 1977 linguist Geneva Smitherman schematised four broad categories of black discourse: "narrative sequencing", "call-and-response", "signification/dozens" and "tonal semantics" (103). All of these categories are strategically used in rap music (Alim 2006). Furthermore, the role of call-and-response is to establish the interactive network between performer and auditor since the response prolongs the performance and helps the rapper to spontaneously execute rap formulas (Keyes 1984).

The call-and-response trope has a long tradition rooted in the myths and rituals of Africa and, particularly, in the public ceremony of the Ring Shout, which is considered, "the origin of all Afro-American music" (Floyd 1995: 26). The Ring Shout is a ritual ceremony where people dance, sing and play drums in order to connect with the spiritual world and improve reality. It is usually served by a Griot (or Master of Ceremony), who is considered the repository of the generative power of the spoken world, the so-called *Nommo*. According to Asante, the *Nommo* is the "African belief in the magical power of the spoken word, to construct and reconstruct reality" (1987:104) and the Griot interacts with the people in the Ring using a call-and-response pattern (Floyd 1995).

In contemporary Afro-American black street culture, rappers are called Mcs (Masters of Ceremony) since they are "musicians-entertainers who preserve African history through oral narratives and who wish to improve life in the ghettos with the power of their musical verses" (Alim 2006:79). Thus, if rappers are "postmodern American griots" (Smitherman 1997: 4), it appears possible to affirm that the encounter between Obama's political speech with hip-hop discourse not only foregrounds the black features of his rhetoric but, given the generative power of the call-and-response pattern, it semiotically and culturally reinforces his message of change.

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Reformulating Political Discourse: How Politicians Construct Their Identity in the Facebook Era

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Abstract

This paper investigates a new genre of political discourse which is particularly influential in the era of social neteorking, i.e. politicians' profiles on Facebook.

The paper examines, through a qualitative analysis of data extracted from Facebook, the linguistic choices and discourse strategies adopted by English and Italian politicians to favour dialogue and aggregation (Spina: 2012). They are partly connected with the strategies of conventional political genres and partly mediated and reinterpreted according to the features of Facebook highlighted within the approach of Computer-Mediated Communication (Thurlow, Langel and Tomic: 2004; Wright and Webb: 2011).

1. Introduction

Social network sites (SNSs), such as Facebook, MySpace, LinkedIn, Twitter and the newly born Google+, are growing in popularity worldwide (Boyd and Ellison 2008: 210). They are on-line environments in which people create a self-descriptive profile and make links to other members, creating a network of social connections. Networking, therefore, is "the ostensible purpose of these sites" (Donath and Boyd 2004: 71), although making new friends is not their primary goal. Nowadays, SNSs are basically used to communicate with one's connections, to share information about one's thoughts and activities, and to

construct one's identity via a public display. According to Zappavigna (2012), they are changing the way people interact online and search for information and opinions. They certainly contribute to the process of "conversationalisation" that public, including political, discourse is undergoing (Fairclough 1994; van Dijk 1997).

This study investigates the way one of the most popular SNSs –Facebook – affects the construction of politicians' identity in British/American English and Italian political discourse. The aim is to compare traditional genres of political propaganda, such as electoral campaign speeches and inaugural addresses, with the innovative genre of SNSs. The attention is on the linguistic means and rhetoric/discursive strategies that politicians use to construct their identities on Facebook, as compared to the features traditionally discussed in Political Discourse Analysis (PDA, van Dijk 1997; Chilton 2004).

The study is divided into four main sections. Section 2 briefly describes the methodology used for data collection. Section 3 explores the genre of SNSs in the pertinent literature and elaborates a set of emergent discursive features that stress their role in the processes of conversationalisation and popularisation of political discourse. Section 4 discusses the linguistic characteristics of more traditional political genres (van Dijk 1997), and compares them to the more innovative features of Facebook profiles. The fifth section examines such profiles from the cross-cultural viewpoint, and from the viewpoint of their social impact on the audience.

2. Method and data

This study analyses data extracted from the Facebook profiles of some famous political leaders over a ten-month period – from December 2012 to September 2013. The politicians monitored

for the study belong to different political parties. In particular, they include two prominent American political figures (Barack Obama; Mitt Romney), two British political leaders (David Cameron; Nick Clegg), and four Italian current politicians (Angelino Alfano; Pier Luigi Bersani; Beppe Grillo; Matteo Renzi).

In general, the profiles were constantly updated, either by the politicians themselves or by one of their group. The update comprised messages, photographs, videos, or links to relevant websites or breaking news. Leaflets about political matters were added too.

The focus, however, was on the way politicians exploit language to construct their identity on the web and, simultaneously, to inform and persuade their voters.

3. SNSs and the conversationalisation/popularisation of political discourse

SNSs are defined by Boyd and Ellison (2008: 211) as "web-based services that allow individuals to (1) construct a public or semi-public profile within a bounded system, (2) articulate a list of other users with whom they share a connection, and (3) view and traverse their list of connections and those made by others within the system". As such, they are increasingly attracting the attention of academics and researchers intrigued by their technological affordances. Facebook, in particular, has fascinated many scholars in the field of computer-mediated communication, because of its evolution from a niche (Harvard-only) SNS in early 2004 to a corporate network for professionals and, eventually, for everyone in 2006.

Moreover, Facebook affected political participation in the 2008 U.S. presidential election, in that it allowed users to share

their political beliefs and to support specific candidates (Vitak et al. 2010).

Nowadays, Facebook is playing a fundamental role in the development of the concept of "conversational exchange" in public electronic discourse and, specifically, in political discourse (cf. Twitter in Spina 2012; Zappavigna 2012). With its permanent search for affiliation, Facebook is a potential source of change and a great popularising means in political discourse (cf. Gotti 2013 for science popularisation). It has changed the way American, British and Italian politicians address and interact with their audience. It is a powerful means of aggregation, allowing politicians to attract people, communicate with them and invite them to participate in a conversational and more informal tone.

The concepts of "conversationalisation" and "informalisation" of political discourse are not new in the literature (Fairclough 1994; Pearce 2005). Within the tradition of critical discourse analysis, Fairclough and Mauranen (1997: 117f) have signalled a tendency in public communication "from a distant, impersonal, formal public discourse toward conversation and personalized discourse". In particular, Facebook and similar SNSs have introduced many innovative features in political text that contribute both to its conversationalisation and to its popularisation: e.g.

i) Conversationality: Facebook interactions are fundamentally dialogic and can be described as public conversations with multiple participants (cf. Spina 2012).

ii) Informality: Facebook tone is often colloquial, and the language used by politicians and their followers is more typical of familiar contexts than of political settings.

iii) Accessibility: Politicians' Facebook profiles are normally open to the general public, as they do not require the owner's confirmation for access. This increases risks for politicians,

since a public profile is accessible not only to supporters but also to opponents (Pira 2012: 70).
iv) Searchability: One of the key affordances of SNSs is searchable talk (Boyd 2010; Zappavigna 2012), i.e. online talk where people affiliate by making their discourse findable (e.g. #equalmarriage, N. Clegg, 15/07/13; #festademocratica, P.L. Bersani, 22/07/13).
v) Visibility: The popularity of Facebook has provided politicians with a highly visible environment to promote themselves, articulate their platforms, and interact with voters in a revolutionary way (Vitak et al. 2010: 1).

With respect to the average profile of common users, a politician's profile on Facebook still preserves some characteristics of specialised discourse, namely, the specificity of its content, its strategic use of language and its lack of spontaneity (Pira 2012: 70). Yet, the above-cited features also characterise it as an innovative genre and a popularising text (Gotti 2013), targeted to a wider audience including non-specialists and those who prefer a less official approach to serious issues than in other forms of political propaganda. In the following section, this new genre will be more closely explored in order to distinguish it from traditional political genres.

4. Traditional political genres vs. a new genre

The notion of 'political genre' has been rapidly expanding in the last decades, to include, besides parliamentary debates, laws and government regulations, such discourse genres as political advertising, media interviews, political talk shows on TV, and propaganda (van Dijk 1997: 18).

Propaganda is a form of purposeful persuasion (cf. Jowett and O'Donnell 2010) that attempts to influence the opinions and actions of specified target audiences for ideological or commercial purposes. Although the aim of politicians' Facebook

profiles is very close to that of political propaganda – i.e. persuading the attitude of a community – they call for participation, both actively, by commenting posts, joining groups, etc., and passively, by clicking the 'Like' button to express approval. Therefore, Facebook profiles are mutually constructed and negotiated between members, their linguistic features being close to those of informal conversation.

For this reason, we can distinguish politicians' Facebook profiles from other (more traditional) genres of political discourse along various levels and dimensions of discourse structure, including topics (§ 4.1), superstructures and text types (§ 4.2), lexicon (§ 4.3), syntax (§ 4.4), rhetoric (§ 4.5), speech acts (§ 4.6), interaction (§ 4.7), and participants (§ 4.8).

4.1. Topics

Political discourse is primarily about politics itself or, as van Dijk (1997: 25) suggests, it is "reflexive". For instance, campaigning politicians tend to speak about themselves as candidates, about the policies they promise to support when elected, or about their opponents and political enemies. The same is true, mutatis mutandis, for politicians who post their messages on Facebook. However, given the more informal nature of the genre, politicians' posts may include other non-public topics, such as personal events or general comments:

(1) Celebrating 44 years with my sweetheart today. (M. Romney, 21/03/13)
(2) Stamattina Firenze ha dei colori che allargano il cuore. ('This morning Florence has colours that widen your heart', M. Renzi, 18/09/13)

Alternatively, politicians may use Facebook for greetings and wishes:

(3) Happy Independence Day! (M. Romney, 05/07/13)
(4) In bocca al lupo e un forte abbraccio a Enrico Letta. ('Good luck and warm hugs to Enrico Letta', M. Renzi, 24/04/13)

In this respect, English and Italian politicians' profiles are similar to other users' profiles, which are often used to post collective greetings.

4.2. Superstructures and text types

In traditional political text and talk, such as laws and parliamentary debates, argumentation structures (with premises, development and conclusions) are the most pervasive (van Dijk 1997: 29). By contrast, in politicians' profiles, the instructive text type (see Werlich's 1976 text typology) seems to dominate:

(5) Your voices made a difference on immigration reform in the Senate. Now it's up to the House, and we can't back down. Say you're in: http://OFA.BO/CaHHR5 #AmericanStory. (B. Obama, 02/07/13)

Instructions are normally introduced by a preamble on the importance of a certain political or global issue, but the orders are not veiled and occur in the imperative form (Say you're in).
In Italian profiles, by contrast, instructions may be more obscure. They often appear in the form of informative texts, but their secondary illocutionary force is instructive:

(6) Stasera alle 20.30 sarò ospite di Lilli Gruber a Otto e Mezzo su La7. ('Tonight at 8.30 p.m. I will be hosted by Lilli Gruber at 'Otto e Mezzo' on La7 TV channel', P.L. Bersani, 18/06/13)

4.3. Lexicon

As far as lexical choices are concerned, political jargon or 'politspeak' plays a less relevant role in Facebook profiles, in which politicians rather tend to simplify language and to adopt clearer forms to target a larger audience. Although specialised terminology often occurs (vote, pools; opposizione 'opposition', coalizione 'coalition'), the informality of SNSs may impose the use of more colloquial terms, such as pals or guy in Obama's profile, or of wordplays, such as pdmenoelle (B. Grillo, 10/07/13), a play on the initialism pdl ('Popolo delle Libertà').

4.4. Syntax

The manipulation of syntactic style in political discourse traditionally involves many aspects, such as the use of pronouns and variations of word order (van Dijk 1997: 33). A characteristic of Facebook profiles, which is not in other genres of political discourse, is their variability of subjects. Messages may be posted either by the politician or, more frequently, by one of his/her group. The result is a polyphonic genre, with a multiplicity of voices, which contribute with different styles. For instance, in Obama's profile, there is often an alternation between different subjects, ranging from the first-person plural pronoun (We), to the third-person title (President Obama), and even to the first-person singular pronoun (I) in direct speech.
The same subject alternation is, for instance, in Grillo's Italian profile, in which Noi (of the Five Star Movement) occurs alongside the party's name (Il M5S, Il Movimento 5 Stelle), the leader's name (Beppe Grillo), and first-person singular verbs (Chiedo 'I ask for').

4.5. Rhetoric

Political discourse is typically verbose, hyperbolic and rhetorical (van Dijk 1997: 34). Many tropes characterising political speeches generally follow the principles of understating (i.e. saying less and meaning more) or overstating (i.e. exaggerating) (Mattiello 2013).
In Facebook profiles, the classical figures of political understatement (i.e. euphemism, litotes, meiosis) are rarely used:

(7) Una 'cena ristretta' non è il luogo ideale per discutere dei progetti di legge. ('An 'elite dinner' is not the ideal place to discuss bills', B. Grillo, 09/07/13)

Metaphor (8-9), irony (10), and hyperbole (11-12), by contrast, are more frequently used, both in British/American English and in Italian profiles:

(8) We are losing the war on drugs on an industrial scale. (N. Clegg, 14/12/12)
(9) Our journey is not complete. (B. Obama, 21/01/13)
(10) Berlusconi Santo subito. ('Let's now sanctify Berlusconi', B. Grillo, 07/08/13)
(11) The UK green sector is a success story. (N. Clegg, 28/01/13)
(12) Una vittoria strepitosa. ('A great victory', P.L. Bersani, 10/06/13)

4.6. Speech acts

As far as speech acts are concerned, like parliamentary debates (van Dijk 1997: 36), political profiles are varied. Whereas assertive speech acts are rare, directives occur – especially in American and British English profiles – in the form of questions or pieces of advice:

(13) Will you do your part to #ActOnClimate and shape our planet's future? (B. Obama, 09/07/13)
(14) Don't forget to go to the polls today. (N. Clegg, 02/05/13)

Expressive speech acts, such as congratulations, also occur in Italian profiles: e.g.

(15) Congrats to President George W. Bush and Laura W. Bush on the arrival of their first grandchild. A good start! (M. Romney, 15/04/13)
(16) Congratulazioni a Milena Canonero, eleganza, grazia e talento italiano agli Oscar. ('Congrats to Milena Canonero: elegance, grace and Italian talent at the Academy Awards', M. Renzi, 23/02/13)

Lastly, commissives are recurrent, since politicians tend to make promises to their supporters:

(17) I want to help every family to get on in life. (N. Clegg, 19/03/13)
(18) Siamo al governo per liberare i cittadini italiani dall'oppressione fiscale. ('We are governing to free Italian citizens from fiscal oppression', A. Alfano, 14/06/13)

4.7. Interaction

Van Dijk (1997: 36) has emphasised the interactional nature of political dialogues. Similarly, political profiles feature most of the usual moves and strategies of verbal interaction. The following comments to David Cameron's message (13/07/13) emblematically represent Facebook's interactional nature:

Typical conversational features include the use of person deixis (we, you, I, he), vague lexicon and general words (anything, people), ellipsis ([It's a] Pity), substitution (he'd be happier and so [happier] would we), tag questions (doesn't it), and interjections (What on earth, for god sakes).

4.8. Participants

Van Dijk (1997: 12f) claims that political discourse is identified, on the one hand, by its "actors" or "authors", i.e. politicians, and, on the other hand, by its "recipients", i.e. the citizens.

The revolutionary aspect introduced by Facebook is that, given the number of active users and free access, the number of recipients increases remarkably. Political profiles, indeed, are not specifically targeted to an elite audience, but to all people worldwide, provided that they can use the Internet and understand the language.

In addition, on Facebook the two notions of actors and recipients collapse, in that passive participants may be actively involved in political conversation and become actors. A current definition of political discourse, therefore, needs not to be confined to its principal authors (the politicians), but rather to be extended to a more complex picture of all its relevant participants.

5. Facebook profiles: cultural and sociological implications

Facebook profiles are highly idiosyncratic. Although British, American and Italian profiles share most of the above-mentioned discursive and linguistic strategies, each politician can decide to give a more personal shape to his/her page. The British politician Nick Clegg, for instance, adopts an official tone in some of his posts:

By contrast, the American President Barack Obama prefers using a concise, less ceremonial or even an informal tone in his profile:

(21) We hear you. (B. Obama, 22/12/12)
(22) Nice 'do. (B. Obama, 25/06/13)

Italian politicians similarly assume an informal tone, which may become vulgar when they comment on their opponents' demeanour:

(23) Beppe Grillo, campione di disinformazione. ('Beppe Grillo, the champion of misinformation', P.L. Bersani, 08/07/13).
(24) Letta le spara grosse. ('Letta mouths off a bunch of crap', B. Grillo, 26/06/13)

Therefore, the format of Facebook profiles does not depend on the politicians' language or culture, but rather on their personality, or on the effects that they want to produce on their audience. In particular, British politicians, such as Nick Clegg, seem to favour the use of a solemn tone to show integrity and reliability. American politicians, by contrast, may favour the use of a more familiar tone to attract the citizens – especially young voters (Vitak et al. 2010; Kaye 2011) – to political participation. Many Italian politicians, instead, prefer adopting sarcasm and using colourful words, mainly to show criticism towards their opponents.

6. Conclusions

This study on politicians' Facebook profiles has shown that this new genre is an effective new form of political 'propaganda'. From the politician's viewpoint, both British/American English and Italian profiles provide a highly visible environment to promote oneself, as well as to inform, or convince, one's voters. From the citizens' viewpoint, with their interactional nature and wider targeted audience, these profiles may encourage both passive and active political participation.

However, the study has also shown that, although most discursive strategies are shared between the British/American

English and Italian profiles, some differences can emerge from a sociological point of view. These differences may depend either on the individual characteristics of the politicians themselves or on the types of message that they want to communicate. On the one hand, American politicians convey positive messages of encouragement, hope and change in their profiles. Similarly, British politicians express optimism about their country's future and their commitment to global issues. On the other hand, Italian politicians mainly exploit their profiles to highlight the polarisation between their group and the opposition, by praising the former and criticising the latter.

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(Re)mediating Handwritten Signature and Personal Identity: The Mediated Action of Sig Blocks

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Abstract

The mediated action of creating and appending signature blocks in emails and newsgroup posts springs from the decontextualisation and recontextualisation of handwritten signature and personal identity. This study investigates how both are (re)mediated through the content and communicative functions of signature blocks. It further attempts to identify whether significant differences occur across these mediational means. The mediated action of signature blocks is taken as the basic unit of mediated discourse analysis, which was performed on a corpus of email and newsgroup signature blocks. Results show how the interplay between social agents and mediational means was key in shifting meaning making to remediate new meaning at the levels of informational content and functional language. Results further reveal noticeable differences in the type/frequency of information content across means as these constrain and enable the mediated discursive action to take place within these sites of engagement.

1. Introduction

Decontextualisation and recontextualisation are at play when discourse material is removed from one social context and repositioned in another. As a key process of recontextualisation, remediation "points to ways that activity is (re)mediated – not mediated anew" (Prior and Hengst 2010: 1). Its effectiveness

presupposes the use of "mediational means, such as tools and language" (Wertsch 1991: 12), and "the unique contextualized use of these means" (Wertsch 1994: 205).

Remediation is gaining momentum in the current digital era facilitated by the development of new Web 2.0 mediational means (Plastina 2012). A case in point is the remediation of handwritten signature through signature blocks (henceforth sig block) appended to emails and newsgroup[1] posts.

In the culture of literacy and legal documentation, the long-standing practice of handwritten signature has been adopted to identify ourselves and to be identified by others. Although it still survives in daily social transactions, this practice is currently challenged by processes, such as *replication* and *transformation*, which have respectively witnessed an increasing use of scanned and digital signatures. However, both these leave information about a signer concealed and thus largely unaltered. They cannot therefore be considered effective processes of remediation as they do not shift the meaning making of the original handwritten signature. Conversely, sig blocks can be positioned within a discursive off-online border space, where full remediation is likely to occur. In their extended space from the separating line up to the end of an email message or newsgroup post, sig blocks allow authors to personalise their signatures. Thus, they "[…] may play an especially important role in explicitly communicating information about the sender's identity" (Rains and Young 2006: 1048). Indeed, sig blocks serve the functional purpose of pinpointing their authors' coordinates (Grusin 2006). In newsgroups, they are requested to "help readers better understand who you are" (Barnes 2003: 123). Sig blocks, however, do not completely efface older media (Bolter and Grusin 1999) as they decontextualise signature from handwritten letters and personal identity from face-to-face conversations.

[1] Newsgroups are online discussion groups dealing with a variety of topics.

This paper focuses on remediation as the shift in meaning performed by sig blocks to refashion the fixed reality of handwritten signature and customise personal identity. It assumes that sig blocks represent a site of engagement, "[…] which opens a window for a mediated action to occur" (Scollon 2001a: 147), and that the engagement between social agents and mediational means makes remediation a mediated action in its own right.

2. The research study

The aim of this study is to analyse how sig blocks remediate handwritten signature through the mediational means of emails and newsgroups. The methodology is theoretically grounded in Mediated Discourse Analysis (Scollon 2001b; Norris and Jones 2005), which takes mediated action as the basic unit of analysis. According to Scollon and de Saint-George (2012: 71-72), any mediated action is made up of three constitutive elements: the historical body, or "the abstraction of the aggregation of social practices"; the interaction order, or the "interactional configuration [in which] an action inscribes itself; the discourses in place, or "the array of texts actually present in the situation, as well as the mediational means available". To tease out the functional features of sig blocks (historical body) and their content (discourse in place) in emails and newsgroup posts (interaction order), a mixed method research design was adopted. The principles of mediated discourse analysis guided the two following research questions posed in the study: 1. how do sig blocks remediate handwritten signature and personal identity through their content and communicative functions? 2. does this mediated action vary across the mediational means of emails and newsgroups?

The materials used for investigation were made up of a corpus of sig blocks (*N*=152; 5,168 running words) collected from 76 emails and 76 newsgroup posts. The former were collected from the author's personal accounts between the years 2010-2013, and included messages from public and private organisations in Australia, England, Scotland, USA, Ireland; the latter were collected arbitrarily from newsgroups. Corpus data was analysed for its content and functional features by applying the typology of information content elaborated by Chen et al. (1999), and Halliday's (1975: 11-17) language functions as the analytical categories. In detail, the typology included ten functional classes: email address, web address, phone number, fax number, postal address, personal name, professional title, quote, miscellaneous text and image; the language functions were seven: instrumental, regulatory, interactional, personal, heuristic, imaginative and representational. Both functional classes and language functions were considered suitable analytical categories to disclose two of the constitutive elements of any mediated action in sig blocks, namely the historical body and the discourses in place. The third element of interaction order was then analysed by identifying possible differences in sig blocks across the mediational means of emails and newsgroups. Comparative analysis was carried out on corpus data following an equal distribution into two subcorpora (*N*=76).

3. Sig blocks: functional features and content

All ten functional classes of information were found to be used to remediate handwritten signature in the corpus of sig blocks. This suggests that authors recognised the historical body of sig blocks as "repeatable social practice" (Scollon and de Saint-George 2012: 71). Frequency of occurrence, however, differed across the classes as shown in Table 1.

Types of Information	*Occurrences* (*N*=152)
Email address	123
Web address	60
Phone number	33
Fax number	14
Postal address	31
Personal name	152
Professional Title	84
Quote	52
Miscellaneous text	3
Image	46

Table 1: Sig Blocks: Functional Classes of Information (based on Chen *et al.* 1999)

The range of frequency occurrence was set between an acceptable minimum and maximum percentage values (30≤100%) to disclose the type of content which significantly remediated handwritten signature. The data revealed that this mainly occurred through six functional classes, namely, *personal name* (100%), *email address* (80.9%), *professional title* (55.2%), *web address* (39.5%), *quote* (34.2%) and *image* (30.3%). These results show how the frequent use of the first three classes expanded handwritten signature through the functional features *who I am* (personal name), *ways I can be contacted* (email address) and *what I do* (professional title). As this content was mediated to identify oneself to others, language was used to create interaction with others, and thus for the Hallidayan interactional function of communication.

Although the other three types of information content (web address, quote and image) occurred less frequently, they mediated personal identity more dynamically as a result of their

flexible features. In detail, those authors, who included a hyperlinked web address in their sig blocks, directed recipients to their personal websites. This site of engagement suggests that the social agents were willing to interact further with their recipients, sharing information about their thoughts, interests and hobbies. In this mediated action, language was used for the representational function of communicating additional information, and also to implicitly display personality traits. These were further disclosed through the use of quotes, which also showed how "the choice among multiple mediational means is significant (Scollon 2001a: 173) for meaning making. Choices revealed aspects of the social agents' cultural lifestyle through the use of famous quotes (42.2% of all the quotes found), serious quotes (32.7%) and humorous ones (25.1%). More importantly, this meditational means uncovered the discourses in place, at the intersection of which the social action was carried out (Scollon and de Saint-George 2012) as shown in Examples (1) - (3):

1) *Save the baby humans – Stop birth abortion NOW*;
2) *When the only tool one owns is a hammer, every problem begins to resemble a nail. - Abraham Maslow;*
3) *DENIAL is NOT a RIVER in EGYPT*.

In 1), the social actions *save* and *stop* mediate the agent's conceptual meanings of *baby* and *birth*. These engage the agent's socio-ethical concern with the present temporal dimension by means of the capitalised lexeme *NOW,* conveying a strong plea for immediate social action. In 2), the social action of solving *every problem* in the same manner mediates the agent's cultural meaning of different solutions through the metaphorical value attributed to *tools*, *hammer* and *nail*. These engage the agent with the hypothetical condition *when*, which leads to the social action *begins to resemble*. In 3), the geographical concepts *river* and *Egypt* mediate the agent's sense

of humour through paronomasia, as the rhetorical means of using words similar in sound (*denial* vs. the Nile) to achieve humorous effect as social action. On the whole, the three examples show how agents embedded quotes in their sig blocks to express different individual views, thus resorting to the personal communicative function of language.

The third significant functional class employed in sig blocks was image. Here, meaning making was construed through the mediational means of ASCII art, which is based on the use of individual text characters to create black and white images as illustrated in the sample in Figure 1.

```
        \\\|///
      \\   -   //
       (   @ @ )
--oOOo--(_)-oOOo-------

-------------Oooooo-----
                (   )
     oooooo      ) /
     (    )     (_/
      \  (
       \_)
```

Figure 1. Sample ascii image in a sig block.

The sample image shows how linguistic signs were removed from their original context of use and shifted into the ASCII context where they were remediated to acquire new meaning by blending semiotic modes. These images thus completely effaced the fixity of handwritten signature, while adding creative value to the agent's personal identity. The choice of this semiotic mode clearly reflects how at its basic levels of signs, language was used for the imaginative function of communication to create, explore and entertain (Halliday 1975).

Overall, a general pattern of mediated actions was found in the content and communicative functions featuring the sig blocks, as summarised in Table 2.

Content	*Communicative Functions*
Personal name,	Interactional
Email address,	
Professional Title	Representational
Web address	Personal
Quote	
Image	Imaginative

Table 2: Pattern of Content and Communicative Functions in Sig Blocks

In other words, (re)mediation inscribed the action of sig blocks at the interactional level of discourse to carry over personal name, and even professional title from the source context. It, however, primarily shaped new meaning through the addition of email address. Personal identity was remediated at the personal level by shifting quotes to the new context, and by creating new meaning respectively through the technological affordances of web address and ASCII images, at the representational and imaginative levels of communication.

4. Sig blocks: variations across mediational means

Comparative results across emails and newsgroup posts show variations for types of functional content and frequency of the same content. Email sig blocks featured nine different types of information content, whereas these were limited to seven in newsgroup posts as shown in Table 3.

Content	*Emails* (*N*=76)	*Newsgroup Posts* (*N*=76)
1. Email address	47	76
2. Web address	9	51
3. Phone number	33	--
4. Fax number	14	--
5. Postal address	22	9
6. Personal name	76	76
7. Professional	72	12
Title	5	47
8. Quote	3	--
9. Miscellaneous	--	46
text		
10. Image		

Table 3: Variation across means

In particular, images were omitted from email sig blocks, while phone and fax numbers, and miscellaneous texts were missing in newsgroup sig blocks. The miscellaneous texts found referred to the media used (*sent from i-pad*; *sent from i-phone*), while the absence of images was justified by the affordance emails offer in attaching visual files.

Variation in the frequency of the same content resulted high for professional title (*SD* 42.4264), suggesting that its use was inappropriate in newsgroup communities, especially compared to organisational emails. Equally lower variation was recorded for quote and web address (SD 29.6985). The lower occurrence of quotes in email sig blocks suggests that replication, more than remediation, was at work since quotes are usually omitted in handwritten letters. Those found contributed to remediating green signatures (e.g. *please consider the environment before*

printing this e-mail; *think before you ink*), rather than sourcing famous, serious or humorous quotes as in the case of newsgroup sig blocks. On the other hand, variation in web address was justified by the lack of personal websites. The higher number of web addresses among newsgroup members, instead, suggests that they are more tech-savvy, and thus capable of designing their own websites. Variations in the use of email address (*SD* 20.5061) were found to depend on the constraints of the mediational means used. Email users are allowed the option of inserting their addresses in their sig blocks; newsgroup members, instead, are required to include their email addresses alongside their personal names. This also explains the total occurrence of email addresses found in the corpus posts. Moreover, the low variation found for postal address (*SD* 9.1924) may be related to the common concern about the unsafeness of providing personal data on the Internet.

Overall, results from the comparative analysis confirm that "[…] mediated action is characterized by an irreducible tension between agent and mediational means [and that] mediational means constrain, as well as enable action" (Wersch 1998: 25). Both affordances and constraints embodied in the mediational means affect the dynamic relationship between discourse and social action (Norris and Jones 2005). This is particularly true in the case of remediation, or *resemiotisatio*n, in which mediated actions "transform a cycle from one kind of action/object or discourse into another" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 170), even through apparently small changes, such as those remediated in sig blocks.

5. Conclusion

The (re)mediated action of sig blocks has been taken as the unit of analysis in the current study, drawing close attention to the

site of engagement, social agents and mediational means as the key components. By placing the social action of sig blocks at the heart of mediated discourse analysis, the study has shed light on the "discourse cycle" (Scollon and Scollon 2004) springing from the practice of handwritten signature and face-to-face identity. Results show how the historical body, the interaction order and the discourses in place contributed to shifting meaning making from the original social context. This confirms that sig blocks create new meaning through content, form, and structure (Grusin 2006). Results also revealed noticeable differences in information content across meditational means due to the technological affordances made available. In this light, sig blocks can be generated automatically through email processes of premediation, or structured to acquire new meaning in creative art forms in mixed semiotic modes, as found in newsgroup posts.

On the whole, sig blocks can be seen as mediated actions adapting handwritten signature to new practices arising in the digital era. However, these problematise the feature of personal identity which still strives to gain its own autonomy in virtual sites of engagement. Thus, rather than being fully remediated, personal identity currently "[…] calls into a play a psychodynamic that finds the new more acceptable when it recalls the old that it is in the process of displacing […]" (Hayles 1999: 17).

As this study was limited to a corpus of single, stable sig blocks, its findings are by no means conclusive. It is, in fact, important to bear in mind that social agents may decide to use multiple sig blocks in different contexts, as well as operating choices among multiple mediational means. Further investigation through more representative samples is crucial to pinpoint other sites of engagement where processes of

remediation may produce more dynamic artefacts displacing handwritten signature.

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From Travelogues to Travel blogs
Instagram as an Inter-semiotic Travel Journal in the Age of the Web 2.0

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Abstract

This paper focuses on *Instagram* as one of the newest forms of remediation of travel journals in the age of Web 2.0 and New Media. As an online photo-sharing and social networking application that enables its users to take pictures, apply digital filters and share them on a number of different social networks, as well as to *anchor* (Barthes 1977) them with short captions, *Instagram* becomes a form of intersemiotic, multimodal narration of the user's 'journey'. In their grammar of visual language, Kress and van Leeuwen point out how "depicted people, places and things combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension" (2006: 1) in the same way as words combine to form clauses, sentences and texts. In a multimodal product, such visuals can combine with other semiotic modes, thus originating statements of greater complexity. This is exactly what happens in *Instagram*, where the journey is described by means of a set of "semiotic principles [which] operate in and across different modes" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2001: 2). The term journey here refers not only to actual journeys but, by extension, also to journeys through the users' daily lives (or their states of mind) which they may want to share with other followers.

1. Introduction

An evergreen among literary genres over many a century and a generation, travel literature owes its longevity to its ability to regenerate itself over time. Born as an account of adventurous journeys of discovery to remote places, in the modern age and, in particular, in the 20th century, with writers such as V. S. Naipaul, Graham Greene and Bruce Chatwin, it has evolved into a mainly psychological or symbolic voyage, where the inner and the outer worlds collide. The style varies significantly not only between different books, but, often even within the same book: from flamboyant and poetic to comic and picaresque, evoking a tradition of exploration and casting a critical eye over the aftermath of colonization and imperialism. As Casey Blanton points out

The new travel books are not our guides to places remote; nowhere is remote anymore. They are instead metaphors of a quest for ground zero – a place where values are discovered along the way, not imported; a place where other cultures can have their say; a place where self and other can explore each other's fictions; a place that, as Ishmael warns us "is not drawn on any map" (Blanton 2002: 29).

This rationale underlying modern travel books can also be found in the view that some European masters of photography hold. This is the case with the French photographer Robert Doisneau, a pioneer of photojournalism, who saw his job as the Melvillian quest for a place that is marked on no map:

> The world I was trying to present was one where I would feel good, where people would be friendly, where I could find the tenderness I longed for. My photos were like a proof that such a world could exist (Doisneau, online)

Figure 1: "Musicien sous la pluie" (1957)

Figure 2 : "Le Baiser de l'hôtel de ville" (1950)

In these circumstances, the travel writer and the photographer alike come to share a role that is not quite of finding but rather of creating a new space, through a patchwork of still frames of the places they narrate or portray. This world, resulting from a collision of the inner and outer worlds of the authors, resonates with their symbolic and psychological truths.

2. Reading and telling images: methods of investigation of the visual text

The construction of social identities and relationships is carried out through the use of signs, which can be verbal but also non-verbal. In most Western societies, the prominence of words over images in the construction of social reality has made people more skillful at understanding verbal rather than non-verbal signs. However, non-verbal language is a powerful source of information, which is proved by the fact that many critics of contemporary culture have raised their voice against the "inexorably rising tide of imagery and its pernicious consequences", with "*homo loquens et audiens* on the verge of becoming *homo videns*"(Giuliani 2013: X).

De Mooij (2005: 136) has remarked that the distinction between a visual and a verbal communication is also a

distinction between what E.T. Hall (1976) has labelled *high-context* and *low-context* cultures. In low-context communication, information is in the words; in high-context communication, information is in the visuals, the symbols and the associations attached to them. […] In individualistic, low-context cultures, people are more oriented toward the written word, whereas in collectivistic, high-context cultures people are more visually oriented.

In their text *Reading Images: A Grammar of Visual Design* (1996; 2006), Kress and van Leeuwen have suggested a practical approach to the interpretation of images. Visuals, as much as words, have their own semantics and syntax, and, as such, they can be understood through the knowledge of their specific *grammar*. Just as grammars of language describe how words combine in clauses, sentences and texts, so our visual 'grammar' will describe the way in which depicted people, places and things combine in visual 'statements' of greater or lesser complexity and extension (2006: 1).

Images, therefore, do not only carry single meanings, but also combine to create visual texts able to convey messages of great complexity through different semiotic modes. This approach to visuals seems to overcome Lessing's dichotomy between the descriptive mode of painting and the narrative mode of poetry[1]. Unfortunately, as stated above, the interpretation of images is not as immediate as that of verbal language. As Kress & van Leeuwen (2006: 23) point out

[1] It now becomes clear that the art of the word and the art of the image not only differ in terms of their techniques but that this difference also extends to their modes of representation and their objects. Painting finds its (only possible) fulfilment in the descriptive mode. It portrays bodies coexisting in space. Since it cannot express temporal succession but only spatial juxtaposition, it is in fact unable to portray actions; it can only suggest them by representing bodies in a single moment of movement. The exact opposite applies to poetry: it operates in the narrative mode and its subjects are actions; it restricts descriptive moments to the absolute minimum and seeks possibilities of translating even this minimum into actions (Giuliani 2013: 4).

In a literate culture the visual means of communication are rational expressions of cultural meanings, amenable to rational accounts and analysis. The problem which we face is that literate cultures have systematically suppressed means of analysis of the visual forms of representation, so that there is not, at the moment, an established theoretical framework within which visual forms of representation can be discussed.

This framework is what they try to supply. Their semiotic approach draws on Halliday's Systemic Functional Linguistics, and they distinguish three *metafunctions* in the visual semiotic mode:

1) the *ideational metafunction* refers to the ability of a semiotic system to represent the experiential world through a referential system (e.g. vectors representing objects involved in a process of interaction);
2) the *interpersonal metafunction* refers to the ability of a semiotic system to represent the social relations between the producer of a sign and its receiver/reproducer. Kress and van Leeuwen (1996; 2006) make a distinction between *represented participants* (the people, places and things depicted in the images) and *interactive participants* (the people who communicate through the images). For example, the gaze of a represented participant can become a signifier of the degree of directness established between the observer and an interactive participant. Similarly, size of frame can be used as a sign of social distance, perspective of subjectivity, horizontal angle of involvement, vertical angle of power and modality of reality.
3) the *textual metafunction* refers to the ability of a semiotic system to create texts "which cohere both internally and with the context in and for which they were produced" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 43). For example, the layout of an image can tell us a lot about the communicative intentions of the producer to

the point that the arrangement of images becomes a system of information value (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; 2006).

In this study, the narrative potentiality of Kress and van Leeuwen's pictorial grammar is considered in combination with the technical resources provided by *Instagram*, a new social network for picture sharing. Semiotic modes are "shaped …by the intrinsic characteristics… of the medium" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 35) and *Instagram*, far from being a simple container, appears to provide a structural framework that interacts with the semantic and syntactic values carried by the visuals and shapes them into a hybrid genre that seems to have a lot in common with travel literature.

2. *Instagram*: a form of multimodal travel narrative

Instagram is an online service that enables its users to take, edit and share pictures and, recently, videos on a number of social networks. Created in 2010 for iPhone, iPad and iPod touch, in 2012 *Instagram* was made available for Android phone cameras as well, seeing its popularity soar dramatically. At present, *Instagram* users amount to 300 million, over 70% of which are people outside the US, with more than 30 billion pictures shared, 2.5 billion pictures liked daily and 70 million new pictures being posted every day (see figure 3)[2].

Figure 3: *Instagram* logo and brand name and statistical information

[2] Abailable at: http://instagram.com/press/, last accessed, 10th June 2015.

In order to be part of the *Instagram* community, a public or private user account is necessary, as with most social networks. A distinctive feature of *Instagram* is that pictures are *confined to a square space* and can be edited via the application of *twenty-five different digital filters*. Pictures can be accompanied by *verbal captions*, and they can be liked by other users who have access to them and can be commented on. In 2011, *hashtags (#)* were introduced to help users discover both photographs and each other.

Despite its popularity, to date, *Instagram* has received little attention in terms of scientific research, especially when compared to other similarly popular social networks, such as Twitter or Facebook. McCune (2011) has investigated people's motivations for using *Instagram*. Other scholars (Hochman and Manovich 2013; Silva et al. 2013) have applied visualisation and cultural analytics on *Instagram* photos from different cities in the world to trace their social and cultural differences. More recently, Miles (2014) has investigated the marketing potentialities of *Instagram* as the first mobile-exclusive social media site. In the field of humanities, however, it seems that no research projects have been devoted to this photo sharing system, so, to the best of my knowledge, I believe this is the first paper to conduct an analysis of *Instagram* from the perspective of human studies.

Evidently, an application like *Instagram* marks a turning point in recreational photography in terms of both creation and consumption. Features of professional and semi-professional photography, such as filters, are made available for whoever has a smartphone to edit the pictures they have taken. Moreover, the user is faced with the double decision of which subject to photograph and which portion of that subject to share with the other users in order to receive their approval. Finally, the possibility of sharing pictures in real-time turns recreational

photography from a private hobby into a public asset to increase one's symbolic capital on the social network (Bourdieu 1993)[3].

From a communicative perspective, *Instagram*, like many social networks and modern media, gives rise to a form of *hybrid textuality* falling across different semiotic modes. In fact, the textual coherence in the medium is achieved by mixing together visual and verbal elements: the subject of the picture, as well as its layout, colour and typography combine with the content of the verbal caption and the followers' comments developing a new type of writing that "breaks the age-old connection between spoken and written language", as pointed out by van Leeuwen (2010: 93).

TRAVELOGUE	**TRAVEL BLOG**
Narrator/Traveller	*User/Traveller*
Reader	*Follower*
Travel account	*Multimodal text (pictures+captions)*

Table 1: Re-mediating travelogues via *Instagram*

This hybrid text becomes a sort of travel blog that bears a marked resemblance to the typical structure of the travel book (see Table 1).

As Blanton (2002) has pointed out, if we look at a typical travel book, we can identify some recurring features: 1) a narrator-traveller; 2) a narrative organisaation that heavily draws on fiction; 3) a commitment to both literary language and a personal voice; 4) issues of moral and philosophical importance.

[3] Bourdieu (1993: 7) refers to *symbolic power* as " a degree of accumulated prestige celebrity or honour [that] is founded on a dialectic of knowledge (connaissance) and recognition (reconnaissance)".

This structure itself is not very dissimilar from that of a typical *Instagram* account.

In *Instagram*, the narrator/traveller is replaced by the user/traveller who, through the multimodal text he creates, leads his followers on an outer or inner journey described by means of images and words (Table 1), as shown in the following sections.

3. From travelogue to travel blog

3.1 From log structure to blog structure

Firstly, the log-structure of *Instagram* is evident in the design options available for the user to choose the way in which their pictures are displayed.

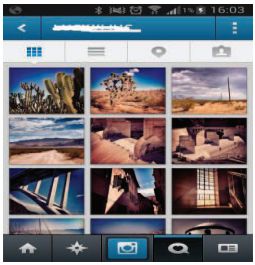

Figure 4: Grid display mode

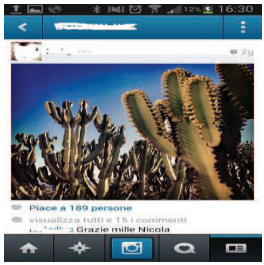

Figure 5: Stack display mode

The grid option (figure 4, top left) displays a grid of thumbnail pictures that offers an overview of the user's uploaded photographs. The stack option (figure 5, top right) displays all images, newest to oldest, in a single column stacked on top of one other. This option permits the user and the follower to view each picture in detail, including the captions and comments that accompany it.

If we think of *Instagram* in terms of a web 2.0 multimodal travel blog, the grid display mode and the stack display mode clearly call to mind the table of contents and the chapters of a

travel book respectively. A non-written rule of *Instagram* which is, nonetheless, very well-known to any of its users, seems to be the fact that each picture should be quintessential, have its own leitmotiv and succeed in seizing the moment within the limited space defined by the square layout. In fact, unlike other social networks where pictures can be uploaded in bundle (e.g. Facebook) and some of them can be redundant or function as fillers, on *Instagram* every single picture has its specific significance in the world of the user's blog, just as every single chapter of a book contributes to convey its author's poetics.

3.2 Narrative organization

Like most literary genres, travel books feature the Aristotelian tripartition into *introduction, set up* and *resolution* (Blau and Burak 2009: 190; Morley and Nielsen 2012: 47).
A similar narrative organization is found in *Instagram* profiles.

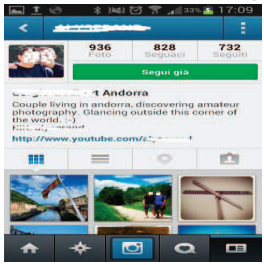

Figure 6: example of Instagram's introduction section

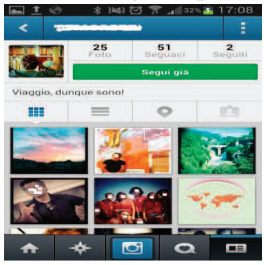

Figure 7: example of Instagram's introduction section

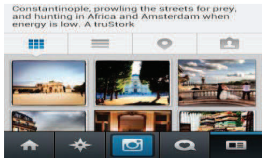

Figure 8: example of Instagram's introduction section

Figure 9: example of Instagram's introduction section

Instagram's *introductory sections* serve the function of informing the potential followers about the nature of the journeys they are going to embark on by following certain users.

In some cases, they are real journeys. Furthermore, whether they are all around the world or just confined to specific geographical areas, they occupy an important part in the lives of those who choose to share them. For example, the user in figure 7, re- adapts Descartes' famous maxim *Cogito ergo sum* ("I think, therefore I am) into *Viaggio, dunque sono* ("I travel, therefore I am"*),* thus postulating travelling as the very proof of being. Again, the adventurous self-introduction of the user in figure 8, who describes himself as "A lone Dutch wolf in what used to be Constantinople, prowling the streets for prey and hunting in Africa and Amsterdam when energy is low", appears reminiscent of Captain Slocum's words in *Sailing Alone Around the World*:

I had already found that it was not good to be alone, and so made companionship with what there was around me, sometimes with the universe and sometimes with my own insignificant self; but my books were always my friends, let fail all else (2006: 145)

Other times, the journeys described are symbolic, through the life, hobbies, or dreams of the users: this is the case with the two Andorran users in picture 6 (top left) who describe their journey through photography as "glancing outside this corner of the world" and the user in figure 9 (bottom right) who briefly details her education and her passion for cooking, baking and tango.

Normally, such introductions are verbal, but there are also cases in which hyperlinks are used to redirect the followers to personal web pages (see figures 6 and 9, where the users provide links to their personal web sites). This computer-based hypertextuality, which disrupts the linearity of the multimodal

text, emerges as what Chandler (2007: 135) describes as *reflexivity,* a form of marked intertextuality in which the author makes a conscious, overt use of references to external resources and which falls within Genette's notion of *transtextuality* (1997).

Figure 10: set up of an Instagram page

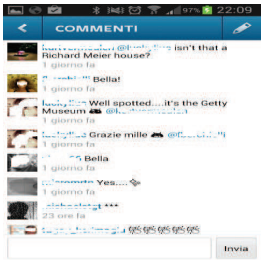

Figure 11: set up of an Instagram page

The *setup*, the bulk of an *Instagram* story, features an *intersemiotic textuality* arising from the combination of the different modes made available by the medium. The beginning is always a picture (figure 10, top left), which may or may not be accompanied by a caption or a tag, but is always followed by a number of likes and comments by the followers (figure 11, top right). It is interesting to notice how this verbal environment is exquisitely multilingual, with comments posted in a number of different languages and including an extensive number of logograms and pictograms.

The elements of novelty with respect to the travel book in the *Instagram* setup are numerous. Firstly, the asynchrony between the process of travelling/writing and that of reading is surpassed in that the follower can comment on the pictures posted by the user in real time. As a consequence, the user receives immediate feedback on his/her pictures and on the impact they have on his/her symbolic capital, and can manipulate the 'plot' accordingly. The result is that a new form of *heteroglossia* (Androutsopoulos 2011), which I have labelled *interlaced*, arises from this exchange: the voice of the user and of his pictures

mixes with those of the followers who intervene in the plot in a way unknown to the travel book, and computer mediated discourse becomes a site of "tension and contrast between linguistic resources, social identities and ideologies" (2011: 283).

It is evident that an *Instagram* blog, unlike a travel novel, has virtually no ending: there can be long pauses in the narration, but then the journey starts again and goes on and on. In a way, Whitman's notion of "perpetual journey" is realised through it, with the journey coming to coincide with the life of the users themselves, and, as symbol of going from-toward, with the history of everyone.

3.3 The rendition of personal voice in *Instagram* blogs

We said above that, in a typical travel book, the writer's commitment to the distinctive literary language of the genre is interspersed with his or her personal voice. This is usually achieved by an idiotypical usage of syntax, dictation, punctuation, character development, dialogue and so forth.

In the multimodal environment of *Instagram,* a similar effect can be obtained verbally but also, and above all, semiotically, via the choice of a specific subject and the use of filters. In total, an *Instagram* user has *25 different filters* to choose from to alter the appearance of the pictures and to modulate their authorial voice.

In Figures we can see examples of full saturation and full desaturation by means of filters in *Instagram*:

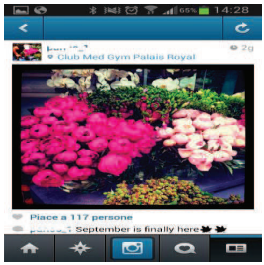

Figure 12: full saturation

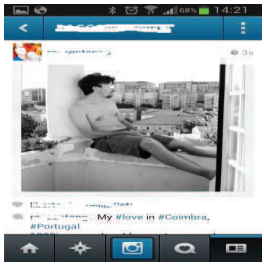

Figure 13: full desaturation

Colour is paramount in Kress and van Leeuwen's (2006) grammar of images. C*olour saturation,* in particular, refers to "the scale from the most intensely saturated or 'pure' manifestations of a colour to its softest, most 'pale' or 'pastel' or dull and dark manifestations, and, ultimately, to complete desaturation, to black and white" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006: 233). Like the author's personal voice in verbal texts, colour saturation in visuals is a signifier of 'emotive temperatures' as Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 233) claim:

Its key affordance lies in its ability to express emotive 'temperatures', kinds of affect. It is the scale that runs from maximum intensity of feeling to maximally subdued, maximally toned-down, indeed neutralized feeling. In context this allows many different more precise and strongly value-laden meanings. High saturation may be positive, exuberant, adventurous, but also vulgar or garish. Low saturation may be subtle and tender, but also cold and repressed, or brooding and moody.

Using *colour as a mode*, *Instagram* users can make their personal voices heard by saturating or de-saturating the hue of their pictures. For example, in figure 12 (left), the highly-saturated flowers become a signifier of the positive exuberant feelings of the authors towards the incipient September, an interpretation that is corroborated by the caption "September has finally come". By contrast, in picture 14 (right), the black-and-white filter lowers the naturalistic modality of the picture in

favour of its sensory one (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006), conveying a sense of the nostalgic tenderness confirmed by the author's caption "my love in Coimbra"[4].

Figures 14 and 15 show examples of use of camera techniques in Instagram:

Figure 14: camera technique

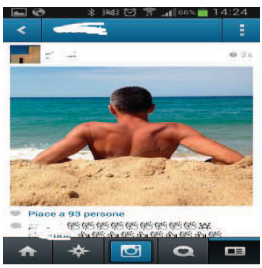

Figure 15: camera technique

Instagram users can choose to narrate their journeys in the third-person, but they can also step into their own narrations in the first-person as physical presences, by means of a self-portrait. Furthermore, they can use a number of non-verbal cues to decide the extent to which to make this presence felt. In figures 14 and 15, for example, no verbal language is used, and the users' addresses are semiotically defined by means of colour saturation and different camera techniques.

In figure 14, we have a sample of the use of gaze as a way to establish a relationship of a certain type between the participant and the viewer, namely, in this case, between the user and his followers. As Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 118) point out, the

[4] In Kress and van Leeuwen (2006: 160-166), colour saturation also stands out as a modality marker. On a scale running from full colour saturation to black and white, colour saturation becomes a marker of higher or lower modality, depending on the type of coding orientation used to code and decode the visual. Generally speaking, colour semiosis plays a strategic role in Kress and van Leeuwen grammar, also intervening in textual cohesion (e.g. colour coordination 2006: 230) and textual style (e.g. colour differentiation 2006: 236).

participant's gaze (and the gesture, if present) demands something from the viewer, demands that the viewer enter into some kind of imaginary relation with him or her. Exactly what kind of relation is then signified by other means, for instance by the facial expression of the represented participants. They may smile, in which case the viewer is asked to enter into a relation of social affinity with them; they may stare at the viewer with cold disdain, in which case the viewer is asked to relate to them, perhaps, as an inferior relates to a superior; they may seductively pout at the viewer, in which case the viewer is asked to desire them. The same applies to gestures. A hand can point at the viewer, in a visual 'Hey, you there, I mean you', or invite the viewer to come closer, or hold the viewer at bay with a defensive gesture, as if to say, 'Stay away from me'. In each case the image wants something from the viewers – wants them to do something (come closer, stay at a distance) or to form a pseudo-social bond of a particular kind with the represented participant. And in doing this, images define to some extent who the viewer is (e.g. male, inferior to the represented participant, etc.), and in that way exclude other viewers.

In this case, the direct approach of the gaze is offset by the total desaturation of the picture from a perspective of naturalistic modality or reinforced from a perspective of sensory modality (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006).

Similarly, in figure 16, the back given to the follower might indicate an indirect detached approach or the will to look together in the same direction

> Equally complex and ambivalent is the back view. […] On the one hand, it shows [someone] turning their back on you [] But to expose one's back to someone is also to make oneself vulnerable, and this implies a measure of trust, despite the abandonment that the gesture also signifies. (Kress and Van Leeuwen 2006: 138).

It is clear that, especially in the absence of verbal language, *polysemy* is inherent in a medium like *Instagram*.

3.4 Hashtagging

Themes or *thematic concerns* are issues or concept covered, more or less explicitly, by any work of literature.

Figure 16: hashtagging

Figure 17: hashtagging

In *Instagram* travel blogs, the highlighting of important issues is achieved by means of *hashtagging*. Hashtagging pictures consists of adding to the caption section a keyword – called a *tag* - preceded by a hash sign (#). Originally introduced by *Twitter*, which in 2009 started hyperlinking all its tweets, hashtagging has gradually become a common feature of most social networks.

Hashtagging serves a number of purposes. Firstly, it permits users to label their pictures and highlight their overarching themes. Secondly, it becomes a way for them to be found by followers looking up a specific tag (see figures 16-17). Finally, it allows them to become part of a community of users who have published pictures on the same issue.

It is clear that, with a view to self-marketing, hashtagging becomes a key factor for users to expand their group of followers and make their work known in each and every corner of the world. By enabling a user to join a picture sharing

community that has virtually no boundaries, hashtagging arguably plays a crucial role similar to that which movable type played in the global spread of the printing press.

4. Conclusions

This paper investigated *Instagram* travel blogs as a form of intersemiotic remediation of travel books. Starting from a structural similarity between the genre of travelogue and the new genre travel blog shaped by the picture sharing application, it has shown how social semiotics (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006) can provide narrative resources at the visual level that bear a striking resemblance to the devices used by a narrator at the verbal level. Users and followers replace writers and readers and embark together on a real or symbolic journey that draws on a number of multimodal resources. The result is a new, hybrid text that lends itself to polysemy and whose creation is not confined to the users alone, but is also open to contributions from their followers.

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Remediating linguistic identities and conflicts in *The Battle of Green Lanes* by Cosh Omar

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> I regard the theatre as the greatest of all art forms, the most immediate way in which a human being can share with another the sense of what it is to be a human being (Oscar Wilde)

Abstract

This chapter sets out to investigate the multiple linguistic representations of identity in Cosh Omar's debut play *The Battle of Green Lanes* (2004), in which various characters of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin engage in complex and often clashing performances of cultural 'remediation', split between uncertainty of belonging, cultural displacement and religious fundamentalism. Since plays may re-mediate narrative structures akin to those operating in prose fiction with an 'egocentric' standpoint, i.e. the central 'I/eye' of the character in the text (McIntyre 2006), they can be regarded as a semiotic vehicle for staging and remaking the signs of identity. In this perspective, by adopting an interdisciplinary approach (Black 2006; Bowles 2010; Fludernik 2009; McIntyre 2006; Gavins 2007; Yule 1996), my analysis will focus on character-to-character communication and explore the pragmatic and stylistic resources of dramatic discourse, as well as on non-dialogue aspects (e.g. stage directions and characters' descriptions) that the author cunningly employs to depict the anxieties of a composite and fragmented community.

1. Introduction

What kind of tension does the world of drama express in its components of text and performance? How do authors (re)mediate and elaborate on hybrid identities and textuality? And how does the language of theatre interweave different cultural discourses? These are some of the questions that the present paper sets out to answer by providing an interdisciplinary analysis of *The Battle of Green Lanes* (2004), a debut play by Cosh Omar, a London-based screenwriter and actor of Turkish-Cypriot origin. The drama depicts the anxieties and frictions of the Cypriot community in London, split between its Turkish and Greek members, who have to face an array of situations and challenges, involving their sense of belonging, the heritage of their mother country, the cultural and religious lore they bear and the coexistence of western secularism and Muslim values.

In order to tackle the linguistic characteristics of drama, a multimodal genre that combines performance and text, I will draw on and integrate different stylistic and narratological approaches (Black 2006; Bowles 2010; Fludernik 2009; McIntyre 2006; Gavins 2007). My aim is to look at the idea of remediation, and manipulation, namely how, on the one hand, the author can blend different genres, e.g. autobiographical accounts interpolated into literary texts, and, on the other, how the representation of identity is linguistically realised in its 'fluid', changing nature. I shall focus on the sense of remediation of identity for characters, as well as make reference to the intertextual echoes and genre transitions that link Omar's drama and essays.

Theatre relies on constructed quality, i.e. language creatively used by the writer, and thus distances itself from the use of real-

life language, but nonetheless there are some shared communicative features and schemes, for example in the construction of narratives, in the conversational interactions or in the cognitive process of encoding and understanding reality (McIntyre 2006; Gavins 2007; Fludernik 2009; Bowles 2010). Therefore, it mirrors inner processes of meaning-making and identity manifestations, which undergo various degrees of remediation, i.e. acts of textual transformation and linguistic hybridisation.

2. Remediation in dramatic discourse: *The Battle of Green Lanes*

In this paper I take the notion of remediation to refer to a process by which language and discourse are transformed and refashioned in new forms, operating on different linguistic, cultural and psychological levels. Remediation functions via language, that is, the system through which we cognitively interpret and construct our understanding of reality, and at the same time the sense of self we perceive and project onto other people. Therefore, it can relate to both the elaboration of text-types, for example, in the case of Cosh Omar, how biographical elements like knowledge, memories, hopes and fears underlie a fictional text, but it can also be seen as a driving force for the representation and 'metamorphosis' of identity for the characters of the play, for instance how characters respond to particular situations and show their participation to or foreclosure of domains such as belonging or religious belief. In other words, the mechanics of remediation aim to 'do identity' in textual, pragmatic and ethnomethodological terms (Bowles 2010: 33) by creating stories and using language in fictional (and non-fictional) worlds. Consequently, they show that language choices not only express feelings and viewpoints, but are also

instrumental in the making of fictional characters, and by extension of actual speakers in the real world (Joseph 2010).

In this light, the world of drama is particularly outstanding, since it represents a form of (re)mediation *par excellence*, as it refers to and embraces two different channels, namely the acting of roles and characters, which is a unique event and relates to one particular performance located in time and space with all its distinctive features, and the organisation of the plot in a textual, i.e. 'material' format, which in turn affects narrative constructions and techniques. These representational modalities, of course, are differently perceived by spectators and readers, who have to infer and construct different meanings according to the features of the two communicative media, although there are interconnections (Elam 2002; Bowles 2010).

Here I will consider the play-text, i.e. the published version of the script, whose analysis allows us to gain insights into the language devices crafted by the author and the effects meant to take place by looking at empirical linguistic evidence rather than at any recorded single performance, bearing in mind that plays can include structures akin to those operating in prose fiction, such as storytelling constructions and interactional exchanges (Bowles 2010).

Some background information about the play is necessary before approaching the script. Written by Cosh Omar[1], *The Battle of Green Lanes* was first performed on 15 October 2004 under the direction of Kerry Michael at the Theatre Royal Stratford East, a London playhouse known for its political and social commitment and its links to the local community. It is

[1] Cosh Omar was trained at the Academy of Recorded and Live Arts (ARLA) and his credits include work for theatre (such as *The Comedy of Errors*, *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, *Macbeth*, *Baghdad Wedding*, and *Rosencrantz & Guildenstern Are Dead*), TV/cinema (e.g. *Gulliver's Travels*, *The Bill*, *Murder Prevention*, *Spooks*, *EastEnders*) and radio (*A Million Different People*). His second play, *The Great Extension*, dealing with multicultural and ethnic issues, was first performed at the Theatre Royal Stratford East on 16th October 2009 and published the same year.

worth noticing that the author and the director are respectively of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin, thus providing intersecting and complementary viewpoints in the whole project. The screenplay was published the same year by Oberon Books, also featuring an interview with both the director and the writer and some bio-information about the creative team and the cast.

This dramatic work is articulated into a double narrative structure concerning both micro urban stories and the theme of Islamic fundamentalism. Thus, on the one hand it deals with the members of the two branches of the Cypriot community in the English capital, i.e. the Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot people, while on the other, it intertwines issues of religious fundamentalism, mainly through the protagonist Erol, who in his generational confusion gradually leaves his gang and approaches radical Muslim groups. In reality, as Cosh Omar affirms (Omar 2004: 6), the main storyline of *The Battle of Green Lanes* was written during the 1990s and elaborates on various real-life narratives and episodes (thus semi-autobiographical), as suggested by the author's non-fictional writings and memoirs (Omar 2007; Omar 2010).

My starting point in tackling the sense of remediation in the textual construction and characters' transitions lies in the egocentric nature of narrative communication, whose 'I/eye' deictically designs how a story gets told and organised, and consequently contributes to the processes of identity manifestation. Writers and (autodiegetic) narrators are active participants in discourse and text worlds (Gavins 2007) and determine the structuring and contouring of the perspective, therefore providing a point of subjectivity known in cognitive psychology as the *origo*, which brings to the fore the articulated centrality of the viewpoint for writers, characters, and actors as well, with a plethora of different devices at work.

However, in reading a script (or seeing a performance at the theatre) we experience a deictic shift triggered by various involvement strategies, which corresponds to a suspension of the egocentric vision and assumption of another perspective, because "as we read fiction, our immediate context is not being monitored […], and our deictic field becomes unbound from that context and is instead bound into a new context – that of the fictional world" (McIntyre 2006: 114). Such an act can also be regarded as a type of cognitive remediation, in which we mentally build up space and time with the aid of "a range of deictic terms which express our embodied conceptual system and enable us to communicate our experience of the world to others" (Gavins 2007: 36). Consequently, the "egocentric nature of language" (McIntyre 2006: 114) is thus decentred and introspected by the narrating character in the story/play, often labelled in narratological terms as "focaliser" (Fludernik 2009: 36-9; Gavins 2007: 127-31), who in turn will hold a new, self-centred position and semiotically work for the representation (and remaking) of identity. One of the main themes of the text, indeed, concerns the protagonist's attempt to come to terms with a variety of contexts and agencies, including the condition of diasporic life, the pressure of modernity and the ambiguous attraction of religious fundamentalism.

3. Rescripting stories and conflicts

The play is characterised by narrative complexity, but it is possible to single out four macro-thematic areas (belonging, religion, racism, partition) which constitute its textual backbone. In reality, however, these are crosscutting, almost coterminous and mutually dependent issues that cumulatively make up a complex discourse world, and are also embedded in and evoked by Omar's non-fiction: as a matter of fact, his essays "Son of a

Hoca" (2007) and "Rebel with a cause: A personal journey from Sufism to Islamism and beyond" (2010) crucially introduce a series of cultural discourses and personal narrations that the author extensively employs and intertwines in his dramatic works.

This sense of interconnectedness and intertextuality governs the drama's architecture, in its performative aspects too, since, as Elam (2002: 29) holds, "the production of meaning on stage is too rich and fluid to be accounted for in terms of discrete objects and their representational roles". In the play these elements are treated in character-to-character communication and interaction through a range of linguistic strategies, including techniques such as intensifying slang, the use of code-switching (mainly Turkish words and phrases), idiolectic and heteroglossic forms. Stage directions too, in both their descriptive and evocative styles, sustain the development of "big and small stories" (see Bowles 2010) and generate particular dramatic effects. These themes form the conversational contexts of a plethora of characters engaged in interrogating and performing the situation of migrant communities, split in conflicting groups such as Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots in London.

I will now look at the mechanisms through which (re)mediation takes place, with reference to the four contexts mentioned above. The central idea concerns the sense of different transformation(s) that all characters in varying measure experience: for example, Remzi and Engin Eniste, first-generation migrants from Cyprus, still nurture a hope of returning to their homeland, whilst second-generation characters such as Erol, Tom, and Babs have to negotiate their social and cultural positioning in England, as well as consider their own conflicting background, being of Turkish-Cypriot and Greek-Cypriot origin.

I will take into account different characters, though mainly focusing on the protagonist, as he embodies a series of issues: Erol, indeed, has to come to terms with his ethnic background and his relations with Greek friends and with local racism, and especially his secular attitude and the seducing power of fundamentalism. The very first element to notice regards the connotations of the name Erol, a Turkish word which refers to 'a soldier, or a man, or one in a group, but also a hero, or a male', and therefore carries symbolic values and references. Symbolism is often a slippery and nebulous area in text reception and narratology, as it relies on the reader's knowledge and interpretative skills. Inner meanings may be obscure or opaque, but, because "many symbols seem to be rooted in a metonymic principle" (Black 2006: 135), onomastic echoes[2] may contribute to outlining a character, whose description is also mediated by descriptive stage directions:

> EROL is about 5' 7" and has a good athletic physique. He is dressed up in a mixture of bright retro and modern clothing and is ready to go out. He has a short French-crop for a hair-style and has a well trimmed billy goat beard. Both hair and beard are very dark. He is quite a good looking young man, with a slight rough edge. EROL is a Turkish-Cypriot. (Omar 2004: 34)

Yet the actual representation of Erol is mirrored in his language use, in character-level communication, especially in his use of devices known in pragmatics as negative and positive faces, i.e. those mechanisms that respectively mark differences and strengthen bonds between speakers through an array of solidarity or deference strategies (Yule 1996). When Erol starts showing interest in the Islamic world, he is approached by Kysar, a

[2] Other forms of onomastic symbolism can be found in the anthroponyms Remzi (from the Arabic root meaning 'gesture' and also 'sign'), Cos (from the Turkish 'ebullient'), and Engin Eniste (the former being a polysemous term for 'open, vast, white, boundless, the high sea, the open' and the latter an address form for family relations, specifically referring to the husband of a sister or of an aunt).

preacher whose persuasive style subtly questions and affects the protagonist's beliefs and vision, as in the following exchange, which takes place in Remzi's café:

KYSAR: What do you expect?... They are kafir
EROL: You always call them that
KYSAR: That's because they are non-Muslim… men that deny Islam… They conceal what is inherent in their nature and in their soul… such people cannot be trusted
EROL: But I told you my best friend is a non-Muslim
KYSAR: You only think he's your best friend… You have to start coming to our circles at the Mosque… that's where your real friends are (Omar 2004: 73)

In this short extract a series of strategies are at work, including the use of evaluative language (*kafir*, a denigrating Arabic word for 'unbeliever' or 'infidel'), spatial shifts with place deixis (the Mosque), modality ('cannot be trusted', 'have to start coming'), parallelism (with the constructed opposition between 'non-Muslim' and 'real friends') and their increasing effects reveal persuasive language based on the idea of antonymy. The first line of the passage above shows Kysar's manipulative style in the form of implicature: by using a word like *kafir* and the verb 'expect' the character creates categories of difference and counts on "the ability to use assumption and implication to make ideologies appear to be common sense" (Jeffries 2010a: 93). Moreover, the excerpt is grounded upon the ideological effect triggered by other textual practices such as nominalisation and implying (Jeffries 2010a), which Kysar utilises to construct and condemn a different worldview. The repetitive use of personal deictics ('they') is sometimes rendered via nouns that are purposefully modified: the word 'men', for example, is followed by a loaded defining relative clause 'that deny Islam', whilst 'people' is preceded by an anaphoric 'such', thus suggesting negative implications. In a similar vein, Erol's statement 'my

best friend' is toned down by the other man through the use of *verba sentiendi*, i.e. a mental cognition verb further emphasised by an adverb: 'you only think'.

In a broader perspective, this oppositional 'we-against-them' paradigm centres on the idea of power (filtered via the linguistic medium) and constitutes a cultural force that contributes towards the definition of one's identity in opposition to or to the detriment of that of others (Eco 2011: 10). In the play, this theory of opposition aims at facilitating identity remediation for Erol, who gradually moves from his secular conviction to a more ambiguous position. The inspiration for this narrative line stems from Omar's non-fictional accounts about his approach to both secularism and religion, considering the fact that not only was his father a *hoca* (a Muslim priest or teacher), but that he himself was in touch with various religious groups, both moderate and radical ones (Omar 2007; Omar 2010).

On closer inspection, the extract above evokes the pragmatic value of 'doing things through storytelling', inasmuch as gaining the conversational floor means the freedom to speak and utter a message often with perlocutionary force, i.e. with a specific goal in mind (Yule 1996). In this case, Kysar's scheming speech-way is mesmerising[3] and further reinforced by his description in the stage directions:

> KYSAR is quite young. He is of Asian origin and is quite good looking. He has a well trimmed short beard and altogether he looks very street-wise. He is quite a confident young man, but not arrogant by any means. He has a pleasant voice and this usually makes people want to listen to him. (Omar 2004: 73)

Kysar's rhetoric strategies weaken Erol's position, eventually even impinging on the sphere of identity of the latter, since,

[3] To a certain extent, Kysar's deft rhetorical skills are similar to the persuasive style employed by the protagonist of Mohsin Hamid's *The Reluctant Fundamentalist* (2007). For an analysis of the stylistic and pragmatic features of the novel, see Adami (2010).

according to Bowles (2010: 169), "speakers' positioning in relation to power structures can determine their freedom to construct identities for themselves and others in storytelling". The patronising argument of Kysar appears in various other parts of the play and aims at changing and affecting the boy's attitude and personality by simultaneously emphasising uncertainties and doubts and offering reassuring future prospects. It is an example of a solidarity strategy, which exploits the individuals' natural tendency to belong to a social or cultural group.

4. Remaking text worlds

I will now deal with other linguistic techniques and textual constructions that underpin processes of identity remediation and build up text worlds. Initially, Erol's speech-way is hesitant and insecure, also realised by forms of hedging, namely those means that moderate the strength of direct and straightforward utterances. An example can be found when Kysar invites the boy to attend the mosque regularly and the latter vaguely replies: "Look… I don't know… let's stick to these little meetings" (Omar 2004: 76). However, Erol's language and intention clash with the reactions towards Islamic conversion shown by both his friend Tom and his father Remzi, who warn him about the threat of blind fundamentalism. Their caution is textually substantiated and expresses their point of view:

TOM: That's all it is, man… it's like belonging to a gang, kids' stuff… all over again (Omar 2004: 107)

REMZI: He's gone bloody mad… He's not my son anymore… All he does is sit around and read those bloody books… No talk of girls anymore… No late nights… He's gone bloody mad… Orosbu çocugu (Omar 2004: 110)

Indeed, the two brief quotations are punctuated by devices such as markers of closeness ('man'), figurative language ('kids' stuff'), negative repetition ('not/no'), colloquial intensifiers ('bloody') impoliteness (in particular through the code-switching insertion of swearing expressions from Turkish: 'orosbu çocugu')[4], but they do not manage to convince Erol to reconsider his changes and behaviour. For him, these are face-threatening acts (Yule 1996), as they undermine his 'new' sense of being and freedom. Actually, some of these devices are recurring, and the author uses them to generate particular effects to be associated with different characters. Impoliteness strategies (Culpeper 2011) can be considered as resources of socio-emotional expression, and here they provide details of metropolitan subcultures of bullies and gangs, in particular with regard to the jargon used by Erol, Tom, and Cos. The recourse to code-switching instead has a double function, since, on the one hand, it "may contribute to characterisation, as well as situating characters sociolinguistically" (Black 2006: 90), whilst on the other it textually and performatively operates as a challenge to the reader/spectator, who must infer meanings and allusions from the characters' speech.

The entire play is dominated by a sense of conflict, cued from the very title with the term 'battle', appearing in various forms, and it should be noted that this refers to a variety of contexts and situations, ranging from denotational meanings (e.g. fights and riots between urban gangs and racist groups) to figurative extensions (with the conceptual metaphor LIFE AS A BATTLE)[5]. It revives memories of the colonial period of Cyprus (which obtained independence from Britain in 1960) and it now fuels ethnic intolerance and loaded ideologies, but it also exacerbates

[4] The Turkish expression 'orosbu çocugu' represents a strong taboo interjection (literally meaning 'son of a bitch').

[5] As Joseph (2010) demonstrates, similarly the word 'war' can achieve extensive connotations, especially in relation to identity.

the stark contrast between Turkish Cypriots and Greek Cypriots, for instance when Engin Eniste addresses Erol by pointing out ideological and nationalistic convictions: "you are a Turk… you cannot trust them… these Greeks… And remember… if you have a fight tonight … you cannot lose… you are a Turk!" (Omar 2004: 36). The structural characteristic of having binary oppositions, foregrounded by an assortment of linguistic techniques such as parallelism, lexical amplifiers, and formulaicity, can be found in many typologies of narratives and genres (Jeffries 2010b), including dramatic texts and fiction.

The opposition between the self and the other, in narratological terms, is reconstructed through the distinctive connotations of the characters' perspective because "it is narrators who create the meaning of their narratives by mediating reported experiences through a personal point of view" (Bowles 2010: 17). This aspect is particularly salient in the theatrical context given the central position of the characters/actors, whose linguistic resources and views are the building blocks that spectators and readers employ to mentally create and experience their text worlds (Gavins 2007). This type of discourse processing includes not only the comprehension of macro frameworks, e.g. the urban context of multicultural London, the ethnic and cultural dimension of diasporic groups, the dynamics of secular and fundamentalist youth, but also the micro scale concerning the representations, negotiations and developments that piece together actions and stories of characters *per se*. As a matter of fact, for Elam (2002: 130), "dramatic discourse is egocentric: the speaking subject defines everything (including the you-addressee) in terms of his own place in the dramatic world". Readers and audience thus have to navigate a tight network of discourses and stories triggered by various linguistic tools, which in the case of *The Battle of Green Lanes* relate to and intersect a wealth of themes.

As mentioned above, another resource that the author can employ for the construction of the plot and its articulation of possible textual worlds lies in non-dialogue aspects, i.e. stage directions or notes that describe and detail the presentation, the setting and the characters' action. These are crucial elements in play-texts because, if on the one hand they support the director's reading of the work, on the other they throw light on the double nature of the genre, with the narrow discrepancy between telling and showing, and two possible renditions in terms of textuality and performance.

Indeed, the categories of mimesis (narrative description) and diegesis (direct imitation) are here useful, as they operate differently in the respective cases of reading and performing the play: in the first case emphasis will be placed upon those structural elements that help the reader elaborate on text and meaning construction, whereas in the case of performance such elements may not be highlighted, as they belong to the stage organisation. As a consequence, the two aspects tend to overlap, so that there is an illusion of mimesis via diegesis (Elam 2002: 101; McIntyre 2006: 60). In Omar's play stage directions are employed to portray physical and behavioural features of characters, for example with the description of Erol mentioned above, but they also serve as deictic indicators of place, for example specifying the location of the scene (Remzi's café), and time ("lights go down, […] lights come back up", Omar 2004: 110).

Furthermore, I argue that from the author's view, stage directions can also convey an indexical value in representing the characters' identity status. Indexicality, a notion referring to "the way in which linguistic forms are used to construct identity positions" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 21), occurs in various parts of the play, for instance towards the end when Erol is described "in Muslim attire. He has a pair of headphones on and is reciting

to a self learning tape from a book in his hand" (Omar 2004: 110). In his effort to memorise passages in Arabic, indeed, the boy establishes a semiotic connection between his appearance and various prototypical attributes and ideals, thus endorsing an ideological bond. With his transformation from a secular position to an intense (or at least ambiguous) religious interest, which culminates in the ending of the play, we come full circle to the notion of identity and its remediations.

5. Remediating Identities and Texts

From the perspective of social cognition and social psychology, identity is a complex, stratified notion encompassing a whole network of attitudes, beliefs, and behaviours, which constitute one's perception of the self, or in other words a self schema. It pivots on the projection of the self's placing and development, thus revealing an idea of plural selves rather than a monolithic concept, which also includes the possible selves we would like to become, the ones we feel we should be and even the ones that we imagine other people should think we are. These manifestations of the self emerge in the interstices of the language of drama too, whose complexity shifts between the voice of the character and the performance of the actor. The act of narrating, which underlies different storytelling formats and dramatic structures as well, becomes an instance of social semiotics, articulated from the standpoint of the 'eye/I' of the character, showing in various degrees the shapes of identity.

According to Bowles (2010: 199), in narratological terms identities are "the result of self-positioning – a performance or set of performances – and although narrators feel that they possess a coherent and unified self, this unity can best be understood through analysis of the interplay of multiple stances and performances which are fluid, often contradictory, and

discursively constructed". This position is demonstrated by the character of Erol, who linguistically displays a variety of identities such as the urban youth, the secular westernised, the timid religious supporter and then the confident preacher, as he undergoes different phases of change and remediation.

The theoretical orientation illustrated above is shared by interdisciplinary research exploring identity in language, which now tends to concentrate on "the analytical value of approaching identity as a relational and socio-cultural phenomenon that emerges and circulates in local discourse contexts of interaction" (Bucholtz and Hall 2010: 18). The system of drama, with its interactional component that engages characters but also actors performing onstage, thus advocating a kinetic modality (the actors' idiosyncratic gesture, performance and use of voice), can be regarded as a site of representation of identity mirroring reality and proposing alternative views, particularly in dialogue parts, in which characters have to compete for the floor, to impose their viewpoints and voices, in order to create and negotiate meanings.

It is probably an obvious consideration, but one worth stressing once again: language is the first mediator that we use to communicate with others and to express (or camouflage) our inner selves, and by activating involvement strategies and rhetorical resources, we interact with others and participate in community exchanges. In his discussion of the transformation of language for post-colonial authors, for example, Bill Ashcroft (2009: 96) highlights the fact that it is within and across textual interstices that language is ultimately re-translated and transformed so as to accommodate new identity manifestations: "more than any other aspect of social life, language, in its various modes, participates in the constant struggle to define some version of the 'self' over and against some 'other'". This assertion holds true for both Cosh Omar's non-fiction and

drama, especially if we consider his diasporic background and experience, and his quest for meanings in different contexts and situations.

As I pointed out in the introduction, of course the language of drama is, to a certain extent, artificial since it is created by the author and therefore pertains to literary discourse rather than being drawn *verbatim* from non-fictional sources (Fludernik 2009). In Omar's play, for example, the use of phatic fillers or interjections, such as "hade be", in the form of code-switching from Turkish (meaning "I say") frequently uttered by Remzi, probably reveals the narrative quality of the text rather than providing an accurate linguistic representation. However, recent research in various linguistic and stylistic fields has questioned and recast the rigid boundary between fiction and non-fiction (amongst others: Black 2006, Fludernik 2009, Jeffries 2010a) by studying different dimensions, adaptations and transformations of language use. Thus the idea itself of code-switching that blends different languages into speech can be regarded as a defining function because it refers to the features of interaction engaging specific groups and individuals. Indeed, as Black (2006: 63) affirms, "the moment we open our mouth we situate ourselves sociolinguistically: our lexis, our pronunciation and the syntactic choices we make allow our interlocutor(s) to make inferences about our education, our geographical and social origins". This trait is thus exploited by the author to represent a member of a diasporic community and add characterising details, which depict a particular type of personality and identity, or contrast with the speech of other characters.

The linguistic resources that first- and second-generation characters choose evoke different kinds of emotional attitudes and cultural references, with the former still firmly tied to roots and traditions (Remzi and Engin Eniste plan to return to Cyprus as an idealised homeland), as shown by the recourse to

vernacular expressions, and the latter trying to negotiate new forms of identity and belonging, for instance via urban slang and lingo (Erol, Tom and Babs are all exponents in various degrees of a certain 'laddish' metropolitan culture).

6. Conclusions

I started this contribution with some important questions about the nature of dramatic discourse and the remediation of hybrid identities and texts and I adopted an interdisciplinary approach to make a preliminary investigation of the sense of remediation in Cosh Omar's *The Battle of Green Lanes*. As I suggested, remediation is a key concept that can be seen not only as a process of rewriting, rescripting and adapting textuality, for example when the same themes are structured differently according to specific genre conventions and idiosyncratic creations, as with stage directions or turn-takings for dramatic writing and first-person narration in autobiographical texts, but also in terms of characters' evolution and behaviour, namely how they express and 'remediate' their own sense of identity and perspective through various language resources.

Omar's characters, in varying degrees, anchor their speech and style in the modalities of heteroglossia, a Bakhtinian term which encompasses "the combination of registers, sociolects, idiolects, professional jargons (or technical language), parody, genre (in both the linguistic and literary senses); the distinctive language of different generations and diachronic changes in language" (Black 2006: 93). Although this notion appears to be a kind of umbrella term for a range of varieties, categories and characteristics, in a nutshell it frames the multiple manifestations of language use and diversity, especially in character-to-character communication, which in turn reveal or at least touch

on inner aspects of personality and attitude, in other words the core of identity, often in its hybrid forms.

Therefore, the dramatic text pinpoints a remediation of reality, with the construction of alternative worlds, discourses and selves, for example with characters such as Remzi and Engin Eniste, who aspire to return to Cyprus, or Erol, who explores other ways of social self-positioning and redefinition, shifting from a worldly to a religious approach to life, and negotiating choices and intentions. Ultimately, as they refashion their viewpoint, the characters of *The Battle of Green Lanes* provide useful examples of how language works and how tensions emerge from interaction and communication. It is hoped that the short textual excerpts analysed here have unveiled, albeit superficially, some of the devices that construct and interweave issues such as belonging, religion, racism, and partition, encoded in the characters' idiosyncratic (and egocentric) perspective.

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Negotiating personal, collective, and national identities in political discourse

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Abstract

This chapter investigates how identities are negotiated in political communication, and in particular, how personal, collective and national identities converge or diverge in US Presidential campaign commercials. Providing a brief diachronic perspective on identity representation in political commercials in the last sixty years, this paper outlines how national identity can be both in line with, or at odds with, individual and collective identities and how the integration of visual, musical, and linguistic genres empowers the political message.

1. "I am large, I contain multitudes": identities today

Identity is what makes individuals and communities unique, implying the recognition of the *self* as something special and different from *others*. The complexity of identity is testified to by the complementarity of the key concepts of sameness and difference, as sameness allows individuals to imagine themselves belonging to a group, while difference produces a social distance between those who perceive themselves as unlike (Bucholtz and Hall 2006: 369). Identity is primarily transmitted through discourse (Clark 2013; Edwards 2009; Gumperz 1982; Joseph 2004; Norton 2010) but, as we shall see below, discourse is integrated with visual and musical genres.

In specific political contexts, such as Presidential campaigns, identity creation and recognition by the public the campaigns

address are key to gaining electoral consensus. Politicians have always insisted on identification-with-the-politician process whether in Presidential addresses, political adverts, TV political interviews and so on. All this implies a series of constraints (Eder and Spohn 2005) as well as affordances that guide the use of any genre, political of otherwise.

Politicians must address many *selves* among their general public. This applies very strongly in multi-ethnic and multicultural societies such as the US. Walt Whitman's quote from *Song of Myself*, "I am large, I contain multitudes" applies to the individual self of an open-minded person, but can be, and is, extended to the entire country by politicians.

Accordingly, Section 2 discusses the issue of individual and collective representation of identity in Presidential campaigns, while Sections 3 and 4 respectively explore divergence and convergence in the relationship between collective and national identities. The final section, Section 5, presents some conclusions about the relevance of Walt Whitman's *Song of Myself* in today's political scene.

2. Personal and collective identities in American political discourse: visual representations

In the 18th century, John Locke affirmed the need to compete for individual welfare and to limit government interference with the individual's initiatives. The American Founding Fathers tempered Locke's ideas with a strong concern for the public spirit and desire for common good for the entire Union. This concept was later reaffirmed in the 19th century by the Transcendentalist movement, led by Ralph Waldo Emerson, with its emphasis on self-reliance as the basic value for American society. The two souls of American identity, individualism and sense of nation, speciously emerge and merge

in political communication, as ways of gaining support in crucial moments.

The US TV political commercials genre used in Presidential campaigns was born in 1952, when the first samples were produced by Dwight Eisenhower, competing for the Presidency. They were designed to reach ordinary people at home, while having dinner or relaxing in their living rooms. The conveyed message had to be simple, direct and potentially involving.

Some frames from TV political commercials produced for Presidential Campaigns are presented below and analysed from a multimodal perspective (Baldry and Thibault 2006).

Figure 1 shows ordinary people presenting themselves as subscribing to a specific candidate or party. As such, they did not attempt to go into the candidate's credentials or accounts of their lives. This quickly changed with the emergence of what may be called biographical commercials which stress Presidential candidates' often humble origins and difficulties so to encourage people's identification with and trust of them. The classification of biographical commercials as a subgenre of political commercials relies on the recognition of their recurrent characteristics, among them the peculiar use of time, presenting past and present in terms of cause and effect, which also affect the future (Arizzi 2012), and the attempt to gain the audience's identification with the politician, with individual experiences and national values which converge with those of the general public. These evoke and recall widely-shared values, such as love of country, honesty, and family ties which function as a glue to make politicians' personal identities merge with the collective identity. They also appeal to national identity, eliciting pride and love for a nation which offers opportunities to anyone who works hard. These features have gained ground since the very first instance of the subgenre, *A man from Abilene*, 1952: "Out of the heartland of America, out of this small frame house

in Abilene, Kansas, came a man, Dwight D. Eisenhower. Through the crucial hour of historic D-Day, he brought us to the triumph and peace of VE Day [...]”[1]

Figure 1: Frames from Eisenhower’s 1956 Presidential campaign

Barack Obama’s biographical commercials, *Country I love*, 2008, are entirely in this vein:

“America’s a country of strong families, and strong values. My life’s been blessed by both. I was raised by a single mom and my grandparents. We didn’t have much money, but they taught me values straight from the Kansas Heartland where they grew up. Accountability and self-reliance. Love of country. Working hard without making excuses. Treating your neighbour as you’d like to be treated. [...]”, and like that of McCain, his challenger: “I’ve served my country since I was 17 years old and spent five years longing for her shores [...]”[2].

In the 1950s most commercials showed individual persons talking on a very personal basis about the candidate they supported who, however, never appeared with them. From a visual standpoint, the sense of individuality is thus emphasised by the presence of a single person at any one time, as shown in Figure 1. The target of these commercials is emphasised by the frequent presence of women expressing their support for

[1] Available at: <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1952>.
[2] Available at: <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2008>.

Eisenhower, often in a household context, testifying the popular style of the genre, intended for a non-specialised public, mainly housewives or elderly people at home.

The 1960s campaigns were characterised by an increasing awareness of collective identity, as a result of the changed historical context: the mass protest movement against discrimination; the civil rights movement; shocking events, such as the assassination of political leaders (John and Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King). This helped raise a strong sense of community which also found expression in the way commercials were shot.

Following a period of uproar and protest, the 1968 campaign marked an important change. In particular, Richard Nixon's campaign focused on the need to stop domestic violence and disorder, the extreme offspring of the renewed sense of fighting for common rights, and showed crude images of crowds parading for the recognition of their political rights (Figure 2a).

Figures 2a and 2b: Frames from Nixon's 1968 and 1972 campaigns

The people in the commercials are mostly men with very grave facial expressions; some blood can even be seen on some of the protesters' faces to visualise the dangers violent fights bring for national security. This is also emphasised by the presence of some police officers wearing helmets and arresting some of the violent activists. These frames showed that on Nixon's part, the

collective need for recognition and fighting for rights was a menace to the nation itself. He wanted to show that the government was acting to secure public safety by blocking mass movements; as a consequence, the protesters' collective identity was in contrast with the government which represented national identity. How times have changed! It is highly unlikely today that a presidential campaigner in the US would side with the police against civil rights protesters.

In the 1970s the atmosphere was more relaxed and TV commercials continued to represent the sense of community through images such as the one shown in Figure 2b showing groups of people peacefully meeting.

Over the years, the individual element has become less prominent in political commercials, favouring the collective idea of the people. Individual persons in individual frames have almost completely been replaced by larger shots showing more people, possibly the politician himself meeting groups of citizens or crowds gathering for political events. Obama's campaigns relied heavily on collective identity, favouring the identification of ordinary people with himself.

The sense of collective identity is visually represented by groups of people fighting for a common goal or parading together to support a political party, as illustrated in Figure 3. The second frame in Figure 3 is taken from a TV commercial in which Obama, meeting a group of people, asked who the teachers were, and they raised their hands. Considering the number of raised hands, the question was pleonastic, but functioned as a way to strengthen the sense of belonging.

Figure 3: Frames from Obama's 2012 Presidential campaign [3]

Politicians plague national identity and civic pride, national symbols and attachment to institutions. Reciprocal identification with groups of people helps merge collective and national identities. Political commercials increasingly become a special place where identities are traded; as persuasive texts they rely strongly on negotiation of identities to create electoral consensus.

3. Diverging collective and national identities: the Hispanic case

While in some cases collective and national identity seem to converge, in others they seem to be at odds, which is not surprising in a country such as the US, where many ethnic groups live and maintain strong collective identities of their own, showing little or no interest in national politics. Politicians in turn have tried to win minorities' votes with commercials, targeting them usually by focusing on social issues rather than foreign politics or economics, which was considered too abstract or even counter-productive.

In 1960, Jacqueline Kennedy appeared in a TV commercial speaking in rather unnatural Spanish, calling for support for her husband[4]. Her complex ancestry did not include Spanish roots,

[3] Available at: <http:// www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2012>.
[4] Available at: <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1960>.

so the reason why she addressed Hispanics in Spanish instead of English was simply political. As a wife asking for votes for her husband, she touched on the heartstrings of family values, indirectly searching for women's sympathy, showing submission to, and confidence in, her husband, and thus strongly impacting on people of Latin origins. The fear of communism was commonplace in the 1960s. Jacqueline Kennedy's commercial only mentioned this vaguely but she stressed the need for a strong president, able to guide the country safely with regard to unspecified threats from abroad. The entire message is mainly expressed in impersonal terms. She introduces herself using the third person (*Senator John F. Kennedy's wife is speaking*) and only uses a possessive adjective in the expression "mi esposo" (*my husband*). She concludes with a final acclamation for the candidate expressed without any personal involvement, just calling her husband by his surname. Ironically, the clash between the soft tone of her voice and the detachment of her attitude and discourse, ultimately compromised the intended message of strong marital affection.

George Bush also played the Hispanic card in the 1988 Presidential campaign[5]. The ace up his sleeve was a TV commercial in which his Hispanic daughter-in-law addressed her community in Spanish, asking them to vote for her father-in-law. The setting is rather traditional but not very formal, with daughter-in-law, her children and Mr. Bush sitting on a veranda with a beautiful bunch of red roses on the table, and the countryside in the background, forming the perfect picture of a traditional wealthy family. This might appear to be more sophisticated than Jacqueline Kennedy's commercial. Basically, it backfired. Paradoxically, speaking Spanish to the Hispanic minority in selected commercials produced exclusively for them, far from making them feel more involved in national politics,

[5] Available at: <http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988>.

highlighted and strengthened the boundaries between collective identity, i.e. minority group identity, and national identity.

When the speaker talks of "nuestra historia", "nuestra voz", "nuestras tradiciones", "nuestras familias" (our history, our voice, our traditions, our families), she is referring to the Hispanic community, stressing the existence of a barrier between "nosotros", the Hispanics, and *them*, the Americans.

4. Converging collective and national identities: the "Yes, we can" case

Negotiation of collective and national identity is at the core of the evocative New Hampshire "Yes We can" speech delivered in 2008 by Barack Obama. The speech is remembered among the most inspiring political speeches in American politics, along with Lincoln's "Gettysburg address", and Martin Luther King's "I have a dream", with which it shares style, reference, technique, subject matter and inspiration.

The inclusive personal pronoun "we" is a recurrent feature in Obama's rhetoric appearing 50 times in this 1079-word speech; it is historically important for American democratic history, being an intertextual reference to the incipit of the American Constitution, "We, the people", which everyone knows and which is an expression of the American dream. In experiential terms (Halliday and Matthiessen 2004: 168ff) Obama's 2008 slogan "Change we can believe in" presents "we" as the Actor of the new politics, referring to a sense of collective identity. The core of the American dream is mental – mental rather than material in Halliday's terms. Obama's slogan seems to go back to an original state of long term expectations for the whole American people. In his words, "[…] in the unlikely story that is America, there has never been anything false about hope". In interpersonal terms, the modal "can", a favourite modal with

Obama's rhetoric, is a way of expressing possibilities for the future, again stressing the mental process of hoping. In this way, the responsibility is on "we", a convergent collective idea of the nation, that may or may not realise change.

Passages such as "We are one people, we are one nation", uttered by Obama and echoed by others, reinforce the sense of belonging to a unique nation with no internal divisions, reinforcing national identity. The speech is a song everybody can sing. The refrain, "Yes we can" strengthens the sense of hope for the future involving the entire nation, including all its minority groups thanks to the pronoun "we". It is a song that can be sung together, just like Martin Luther King's "I have a dream". The "Yes we can" speech's musical rhythm was easily turned into a rap and black-and-white video clip by Will.i.am and Jesse Dylan. The video became viral on the Internet[6].

This sense of inclusiveness is further expressed through the translation of the slogan itself into other languages, such as Spanish and Hebrew, and even into sign language – a clear indication of the general goal of inclusiveness.

Those empowerment phrases were not invented for the campaign, being re-contextualisations of previous political slogans. "Sì, se puede" was the slogan used by the United Farm Workers (UFW), a farmer organisation led by César Chávez during the 1970s (Cohn 2002; Martinez 2006). Obama re-contextualised the slogan to make it fit the 2008 electoral campaign, choosing "yes we can" as the best of the possible renderings in English because of its high impact over the more literal translation "yes, it can be done". Interestingly, Obama's "Yes, we can" refrain was returned into Spanish and repeated in two different versions, "Sì, podemos" by Enrique Murciano and "Sì, se puede" by Adam Rodríguez, both American actors of

[6] Available at: <http://www.youtube.com/ watch?v=jjXyqcx-mYY>.

Caribbean origins, well-known for appearing in TV series such as *CSI-Miami*. In other words, the Spanish rap provides a re-contextualisation of the re-contextualisation of the original "Sì, se puede". This "Yes, we can" re-contextualisation for the Internet thus provides a message of national identity even more comprehensive of the collective identities of minority groups than the original speech delivered in New Hampshire.

5. Conclusions

Political messages rely on the sense of belonging to a group to reach their real goal of creating consensus for politicians or parties. Identification between political leaders and citizens functions as a shortcut to obtaining appreciation and votes. Biographical commercials, in particular, with their emphasis on traditional values, recall the basic ideals on which the nation is grounded. The strong sense of national identity, which is expressed in words and visualised in images, such as flags or institutional places, tends to converge with personal identity when ordinary people realise how similar their values and interests are to those of their institutional representatives. On the other hand, minorities in such a multicultural and multiethnic society are difficult to address: they run the risk of mortifying them. Global communication with re-contextualisations and multiple addressees functions much more effectively than addressing individual minorities with special messages. Visual processes have become recognised as being just as important, if not more important than, spoken and written forms of discourse used in Presidential campaign commercials.

Television and the Internet, with their different affordances, help create a common ground on which people can easily converge and identify, adhering to the collective and reassuring idea of belonging to a group and accepting a partial loss of

individuality. The Internet seems to be more rapid in changing the communication style and in getting better results from the easy circulation of texts. The medium contributes to shape the content and to deal with thorny issues, visualising them rather than talking about them, making communication easier. At the same time, in a bottom-up perspective, the identity of new media products is inevitably influenced by those who create and use them; this is particularly the case with political commercials which rely on the convergence of personal and collective identities, suggesting a further convergence towards national identity in an ideological and sometimes distorted way, their goal being "marketing" politicians and policies.

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Exploring Discourse Management in EFL Interactions between Italian University Students

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Abstract

This chapter explores a corpus of elicited informal and formal interactions in English between pairs of Italian university students of Mediazione Linguistica e Culturale at the University of Padua (Italy) and a control corpus of interactions between English native-speaker students at the University of Melbourne (Australia). The aim is to investigate some aspects of the discourse co-constructed in the two corpora, as well as to gain insights into the Italian students' discourse management ability. Specifically, the non-native and native uses of discourse markers, hedging expressions, and subject-verb contraction are investigated. The paper then discusses the findings and their implications for teaching spoken interaction to intermediate/advanced EFL learners.

1. Introduction and theoretical background

A large number of studies on language teaching and language assessment have investigated peer-to-peer interactions, that is, conversations between pairs of students/candidates which are elicited to assess learners' conversation management ability. Empirical studies have shown that they are "more symmetrical in the interaction possibilities they create", "elicit a wider sample of learner performance" than interviews conducted by an examiner (Galaczi 2008: 91-92), and can "eventually help [the students] to develop discourse competence" (Zhengdong,

Davison, Hamp-Lyons 2008: 317). However, paired interactions are still in need of special scrutiny, since in such situations the student/candidate is not an isolated figure "who bears the entire brunt of the performance" (McNamara, 1997: 459), but rather co-constructs the discourse with his/her interlocutor. Furthermore, (EFL) role-played interactions are "isolated from the real-world context of actual relationships", that is, they are "fictional and temporary" (Aston, 1993: 229).

Over the past few years, learner corpus-based investigations have been conducted on the spoken language produced by EFL learners. In Europe (and beyond), a considerable amount of such research has been carried out within the LINDSEI project (Gilquin, De Cock, Granger 2010), and has involved the examination of the spoken production of university students with various first language backgrounds, including Italian, elicited through interviews with language examiners (e.g. Pulcini and Furiassi 2004; Gilquin 2008; De Cock 2010; Götz 2013). To a lesser extent, corpus work has also been carried out to explore elicited interactions between dyads of learners in various pedagogical settings and for various purposes (e.g. Connor-Linton and Shohamy 2001; Hasselgren 2002; Fung and Carter 2007; Rizzardi, Pedrazzini, Nava 2008; Castello 2013). The present study sets out to examine a corpus of interactions between EFL undergraduate Italian university students (NNS), and compares them with a corpus of interactions between native-speaker students (NS) elicited using the same prompt (see 2 below). The background on which it draws is (learner) corpus research on pragmatic and fluency phenomena.

Corpus-based studies of fluency in English discourse have shown that the correct use of "formulaic chunks" of various types enables interlocutors to "scaffold each other's performance and make the whole conversation flow" (McCarthy, 2006: 4). This repertoire of language chunks includes discourse markers

(e.g. Shiffrin 1987) (e.g. well, right, you know) and hedging expressions (e.g. Fraser 2010) (e.g. just, basically, and stuff), which are also referred to with such labels as "smallwords" (Hasselgren 2002) and "relational language" (O'Keeffe et al. 2007). From the analysis of the use of these chunks in learner corpora it has emerged that some of these items are often underused by learners, while others tend to be overused. Investigations conducted on the language produced by Norwegian learners (Hasselgren 2002), French learners (Gilquin 2008: 128-134) and German learners (Götz 2013: 115-118), for instance, have found that on average their learners tend to rely on well, while they rarely use you know and just. It must be said, however, that a direct correlation has not always been observed between quantitative measures of "productive fluency performance", including discourse markers, formulaic sequences and speech rate, and the perception of fluency by NS expert raters (e.g. Götz 2013: 170). Another aspect of spoken learner discourse which has been noticed is the underuse of subject-verb contracted forms (e.g. Muckerjee 2009: 223-225), such as I'll and I'd in respect to conversations between native speakers. The use of discourse markers, hedging expressions and contractions in the non-native and native corpora are the aspects of discourse management explored in section 3 below.

2. The corpora

In this study two corpora are explored: a NNS learner corpus (henceforth NNS-EN) and a NS control corpus (henceforth NS-EN). NNS-EN is made up of the transcripts of 64 interactions between 64 second-year university students of Mediazione Linguistica e Culturale at the University of Padua (Italy), who had attended regularly the first semester of a two-semester module in oral skills at level B2 of the CEFR (Council of

Europe, 2001) in the 2007/2008 academic year . NS-EN consists of the transcripts of 30 interactions between 30 students at the Faculty of Arts, School of Languages and Linguistics, at the University of Melbourne (Australia), which were recorded in November 2011. The interactions in both corpora were elicited using the same prompt, which did not impose an exact time limit for the completion of the tasks. The students in each pair took on either the role of Student A or that of Student B, and performed both an informal and a (more) formal interaction. In the informal interaction, Student A was to ask the other student a favour, while Student B was to refuse to comply with the request. In the formal one, Student A was asked to perform the role of a customer complaining about a service and asking for a solution, while Student B acted as a company secretary proposing alternative suggestions.

In Table 1 quantitative data about the two corpora is given, and a distinction is made between their informal (~/INF) and formal components (sub-corpora) (~/F). As can be seen from the higher number of words and the lower number of interactions in the NS corpus, the interactions between the NS tended to last longer than those between the NNS students.

	NNS-EN/INF	*NNS-EN/F*	*NNS-EN*
interactions	32	32	64
tokens	7790	9844	17634
types	787	783	1570
	NS-EN/INF	*NS-EN/F*	*NS-EN*
interactions	15	15	30
tokens	6910	10262	17172
types	870	844	1714

Table 1: Number of interactions and words in NNS-EN, in NS-EN and in their sub-corpora

The method of analysis adopted in this study is Contrastive Interlanguage Analysis, which involves both "quantitative and qualitative comparisons between native language and learner language (L1 vs L2) and between different varieties of interlanguage (L2 vs L2)" (Granger 2009: 18). For the purposes of the present study only comparisons of the former type were drawn. The words analysed were chosen on the basis of the studies referred to in section 1 (e.g. Shiffrin 1987; Hasselgren 1994; Fraser 2010;), yet most of them rank high on the frequency lists of both NNS-EN and NS-EN, which stresses their important role in spoken interaction. The data shown in Table 2 was extracted from the two corpora using the concordancing software Wordsmith Tools 4.0 (Scott 2010) and elaborated using a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet. The log-likelihood ratio (LL) was calculated for each item, in order to test whether its over-use (+) or under-use (-) is statistically significant and the level of significance (p). The higher the LL value, the more significant the difference ("NSS" indicates that the difference is not statistically significant) . Because of word limit constraints, no distinction has been made in the table between the uses of the items in the formal and the informal components. Differences are, however, pointed out whenever relevant.

Discourse management	**NNS-EN**	**NS-EN**	**(+/-)LL**	**p**
Discourse markers				
Well	83 (0.47%)	74 (0.43%)	0.3	NSS
yeah/yep	91 (0.52%)	333 (1.94%)	-153.31	p < 0.0001
Yes	241 (1.37%)	40 (0.23%)	+154.29	p < 0.0001

you know/right/actually/I mean	66 (0.37%)	180 (1.05%)	-57.97	p < 0.0001
Hedging expressions				
something like/things like/anything like/stuff/kind of/sort of	8 (0.05%)	63 (0.37%)	-49.91	p < 0.0001
like	0 (0.00%)	80 (0.47%)	-113.04	p < 0.0001
just	27 (0.15%)	163 (0.95%)	-111.71	p < 0.0001
basically/perfectly/totally / obviously	7 (0.04%)	12 (0.07%)	-1.47	NSS
really	144 (0.82%)	130 (0.76%)	+ 0.39	NSS
Subject-Verb Contractions				
I'll	44 (0.25%)	58 (0.34%)	-2.32	NSS
I'd	7 (0.04%)	17 (0.10%)	-4.57	p < 0.05
I will	63 (0.36%)	6 (0.03%)	+53.38	p < 0.0001
I would	26 (0.15%)	9 (0.05%)	+8.17	p < 0.01

Table 2: Frequency of discourse markers, hedging expressions and subject-verb contractions and the statistical significance of their over- or under-use in NNS-EN

Discourse markers are "sequentially dependent elements" which signal the relation of an utterance to the preceding discourse, thus contributing to discourse coherence (Shiffrin 1987: 31). They can occur in initial, medial or, less frequently, final position, are prosodically independent from the utterances they introduce, semantically and grammatically optional, and are

drawn from different grammatical and lexical inventories (Fung, Carter 2007: 412-414). In addition, they contribute to "the organisation and management of conversation and [to] the speaker-listener relationship" (O'Keeffe et al. 2007: 159). Using discourse markers correctly and appropriately can be challenging for NNS. Furthermore, in conversations between NS and NNS their misuse can cause miscomprehension or even miscommunication, as shown by studies of the pragmatic behaviour of L2 speakers with various L1 backgrounds in such situations (e.g. Maynard 1997, Berry 2003, Cutrone 2005).

As regards the EFL interactions investigated in this study, what stands out from Table 2 is that the Italian learners overuse the discourse marker yes, and underuse the more informal forms yeah/yep, which is the case in both the informal and the formal sub-corpora. According to the literature, both yeah and yes perform interpersonal and cohesive functions and can be used to "acknowledge, agree, affirm, and mark continuation" (Fung, Carter 2007: 431). Yet yeah is often used, in medial but also in initial position, to express such signals as active listening, solidarity with the interlocutor, and "an affirmative position to the truth value of the underlying propositions of the primary speaker" (Fung, Carter 2007: 432). Yes, by contrast, is likely to indicate the positive answer to a question or the intention to start a new turn as well. At times, however, the Italian students seem to use yes to just express their active "listenership" or take the floor, but without necessarily acknowledging what was said before or answering a question of their peers. This might well be due to the interference of Italian in the NNS students' EFL discourse, in that the Italian discourse marker sì does not have an informal counterpart, and seems to perform the whole range of functions of yes/yeah (see also Castello 2013: 68). Example 1) from NNS-EN/INF illustrates this rather inappropriate use of yes in NNS-EN:

1) <S2> Well I'm Miss XX </S2>
<S1> Yes </S1>
<S2> And I live in via <foreign> XX </S2>

Table 2 also accounts for the students' underuse of the discourse markers you know, right, actually and I mean, which is in line with the findings of previous studies on learner language (e.g. Hasselgren 2002, Gilquin 2008). The discourse marker well is, by contrast, used by both the NNS and the NS students with no statistically significant difference in frequency, which confirms the high frequency pointed out by other studies on Italian students' spoken EFL (e.g. Pulcini, Furiassi 2004). The misuse of yes and the under-use of other discourse markers does not seem to impede communication in the NNS-EN corpus, yet they are bound to be perceived as inappropriate discourse management choices and signs of what has been labelled "pragmatic fossilization", that is, the systematic inappropriate use of pragmatic forms (Romero Trillo 2002: 770).

Fraser (2010: 15) defines hedging as "a rhetorical strategy that attenuates either the full semantic value of a particular expression […] or the full force of a speech act […]". He then goes on to say that "when non-native speakers fail to hedge appropriately, they may be perceived as impolite, offensive, arrogant, or simply inappropriate." An appropriate and native-like use of hedging expressions is, therefore, highly desirable, especially in transactional interactions. As can be seen from Table 2, the NNS students significantly under-use the adverbs just and like, and to a lesser extent also the vagueness expressions (Fraser 2010: 25-26) something like, things like, anything like, stuff, kind of, sort of. On the other hand, other adverbs, including really, are not significantly under-used (cf. Castello, Davies 2012). A closer look at the concordance lines

for just suggests that the NS students often use this hedger either in combination with other hedging expressions or discourse markers (e.g. we just sort of, I just kind of, I'm just totally, just you know, I've just actually) or as part of expressions that seem to be phraseological in nature (e.g. I was just wondering, just that once, this is just me saying that, I'm just gonna have to check). The NNS students, by contrast, mainly stick to two patterns: "just + temporal expression" (e.g. just a minute), "just + verb phrase" (e.g. just wait; just bear with me; just have to send).

In their very detailed presentation of the use of contractions in the 40-million-word LSWE corpus, Biber *et al*. (1999: 1128-1132) show that verb contraction is highly favoured in NS conversation, and that it mainly occurs when the verbs be and will (and to a lesser extent also have and would) are used with subject pronouns. Subject-verb contraction should then be considered an appropriate choice for both informal and formal oral interactions in English, as also confirmed by the frequent use of I'll and I'd in the NS-EN corpus. As can be seen from Table 2, however, the NNS students rely heavily on the full forms I will and I would, and do so to express volition or intention (rather than prediction), while the NS students nearly always opt for the contracted forms. In the few cases in which the Australian students make use of the full form I will, for example, they seem to do so to stress their willingness to perform what they have promised to do, in spite of the difficulty of complying with it. Furthermore, in order to further emphasise their effort, they use the connectors though and but (e.g. I will check. though. for you; I will check but), or make their determination even clearer by using adverbs such as absolutely in the immediate co-text (e.g. I will . yeah . absolutely will). On the basis of these observations, it can be affirmed that the full forms being examined do not just represent more formal

versions of the contracted ones, but rather convey extra meanings, which the NNS students should become aware of.

4. Conclusions

This paper has investigated three areas of the discourse co-constructed by EFL students during elicited peer-to-peer interactions, i.e. an assessment method which aims to provide learners and test candidates with more opportunities to show their discourse management ability. The analysis has shown that some pragmatic markers are under-used by the Italian students (e.g. yeah, just, like, stuff like that), others are misused (e.g. yes), and still others over-used (e.g. I will). As pointed out by Romero Trillo (2002: 770), pragmatic competence "does not consist of a series of rules that have to be observed in the communicative process […], but rather of a cline of appropriateness or acceptability." Due to their dependence on the context of use, these aspects are difficult to pin down and to be taught (Götz 2013: 160). Yet, it is believed that advanced EFL students should become aware of these phenomena, and get into the process of gradually "re-mediating" their discourse management ability. In order to raise their awareness of these aspects, learners could, for instance, be presented such corpus-based data and findings as those discussed in this paper, which should help them notice the differences between NS and the NNS uses of pragmatic markers, re-consider their own pragmatic choices, and eventually conform to the NS usage. In order to better account for these phenomena, however, further studies on elicited and spontaneous native and learner spoken corpora should be conducted, and specially designed corpus-driven teaching materials should be created based on the findings. What is deemed worthy of further investigation are the functions and

uses of yeah/yes, just and I'll/I will in various types of spoken discourse.

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From Summaries of Product Characteristics to Patient Information Leaflets: Subjectivation and Patient Orientation meet Knowledge Dissemination

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Abstract

European legislation requires that Patient Information Leaflets (PILs) come with medicines approved for use and purchase in the EU. Despite efforts to improve their quality, however, PILs are still criticised by patients as being too complex, not user-friendly and often useless. The dysfunctional nature and hybridity of PILs follows, among others, from their development from Summaries of Product Characteristics (SPCs) and from the parallel drafting of SPCs and PILs. Casting basic notions from research in health communication in linguistic terms, this paper addresses some aspects of patient centeredness and (albeit marginally) trust generation. We thus adapt notions from genre analysis and LSP research, contrastive textology and work on knowledge dissemination to analyse and contrast generic structure potential, aspects of domain-specific knowledge construction and selection of section (sub-) headings in UK SPCs and PILs. This shall enable us to relate Knowledge Dissemination strategies to patient orientation and subjectivation.

1. Introduction

European legislation requires that Patient Information Leaflets (PILs) accompany (prescription-only) drugs available for

purchase in order to ensure that all citizens have equal access to reliable and effective quality information on their use. PILs are thus regularly revised by pharmaceutical companies and then validated by the national Department of Health and Social Security in compliance with national regulations and EU directives and regulations. Alternatively, they are authorised for use in EU member States by the European Medicines Agency (EMA) (Cacchiani 2013: 65-66; forthcoming).

Despite efforts to meet the competing needs of patients, institutions and drug companies along the lines set by the *The Rules Governing Medicinal Products in the European Union* (DGHC 1986-2013a, 1986-2013b), PILs are still strongly criticised by patients as too complex and non-user friendly, and quite often dismissed as useless (e.g., Askehave, Zethsen 2000). Issues such as the discursive construction of risk (Fage-Butler 2011) and trust generation via competence/accuracy, care/solidarity and corporate accountability (Earle 2010; Fage-Butler, forthcoming) are key to patient-centredness (Balint 1969; Mead, Bower 2000). These dimensions, as we shall see, can be dealt with by bringing together notions from the grammar of text types (Werlich 1976/1983), Contrastive Textology (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001), genre studies, LSP research, and work on Knowledge Dissemination. This shall enable us to compare and contrast features of UK PILs and Summaries of Product Characteristics (SuPCs/SPCs), their closer cognates and specialised originators. As a second step, we shall address PILs as seats for knowledge dissemination from anonymous company professionals to an individualised lay-audience, in the context of a shift from objectivation and subject-orientation to subjectivation and audience/patient-orientation (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001).

2. Methodology and framework of analysis

Knowledge Dissemination (KD) is seen here as recontextualisation (Calsamiglia, van Dijk 2004), reconceptualisation, and intralinguistic translation of exclusive expertise into knowledge that is suitable to the background of the addressee. However dysfunctional, PILs are taking steps towards communicating comprehensible knowledge to lay-patients – which entails a shift from the bio-medical to the health-communication domain. Omission or reduction of information for prescribers, reduction of technical and bio-medical detail, as well as simplification of terminology, explicitation and reformulation (Mauranen 2006), are KD strategies.

In this paper, we carry out a corpus-assisted, manual investigation into maximum variation samples (Patton 2002) of 16 UK PILs and the corresponding SPCs[1] so as to address two overlapping shifts that appear to characterise the move from SPCs to PILs:

- from *subject-orientation* (focus on the referent and on bio-medical information; cf. Jakobson's [1966] 1987 *referential function*) to *addressee-/audience-orientation* (the addressee turns into a participant in the

[1] The *eMC_corpus* is comprised of PILs and SPCs for very common prescription and non-prescription drugs available for purchase and use on the UK market. The sample was downloaded from the electronic Medicines Compendium (eMC: http://medicines.org.uk/emc) in March 2013: *1*: *Arthrotec* 50. Searle; *2*: *Augmentin* 375 Tablets. GlaxoSmithKline; *3*: *Florinet* 0.1mg Tablets. E.R. Squibb & Sons; *4*: *Foradil*. Novartis Pharmaceuticals; *5*: *Innovace* 2.5, 5, 10, 20 mg Tablets. Merck Sharp & Dorme; *6*: *Lofepramine* 70 mg Film Coated Tablets. Merck; *7*: *Lustral* 50, 100 mg Tablets. Pfizer; *8*: *Nu-Seals* 75mg Tablets. Aspirin. Eli Lilly and Company; *9*: *Nu-Seals* 300mg Tablets. Eli Lilly and Company Limited; *10*: *Anadin*. Wyeth Lederle; *11*: Paroxetine 20 mg Tablets. Generics. Mylfarm Limited; *12*: *Seroxat* 10, 20, 30 mg Tablets. GlaxoSmithKline; *13*: *Ventolin*. *Evohaler*. 100 micrograms. Allen & Hamburys. Glaxo Wellcome; *14*: *Viscotears*. Liquid Gel. Alcon; *15*: Zestril 2.5, 5, 10, 20 mg Tablets. AstraZeneca; *16*: *Zovirax* cold sore cream. GlaxoSmithKline. (See Cacchiani, forthcoming, for more on corpus design and data selection).

communicative situation; cf. Jakobson's [1966] 1987 *conative function*) (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001);

- from *objectivation* to *subjectivation* (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001). That is, departures from defining features of Languages for Special Purpose such as lexical precision (Sager, Dungworth, McDonald 1980) – or (bi-)uniqueness (Merlini Barbaresi 1988) and monoreferentiality in context (Gotti 2008) –, textual precision (Merlini Barbaresi 1988), economy (Sager, Dungworth, McDonald 1980), conciseness (Gotti 2008) – as in compounding –, and depersonalisation (Gotti 2008) and objectivation (Dressler, Eckkramer 2001) - as in nominalisations and 3rd person passives.

Audience-orientation is pursued together with or prior to any selection and transformation of expert knowledge into information tailored to the needs of the lay-person. The ultimate purpose is to contribute to empowering the lay health consumer (cf. Cacchiani, forthcoming, for discussion and references on this point). In health communication research, this would be accounted for in terms of patient-centredness (Balint 1969; Mead, Bower 2000) and trust generation (Earle 2010). With *patient-centredness*, we understand the need to supplement the more impersonal and objective biomedical communication in clinical settings with communication strategies that focus on the patient as an individual with affective needs, perspectives, limited expertise and experientially derived knowledge. Additionally, *trust generation* in medical communication combines the parameters of competence/accuracy, care/solidarity, and corporate accountability. (More in Fage-Butler, forthcoming.)

In this context, language choices in comprehensible PILs are all the more situationally appropriate (de Beaugrande, Dressler

1981) when promoting orientation towards the patient based on preliminary evaluation of participant goals, roles and relations. The competence/accuracy side of trust generation in particular reinforces the authority of practical validity underlying the text type practical instruction (Werlich 1976/1983), or the frame type in PILs (Cacchiani 2013). On the other hand, we expect shifts in generic structure potential (Paltridge 1997) from SPCs to PILs, recourse to KD strategies and a major emphasis on patient centeredness in the headed sections (Swales 1990: moves; van Dijk 1977: macroacts) of PILs, as well as subjectivation via headings that serve as advance organisers (Clyne 1991) and relevance optimisers (Sperber, Wilson 1986).

3. From Summaries of Product Characteristics (SPCs) to Patient Information Leaflets (PILs)

PILs have developed over time from medical documentation that is necessary for product approval (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001). More specifically, they are now based on the corresponding SPC (Cacchiani, forthcoming; cf. Ezpeleta Piorno 2012 for the genre system template of the provider's medicinal product information).

This section concentrates on the relation between UK SPCs and PILs. As regards generic structure potential (Paltridge 1997), SPCs represent a highly conventionalised and fully codified type of bio-medical discourse. They communicate to regulatory authorities the research, expertise and product knowledge of the particular pharmaceutical company and serve as a basis for product authorisation and licensing. The purpose of the genre and participant roles and goals (among others, marketing authorisation and protection against product liability, cf. Cacchiani, forthcoming) place strong constraints on the rhetorical structure of this technical genre. Table 1 gives the

shared template and headings provided by the DGHC (1986-2013b).

Section number	**Section heading**
Pharmaceutical data	
1.	*Name of the medicinal product*
2.	*Qualitative and quantitative composition*
3.	*Pharmaceutical form*
Clinical information	
4.	*Clinical particulars – 4.1.* Therapeutic indications*; 4.2.* Posology and method of administration; *4.3.* Contra-indications; *4.4.* Special warnings and precautions for use*; 4.5.* Interactions with other medicinal products and other forms of interaction; *4.6.* Pregnancy and lactation; *4.7.* Effects on ability to drive and use machines; *4.8.* Undesirable effects; *4.9.* Overdose
5.	*Pharmacological properties – 5.1.* Pharmacodynamic properties; *5.2.* Pharmacokinetic properties; *5.3.* Preclinical safety data
6.	*Pharmaceutical properties – 6.1.* List of excipients; *6.2.* Incompatibilities; *6.3.* Shelf life; *6.4.* Special precautions for storage; *6.5.* Nature and contents of container; *6.6.* Special precautions for disposal and other handling
Administrative information	
7.	*Marketing authorisation holder*
8.	*Marketing authorisation number(s)*
9.	*Date of first authorisation/renewal of the*
10.	*authorisation*

Section number	Section heading
11.	*Date of revision of the text*
12.	[*Dosimetry*]
-	[*Instructions for preparation of radiopharmaceuticals*]
	Legal category

Table 1: SmPCs: Summary of Product Characteristics

Table 2 outlines the generic structure potential of PILs. '^' indicates sequential ordering of units/moves; moves that are either optional or can take different positions in the text are given in round brackets '(…)'; labels, square brackets '[…]' and italics identify larger units based on overall rhetorical function and micro-pragmatic purpose.

Unit	*Move*	*SmPCs section number*
1.	Brand name ^ Active ingredient [*Identification*]	1.-3., Legal category
2.		
3.	^ *Introduction*	X
4.	^ Indications (also, optional Divulgative information) ^ Contra-indications ^ Drug interactions [*Useful information and recommendations*]	4. 4., 11.
3.		
4.	^ Dosage and administration ^ (Instructions for use) ^ Overuse and underuse [part of *Instructions proper*] ^ Side effects [*Useful information and*	4. 6. 7.-10.
5.		

Unit	*Move*	*SmPCs section number*
	recommendations] ^ Storage [*Instructions proper*] ^ (optional Divulgative information) ^ Composition ^ Producer ^ Marketing authorisation holder ^ Marketing authorisation number(s) ^ Date of first authorisation or revision of the text ^ Clinical contact [5. *Further information*; with 1., part of *Presentation*]	

Table 2: PILs: generic structure potential (Cacchiani 2013, modified)

PILs are a heterogeneous text type (Virtanen 1992). The frame text type (Cacchiani 2006), described by a directive speech act (Searle, Vandervecken 1985) in *Dosage and Administration* (how-to knowledge), interacts with assertive and directive secondary text types. Because of their focus on information to be acquired before or after taking the medicine, sections such as *Indications, Contra-indications*, *Side-effects*, *Over-* or *Under-use*, answer potential questions on the part of the intended patient. Conversely, *Producer*, *Marketing authorisation holder* and *Further information*, provide information that is necessary in the process of legal approval and for protection against product liability.

3.1. (Re-)structuring of domain-specific knowledge

Very broadly, Column 3 (Table 2) gives the SPCs counterparts for the moves identified in PILs. Pharmaceutical companies

write and update SPCs based on their research, expertise, and product knowledge: SPCs are necessary for legal approval and explain how to use and/or prescribe the medicine to healthcare professionals (nurses, doctors and pharmacists). PILs differ from SPCs in the provision of lay-oriented information. Overlap between genres, as we have seen, is not accidental and generates hybridity (Dressler, Ecckramer 2001) and functional subordination of one system to another. Therefore, though PILs move from the general assumption that the patient lacks adequate product knowledge to take the medication correctly, knowledge mediation and instructional discourse (in the sense of Gotti 2008) may still combine with unmediated specialist knowledge and bio-medical detail to different extents, as well as with information required for approval (e.g. *Active ingredients* and *Composition*). And yet, PILs miss much of the bio-medical detail found in SPCs.

Evidence for this comes from the organisation of sections and information in Table 2. When compared with Table 1, it reflects a type of recontextualisation and reconceptualisation that derives from less articulated domain-internal structuring. To take some examples, *5. Pharmacological properties*, *6.3. Shelf life*, *12. Instructions for preparation […]*, and most of *11. Dosimetry*, from SPCs, do not have a counterpart in PILs. In like manner, information that is necessary for legal approval, from *7.* and *10.* in SPCs, comes last in PILs. Thirdly, the list of active and non-active ingredients in PILs does not constitute an exhaustive catalogue, and divulgative expositions in the form of meaning descriptions (Wiegand 1992 ff.) are given for the active ingredient(s) in the Divulgative information section (also providing content for *4.1. Therapeutic indications*).

3.2. Patient orientation and subjectivation

Given the discussion above, one central question is: How do KD strategies combine with patient orientation and subjectivation in the interest of patient centredness? Though extensive cross-generic investigation lies beyond the scope of this paper, a good point to look at are section headings. Table 1 above gives headings and subheadings for SPCs. These are bio-medical terms, often superordinates, in the form of topic-giving noun phrases (*Clinical particulars*, *Pregnancy and lactation*, *Overdose*, *Pharmacological properties*, *Dosimetry*, etc.). Additionally, association of the ensuing text with the underlying speech act is triggered by headings like *Therapeutic indications*, *Contra-indications*, *Special warnings and precautions*. As is clear, they serve the purposes of lexical precision, conciseness, depersonalisation and objectivation in specialised peer-to-peer communication.

In PILs, headings illustrate the case of intra-linguistic translation of exclusive expertise into comprehensible knowledge that is suitable to the background of the addressee. Hence, information under *Clinical particulars* is reduced and then organised under headings such as (1ai) or (1aii), for a divulgative introduction to *Composition* and *Indications*. *Before you take Medicine* (2ai, 2aii, 2aiii) groups moves such as *Indications*, *Contra-indications*, also *Pregnancy and lactation* (as in 2bi, 2bii) or *Effects on ability to drive*, and *Drug interactions* (2c). *Posology and method of administration* and *Dosimetry* are rendered by *How to take Medicine* (3a) or *How to use your Medicine* (3b), in case of *Instructions for use*; and *Overdose* turns into *If you take more Medicine than you should* (4) (emphasis in the texts).

(1ai) **1. What Augmentin is and what it is used for** (PILs_2)

(1aii) **Q. What is in Florinet Tablets?** (PILs_3)
(1aiii) **Q. What is this medicine for?** (PILs_3)
(2ai) **2. Before you take Seroxat**
Do not take Seroxat – If you … ; If you … (PILs_12)
(2aii) BEFORE TAKING YOUR MEDICINE
Q. Should I be taking Florinet tablets?
A. You should not take this medicine if

- you [dotted list follows] (PILs_3)

(2aiii) 2. BEFORE YOU TAKE LOFEPRAMINE TABLETS
Do not take Lofepramine tablets and tell your doctor if you

- [dotted list follows]

Take special care with Lofetramine tablets
Tell your doctor if you

- Have a history of, or you suffer from any heart, circulation, liver or kidney disorders
- […] (PILs_6)

(2bi) **Pregnancy and breast feeding** (PILs_1)
(2bii) **Q. What if I am pregnant or think I may be pregnant?**
What if I am planning to become pregnant?
What if I am breast feeding?
A. You should make sure you discuss this with your doctor as soon as possible before taking Florinet tablets (PILs_3)
(2c) **Taking other medicines** (PILs_1)
(3a) **3. How to take Arthrotec 50** (PILs_1)
(3b) **How to use your eye drops** (PILs_14)
(4) **If you take more Arthrotec 50 than you should** (PILs_1)

For reasons of space, we defer extensive discussion of (1) to (4) and additional examples to Cacchiani (forthcoming). At this stage, it is worth pointing out that (1) to (4) suggest a move from precision, conciseness and objectivation to the conative function of the text and therefore, to subjectivation and audience-/patient-orientation. Evidence for this comes from the following:

- For simplification (as opposed to precision), terms translate into general words in headings and moves. Respectively, *breast feeding* (2bi), for *lactation*; *any heart, circulation, liver or kidney disorders* (2aiii) for an otherwise comprehensive catalogue of conditions.
- Paraphrases and reformulations render (semi-)specialist superordinates. Nouns and nominalisations are unpacked by sentence/clausal-headings and a combination of headings and subheadings: *What is this medicine for?* (1aiii), as opposed to *Indications*.
- The patient is construed as: (i) lay, as opposed to his/her doctor or pharmacist), as in *Tell your doctor if you ...* (2aiii); as (ii) an individual with doubts and questions, as exemplified by the question-answer pattern of textual organisation (2aii, 2bii: *Q-A*), and by recourse to 1st person pronouns and spoken register (2bii: *What if I ...?*);
- 1st and (mostly) 2nd person pronouns and adjectives are used in headings, subheadings and moves, with catalogues of conditions or ingredients turning into lists of *if*-clauses (2aii, 2aiii).

4. Conclusions

In general, any attempt to characterise PILs as a hybrid, and situationally inappropriate knowledge dissemination genre, would call for extensive qualitative and quantitative investigation into textual organisation, type and amount of information given (also, omission, selection and simplification of relevant bio-medical terms across subsequent moves), and the phraseology of the genre.

Our scope, however, was much more limited. From a methodological point of view, the question was: How are we to

cast current reflection on trust generation and patient centredness in linguistic terms? The answer is now straightforward: reconciling insights from LSP research, genre studies and contrastive textology allows us to shed some light into UK PILs as a KD genre that has its immediate source in SPCs.

The dysfunctional nature and inherent hybridity of PILs follows from their initial development from SPCs, from the need to meet specific legal requirements, and from parallel drafting of the two genres by company professionals. Interestingly, cross-generic comparison shows that PILs develop from SPCs through omission and reduction of moves and through systematic (re-) structuring and loosening of domain-specific knowledge. Setting aside sections that are necessary for legal approval but not immediately relevant to the intended reader, this involves a significant loss of bio-medical detail and a shift of interest from content-orientation/objectivation to audience-/patient-orientation and subjectivation. This is apparent in (sub-) headings. Being used as advance organisers and relevance optimisers, headings in PILs and SPCs facilitate decoding by combining large contextual effects with little processing effort. In PILs, consideration of factors of the communicative situation and, importantly, of the status, role and needs of the intended addressee (but also of legal requirements), results in clause-/sentence-headings that combine features of patient/audience orientation and subjectivation (e.g. the question-answer pattern or 2nd and 1st person pronouns and adjectives) with intra-linguistic and intercultural translation via simplification and reformulation for the individualised lay-audience. These are features of patient centredness.

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Remediating Legal Discourse for the Web. Presenting Mous on University Websites.

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Abstract

The aim of this paper is to analyse the discourse of internationalisation in a university context dealing in particular with a type of legal/administrative document used to create international relationships between universities, the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU), and its linguistic remediation to be published on the official websites of universities. Thus, the research questions proposed in the paper are the following: 1) What are the rhetorical strategies exploited when remediating legal language for the web? 2) What is the role played by promotional discourse in the remediation of MoUs for university web pages? 3) How a legal genre can be modified and rendered in a multimodal context such as the World-Wide Web? Does it exploit the strategies typical of the popularisation of ESP (Garzone 2006, 2007)? The analysis is carried out on a corpus MoUs signed by Anglophone universities (UK – US – AUS) and on a corpus of institutional web pages presenting these agreements to students, researchers, etc. From a methodological point of view, the study integrates corpus linguistics and discourse analytical perspectives in the investigation of textual data, relying on both qualitative and quantitative analysis.

1. Introduction

The popularisation of ESP has been the center of increasing scholarly interest in recent years (see Gotti 1996; Ciapuscio 2003; Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004; Garzone 2006, 2007; Kermas and Christiansen eds. 2013). However, the literature has focused prevalently on the dissemination of scientific discourse and, in particular, on the popularising strategies used by journalists in order to explain science to laymen. In this panorama, very few studies have considered the popularisation of legal discourse. Some of the earliest researches on the dissemination of legal discourse are those of Bhatia (1983, 1999), in which he discusses the notions of "easification" vs. "simplification". According to Bhatia, on the one hand there is a need of "easification" of legal texts to make them more accessible by adhering to pedagogical principles. On the other, he perceives "simplification" as negative since it does not help the comprehension of laymen and only deconstructs the textual structure of legal documents. More recent studies have analysed the language used by lawyers in their communication with laymen on the Internet, i.e. on informative websites authored by legal experts dealing with legal matters of frequent occurrence (see Chierichetti 2006 on FAQ sections of Spanish websites about legal topics), as well as in the courtroom (Anesa 2012; Williams 2013).

The aim of this paper is thus to further the study on the popularisation of legal discourse dealing in particular with a type of legal document that has rarely been considered in the previous literature, i.e. the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) and its representation on Universities' institutional websites. The MoU is a bilateral or multilateral agreement (also named Memorandum of Agreement [MoA]) signed between institutions (in our case universities, departments etc.) usually preceded by a

Letter of Intent (LoI). It is a document with legal validity in which the parties agree to converge on an intended common line of action. MoUs signed between universities are generally used to create a network for research cooperation with other institutions, or to begin student and researcher exchanges with international partners. As far as legal references are concerned, Public International Law rules these agreements. Furthermore, in case of any dispute arising from the implementation of a MoU, the parties usually make recourse to Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) (Baratta and Hanaman 2000: 325), and in particular to arbitration.

The MoU can be considered one of the "occluded genres" (Swales 2004) used by university administrations to create research networks with foreign partners. However, in recent years, universities have undergone a process of marketisation (Fairclough 1993; Gibbs and Knapp, 2002; Jessop, Fairclough, Wodak. 2008; Askehave 2007) that has increased the development of "non-occluded genres" (Swales 2004), i.e. news section of universities websites presenting MoUs signed by the institution, intended for external communication and used to promote new opportunities for students and researchers, such as exchanges with foreign universities.

Set against this background, the main objective of this study is to analyse the "non occluded genre" in which the MoU is "remediated" (i.e. the news section of Universities' website). Thus, the paper addresses three overarching questions: 1) What are the rhetorical strategies exploited in the remediation of the MoU? 2) Is there a hybridisation with promotional genres (e.g. the press release) in the remediation of the legal genre due to the increasing need of "marketisation" of universities? 3) Does the popularisation of legal discourse involve the same strategies of the popularisation of scientific discourse (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004)? In order to answer these questions, the paper will

first give a description of the documents collected in the corpora and of the methodology used to analyse the data. The results will then be discussed and the conclusions presented.

2. Materials and Methods

The data for this study consist of two small corpora, a main corpus of news dealing with MoUs signed for international research exchanges collected from the news sections of English-speaking Universities' websites (NewsCorp) (see fig. 1 for an example) and a comparable corpus of 20 Memoranda of Understanding, which the news selected make reference to, signed by English-speaking universities from the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia (MoUCorp) (see fig. 2 for an example of a MoU). The NewsCorp consists of 15,129 tokens, whereas the MoUCorp counts 27,480. All the documents included in the two corpora were selected as full texts and were then transformed into the .txt format for easy analysis using corpus linguistic tools (e.g. Wordsmith Tools).

Group of Eight renews research links with Germany

26 March 2010

The Group of Eight (Go8) will today renew its very strong links with Germany through a new Memorandum of Understanding focused on research collaboration.

In 2007 the Go8 formed a partnership with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) to create the *Go8 - Germany Joint Research Cooperation Scheme* for an initial period of three years. Since then the scheme has provided over $3 million to support research exchange, particularly for early career researchers, between Australia and Germany.

Signing today's MOU on behalf of the Go8 at the DAAD's Australian Alumni Event, University of Sydney Vice-Chancellor, Dr Michael Spence, said it represents a long-term commitment from both sides.

"The Go8 is delighted to be renewing this partnership with the DAAD, one of the world's largest and most respected organisations in international academic co-operation," said Dr Spence.

"Of particular significance is the fact that the level of trust between our two organisations has been developed to such an extent in recent years that we are prepared to commit to long-term collaboration.

"I am sure this will be welcomed by the research community because it means more certainty about the availability of funding for research co-operation than has existed until now.

"A growing body of evidence points to the benefits of international engagement in research including addressing global challenges, enhancing skills development, improving international relations, stimulating foreign investment flows and facilitating access to research infrastructure.

"In its first three years the scheme has provided funding for 90 projects on issues ranging from renewable energy and emissions trading to ageing and integration of migrants."

DAAD Secretary General, Dr Christian Bode, signing the MOU on behalf of the DAAD, said the scheme is the first ongoing co-operation between German and Australian academics.

"Since 2007 the scheme has attracted increased demand from both sides and has stimulated co-operation considerably. It has strengthened Trans-Pacific ties and supported the internationalisation of the universities in both countries.

"The DAAD would welcome other Australian universities joining the scheme in order to expand German and Australian academic exchange," Dr Bode concluded.

Calls for applications under the Go8-Germany Joint Research Co-operation Scheme will open on Monday 29 March 2010. Further details including application and selection procedures and are available from the Go8 website at: www.go8.edu.au.

FOR INFORMATION: Kerrie Thornton, Director, Communications and International, Group of Eight, 0407 947 087

FOR COMMENT: Dr Michael Spence, Vice-Chancellor. The University of Sydney, 0414 998 521

FOR COMMENT: Dr Christian Bode, DAAD General Secretary and Dr Andreas Jaeger, DAAD representative in Australia, 0416 623 531

http://ic.daad.de/sydney/events.htm

Figure 1: **Example of University news about a MoU**

DAAD Deutscher Akademischer Austausch Dienst
German Academic Exchange Service

GROUP OF EIGHT
AUSTRALIA

Group of Eight Australia–Germany
Joint Research Co-operation Scheme

Memorandum of Understanding

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD)

and

The Group of Eight Ltd (Go8)

agree to adapt their MoU of 8 May 2007 to fund research co-operation between Australia and Germany through facilitating the exchange of researchers.

The scheme has the following terms:

1. Aim of the scheme

1.1 The scheme will fund the exchange of academics from both countries who are working on joint research projects.

2. Application and funding eligibility, awards and duration

2.1 In Germany the scheme is aimed at academics from universities, institutes of technology and fachhochschulen*, as well as researchers and research groups from non-university research institutions.

2.2 In Australia the scheme is available to researchers from Go8 universities only.

2.3 Support available through the scheme covers travel and living costs for the participating academics, scholars and graduates during their stay abroad. The basic research costs (staff and equipment) on both sides of the research project are not funded; their financing must be secured from other sources.

2.4 The maximum duration of funding for a joint venture is set at two years. At the time of the initial application funding can be approved for two years, the second year with the prerequisite that the budgets of both sides permit it.

2.5 Each grant recipient will be bound by and protected by the policies of his/her own institution in relation to intellectual property, codes of conduct etc. This applies to both Australian and German researchers.

3. Application and selection procedures

3.1 The funding of exchanges requires the co-operating partners on both sides to submit corresponding applications to their national institution (the Go8 office in Canberra and the DAAD).

3.2 The selection of the eligible applicants takes into account the quality of the project, the qualification of the persons to take part in the project, the expected benefits to Australia and Germany of the co-operation and the degree of participation of early career researchers.

3.3 Applications will initially be judged by selection committees established by the DAAD and each Go8 university. The Go8 office in Canberra will provide a ranked short-list of preferred applications to the DAAD and recommend the projects it would like to see funded. The DAAD will advise the German selection panel of the outcomes of the Go8 reviews of the applications. If there is disagreement between a Go8 institution and the DAAD about which projects should be funded, this will be resolved by written communication between the DAAD and the Go8 office in Canberra.

3.4 Further procedural or project related issues will be resolved through communication between the Go8 and the DAAD.

4. Scheme budget and attribution of costs

4.1 Each side has responsibility for the travel and living costs of its academics and decides on the amount of funding it will provide.

4.2 The costs of the program will be made available on the Australian side by Go8 universities and on the German side by the German Academic Exchange Service from the resources of the Federal Ministry for Education and Research.

4.3 The DAAD and the Go8 will negotiate the level of funding to be allocated each year to the scheme.

5. Duration

5.1 The new agreement comes into force when it is signed by the contracting parties and will be valid until such time as one of the contracting parties withdraws from the agreement. Written notice twelve months in advance will be required to dissolve the agreement.

5.2 The current MoU valid until 31 December 2010 is hereby abolished.

The Group of Eight Ltd, Level 2, 101 Northbourne Avenue, Turner ACT 2612, Australia
The Group of Eight (Go8) is a coalition of Australia's leading research-intensive universities: The Australian National University, The University of Adelaide, The University of Melbourne, Monash University, The University of New South Wales, The University of Queensland, The University of Sydney and The University of Western Australia. www.go8.edu.au

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD), Kennedyallee 50, 53175 Bonn, Germany
The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) is the world's largest funding organisation for international academic exchange, founded in 1925 and re-founded in 1950. www.daad.de

* Fachhochschulen are higher education institutions in Germany which offer applied and practical courses of study.

Figure: 2 Example of a MoU quoted in the news

As for methodologies, the study relied on an integration of a discourse analysis perspective, that is, for the textual construction of the news as genre, and of corpus linguistic tools to identify the most recurrent rhetorical features and popularisation strategies of the texts under investigation. The analysis followed two main steps:

1) a macro analysis of the rhetorical structure of University news (qualitative observation) using the four-move model proposed by Catenaccio for the press release (2008: 16), i.e. 1) Announcement, 2) Elaboration, 3) Comment, 4) Contact details;

2) a micro in-depth analysis of the linguistic strategies of popularisation and of promotional discourse of the selected texts using both a computational analysis, by means of Wordsmith Tools 5.0 (Scott: 2008), and manual tagging of the data.

More specifically, the macro analysis involved the identification of the moves which seemed to characterise the genre University news. For the present purposes, a move is defined as a segment of text that is shaped and constrained by a specific communicative function; as far as the micro-analysis is concerned, I decided to use Calsamiglia and Van Dijk's classification of popularising strategies of scientific discourse (2004: 379-ff.) in order to verify and highlight differences and similarities with my results. The categories are: 1) denomination/designation, i.e. introducing new objects, events or terms, for instance with neologisms or metaphors; 2) definition, i.e. conceptual delimitation of a term by a brief description of some general or specific properties; 3) reformulation/paraphrase, i.e. a discourse fragment easier to understand but with the same meaning as the original one; 4) generalisation, i.e. a proposition that extends the validity of a property to all or most members of a set; 5) use of quotations to attribute statements to researchers, scholars, etc.

3. Results

This section will be devoted to the description of results and will be divided following the two main steps of the analysis (§ 3.1. macro-analysis; § 3.2. micro-analysis).

3.1. Macro-analysis

The first part of our results consists of the description of the rhetorical structure of the news about Memoranda of Understanding on University websites. The qualitative analysis of the data shows a remediation of the information written in the MoU following the textual framework of the press release (Catenaccio 2008: 16) with some minor differences. This genre hybridisation of this particular kind of news with the press release can be explained by the increasing marketisation of higher education (Fairclough, 1993; Askehave, 2007) and especially of universities. Universities need to promote their activities and relations with foreign partners in order to attract many more students. Using a genre, i.e. the press release, typical of corporate communication is thus a way of enhancing the corporate image of the academic institution.

In the web news regarding a MoU we found 4 moves, three compulsory and one optional:

1) Announcement
2) Elaboration
3) Comment
4) Contact details

The first move, the "announcement", consists of the title of the news and of the first paragraph in which the signed

Memorandum is mentioned for the first time. The signatory parts, i.e. the institutions involved, are also cited in this first paragraph as well as the general aim of the agreement. Example (1) provides evidence of the move "announcement"

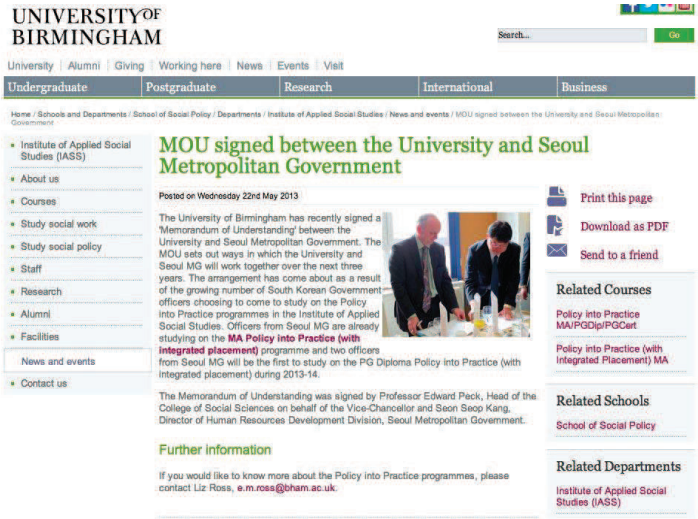
(1) **"Group of Eight renews research links with Germany"**
The Group of Eight (Go8) will today renew its very strong links with Germany through a new Memorandum of Understanding focused on research collaboration[1].

The second move, the "elaboration", develops in three of four paragraphs in which the writer gives details about the MoU and its implementation, highlighting in particular the benefits and advantages for the universities involved. In this move, promotional discourse starts to play an important role in order to enhance the corporate image of the institutions. Move 2 is exemplified in (2):

(2) In 2007 the Go8 formed a partnership with the German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) to create the *Go8 - Germany Joint Research Cooperation Scheme* for an initial period of three years. Since then the scheme has provided over $3 million to support research exchange, particularly for early career researchers, between Australia and Germany.
Signing today's MOU on behalf of the Go8 at the DAAD's Australian Alumni Event, University of Sydney Vice-Chancellor, Dr Michael Spence, said it represents a long-term commitment from both sides.

As far as the third move, i.e. the "comment" move, is concerned, here we usually find the remarks of the signatory authorities (e.g. the representatives of the two universities/departments) about the new Memorandum signed. They are usually portrayed in a picture accompanying the news while signing the agreement or subsequently shaking their hands, as shown in figure 3:

[1] My emphasis.



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MOU signed between the University and Seoul Metropolitan Government

Posted on Wednesday 22nd May 2013

The University of Birmingham has recently signed a 'Memorandum of Understanding' between the University and Seoul Metropolitan Government. The MOU sets out ways in which the University and Seoul MG will work together over the next three years. The arrangement has come about as a result of the growing number of South Korean Government officers choosing to come to study on the Policy into Practice programmes in the Institute of Applied Social Studies. Officers from Seoul MG are already studying on the **MA Policy into Practice (with integrated placement)** programme and two officers from Seoul MG will be the first to study on the PG Diploma Policy into Practice (with integrated placement) during 2013-14.

The Memorandum of Understanding was signed by Professor Edward Peck, Head of the College of Social Sciences on behalf of the Vice-Chancellor and Seon Seop Kang, Director of Human Resources Development Division, Seoul Metropolitan Government.

Further information

If you would like to know more about the Policy into Practice programmes, please contact Liz Ross, e.m.ross@bham.ac.uk.

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Figure 3: **Photo of signatory authorities**

The "comment" move consists on average of two or three paragraph in which there are the quotations (either direct or indirect) of the statements given by the representatives of the institutions signing the MoU. This is the most promotional part in which the benefits deriving from the agreement are highlighted and reinforced by the use of quotations that provide authoritativeness to what is stated. Move 3 is exemplified in the following example:

(3) "The Go8 is delighted to be renewing this partnership with the DAAD, one of the world's largest and most respected organisations in international academic co-operation," said Dr Spence.
"Of particular significance is the fact that the level of trust between our two organisations has been developed to such an extent in recent years that we are prepared to commit to long-term collaboration.
DAAD Secretary General, Dr Christian Bode, signing the MOU on behalf of the DAAD, said the scheme is the first ongoing co-operation between German and Australian academics.

The fourth and last move is devoted to "contact details", though we found this move only in 10% of the news; it could be thus considered as an optional one. Its main function is to provide students and researchers interested in applying for the exchange with contact details of the members of the staff who can give information about the MoU. The staff members are usually identified by their names and roles in the institutions. See (4) for an example:

(4) ***Calls for applications under the Go8-Germany Joint Research Co-operation Scheme will open on Monday 29 March 2010. Further details including application and selection procedures and are available from the Go8 website at: www.go8.edu.au.***
FOR INFORMATION: Kerrie Thornton, Director, Communications and International, Group of Eight, 0407 947 087
FOR COMMENT: Dr Michael Spence, Vice-Chancellor. The University of Sydney, 0414 998 5 21
FOR COMMENT: Dr Christian Bode, DAAD General Secretary and Dr Andreas Jaeger, DAAD representative in Australia, 0416 623 531

The next section will be dedicated to the results of the micro-analysis.

3.2. Micro-analysis

As far as the micro-analysis is concerned, we first investigated the popularising strategies in the corpus of news about MoUs (NewsCorp). The first interesting result is that, unlike what happens for scientific discourse, only two of the strategies identified by Calsamiglia and Van Dijk (2004) are traceable, i.e. reformulation and use of quotations.

The most frequent strategy is reformulation (in 15 news stories out of 20) and it is mainly used to sum up information in the shortest way possible. In fact, the MoU is a very long and complex document that can be assimilated to a contract. It thus

contains specific and detailed information that needs to be adapted to the very short format of universities' webnews. Example (5) reports the Memorandum of Understanding and the news referring to the MoU itself. As well shown by the example, the use of reformulations helps to give only the principal data useful for the reader, leaving aside all the details for the legal implementation of the agreement.

(5) **MOU_AUS_3**

4. SCOPE
Cooperation between the institutions will be established, maintained or extended, as appropriate, in the following areas:
4.1 **Admission Processes**
The institutions will ensure that, when reviewing their respective admissions policies, processes and quotas, particular consideration is given to facilitating student movement between sectors.
4.2 **Articulations, Credit Transfer and Recognition of Prior Learning**
The institutions will:
4.2.1 work to develop pathways in either direction, which maximise articulation particularly that of "bIock" credit transfer, between the institutions; […]
4.3 **Collaborative Curriculum Development and Delivery**
The institutions will:
4.3.1 establish a formal process to identify opportunities for collaborative curriculum development when planning new or revised courses; […]

NEWS_AUS_10

"The Memorandum covers cooperative activities including **admissions processes, articulation, credit transfer and recognition of prior learning, collaborative curriculum development, resource sharing, strategic planning, marketing, professional development and research**"

The second strategy of popularisation that we found in the NewsCorp is the use of quotations (in 13 news stories out of 20).

Quotations are "projections of information" (Halliday, 1994: 250-ff.) and in the case of university webnews about MoUs, they are exploited to interpret and generalise the detailed information of the agreement. The information reported acquires authoritativeness because it is rendered through the words of the signatory representatives of the institutions. According to Calsamiglia and Lòpez Ferrero (2003: 155), there are four different styles of citations: 1) direct, in which there is a fracture between the syntax of the overall text and the cited statement, i.e. two different deictic centres; 2) indirect, which consists of only one discourse with a single deictic centre, i.e. a subordinate clause introduced by a conjunction and characterised by the agreement of tenses; 3) integrated, which has the form of indirect citations, but with segments as being cited directly and signalled by quotations marks; 4) inserted, in which cited words or sentences are introduced by means of markers such as "according to", explicitly assigning the words to a particular agent.

After isolating all instances of quotations in the corpus, we observed that direct citations were the most frequent type of quotation (80%). The choice of direct citations has a twofold function; on the one hand, they provide the reader with a generalised and simplified version of the information included in the original MoU that the news make reference to; on the other hand, they strengthen the newsworthiness of the information given by using the exact words of the authorities involved. The universities' representatives mentioned in the webnews are always indicated by their institutional role. Example (6) provides an instance of the transformation of the MoU into the news by means of direct citations:

(6) **MOU_AUS_7**

[…] encourage the development of curriculum to give particular attention to:
- creating education and training pathways;
- the relevance of course content to industry where appropriate;
- opportunities for vocational training for graduates;
- strategies to increase indigenous participation in higher education;
· development of flexible learning opportunities such as short courses; and
- dual programs.

NEWS_AUS_9

"The University of Adelaide believes very strongly in creating opportunities to help young Australians reach their full potential, and to help them towards a productive future in the community," said the University's Vice-Chancellor, Professor James McWha

Carrying the same functions, the other type of citation identified in the NewsCorp is indirect citation (20%). As with direct citations, in fact, indirect quotations summarise the information of the MoU adding authoritativeness to what is written in the news.

(7) **MOU_AUS_5**

The German Academic Exchange Service (DAAD) And The Group of Eight Ltd*
agree to the establishment of the first joint scheme to fund research co-operation between Australia and the Federal Republic of Germany through facilitating the exchange of researchers

NEWS_AUS_2

DAAD Secretary General, Dr Christian Bode, signing the MOU on behalf of the DAAD, said the scheme is the first ongoing co-operation between German and Australian academics.

The last part of the micro-analysis involved the role of promotional discourse and after the manual tagging of the texts, we observed that 78% of the promotional items could be found in the "comment move" respecting what we have already highlighted when analysing the rhetorical structure of the webnews. In this move, in fact, the signatory authorities state all the benefits and advantages deriving from the MoU for the institutions involved. They promote the research net using highly promotional language as shown in (8):

(8) Simon Pendlebury, European Vice President of Storage, IBM Systems and Technology Group, said: "The new agreement builds on an already successful relationship between IBM and Durham University. The significant overlap between IBM's Smarter Planet initiative and Durham University's broad research interests should give rise to numerous opportunities for collaboration and the development of areas of common interest such as high performance computing. The arrangement also includes support for teaching and learning in the University, support for the University's Corporate Social Responsibility program and should further enhance IBM's profile as a graduate employer so that IBM can benefit from the strong talent which is developed by the University."

4. Conclusions

The aim of the present paper was to further the study on the popularisation of legal discourse regarding in particular a type of legal document that has hardly been considered in the previous literature, i.e. the Memorandum of Understanding and its representation on University websites. Specifically, the study addressed three overarching questions: 1) What are the rhetorical strategies exploited in the remediation of the MoU? 2) Does the popularisation of legal discourse involve the same strategies of the popularisation of scientific discourse (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004)? 3) What is the role of promotional discourse in a view of "marketisation" of universities?

Dealing with the first question, it is possible to state that the news relating to signed Memoranda of Understanding on University institutional websites is a hybrid genre (Bhatia 2004) that remediates the legal genre MoU into the rhetorical structure of the press release, typical of corporate communication. This could be linked to the new awareness of universities of their corporate role in a view of "marketisation" of higher education. In fact, choosing a corporate genre with promotional functions is a way of attracting new students and researchers.

As far as the second question is concerned, very few strategies of the popularisation of ESP are traceable in the case of University webnews about MoUs, i.e. reformulations and use of quotations. These two strategies are mainly used to summarise and generalise the detailed information contained in the agreement. Differently from what happens for scientific discourse, legal concepts are not presented in the news thus avoiding the need for explication with other strategies such as definitions, denomination/designation, or generalisation.

Considering the last questions, we can say that there is a wide use of promotional discourse in the "comment" move to place emphasis on the advantages derived from the signed MoU.

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Rumpole of the Bailey: The Remediation of Justice in Post-Colonial Legal Discourse

Michela Giordano
University of Cagliari

Abstract

The present chapter investigates the legal, discursive and rhetorical features in the courtroom drama 'Rumpole of the Bailey', focusing on the episode 'Rumpole and the Golden Thread'. Being appointed to defend a former student who has become Minister of the Interior, now charged with murder, the barrister Rumpole travels to an imaginary former British colony in Central Africa determined to restore justice and to reformulate and reaffirm the Golden Thread of Common Law according to which "no man shall be convicted if there is a reasonable doubt as to his guilt". The linguistic analysis tries to ascertain whether and to what extent certain characters' discursive and rhetorical features not only entertain the viewers but also inform, instruct and lead them through the intertwining of civilised British culture, local barbaric practices, complex legal systems and procedures, the critical condemnation of imperialism, and the unethical connection between politics and law in a now independent country.

1. Introduction

'Rumpole of the Bailey' is a British television series written by the writer and barrister John Mortimer (1923-2009). The courtroom drama was originally broadcast on Thames Television in 1978 as a six-episode series. Many of the show's episodes and stories were later adapted by Mortimer himself into book form,

TV movies, and BBC Radio broadcasts. Horace Rumpole is an aging Old Bailey barrister at law who defends a broad range of clients, many of whom thieves and villains, and his skill at defending them becomes legendary. Rumpole is a firm believer in the presumption of innocence and this trait of his will constitutes the starting point for the present study.

The episode under scrutiny is set in a fictional Central African state, Neranga, "a lump of land carved out by the British" characterised by a weighty colonial heritage juxtaposed to the problem of tribal hatred and enmity. Rumpole is appointed as the defence counsel of a murder suspect by the organisation Justitia International. Unfortunately, his efforts come up against the country's complex and often deadly tribal politics, the practices of imperialism, the absence of a jury (an institution abolished by the British during the colonial period), and the lack of an alibi for the defendant. Thus, "English Law is […] represented as the light in the darkness of African savagery" (Dolin 2007: 169).

The linguistic analysis of this study will try to ascertain whether and to what extent the characters' discursive features lead the viewers through the intertwining of the several topics in question, such as the contrast between the civilised British culture and the African barbaric practices, the critical condemnation of imperialism, and the unethical connection between politics and law in the ex-colony.

The meaning of the word 're-mediation' in the title of the present paper is dual-purpose. Firstly, it will be argued that the intertextual quotations of poetry and literary works, the dialogic, and often ironic and humorous interplay of questions and answers in court, the rhetorical power of legal ideals and maxims, all contribute to the viewers' (and to Rumpole's) access to the African reality and allow for the reinterpretation and reformulation of justice and of the rhetoric of law in the land of "noises in the bush" and "smoke signals". Secondly, all these

rhetorical features (regulated by the rules of courtroom discourse and the conventions of the language of drama and fiction in which those features are embedded) are to be intended as representative of the transition between the technical and specialised type of discourse that the law requires and a simple way of phrasing, describing, explaining (Anesa 2013: 211) or even reformulating and thus representing it. It will be argued that, through the lens of the camera, the courtroom drama under investigation, along with its entertaining function, concurs to both the exploitation and construction of the popularisation of legal language and to the lay viewers' consumption of this hybrid type of discourse. Discourse which is at once hypercomplex and oversimplified, formal and humorous, personal and impersonal, clear and ambiguous, technical and emotional (Anesa 2013: 112).

2. Data and theoretical framework

The episode 'Rumpole and the Golden Thread', broadcast in 1983 and included in the third season of the series, will represent the data for the present study. Essential references for this study included some seminal works on the language in the legal system, and the discourse of the English courtroom such as those by Atkinson and Drew (1979) and Gibbons (2003). Other theoretical works, such as those by Short (1996) and Culpeper, Short and Verdonk (1998) provided useful insight into the exploration of the language of drama and plays. Works such as those by Rafter (2001), Greenfield (2001), Silbey (2001) endowed the present investigation with an all-encompassing and basic knowledge of the relation between law and film and the characteristics of the courtroom drama genre. Additionally, Anesa (2013), Gotti (2013), and Williams (2013) provided

valuable understanding of how popularisation works can affect the communication of specialised discourse.

The present study starts from the general assumption that the social practices involving participants and their relationships within the several legal genres result in complex interrelationships between participants, texts and contexts. For the purposes of the present investigation, it is necessary to understand the specificity of courtroom language and discourse and, in addition, to be aware of the implications that might arise when courtroom discourse is represented in fiction and drama. Culpeper, Short, and Verdonk explain that "(i)n institutional settings, the order of turns is controlled not spontaneously but by appropriate institutional conventions". In fact, as they explain, legal contexts, in particular, have "elaborate arrangements regarding who speaks when and to whom" (1998: 22-23). Additionally, as already stated by Atkinson and Drew (1979) courtroom discourses, and direct and cross examinations above all, differ from ordinary conversations in that the turn-taking in trials is not locally managed, as happens in everyday talk, but both turn order and type of turn are fixed, according to certain conventions that must be followed.

Furthermore, the investigation of the courtroom drama genre requires other fundamental concepts to be taken into consideration. Firstly, the order of speech in dramatic texts projects the order of turns to be taken by the dramatis personae and it is controlled by the dramatist (Culpeper, Short, and Verdonk 1998: 24). Secondly, it cannot be disregarded that drama has two levels of discourse, the author-audience/reader level and the character-character level: the character talk is embedded in the higher discourse of the playwright and the audience (Short 1996: 169). Gibbons identifies multiple audiences in trials, including three tiers: a) a primary audience made up of the judge and the jury, b) a secondary audience made

up of the press and spectators, and c) a third made up of the universal audience of all reasonable people (2003: 154). Therefore, when it comes to courtroom drama on the screen, the third type of audience certainly includes also the external audience viewing the episode broadcast, which cannot be ignored or forgotten. It will be argued that it is precisely the presence of this external audience which accounts for the several discursive strategies of re-mediation used in the drama dialogues under scrutiny here, such as introduction, explanation, description, reformulation and even exemplification, comparison, visuals, irony and metaphors, deemed "typical of popularisation discourse" (Gotti 2013: 11), all aiming at a better general understanding of the legal discourse community dynamics.

3. The courtroom drama genre

Trial discourse is considered to be a hybrid type of discourse because of its dual modality (it can be both oral or spoken and written in transcripts), but also in terms of style and register. As a matter of fact, formality and technicality are combined with ordinary language and with instances of oversimplification, as Anesa underlines (2013: 111). The courtroom drama genre is not exempt from the exploitation of these legal discourse characteristics.

Courtroom drama can be considered a subgenre of the more generic category of legal dramas and films about trials whose development is well explained by Rafter, although she focuses only on the American context. The author underlines that "in earlier times one could recognize a trial film with relative ease: it was a drama in which a heroic lawyer (…) solved the film's dilemmas in the course of a civil or criminal trial, usually a trial held within a courtroom" (Rafter 2001: 9). The author adds that

nearly all trial films are based on the same theme "the difficulty of achieving justice" (2001: 11).

Mambretti (2014), an American mystery author, explains that courtroom drama is a subtype of the mystery genre in that the viewers of screen plays do not know 'whodunit' until the climax of the story. She lists other features of the courtroom drama genre which include:

a) the personification of the courtroom, that is represented as if it were a character and "the personality of the courtroom is always determined by the character of the judge, who embodies either justice or injustice";
b) the preference for and exaltation of the defence lawyer who is usually the protagonist along with an innocent defendant.

Mambretti adds that very often these stories involve a clever mystery, intricate and conflicting motives for a crime that must be solved, complex characters, atmospheric settings and the exploration of the meaning of justice. These generic features will be taken into account in the linguistic and discursive analysis that follows.

Furthermore, since fiction regarding legal matters abounds not only in novels and films but also in TV courtroom dramas which have become very famous and popular, larger and larger sections of the wider public "consume" crime stories and court cases with "enduring voracity" (Williams 2013: 36): probably, it is precisely this interest on the part of the audience which contributes to the popularisation of legal discourse, which aims at giving a wider understanding to lay people. Certain discursive-semiotic practices are utilised in a clever way in order to allow for the reformulation and recontextualisation of the legal discourse which is typical of popularisation, aimed at communicating the lay versions of scientific or specialised

knowledge among the public at large (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004: 371).

4. Analysis and discussion

'Rumpole and the Golden Thread' is set in an imaginary Central African state, Neranga, characterised by the hostility between the two indigenous groups Apu and Matatu. The British barrister Horace Rumpole is appointed to defend David Mazenze, a former student of his, who has become Minister for Home Affairs, but who has been charged with the murder of a Bishop and now faces death sentence. Rumpole travels to the ex-colony willing to restore justice and to reaffirm the Golden Thread of British Common Law according to which no man shall be convicted if there is a reasonable doubt as to his guilt. The defendant does not expect to win the case: if he is convicted, the Apu people, his own people, will start a revolution. In the end, Rumpole manages to prove his innocence since the alibi which was lacking is eventually provided by the existence of Mazenze's second wife, a secret wife from the rival tribe Matatu. Mazenze is thus acquitted but he is murdered right after the trial, as a punishment for his betrayal. The barrister Rumpole understands he has been manipulated by political forces which went way beyond his resolution to restore and reaffirm justice.

Through the analysis of some of the scenes in the episodes, the present paper aims at demonstrating how popularisation is achieved through the exploitation of not only conventional features such as the explanation of technical and specialised language and the simplification of certain discursive elements, but also through a vast array of rhetorical devices such as intertextuality, parody, irony and humour, visual symbols, mockery, metaphors and figurative language which aim at entertaining, informing and educating the audience and, at the

same time, enhancing their knowledge and awareness of legal facts, events and procedures.

4.1 Intertextuality and parody

In the courtroom drama 'Rumpole of the Bailey' the barrister's legal adventures are continuously intertwined with his personal life in the familiar context. Each narrative of a courtroom case is always placed side by side the encounters and disputes in the "domestic tribunal" (Ceserani 1999: 18) presided over by "She who must be obeyed", as Rumpole secretly calls his wife Hilda, making intertextual reference to the fearsome queen in the adventure novel She by Henry Rider Haggard. Intertextuality aims at providing a further description of actors and actions by making reference to well known literary works thus making events more understandable to the ordinary viewers.

In the episode under investigation, the first scene is set in the familiar context of Rumpole's kitchen, where paradoxically the wish for adventure starts and finishes in the last scene at the end. Rumpole and his wife Hilda are at the sink, wearing aprons, doing the washing up after supper one night in their house in Gloucester Road. Rumpole starts reciting a piece by James Elroy Flecker (1884–1915), the journey of some people to a place romantically called Samarkand. The excerpt is taken from the verse drama Hassan ... The Golden Journey to Samarkand inscribed on the clock tower of the barracks of the British Army's 22 Special Air Service regiment in Hereford. This is another striking example of both intertextuality and parody of canonical poetry: both of them concur to make events in the scene more comprehensible and even prepare the viewers for the scenes to come. The simplicity, or even mediocrity of the context of the initial scene is smartly contrasted with what will be the adventure later in the narration and especially the "legal

experience-grand and opulent, pregnant with promise, disorienting and mysterious, somewhat ominous and potentially threatening" (Silbey 2001: 99). The initial scene introduces, gives a certain flavour to and structures the subsequent story.

Scene: In the kitchen

Rumpole: "We are the pilgrims, master. We must always go a little further".
Hilda: This plate's not properly washed up, Rumpole.
Rumpole: "Away, for we are ready to a man. Our camels sniff the evening and are glad. Lead on, O Masters of the Caravan. Lead on, O Merchant Princes of Baghdad".
Hilda: I don't know why you always choose the washing-up. Why can't you dry?
Rumpole: Washing is more fun.
Hilda: Not when you leave bits of gravy untouched by the mop.
Rumpole: Oh, what's the matter? A bit of yesterday's gravy never hurt anyone. You might be glad of that one day. "It may be beyond the last blue mountain barred with snow. Across that angry or that glimmering sea".
Hilda: I really don't know what you are talking about. (1:52-2:41).

Hilda is concerned about the dishes which are not properly washed and she is annoyed by the fact that Rumpole always chooses the washing up and not the drying. His poetic verses are thus interrupted by the futile and trivial topic of bits of gravy untouched by the mop, wiping dishes and liquid soap in plastic bottles. Rumpole's wish for adventure is juxtaposed to, and trivialised by, boring, common and ordinary daily activities such as the washing up thus conveying irony and parody of an original work of poetry.

Humour and parody seem to represent some of the ways in which technical discourse can be understood by lay people. They are largely utilised by John Mortimer in many of Rumpole's episodes, including this one. In addition, the first scene is closely linked to the last one in which Rumpole comes back to his house

and to his familiar context after the African adventure, disillusioned by his recent journey. This is in accordance with what Rafter affirms, i.e. some trial films conclude with a return to the setting of the first scene, to demonstrate that the original equilibrium has been restored (2001: 11) and, in Rumpole's case, "Samarkand is definitely off", as the barrister himself communicates to his wife in the last scene.

4.2 Visual symbols and irony

In the following scene the telephone rings and Hilda answers the call and passes it to her husband.

Scene: The phone call
(The telephone rings)

Hilda: 2045 Hilda Rumpole speaking. Just who? Justitia. (Whispers) Who is she?
Rumpole: (to Hilda) She is a blind goddess lugging a blooming great sword and a pair of scales. Rumpole speaking. Yes Justitia International. Yes, I know your organisation. Who? David Mazenze! Of course I remember him, I taught him in crammer's.
Hilda: Who is it Rumpole?
Rumpole: Well, I see the occasional reference in The Times. He's got himself into a bit of trouble out there, has he? Lunch tomorrow? Yes, of course. Whereabouts? The Venetia in Fleet Street. Certainly. One o'clock? Fine, yes. I'll see you then. Bye.
Hilda: What's the matter with you, Rumpole? You look very pleased with yourself.
[…]
Rumpole:"We take the Golden Road to Samarkand…" (3:19-4:27).

The organisation Justitia International is calling Rumpole to appoint him as David Mazenze's defence counsel in Neranga. Through visual symbols and irony Rumpole describes Justitia as "a blind goddess lugging a blooming great sword and a pair of scales". Then, referring to his appointment as the accused's

defence counsel and to his imminent journey to Africa he symbolises Neranga as Samarkand and depicts himself as undertaking the journey of the merchants in the caravan in the poem by James Elroy Flecker, in his own much sought after and longed for adventure in a distant and fascinating land. As will be seen later, Rumpole's excitement for the new adventure will be dampened by what he will find there.

Visual symbols and irony can be considered other ways in which the courtroom drama genre, and this series in particular, aims at simplifying and reformulating a certain type of discourse to involve the viewers and make them active participants, thus allowing for technical and specialised concepts to be understood when they are presented in the episode. Rumpole explains complicated things to his wife and the viewers become the secondary, but not less important, end-users and beneficiaries of his explanations and descriptions.

4.3 Metaphors and figurative language

The following excerpt shows a conversation between Rumpole and Hilda which is actually not present in the broadcast episode but just in the novel. It is shown here because it is deemed representative of the critique of colonialism and of the parody of imperialist discourse, through the use of metaphors and figurative language. Hilda's old school friend Dodo Mackintosh is coming for a short visit the following week but adventure calls and Rumpole certainly cannot be deaf to it or resist it.

Conversation with Hilda

Hilda: It's too bad, Rumpole, you will miss Dodo.
Rumpole: Hilda! Africa is waiting. The smoke-signals are drifting up from the hills and in the jungle the tom-toms are beating. The message is, "Rumpole is coming, the Great Man of Law".

Rumpole adopts the language of colonialism: "the smoke signals are drifting up from the hills and in the jungle the tom-toms are beating". The message is that the hero Rumpole will save the savage colony from barbaric practices. The opposition of barbarism and savagery to civilisation and culture is the description used to introduce Hilda into the new, unknown and uncivilised land. The Great Man of Law symbolises the civilising mission of the British Empire and the British culture in the primitive, superstitious and uncultured land of Neranga. Rumpole's role is to intervene in this darkness and obscurity of tribal practices with the light, clarity, and precision of British law (Dolin 2007: 174). The metaphor of dark vs light, though veiled, reformulates the contrast between the dark continent and the enlightened civilisation, between superstition and rationality. Metaphors and figurative language are another way in which explanation can be exploited in order to make viewers aware of the difficulty of certain tasks the barrister undertakes in his professional activity. The use of metaphors can be considered a strategy of popularisation adopted by Rumpole to make his specialised reference more accessible to his wife Hilda and to the viewers themselves, providing in this case a metaphorical explanation of the savagery-civilisation dichotomy.

4.4 The personification of justice

Returning to the examination of the TV episode, after the scenes in the home context, Rumpole then flies to Neranga and finally visits the accused David Mazenze. Thanks to his political position and role in the Ministry for Home Affairs, he is not jailed or kept in a cell as a murder suspect could expect but is accommodated at the Police Headquarters, in a very comfortable flat with all the comforts and luxuries of a home, including relaxing music and good wine. During the first talk with the

British barrister, Mazenze gives some pieces of advice to Rumpole on how to conduct his defence. He refers to the inalienable presumption in British Common Law, affirming that any individual brought before the Bar for judgment has a presumption of innocence in his or her favour, meaning that we all are presumed innocent until we are proven guilty beyond a reasonable doubt. It is better that ten guilty men should go free than one who is not guilty should be convicted because, to convict an innocent, is "to spit in the face of justice".

Scene: Police Headquarters – First talk with the client
(1st part)

Mazenze: You won't win this one on alibis, Horace. You want to know what to rely on?
Rumpole: I'd welcome… I'd welcome suggestions.
Mazenze: The Common Law of England! The Presumption of Innocence, you know what you told me: the Golden Thread which goes through the history of the law. I like that phrase so very much.
Rumpole: You have a remarkable memory for those things I told you.
Mazenze: A man is innocent until he's proved guilty. Better that ten guilty men should go free than one who is not guilty should be convicted. For to convict the innocent is …
Both: … to spit in the face of justice! (19:17-19:55).

Rumpole and his former student pronounce the last phrase in unison. Justice is personified and convicting an innocent man would be equal to a personal offence, like spitting in someone's face. The only way to avoid the outrageous deed is to rely on the rule of law, the Presumption of Innocence, in order to ensure that the integrity of justice can prevail. Rumpole is flattered that Mazenze still remembers everything he taught him in the old days when Rumpole was preparing his pupil for the Bar examination and taught him almost all there is to know about the burden of proof in British law. This last turn is representative of both the two men's common legal background and professional

knowledge and of their complicity, understanding and empathy as teacher and student. In addition, the entire dialogue and the personification of justice (typical of the courtroom drama genre, as seen earlier) represent the means of providing an explanation and a description of the concept of the Golden Thread for the benefit of the plot development and the viewers' understanding. Personification acts here as a popularisation strategy which has the objective of facilitating the lay viewers' accessibility to complex legal concepts, even educating them and enhancing their knowledge and awareness of legal processes

4.5 Mockery of the trial process and critique of colonialism

In the second part of the conversation, in the following excerpt, Horace stands up and addresses Mazenze and Freddy Ruingo, the instructing solicitor, as though they were the jury.

Scene: Police Headquarters – 1st talk with the client (2nd part)

Mazenze: Do you still use that one in your speech to the jury at the old London Sessions?
Rumpole: Well, I'm afraid I do from time to time. After all, a jury in Neranga can't be that different.
Freddy Ruingo: Mr Rumpole…
Rumpole: Members of the jury, the evidence in this case calls for guesswork. Now you may use guesswork to pick the winner of the Derby. But it is no way to bring in a verdict on a capital charge of murder against a fellow human being.
Freddy Ruingo: Steady on, Mr Rumpole. We have no jury.
Rumpole: No jury?
Freddy Ruingo: You British abolished juries in murder cases when Neranga was still 'New Somerset'.
Rumpole: We did that? (19:59-20:39)

Freddy Ruingo tries to interrupt the barrister's harangue, but Rumpole continues in his imitation and impersonation of the self-confident, skilled and seasoned, as well as unimpeachable,

barrister in front of a jury. His mocking, though pretty realistic address to the jury, represents a way of instructing the viewers and anticipating how the barrister intends to defend his client accused of murder and facing capital punishment. The objective once again is informing the viewers and educating them, providing additional knowledge of the trial process and the African court procedures. Ruingo the solicitor finally manages to get a word in and he interrupts saying there is no longer a jury in the country because the British abolished it when Neranga was still a colony. Horace Rumpole realises that colonisation has brought its disadvantages and he has to recognise the failure of the British power in the post-colonial context. The whole scene is based on the mockery and parody of the trial process and the address to the jury Rumpole expects to face in court. Additionally, the scene revolves around the critique of colonialism and the drawback and detriment it represented for the colony and its development.

On the fourth day of his stay in Neranga, Rumpole goes to the High Court of Justice for the first hearing and realises that, apart from the black faces under the white wigs, the Court is set out exactly as it was in the Old Bailey. The public gallery hosts members of the Apu tribe and European journalists who have flown to Neranga to report on the trial of a well-known African politician. The Attorney General and prosecuting counsel, Mr Rupert Taboro, conducts his direct examination of the first witness for the prosecution, the Permanent Private Secretary to the Minister for Home Affairs, that is the defendant's secretary, Magnus Nagoma. In answering the counsel's questions, he states that he himself saw the defendant and Bishop Kareele, the victim, talking outside the Parliament building and the argument was so heated that the defendant concluded his talk to the Bishop with the threatening words "I'll kill you". The Judge writes those words down, repeating them carefully and pronouncing them

slowly as to spell them out, pretending to hear a piece of fundamental and crucial evidence.

During the direct examination, Rumpole is often rebuked by the judge for objecting without standing, for interrupting and talking while seated, thus deviating from fixed discourse conventions and violating the courtroom rule according to which it is customary to remain silent when seated. Disappointed and upset by the strategies used by both the hostile judge and prosecution counsel, Rumpole arranges a little practical demonstration with Freddy Ruingo and what follows is the dialogue preceding his cross-examination of the witness.

Scene: The witness for the prosecution: cross–examination

Rumpole: Mr Nagoma…
Freddy Ruingo: (mutters) This man is a Matatu. Naturally he is hostile to David.
Rumpole: If you interrupt my cross-examination, I'll kill you!
[Laughter in the gallery]
Usher: Silence! Silence!
Chief Justice: Mr Rumpole. There's no jury here!
Rumpole: My Lord, I'm sorry we abolished that great institution.
Chief Justice: That was a jury trick. It was not worthy of a former pupil of Mr C. H. Wystan.
Rumpole: It was not a trick, my Lord. It was a demonstration. I am about to put the question to the witness.
Chief Justice: Put it then, Mr Rumpole. Without play-acting please!
Rumpole: (to the witness) Were not the words addressed to the Bishop used in the way I have just used them to my learned instructing solicitor, as a bit of meaningless abuse?
The witness Nagoma: I don't know that.
Rumpole: Oh, do you not? (30:15-30:58)

Rumpole stages a demonstration to show that the words "I'll kill you" are often pronounced with no intention to actually kill a person. The demonstration is not welcomed by the judge who interprets Rumpole's display and explanation as if it were a trick

to persuade the jury and the public, i.e. one of the devices the British barrister is used to employing in the English courtrooms. Neranga is not England and there is no jury, so Rumpole is shamelessly deviating from and intentionally breaking the African courtroom rules and conventions once more.

In the second talk with his client at the Police Headquarters, Horace Rumpole becomes aware of the disreputable mixing of law and politics in the ex-colony and understands that the whole trial is just a façade. He has been invited to Neranga just to uphold the tradition of British justice before the international press. Very often the courtroom drama genre displays the embedding of the legal narrative and practice within a more general context in which some much debated and controversial moral issue or ethical value is at stake. The courtroom fiction thus focuses on certain current and topical issues which are dealt with and solved through the practice of law and the implementation of justice. As explained by Greenfield, "(c)ontentious ethical issues, surrounding the practice of law, have long been used as part of the character construction of cinematic lawyers. The handling of difficult moral and ethical dilemmas are often marks of the 'great' law film and the 'great' film lawyer" (2001: 27-28). Horace opens the dialogue confessing to the accused that he thinks the Chief Justice is against them. But Mazenze is not surprised: the Chief Justice is part of the opposing tribe and he is the "Prime Minister's little chicken".

Scene: Police Headquarters – 2nd talk with the client

Rumpole: … you must have noticed the judge is against us.
Mazenze: A member of the Matatu tribe, and the Prime Minister's little chicken? Why shouldn't he be against an Apu leader? Everything is going as expected.
Rumpole: We've got to win this case.

Mazenze: Don't worry old fellow. You're doing exactly what is needed.
Rumpole: Yes, what's that?
Mazenze: Upholding the best traditions of British justice for the foreign press. When we lose, they will know this dr Death has no respect for the law. So our revolution will be perfectly justified.
Rumpole: Your revolution?
Mazenze: Our boys in the bush, Horace. They will attack on the day I am convicted. No sentence will ever be carried out against David Mazenze. Now then, does that take a bit of weight off your mind? (35:45-36:37)

Suddenly Rumpole realises that Mazenze does not expect and does not want to win the case. If he is convicted the Apu people will start a revolution. But everything is going just as expected. Losing the case will help demonstrate that the Chief Justice has no respect for the law and the Apu revolution will be perfectly justified. The boys in the bush are preparing a revolution, they will attack on the same day the accused is condemned and no sentence will ever be carried out against the accused. Rumpole understands he is being used for political reasons and he cannot stand the idea that he was brought to Africa to lose his case. "Rumpole presumes every case to be winnable until it's lost" and his resolution starts to win the case and restore justice and the British law in the ex-colony of Neranga.

The previous dialogue represents the scarcely veiled critique and condemnation of the unethical combination of law and politics and the immoral use of legal practices to satisfy personal interests and achieve dishonest and corrupt political ends. Once again, the fictional discourse aims at mirroring reality and involving the viewers, allowing for their understanding of the complex and multi-faceted context in which the plot, and the trial itself, are progressively unfolding.

A twist at the end allows Rumpole to win the case. His key witness is Mabel Mazenze, the accused's second and secret wife, who belongs to the rival Matatu tribe. She provides an alibi for

David Mazenze. At the time of the murder, they were celebrating their anniversary together so David cannot be guilty.

Scene: The witness for the defence

Chief Justice: Call your witness, Mr Rumpole.
Usher: Call Mabel Mazenze.
[…]
Rumpole: You are Mabel Mazenze?
Mabel: Mazenze, yes.
Rumpole: And are you a lady of the Matatu tribe?
Chief Justice: Is she a Matatu woman, is that what you mean?
Rumpole: I was trying to put it a little more elegantly, my Lord.
Chief Justice: Don't mind the eloquence. (To Mabel) You Matatu woman?
Mabel Mazenze: Yes, sir. (39:07-39:50).

Rumpole strictly follows the court traditions and etiquette, asking the witness to introduce herself to the court and addressing the lady elegantly and formally. But the Chief Justice invites Rumpole to leave out eloquence and ceremony and he himself addresses the woman in an informal and straightforward way.

On other occasions during the trial, as seen earlier, the Chief Justice called Rumpole to order for his unconventional behaviour. But this time he himself subverts the court rules and procedures, addressing the witness informally and treating her with superiority as if a woman belonging to his own tribe did not deserve any compliments and pleasantries. This scene has the task of critically introducing viewers to the African courtroom reality, which is also a mirror reproduction of the British courtroom and legal system itself. It thus has an explanatory and instructional purpose and it addresses a non-specialist audience who very probably is unaware of both British and African courtroom procedures and legal systems. In the African court the rules seem to apply to Rumpole, who feels like an unwanted

guest in a hostile environment, but those same rules are not followed by the corrupt judge who shows disrespect and contempt by placing himself outside and beyond fixed principles and conventions.

In the scene below, the summing up of the Chief Justice goes through the facts of the case. Neranga is to be considered a civilised country, a country which observes the rule of law. Rumpole has been appointed to defend his client, but he did not do anything new according to the Chief Justice.

Scene: Chief Justice's summing up

Chief Justice: Neranga ranks high on the list of civilised countries. We observe the rule of law. This is demonstrated by the fact that we have allowed a barrister in from England (…) Mr Rumpole has told us nothing that we didn't already know. We know that a man is innocent until proved guilty. This is the Golden Thread that runs through the law in Neranga. This law is also followed in Britain, I believe. (…) the Court in unable to feel that the prosecution has proved its case beyond reasonable doubt. Acting entirely on the principles of ancient Common Law, we pronounce on David Mazenze, whatever we may think of his morality, a verdict of "Not Guilty". Let the defendant be discharged.
Usher: Be upstanding in Court!
[…]
Rumpole: Well, we brought the Golden Thread to Samarkand! (43:22-45:23).

The Chief Justice states that the Golden Thread runs through the law of Neranga, so denying the common and popular representations of Africa as a savage country and refusing to recognise the British influence on the country's law and justice. The Chief Justice affirms instead the ex-colony's primacy in the presumption of innocence, creating a further opposition between the new Neranga civilisation and the ancient Common Law. He "'re-places' the primary source of the presumption of innocence" (Dolin 2007: 173). A verdict of not guilty is

pronounced and Mazenze is discharged. Rumpole is satisfied and proud for restoring justice and bringing the Golden Thread back to Samarkand.

5. Conclusions

All the main characters in the episode, the accused, the Chief Justice and the British barrister provide their reinterpretation of reality and vigorously yield a different account of both Neranga's culture and of justice and law.

The accused uses Rumpole to demonstrate that the politically corrupt judge has no respect for the law and uses the trial as a weapon to get political power. He is acquitted but he loses his battle. He is considered morally disgraceful for marrying a woman from the rival tribe, so he is murdered and replaced by his brother as the head of the tribe and of the political organisation.

The Chief Justice has to admit that the prosecution has not met the burden of proof and he has to declare the defendant innocent. In doing so, he succeeds in drawing his personal satisfaction: he provides his reinterpretation of Neranga's reality as a civilised and independent country where certain principles of law both originated and are respected, thus denying the actual British influence on the ex-colony's cultural context.

Rumpole has won his battle, his client is innocent and the Golden Thread has been reaffirmed. His aim was to demonstrate there is not enough evidence to prove the defendant guilty beyond any reasonable doubt. It is only at the end of the episode that he understands he has been manipulated by political and extralegal forces. The court and the British law were supposed to bring light in the dark continent but they have been used respectively as the arena and the weapon for internal political disorder and for the tribes' hunger for power.

From the dialogues analysed it can be seen that the very nature of the courtroom drama genre implies the reformulation and remediation of certain rules and principles. The dialogues showed that the discursive and rhetorical features adopted in the courtroom drama are certainly regulated by both courtroom discourse conventions and the rules of the language of drama. Additionally, both Rumpole's everyday life with his wife and the implied presence of an external audience viewing the episode account for the use of certain features. These include explanation, simplification, intertextuality, irony and parody, visuals, personification, metaphors, figurative language, and mockery, all of which contribute to the popularisation and dissemination of certain legal principles, highly sensitive ethical dilemmas and political issues, and courtroom rules and proceedings among ordinary and lay people. In this way non-specialist viewers are allowed access to a certain cultural context and a specialised professional reality.

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Football stories: Football match reports from a narrative and stylistic perspective

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Abstract

This chapter suggests that, in our current post-modern social context, football and footballers occupy a particular niche. Their deeds, like those of epic heroes, are discussed, analysed, dissected by pundits and experts and passed on through popular culture (e.g. Maradona and the 'hand of God' episode). The study takes a narrative/stylistic perspective on the oral genre of the football match report, exploring a corpus of samples taken from BBC Radio 5-Live. It suggests that the classical Labovian components, i.e. *abstract, orientation, complicating action, evaluation, resolution* and *coda* (Labov 1972) are as relevant for examining this discourse form as they are for any other narrative genre, while connections with Propp's narrative categories (Propp 2009) are also explored. It analyses the reporters' discourse in terms of stylistic features and rhetorical tropes like alliteration, metaphor, ellipsis, tricolon and hyperbole. The chapter relates the deeds of popular footballers, recounted in these reports, to those of heroes of the epic tradition, while the technical, stylistic and rhetorical features of the reporters' discourse are compared to those used by their chroniclers. Jakobson's functional categories of 'poetic' and 'referential' (Jakobson 1999) are also invoked, and their role explored in the emergent genre of 'infotainment'.

1. Introduction: the sporting 'hero'

Sportsmen and women are modern popular heroes, their deeds the daily fare of journalists who produce verbal and printed reports to meet an enormous and ever-growing public demand. Their triumphs are described in the kind of descriptive prose which, in bygone days, might have suited a military triumph, and the feats of individual performers are frequently painted in the same colours. Here, for example, is BBC journalist Piers Newbery on Andy Murray's victory in the 2013 Wimbledon final:

> The final game was a battle in itself, with Murray seeing three match points slip by from 40-0 and fending off three Djokovic break points with some fearless hitting, before the Serb netted a backhand to end the contest. After a gruelling three hours 10 minutes in searing temperatures, Murray had finally followed in the footsteps of Fred Perry's 1936 win at the All England Club[1].

The game is not just a 'contest' but a 'battle'. Murray's heroism is underlined by the hyperbolic evaluation: his physical endurance has been tested to the utmost ('gruelling') by the 'searing' temperatures, in which he displays his courage by his 'fearless' hitting. The final historical detail underlines the significance to the British collectivity of this victory, much as, in a past epoch, a military victory would have enhanced the national prestige.

Sports journalism, as in this case, can have something of an epic quality, with the protagonists embodying 'heroic' virtues, and their triumphs and tragedies evoking the same kind of responses as, we might surmise, epics of the Homeric type. This paper approaches radio football match reports from this perspective, asking what kind of narrative and stylistic patterns

[1] BBC Sport. Tennis. Available at: < http://www.bbc.com/sport/0/tennis/23217393>.

are typically encountered, and how far analytical categories such as those of Labov (1972) can be invoked to help us understand the processes involved in this oral genre.

1.1. Football as a sociological phenomenon

Even more than tennis, football has the potential to engage the energies and passions of populations. Encounters between rival teams, such as local derbies, can be opportunities for the expression of potentially dangerous social tensions of a tribal nature, while international fixtures have been seen as a proxy for the kind of conflicts that may end in warfare (Bishop and Jaworski 2003).

Despite its importance as a leisure pastime, and the wealth of discourse produced among fans, players, managers, commentators and pundits, football has been relatively under-exploited as a field for socio-linguistic enquiry. This is perhaps due to the same kind of snobbery that Rowe (2007, in Boyle et al 2010: 246) finds in journalists towards colleagues operating in the sporting field, where he notes the existence of "an elite disdain for sport as corporeally-based popular culture among many intellectuals and arbiters of cultural taste". Linguistic paradigms with a social orientation, such as Critical Discourse Analysis, have likewise preferred to concentrate on weightier social themes such as racism, gender, power inequalities and so on.

The volume by Lavric et al (2008) on the linguistics of football, is still, as far as I know, the only book-length study available, though there have been papers on the game from a variety of socio-linguistic perspectives: *national identity* (Findlay 2008[2], Featherstone 2009, and Szabó 2012), *discursive interaction* (Tolson 2006: 94-98), issues of *translation* (Baines

[2] In *Ètudes Ècossaises*, available at: <http://etudesecossaises.revues.org/100>.

2011, 2013) and *textual features* (Chovanec 2008). This paper aims to contribute to this growing field by connecting the radio football match report with other forms of popular narrative, and particularly with the epic or heroic tradition.

2. Methodology: the corpus

The corpus consists of fifteen match reports, collected between 2011 and 2015, from Radio 5 Live's programme 'Football Report'. The transcriptions are analysed for their stylistic and narrative features.

2.1. Stylistic and narrative perspectives

Genres, according to Bakhtin, impose lexical and grammatical constraints on their users, which enable hearers to identify them from minimal linguistic clues (Bakhtin 1968: 79). One approach to a spoken genre such as the football match report, therefore, may be to explore the semantic, lexical or rhetorical features that characterise the genre. Chovanec (2008: 224), for example, lists the following as typical of the football match report:

> Alliteration and assonance, rhyme and reduplication, homonymy and morphological adaptation, nonce words, eye dialect, foreignisms and allusion.

Chovanec says that such devices, together with metaphor and hyperbole, allusions and puns, "increase the interpersonal dimension of the text with the aim of amusing the readers" (*ibid*). The following example from the corpus features alliteration: "Meanwhile at Hull they were crude, rustic, rumbustious. They're rumbled now as crown aspirants" (Hall).

Adjectival alliteration on the /r/ sound leads into a chain of verbs and adjectives beginning with the same sound ('rumbled',

etc.). The next sentence plays with the fricative /f/, a sound picked up again in 'coal face', in the successive clause: "Forget fancy football, it's back to the coal face with sweat and guts, otherwise it's tears!"

In stylistic terms, such language exemplifies Jakobson's (1999) notion of the poetical principle, which is found wherever "playfulness, self-awareness or creativity" prevail over the referential function of a message (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 42).

One aim of this paper is to analyse the corpus for rhetorical/stylistic features. A football match report, however, also displays certain features that permit its classification among narrative genres (Kozloff 1992: 53). A narrative perspective on the following extract might focus, instead of alliteration, on the characterisation of the 'hero', one of the archetypal figures identified in Vladimir Propp's well-known study of fairy-tales (Propp 2009):

> Battered and bruised, a great lump under his eye, Heidar Helguson was the QPR hero with two goals as Stoke were condemned to a fourth consecutive Premier League defeat.

Here the 'hero' is painted as a soldier after a battle, his two goals corresponding to some glorious military exploit, his sporting wounds parallel to those of an embattled warrior. The alliterative, 'Viking' name is especially evocative. Focus on the hero, it will be seen, is quite typical of the football match report, and can serve to align the genre with other narrative traditions such as folk tales, legends and the heroic epic.

3. Narrative perspective

The classic Labovian account of narrative features six components: abstract, orientation, complicating action,

evaluation, resolution and coda (Labov 1972), though he points out that not all stages are necessarily present; indeed, only the complicating action can be called the sine qua non of the narrative genre (Labov 1972: 370). For Labov, a complete narrative:

> begins with an orientation, proceeds to the complicating action, is suspended at the focus of evaluation before the resolution, and returns the listener to the present time with the coda. The evaluation of the narrative forms a secondary structure which is concentrated in the evaluation section but may be found in various forms throughout the narrative (Labov 1972: 369).

If we map these structural features onto a football match report, we find something like the following:

A:	1	// West Brom 2 Bolton 1 Pat	**Abstract**
	2	Murphy's in a very crowded tunnel //	
B:	3	Yes but we're reflecting on a sense of	
	4	grievance when (inaud.) can decide a	
	5	match and certainly West Brom	
	6	roared out their attitude in the second	
	7	half // after conceding a soft penalty	**Complicating**
	8	for the second successive home game	**Action**
	9	and again Jerome Thomas was	
	10	deemed the culprit after he'd cleverly	
	11	put West Brom ahead. Thomas was	
	12	guilty of no more than a clumsy	
	13	challenge trying to get out of the way	
	14	of Fabrice Muamba, who went down	
	15	far too easily for such a big man. At	
	16	best, a marginal decision, and Roy	
	17	Hodgson's withering stare at referee	
	18	Neil Swarbrick at the half-time	**Resolution**

	19	whistle spoke volumes. // But then	
	20	Shane Long lanced the boil of bile	
	21	from the Hawthorn's air with a clever	
	22	glancing header. Long's recovery	
	23	from that dreadful tackle by Aston	
	24	Villa's Alan Hutton four weeks ago	
	25	was almost bionic after he was	
	26	expected to be out for almost double	
	27	that, and throughout he was clever,	**Evaluation**
	28	industrious, one of the steals of the	
	29	summer transfer market. // Bolton as neat and constructive as always but with their defence only on nodding terms with the offside rules you can see why they haven't drawn one league game this season //	
A	30	Pat Murphy reporting from the Hawthorns	**Coda**

Table 1. ***West Brom v. Bolton, report by Pat Murphy***

Speaker A is the studio anchorman, and his contributions introduce the narrative (abstract) and provide a coda, "concluding the narrative and signalling its conclusion to the audience" (Heyd 2008: 159).

Journalists generally, and sports reporters too, are expected to take a neutral stance towards the events they report on (Patrona 2006), and so the use of the inclusive pronoun 'we' (3), aligning Murphy with the home team, is noteworthy. It construes involvement with the action, rather than assuming the position of a detached observer.

The West Brom crowd's emotions are indicated throughout the piece:

A sense of grievance (3-4)
Roared out their attitude (5-6)
Roy Hodgson's withering stare (14-15)
Lanced the boil of bile from the Hawthorn's air (17-18)

The narrative is thus one in which the complicating action, a wrongly awarded penalty, has given rise to resentment in a population, whose wrongs it will be the task of the hero to put right. The narrator uses evaluation to guide listeners' responses to the narrative, and to assist in the characterisation of heroes and villains. Evaluation for West Brom player Jerome Thomas is complex, as he receives both positive and negative evaluations; he is 'deemed the culprit' (9), after 'cleverly putting West Brom ahead' (9-10). The term 'culprit' might seem to identify Thomas as the villain, but the narrator rescues him from this by describing his offence in mitigating terms:

guilty of no more than a clumsy challenge trying to get out of the way of Fabrice Muamba, who went down far too easily for such a big man (12-14)

Thus, the true villain is Muamba, guilty of conning the referee into mistakenly awarding the penalty. The narrator underlines this reading by evaluating the penalty award as 'at best, a marginal decision' (14). Referees are frequently seen as villains in football match reports, and this is no exception, as referee Neil Swarbrick is exposed to manager Hodgson's 'withering stare' (14-15).

Enter the hero, Shane Long, whose goal is described with a metaphor that brings to mind both the heroic sphere of courtly combat (St George slew the dragon with a lance, for example) and that of medicine: *lanced the boil of bile from the Hawthorn's air (17-18).* Mention of bile evokes the medieval conception of the four humours, further underlining the epic associations of this mini-narrative, as does the use of alliteration. Shane Long's

heroic deed has the desired effect of restoring calm to the multitude, and further details provided about the character are not superfluous, as his prodigious recovery from a serious injury (*almost bionic*, 21-22) endow him with the quasi-supernatural attributes appropriate in an epic hero.

The point of evaluation, in the Labovian sense, is to "explicate the point or essence of [the] story" (Heyd 2008: 159). Strictly applied, this is found in lines 25-29, where the narrator sums up the tale by placing Bolton's overall performance in its appropriate context. However, local evaluations in a more general sense (e.g. Hunston and Thompson 1999) are also used, at times serving to guide audience responses and underline the narrator's own positions.

3.1. Data

The following report, by Stuart Hall, has much in common with Murphy's. Again, the reporter's stance is partisan; Hall is a Manchester City fan, and makes no pretence of neutrality. The inclusive pronoun 'we' (12, 32) once again aligns the narrator with fans of the home team. Also similar is the way he refers to the emotional state of the public. Here, however, the introduction seems to be more typical of Labov's component 'orientation', which Heyd (2008: 159) explains as follows:

> Orientation is the functional element well-known as a story's 'setting' in the literary tradition: it serves as an exposition that introduces factors such as time and place, the major characters, and any other background information about the situation that is felt to be essential.

Thus, the reporter's introduction contextualises the match as the most important for forty years, and presents background

information such as that there are forty-five thousand City fans present, their ‘emotions shredded’ (2-3).

1	// Well the most momentous monster match for	**O.**
2	forty years at the theatre of base comedy. Forty-	
3	five thousand City fans, their emotions shredded. A	
4	famous Latin poet wrote: “Love, hate, die!” // On	
5	fifteen minutes aspiration died. Fulop consumed in	
6	fear, Carew’s shot beat him. It was like a dance of	**C.A.**
7	the seven veils, one tatty veil remaining. City	
8	timorous, defensive, lacking passion, adventure,	
9	speed and belief. The arena quiet as a mausoleum.	
10	// Then, forty minutes, Johnson felled by Warnock:	
11	penalty! Tevez blasted, Friedl missed. One apiece.	**Res.**
12	We could believe! A crescendo burst from the	
13	inmates, a vast wave of din unleashed unabashed,	
14	unfettered emotion, a floodtide cacophony. Viera	
15	inspired, aging limbs in youthful propulsion.	
16	Passed to Johnson, cutback to Adebayor: he	
17	scored! The time, forty minutes. Half time cuppa a	
18	restorative for tortured nerves. The second half was	
19	like death by a thousand cuts, Chinese water	
20	torture, hearts in mouth as Fulop punched, saved	
21	but grew in confidence. Villa threw high balls at	
22	him, his defence grew bolder with each save. Then	
23	exit Johnson, enter Wright-Phillips. With minutes	
24	to play, fresh legs, a blithe spirit, a frisky run down	
25	the left, Villa flailing. The pass inside to Bellamy,	
26	he thumped the goal. Three one! // City inmates	
27	euphoric, dazed by events. Backstage Mr Mancini	**Ev.**
28	with his family are with the Abu Dhabi hierarchy,	
29	bathed in champagne in the sumptuous sultan’s	
30	palace. Will this victory, a nail-biter unleash the	
31	billions? // Mr Mancini, grazie mille!	**Coda**
32	Spurs here we come!	

Table 2*: Manchester City v. Aston Villa, report by Stuart Hall*

Again, as in Murphy’s report, Hall’s evaluations of the protagonists characterise them as heroes and villains. Goalkeeper Fulop is initially cast as a villain, because he is ‘consumed in fear’ (5-6). Fear is the antithetical emotional state to that in which heroic deeds are performed, and Fulop’s

cowardice is involved in the complicating action, Aston Villa's goal. Later in the narrative, Fulop becomes a hero, performing a series of crucial saves which embolden him and, crucially, give courage to his defence (20-21). Thus, he acquires the heroic virtue of courage, which enables him to perform a hero's deeds. Another hero is Viera who, though old, is still able to make his contribution: "Viera inspired, aging limbs in youthful propulsion" (15)

The narrative is one of team heroism involving many individual contributions which receive brief mention: Johnson (10), Tevez (11), Viera (14), Adebayor (16), Fulop (20). The tale culminates with the arrival on the scene of the 'young hero', Wright-Phillips. His is the decisive contribution: *fresh legs, a blithe spirit, a frisky run down the left* (24-25), which enables Bellamy (25) to complete the final, decisive step in the resolution, the third City goal.

Hall's evaluation in this narrative refers to the power of the victory to persuade City's wealthy Arab backers that the club are indeed worth supporting. Thus, the club itself also figures as the hero of a wider, 'rags to riches' narrative that sees its transformation, over the last forty years, from the 'theatre of base comedy' (2) to the wealth and success implicit in the phrase, the 'sumptuous Sultan's palace' (29-30). Thanks to the assistance of the Proppian 'magical helper' (the anonymous sheiks), the club will attain the ultimate positive outcome of a fairy-tale, i.e., to 'live happily ever after'. A new hero in this larger narrative is the manager, Mancini (31).

Hall's performance here aptly illustrates Chovanec's remarks on this kind of journalistic performance:

> Linguistic forms may be used creatively and playfully even at the expense of clear or unambiguous communication, sometimes culminating in what might be described as 'verbal exhibitionism' (2008: 222).

4. Results

Hall's report contains numerous stylistic or rhetorical tropes (table three, below):

Alliteration	the most momentous monster match (1), Fulop consumed in fear (5-6), a frisky run down the left, Villa flailing (24-25)
Cultural allusion	a dance of the seven veils (6-7), death by a thousand cuts (19), Chinese water torture (19-20), a blithe spirit (24) aging limbs in youthful propulsion (15)
Contrast	City timorous, defensive (7-8), Johnson felled by Warnock (10), City inmates euphoric (26-27)
Ellipsis	Half time cuppa a restorative for tortured nerves (17-18)
Hyperbole	It was like a dance of the seven veils, one tatty veil remaining (6-7), the inmates (13, also 26), Then exit Johnson, enter Wright-Phillips (22-33), Backstage Mr Mancini with
Metaphor	his family are with the Abu Dhabi hierarchy, bathed in champagne in the sumptuous sultan's palace (27-30)
Sententia	A famous Latin poet wrote: "Love, hate, die!" (4)

Table 3*: Rhetorical figures in Hall's report*

Analysing the corpus for rhetorical features produced the following results (Table 4, below):

Rhetorical figure	**Tot.**	**Example** *(+ corpus number)*[3]
Alliteration	26	Long lanced the boil of bile (1)
Cliché	148	Lax defending (3)
Contrast	2	aging limbs in youthful propulsion (2)
Cultural allusion	13	a blithe spirit (2)
Ellipsis	42	Houlihan's cross absolutely pinpoint (7)
Epizeuxis	1	Black black (6)
Hyperbole	12	A touch of genius (7)
Hypophora	2	Is there any way out of this now? (12)
Idioms	37	Spoke volumes (1)
Metaphor	31	like a dance of the seven veils (7)
Parallelism	4	bottom at Christmas, bottom at the start of April, bottom for a hundred and forty days (15)
Personification	4	Blackburn scrambled their way back level (9)
Pleonasm	1	Wheater..was dismissed.. red card
Pun	1	Everton toffees played like

[3] Space restrictions prevent the printing of all the transcriptions from the corpus. See appendix for details of the single reports.

		little sweeties (6)
Rhyme	2	Feckless reckless (6)
Sententia	1	A famous Latin poet wrote: Love, hate, die (2)
Tricolon	8	We had incidents, controversy, drama (4)

Table 4*: Rhetorical figures in the corpus*

Clichés, naturally, are not rhetorical figures, but rather lexical features of the specific register involved in any field of discourse (Patrona 2009: 181). In the case of football, the term refers to tried and tested phrases that journalists make frequent use of: 'lax defending', 'at best a marginal decision', 'found himself in an offside position', 'came back off the crossbar', and so on. They have been included in the table because they show that, while rhetorical figures do feature, they are not necessarily the most significant linguistic component of the football match report genre, as can be seen from a glance at the following table:

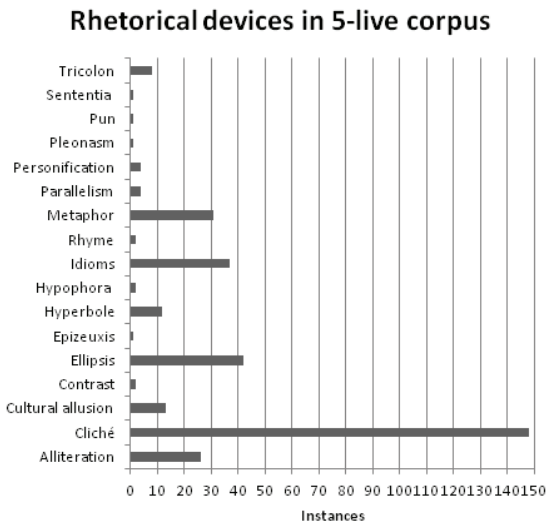

Table 5*: Rhetorical devices in 5-live corpus*

It is noticeable from the corpus analysis that journalists differ in terms of their use of rhetorical devices, with some, like Stuart Hall and Pat Murphy making great use of these, as in this example of 'verbal exhibitionism' from the latter:

> there was a feeling at half-time that they were going to throw the kitchen sink, the garden shed and the conservatory at a Wolves team (10)

This presents tricolon, idiom and metaphor in an original combination to express a determination to attack the opposition. Compare this with a more prosaic way of signalling a counter-attack:

> Burnley didn't give it up, Danny Ings who hasn't scored in ten now had three very inviting opportunities all missed (12)

Analysing the reports in the corpus, we find two of the linguistic functions identified by Jakobson (1999: 53): the *poetic* and the *referential*. The referential function is the typical terrain of the reporter, whose job is to pass on to the uninformed listener information about the event s/he has just witnessed. Some journalists, however, especially those working in a field of entertainment such as sport, also feel the obligation to entertain readers and listeners, or as Chovanec (above) puts it, to 'amuse' them. Arguably, this consideration is responsible for the journalists' recourse to 'poetic' stylistic features such as those discussed here. The football match report can thus be classed among emerging genres of 'infotainment' (Castells 2009: 121). We can envisage a cline (Table six, below), where a text contains lesser or greater numbers of rhetorical figures according to the journalist's intention to 'inform' or to 'entertain':

INFORMATION ----------	ENTERTAINMENT
(Referential function)	(Poetic function)
"the visitors equalised on the hour when Luke Young turned in the rebound off the post" (7)	"With minutes to play, fresh legs, a blithe spirit, a frisky run down the left, Villa flailing.' (2)

Table 6*: Infotainment genre*

5. Discussion

The two match reports discussed above are both examples showing journalists making free use of the poetic function. The following report, by contrast, uses few if any rhetorical features but is an assemblage of football clichés (underlined):

1 That's right <u>their destiny is still out of their</u>
2 <u>hands</u> but at least today despite <u>the scoreline</u>
3 <u>going against them</u> they <u>showed plenty of</u>
4 <u>endeavour</u> they <u>created chances</u> but <u>Hull City</u>
5 <u>remain in trouble.</u> Positive and committed
6 Jelovic <u>struck the frame of the goal</u> he also
7 <u>went close with an overhead kick.</u> <u>In the first</u>
8 <u>half Spurs didn't test</u> Steve Harper and <u>their</u>
9 <u>opening goal</u> was <u>against the run of play</u> as
10 Chadley <u>rounded the keeper</u> after fifty-four
11 minutes <u>the second seven minutes later was</u>
12 <u>quality</u> Mason's <u>excellent chip volleyed in</u> by

> Rose. Hull City persevered but they lacked penetration, their only consolation is their superior goal difference but they have to beat Manchester United and hope Newcastle United fail to win against West Ham at St James' Park, and Steve Bruce has never won against his former club in twenty-one attempts as manager. The fight for survival is going right to the wire. (14, Ian Denis)

The infotainment table illustrates the different approaches to presenting a football match report, according to whether the referential or the poetic function is uppermost in the journalists' minds. However, it must not be lost sight of that even those operating at the 'information' end of the cline, such as Ian Denis here, would presumably intend their contributions to be 'entertaining'. As a corollary, it is also true that those at the 'entertainment' pole are not unmindful of the need to pass on facts about the game.

Denis' stance here is neutral, in contrast to those of Hall and Murphy. However, it is noticeable that he has framed the story very much from the point of view of Hull City and their attempt to avoid relegation (3-4). Spurs are only mentioned successively, and though their actions receive positive evaluation (9-10), the focus swiftly returns to the main narrative (10-16).

Denis, too, presents the narrative in the same kind of terms as his more poetic counterparts, with heroic virtues featuring. Hull City showed 'endeavour' (3), while their hero, Jelovic, was 'positive' and 'committed' (4). His 'striking' the frame of the goal (5) is a vigorous, warlike deed, as is his 'overhead kick' (6). Again, the notion of 'destiny' (1) with which he introduces the narrative is characteristic of the epic tradition, while Denis uses

military imagery when he characterises Hull's struggle as a 'fight for survival' (16).

It would therefore seem that there is some generic confusion involved in these samples of the football match report. While some journalists, such as Denis, seem to see a narrative of heroes and villains as intrinsically entertaining, others like Hall and Murphy feel the need to decorate their tales with a variety of rhetorical and even poetical devices, culminating at times in what has been called 'verbal exhibitionism'. It is as if these latter reporters see their match reports not as serving a primarily informative function, as if they were journalists reporting objectively on some event of real world import; but rather conceive of them as entertainment 'events' on a verbal level, providing the same level of entertainment that listeners would have enjoyed if they had attended the game in person.

Conclusion

We began by comparing prominent sportsmen such as footballers with heroes from the epic tradition. It is possible that such a comparison is lent further credibility by the circumstance that, as we have seen, their deeds tend to be described in terms that recall the epic tradition, in two ways. Firstly, at the level of narrative, we have seen that the football match report focuses on 'heroes' - on individual players whose actions produce a desirable result for the collectivity, despite the personal cost which is, at times, involved. They do this because, like epic heroes, they possess virtues such as courage and determination (Helguson) or cleverness (Long), as well as physical and mental attributes such as youthfulness or a blithe spirit (Wright-Phillips). The same virtues are found in Homeric heroes such as Achilles, Hector and Odysseus.

Secondly, the rhetorical stylistic features found in some of the reports further connect them to traditions of epic narrative. Alliteration, for example, once sustained native English epic poetry such as Beowulf, or Gawain and the Green Knight.

A style such as that of Hall, rich in rhetorical tropes, can also be seen in terms of its connection to the Labovian structural features discussed above. For example, his description of Wright-Phillips, the 'young hero' is enriched by cultural allusion: "With minutes to play, fresh legs, a blithe spirit, a frisky run down the left, Villa flailing" (13-14).

Here the allusion is to Romantic poetry. The skylark, Shelley's 'blithe spirit', and Wordsworth's gambolling lambs in springtime combine to convey something of the striker's agile, vigorous motion. Again, metaphor is key in the evaluation section: "Backstage Mr Mancini with his family are with the Abu Dhabi hierarchy, bathed in champagne in the sumptuous sultan's palace".

This is a cocktail of metaphors that recalls the theatre, perhaps pantomime, and that positions the narrative among tales of Arabian nights, with Mancini in the role of Aladdin.

One curious finding emerging from this research is the disparity in style between the various reporters. It is as if there is no in-house BBC style for composing match reports, but that, as long as certain parameters are kept to in terms of the referential function - listeners must be told who scored, when, who won the game, and so on - reporters have license, if they wish, to give free rein to their poetic fantasies. Reporters, such as Hall and Murphy, who do possess such verbal talents, are thus able to engage in 'verbal exhibitionism'. Their talents are even more valuable because they can also be used to cover games that, in merely sporting terms, turned out to be dull. We can surmise that this finding must be accounted for in terms of the personal

talents of the individual reporters, rather than ascribed to institutional policy.

A possible focus for future research would be to explore the role of evaluation which, as we have seen, features prominently in these mini-narratives, but which, like clichés, cannot be classified among rhetorical devices. To explore the connections between Proppian/Labovian narrative components and speaker evaluation would represent a further contribution to understanding the processes involved in this oral genre.

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Appendix: the corpus

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2. Stuart Hall
3. Ian Brown

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily: sports report 19/11/2011

4. John Murray
5. Pat Murphy
6. Stuart Hall
7. David Oates

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily: sports report 26/11/2011

8. Mark Pougatch
9. John Murray
10. Pat Murphy

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily: sports report 17/12/2011

11. Ian Denis
12. John Southall
13. Pat Murphy

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily: sports report 03/05/2015

14. Ian Denis

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily 16/05/2015

15. Ian Brown:

BBC Radio 5 live Football Daily 16/05/2015

Remaking English: False Anglicisms and Lexical Features of Extraterritorial Englishes

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Abstract

Although quantitatively limited, false Anglicisms are a worldwide phenomenon affecting essentially all languages which have come into contact with English. This article is aimed at proving that the word formation processes involved in the coinage of false Anglicisms coincide with the ones active in the development of some vocabulary features of extraterritorial Englishes. Taking Caribbean English as a prototypical example, similarities between false Anglicisms and lexical items of extraterritorial Englishes will be shown.

1. Introduction

False Anglicisms, henceforth FAs, are words or phrases that are recognisably English in form and are accepted in the vocabulary of a (supposedly) recipient language even though they do not exist or are used with a conspicuously different meaning in English (Furiassi 2010: 34). Some FAs, e.g. *autostop*, *footing*, *happy end*, *recordman*, *smoking*, widespread in many languages affected by English[1], have reached the status of "pseudo-English internationalisms" (Görlach 2003: 57), thus giving rise to "World-Wide Pseudo-English" (Carstensen 1986: 831).

FAs seem to originate from the same processes – both morpho-syntactic and semantic – which are typical of the

[1] See Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015) for testimony of the spread of FAs in European languages.

vocabulary of "extraterritorial Englishes", henceforth ETEs (Lass 1987: 79; 1990: 247; Mazzon 2000: 73; 2003: 234; Görlach 2012: 118), namely the varieties of English spoken around the world – outside the British Isles and North America[2].

Drawing on Furiassi's (2010: 38-52) classification of FAs, the somewhat provocative aim of this article is to demonstrate that the word formation processes active in the coinage of FAs are indeed the same as those involved in the development of some of the vocabulary features of ETEs. Especially focusing on Caribbean English, henceforth CarE – one among the several ETEs spread around the world, similarities between FAs and lexical features of ETEs are assessed.

2. Crossing the Atlantic: English in the Caribbean

CarE is the variety of English spoken throughout the Anglophone Caribbean by about 5.8 million people (Allsopp 2003: xviii) – Spanish being the major language, in demographic terms, with a total of 51 million speakers within the whole of the Caribbean (Allsopp 2004: 11). This implies that the majority of lexical features typical of CarE are imposed from above, either by American imperialism, especially nowadays, or British colonization – the English-speaking Caribbean comprising territories which were once British colonies, namely Anguilla, Antigua and Barbuda, the Bahamas, Barbados, Belize, the British Virgin Islands, Dominica, Grenada and Carriacou, Guyana, Jamaica, Montserrat, St Kitts and Nevis, St Lucia, St Vincent and the Grenadines, Trinidad and Tobago, Turks and Caicos, and the US Virgin Islands.

Also known as "West Indian English" (Reinecke *et al.* 1975: 373) or "West Indies English" (Nicholls 2003), CarE is an

[2] See Furiassi (2014b: 90) for a discussion on ETEs and an overview of the several terms applied to these varieties of English by various scholars over time.

umbrella term which comprises heterogeneous varieties spoken in a polyglot area. When attempting to describe CarE, it is worth considering fragmentation as a key issue; many facets of Caribbean reality are indeed fragmented: geography, history, politics and, as an apparent repercussion, language[3].

3. Caribbean English vocabulary

The vocabulary features of CarE, which are the offspring of linguistic fragmentation, have been thoroughly summarized by Gramley (2001: 82), who lists the following:

1. African (substrate) survivals
2. Retentions from English (Scottish, Irish) dialects
3. The colonial lag (e.g. through isolation)
4. Interplay with various European languages and the languages of recent indentured labourers
5. The present-day competition of BrE and AmE in the Caribbean
6. Pan-Caribbean tendencies
7. Local processes of word formation

This article focuses exactly on the "local processes of word formation" typical of CarE – and of other ETEs, which, as recognised by Crystal (2003: 160), are "[c]ompounding from English elements", "[w]ord-class conversion" and "[v]arious processes of abbreviation, clipping, and blending", in addition to "many examples in which a word or phrase from a well-established variety is adopted by a New English and given a new meaning or use, without undergoing any structural change" (see section 9).

[3] Over time, Archaic English, British dialects, English-based Creoles and American English have been mixing – to a certain or large extent – with Amerindian languages, West African languages, Spanish, French, French-based Creoles Dutch, Danish, Irish, Portuguese, Indic languages and Chinese in order to generate CarE (Allsopp 2003: l-li).

4. Crossing the Channel: English in Europe

The spread of English in Europe, boosted by the economic power, political prestige, technical progress and cultural heritage of Great Britain first and the United States later, peaked after the late 1940s. The English language then became the international language of scientific discoveries, technological innovation, international politics, business, trade and popular culture, all enhanced by the availability of powerful means of communication, namely radio, television, cinema and the Internet, thus quenching the global thirst for English.

Albeit to different quantitative and qualitative degrees, European languages have been drawing from English an inventory of diversified vocabulary and phraseology to such an extent that they even ended up coining brand-new English-based lexical items, i.e. FAs, their spread across the Channel was an outcome of language contact and an important factor of language change for each European language[4].

5. The lexical influence of English on the languages of Europe

When investigating the lexical contact between English as a donor language and other languages as recipient languages, a typological classification may be set out, namely differentiating between Anglicisms, false-Anglicisms, English-based calques and hybrids.[5] Under the heading Anglicisms, non-adapted (also called non-integrated or direct) Anglicisms and adapted (also called integrated or indirect) Anglicisms are identified (Furiassi 2010: 71-75).

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[4] See Görlach (2003), Furiassi, Pulcini, Rodríguez González (2012) and Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015) for an analysis of the influence of English on European languages.

[5] See Pulcini, Furiassi, Rodríguez González (2012: 6) for a similar typology of lexical borrowing.

Within this framework, FAs are not to be considered as Anglicisms *sensu stricto* since they are autonomously created – not borrowed – by non-English speakers in a non-English context (Furiassi 2010: 75). As claimed by Busse (2008: 64): "pseudo-Anglicisms […] are not borrowings […].". As far as both morpho-syntax and semantics are concerned, FAs must be viewed as a phenomenon *per se*, on the edge of borrowing (Furiassi 2015; Gottlieb and Furiassi 2015).

6. False Anglicisms

Among the outcomes of contact in situations of language maintenance, "[l]exical borrowing is an extremely common form of cross-linguistic influence" (Winford 2003: 29). However, lexical borrowings "may vary all the way from an imitation satisfactory to a native speaker to one that the native speaker would not recognize at all" (Haugen 1950: 212).

Owing to the prestige conferred on the donor language by speakers of the recipient language, FAs coexist alongside "real" Anglicisms. It is certain that "[f]alse borrowings – although covering a very small area of the lexicon – are attractive manifestations of language contact, proving that the creative potential of language users is hardly measurable" (Furiassi 2014a: 47).

FAs consist in the manufacturing of words moulded on English through the manipulation of English lexical items in a (supposedly) recipient language. By means of FAs, speakers resort to English material in order to widen the lexical inventory of their own language(s), thus creatively reshaping English vocabulary (see section 8). A more technical definition of FAs is provided by Furiassi (2010: 34):

> […] a false Anglicism may be defined as a word or idiom that is recognizably English in its form (spelling, pronunciation,

morphology, or at least one of the three), but is accepted as an item in the vocabulary of the receptor language even though it does not exist or is used with a conspicuously different meaning in English.

7. Lexicographic resources

In order to show the similarities (and differences) between FAs and lexical features of ETEs, specifically focusing on CarE as a representative microcosm, the following lexicographic tools were exploited.

On the one hand, examples of FAs were extracted from the *Dictionary of False Anglicisms in Italian* (*DFAI*), included in Furiassi (2010). The *DFAI* lists 286 FAs attested in Italian newspaper sources up to 2010.

On the other hand, examples of CarE vocabulary were drawn from the *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* (*DCEU*), first published in 1996 and reprinted in 2003, and its supplement, the *New Register of Caribbean English Usage* (*NRCEU*), published in 2010. Both the *DCEU* and the *NRCEU* record the lexical specificities of the ETE spoken in the Caribbean archipelago, Guyana and Belize. The *DCEU* lists over 20,000 entries and the *NRCEU* over 700 entries (Allsopp 2010: xi), totalizing almost 21,000 lexical items.

8. A typology of false Anglicisms

The analysis of the word-formation processes involved in the creation of FAs (in Italian) is based on Furiassi's (2010: 38-52) typology, which relies on two main criteria: morpho-syntactic and semantic.

8.1. Morpho-syntactic criteria (FAs)

The four morpho-syntactic processes leading to the coinage of FAs are autonomous compounds (ACs), autonomous derivatives (ADs), compound ellipses (CEs) and clippings (Cs).

A prototypical example of AC is the FA *recordman* (*record* + *man*), non-existent in English, which uses *record holder* to point to the same referent. An example of AD is *footing* (*foot* + *-ing*): this FA corresponds to English *jogging*. A FA originated by CE is *basket* (from *basketball*). An instance of C not accepted in the English language, i.e. originating a FA, is *happy end*, whose English equivalent is *happy ending*.

8.2. Semantic criteria (FAs)

The four semantic processes originating FAs are semantic shifts (SSs), eponyms (Es), toponyms (Ts) and generic trademarks (GTs).

An example of SS typical of the Italian language is the FA *mister*, "real" English equivalents being *coach* or *trainer.* A prototypical E is *carter* (from the inventor *J. Harrison Carter*), a FA which corresponds to English *chain guard* for bicycles or *crank/gear case* for cars. An instance of FA originating from a T is *charleston* (from the name of the American city in South Carolina): in English this part of the drum is indicated by either *cymbal* or *hi-hat*. Although not very common, a GT that gave birth to a FA is *ticket restaurant* (from the French trademark *Ticket Restaurant*®), which is commonly referred to in English as *meal ticket*.

9. A classification of Caribbean English vocabulary

Drawing a parallel with Furiassi's (2010: 38-52) classification and applying his typology of FAs to ETEs, some features of CarE can be likewise classified according to almost identical morpho-syntactic and semantic criteria.

9.1. Morpho-syntactic criteria (CarE)

The five morpho-syntactic processes characterising CarE lexis are autonomous compounds (ACs), autonomous derivatives (ADs), compound ellipses (CEs), clippings (Cs) and reduplications (Rs).

An example of AC characterising CarE is *hard-ears* (*hard* + *ears*)[6], used both as noun and adjective: this AC is absent in British English, henceforth BrE, and American English, henceforth AmE, which have *stubbornness* or *disobedience* as equivalents in nominal function and *stubborn* or *disobedient* in adjectival function. An AD belonging to the CarE of Barbados and St Vincent is *hip-shorted* (*hip-short* + *-ed*), the *-r-* insertion due to folk etymology and/or the "actual shortening of the leg as a deformity" (*DCEU*); in CarE *hip-shorted* indeed means "[h]aving a deformity of your leg or foot that causes you to limp; having one leg distinctively shorter than the other" (*DCEU*): BrE and AmE equivalents are *hip-shot/hipshot*, *hip-shotten* and *clumsy*. A CE typical of CarE is *salt* (from *salt bread*), especially in the CarE spoken in Trinidad, meaning "a small breakfast loaf of white bread" (*NRCEU*). A C frequently occurring in CarE is *police* (from *policeman*), namely *police*

[6] Etymologically, however, *hard-ears* is a "[n]oun made from the calque *(your) ears are hard*", modelled on West African languages, namely Twi and Yoruba (*DCEU*).

officer in both BrE and AmE[7]. A prototypical R in CarE, which does not exist in BrE and AmE, is *big-big*, referring to a person "[w]ishing to appear important without reason" (*DCEU*).

9.2. Semantic criteria (CarE)

The three semantic processes contributing to the formation of some CarE vocabulary are semantic shifts (SSs), eponyms (Es) and toponyms (Ts).

A curious instance of SS found in CarE, especially in Trinidad, is *bird-watching*, which refers to "[[…] a group of idle young men] [l]ooking sensually (and whistling) at passing young women" (*NRCEU*). Despite being limited to the CarE spoken in Barbados, Grenada and Guyana, an example of E is *Walkers & Co*, referring to "[a] state of unemployment and indifference" (*DCEU*). Finally, although circumscribed to the CarE spoken in Barbados, an instance of T is *Jenkins* (from *Jenkinsville*, in the suburban Parish of St Michael), now commonly used to refer to "[t]he government psychiatric hospital" (*NRCEU*).

10. Conclusion

FAs and some lexical items of ETEs originate from the same word-formation processes, the only difference being a slight quantitative matter: there are four morpho-syntactic processes originating FAs against five characterizing CarE lexical features – R, if found at all, does not lead to the creation of FAs – and there are four semantic processes originating FAs against three characterizing CarE lexis – no evidence was found to support the existence of GTs in CarE.

[7] However, the *OED* also records this meaning of *police* as typical of West Africa and the Caribbean – besides Scotland. In addition, both the *OED* and the *Merriam-Webster* recognize that this typically-CarE usage is also spread in AmE.

ACs, namely brand-new creations non-existent in English, are formed by joining two lexical items that can be found separately in BrE or AmE: ACs may originate both FAs and genuine CarE products. By means of ADs, an English free morpheme and an English bound morpheme are joined to give birth either to a FA or to a CarE-specific lexical item. Some CEs of English compounds belong to CarE only or give rise to FAs, in spite of the fact that they derive their meanings from the English compounds which have been truncated. Cs, which are abbreviations of larger words, represent a quite common word-formation strategy in both BrE and AmE. However, some Cs originate FAs and lexical items proper to CarE. Although R, that is the repetition of a word for emphasis, is a word-formation process active in both BrE and AmE, some Rs are exclusive property of CarE – yet not giving rise to FAs. SSs, probably the most productive word-formation processes in CarE and among the commonest in the coinage of newly-minted FAs, involve meaning extension, i.e. a word that may be encountered in BrE and/or AmE takes on a new meaning – Es, Ts and GTs, the latter not found in CarE, being special types of SSs.

On the one hand, English-based vocabulary features developing in non-Anglophone contexts, e.g. Europe, lead to the creation of FAs; on the other hand, English-based lexical features developing in extraterritorial Anglophone contexts, e.g. the Caribbean, lead to the creation of ETE-specific vocabulary.

In fact, both FAs and (some of) the vocabulary of extraterritorial Englishes witness a dynamic, diversified and innovative sociolinguistic reality. The lexical development of extraterritorial Englishes is the obvious symptom of an earlier, direct, military and political colonization, whereas FAs are the result of a later, more subtle, linguistic contamination, fostered by the media and the global economy, and not necessarily dependent on geographical contiguity.

Although not without complications, this article has demonstrated that the transgressing of territorial borders, either by crossing the Channel or the Atlantic, makes the extraterritoriality of English lexis a global phenomenon, no longer subject to the word formation "laws" of the traditionally-recognised main varieties of English, namely BrE and AmE. Via both FAs and vocabulary features of ETEs, the latter marked by geographical separation and distance from the UK and the USA, speakers resort to English material to expand the lexical inventory of their own language(s), thus remaking English, that is reshaping its vocabulary in a creative way.

It is hoped that the methodology developed in this article – a reinterpretation of English-based lexical innovations that may work on both sides of the Atlantic – will have implications for further research in the field, presumably leading to similar results if other ETEs are considered.

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"Eating *alfresco*": a corpus-based analysis of the evolution of a false Italianism in American English

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Abstract

The aim of this chapter is to explore the use of the Italian phrase *al fresco* in the English language. Its Italian core meaning, i.e. "in the shade" or "a cool place", has been extended and reinterpreted in English to mean "in the open air". A corpus-based analysis of the Italian expression *al fresco* is first carried out using the itTenTen10 corpus to verify its meanings and usage contexts. Then its use in American English is observed both from a quantitative and a qualitative point of view in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English* (COCA). The frequency and usage of the false Italianism *alfresco* in American English are explored in two different periods of time, the 1990s and the 2000s, to observe its semantic profile and increase over these two decades.

1. Borrowings and false borrowings

In an era dominated by virtual communication, contacts among speakers belonging to different languages and cultural backgrounds are increasingly frequent, thus intensifying lexical innovation and interference. The linguistic outcomes of these contacts range from language borrowings to the creation of new forms.

Lexical borrowings are the most frequently occurring in situations of language maintenance[1] (Winford 2003). They are among the most common types of neological processes used to enrich a language and consist in the adoption of words or phrases from a "donor language" (also referred to as "source language") by a "recipient language" (also called "borrowing language").

Winford (2003) also introduced the criterion of "bidirectionality", which implies that a language can be both recipient and donor. This means, for example, that Italian may welcome a high number of foreign words into its vocabulary, especially from English, but it may also lend its own words to other languages, including English. The first words that English borrowed from Italian belong to the field of music, e.g. *allegretto*, *tempo*, *adagio*, because Italian has been the language of opera since the 16th century, but also to the field of architecture, e.g. *loggia*, *portico*, *architrave*, since the first and major architects were Italian.

One of the earliest classifications of borrowings is that made by OED sketch (1950), who distinguished between three main categories: "loanwords" (words taken from the donor language and adopted or adapted in the recipient language, e.g. *stalking*), "loan blends" (hybrid words, e.g. *top niveau* for English *top level*) and "loan shifts" (changes or extensions in meaning of existing words, e.g. the Italian verb *realizzare* with the meaning of "to become aware" from English *to realise*).

In addition to what should be called *real* borrowings, there is another category which derives from them, i.e. "false loans" – loanwords which, once imported into a recipient language, acquire new meanings that differ from their source ones. False borrowings can be seen either as a positive linguistic

[1] "Language maintenance refers simply to the preservation by a speech community of its native language from generation to generation." (Winford, 2003: 11-12)

phenomenon, since they are the expression of language creativity and its potentialities (Lepschy and Lepschy 1999), or as the result of linguistic creativity due to an insufficient knowledge of both the native and the foreign language (Pulcini 2002, Busse and Görlach 2002).

Hope analysed this type of contact-induced phenomenon in the Romance languages and defined a false loan as a lexical item "created in the recipient language on the pattern of forms which exist generally in the source, but without corresponding to a specific etymon" (Hope 1971: 618-619). By taking into account this definition, *al fresco* would not be considered a false borrowing, since it actually corresponds to a specific etymon in Italian. Other scholars, however, consider false borrowings also cases in which a word or phrase keeps the same form but is semantically modified. Furiassi and Gottlieb (2015), for example, would include *al fresco* in the category of false Italianisms, as

> Pseudo-borrowings or false borrowings occur when genuine lexical borrowings, or elements thereof, are reinterpreted by speakers of various receptor languages, resulting in formal and/or semantic changes related to the words in question. (Furiassi and Gottlieb 2015: 4)

Pulcini *et al.* (2012) consider false borrowings as part of direct borrowings, since they are made up of lexical material taken from the donor language, although formally or semantically modified.

Focusing the attention to the phenomenon of language contact and borrowing from the Italian language into English, the body of existing literature on this topic is quite substantial (Iamartino 2001, 2002, 2003; Pinnavaia 2001; Furiassi 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013; Furiassi and Gottlieb, 2015). As far as false Italianisms are concerned, it has been observed that from a quantitative point of

view their number is quite limited – only twenty have been detected so far (Furiassi 2013).[2]

False Italianisms can be morphologically adapted to the English grammatical system when a plural inflection is attached. Moreover, it is possible to say that false Italianisms can be created by means of two main processes of word-formation: morpho-syntactic processes on the one hand, and semantic processes on the other. These two processes have led to the creation of five types of false Italianisms, taken from the classification of false Anglicisms in Furiassi (2010): semantic shifts, for example *al fresco*, autonomous compounds, for example *tutti-frutti* (*tutti* + *frutti*), compound ellipses, for example *latte* (from *caffelatte*) clippings, for example *dildo* (from *diletto*), and toponyms, for example *bologna* (meaning something false or insincere). It is important to underline that most of the false Italianisms in English are based on a semantic shift and *al fresco* is an example belonging to this category.

2. Methodology and analysis

This research started from the original meaning of *al fresco* in Italian, taken from lexicographic sources but also observed in the web Italian corpus *itTenTen10* in order to extract all the meanings and contexts in which this phrase occurred. The occurrences of *al fresco* were analysed manually, by checking their contexts in order to group different semantic fields. Unfortunately, this type of semantic distinction cannot be carried out electronically. Subsequently, the same analysis was then

[2] Among the others, we can mention *bimbo*, which in Italian refers to a child, while its meaning in the Merriam-Webster is "*slang*: a woman of loose morals"; *confetti*, which in Italian are small sweets usually offered during baptisms or weddings, whereas in English they are "tiny colored paper disks or paper streamers so made as to scatter readily when thrown (as at carnivals, parties, weddings)"; *gondola*, which in Italian refers to the Venetian rowing boat, while in English it refers to "an enclosed car suspended from a cable and used for transporting passengers; *especially*: one used as a ski lift".

carried out in the *Corpus of Contemporary American English*, in order to compare the results obtained, both from the point of view of frequency and from the point of view of semantic categories. The COCA also allows researchers to check words in selected periods of time and this function made it possible to analyse *alfresco* in the 1990s and the 2000s, to discover differences in its frequency and usage over the last twenty years. The reason why American English was chosen as a reference variety is motivated by previous research (Furiassi 2013) showing the presence of a considerable number of false Italianisms in American English, compared to British English, possible because of the large Italian community living in the United States[3].

3. *al fresco* in Italian

As for the different meanings of *al fresco* in Italian, the following definition is taken from *Treccani.it*:

> L'aria, la temperatura fresca, e la sensazione che se ne ha: *c'è f. qui* (anche in frasi impersonali: *fa f.*; *comincia a far f.*); *pigliare*, *prendere*, *godere il f.*, stare in luogo arioso e ombreggiato, per ricrearsi: *era uso d'estate*, *nelle sere più crudeli*, *salire a prendere il f. sotto i primi carrubi del monte* (Bufalino); fig., scherz., *mettere al f.*, in prigione; *cenare*, *sdraiarsi al f.*; *farsi fresco con un ventaglio*. Con senso più prossimo a *freddo*: […] *mettere*, *tenere al f.*, per lo più di cibi, in luogo fresco perché si conservino meglio (di bevande, metterle in frigorifero affinché diventino fredde) […].

According to this definition, the most frequently occurring usage of *al fresco* in Italian refers to fresh air, especially when the weather is hot and people want to be in a shady place. The same

[3] A large wave of Italian migration took place immediately after the Italian unification in1861, and lasted until 1976. The most popular destinations were the United States of America, France and Switzerland, and the majority of immigrants came from the South of Italy, in particular from Sicily, Campania and Calabria.

meaning of freshness is employed for food and drinks that need to be refrigerated in order not to perish. Finally, *al fresco* can have a figurative meaning, referring to detention in jail.

Al fresco occurs 2,674 times in *itTenTen10*[4]. Table 1 summarises its usage in the Italian corpus:

	Fresh air/ In the shade	*Storage of food/drinks*	*Jail*
al fresco	1,345 (50.3%)	731 (27.3%)	327 (12.2%)

Table 1: Usage of *al fresco* in Italian

The different meanings of *al fresco* are therefore confirmed by the analysis of *itTenTen10.* The percentage of *al fresco* with the meaning of fresh air is 50.3%, whereas its percentage with reference to the storage of food, drinks, cosmetics and drugs is 27.3% and, finally, its usage with reference to jail covers 12.2% of the instances. The remaining 271 occurrences include cases where *al fresco* is employed as an adjective or as a proper noun – which are not relevant to this study – and there are 10 examples where the false Italianism is employed with its English meaning, i.e. in the open air, but it is usually written in rounded double quotation marks, to quote the expression used in English as in the following examples:

(1) Se un ristorante ha i tavolini all'aperto, si pubblicizza come "*al fresco*", senza sapere che, in Italia, questa espressione significa "in galera".
(2) Il ponte superiore offre aree allestite a zona giorno sia internamente sia esternamente, con living e zone pranzo più una "*al fresco*" dining per aperitivi o semplicemente per ritagliarsi momenti di convivialità.

[4] *itTenTen10* is a freely-available online corpus made up of 3,076,908,415 words.

(3) [...] colpiti dal sole, dal cielo, dai monumenti, dalle piazze, dai caffè e ristoranti "*al fresco*", come si dice in inglese, dall'atmosfera, da una "dolce vita" che in qualche modo, nonostante tutti i problemi della città e dei suoi abitanti, evidentemente si trasmette lo stesso al visitatore, specie se proviene dai cieli spesso grigi del nord Europa.

We may then state that the newer English meaning of *al fresco* as "in the open air" is being re-borrowed by Italian, although not yet fully integrated.

4. *alfresco* in American English: a quantitative analysis

As previously mentioned, in American English *alfresco* is used with the meaning of "in the open air" and is a synonym for "outdoors". According to the Oxford English Dictionary, this Italianism entered English in 1416. Today, it shows three different morphological variants: a solid compound (*alfresco*), a hyphenated compound (*al-fresco*) and a compound separated by a space (*al fresco*). While in the 1990s the only morphological variant found in the COCA is the solid compound, in the 2000s the false Italianism analysed is found as a solid compound and as a compound separated by a space.

In the 1990s *alfresco* occurs 39 times, but its frequency as a refined[5] false Italianism is of 38 examples out of 39: this means that *alfresco*, in this case, shows a prototypicality[6] of 97.4%.

From 2000 to 2012, *alfresco* has increased its frequency in the COCA, occurring 183 times[7]. *Alfresco* was checked manually in

[5] The term "refined" refers to the real occurrences of a word in the corpus, without taking into account the cases where the word in question is employed, for example, as a proper noun, and that are not relevant to the study, whereas "non-refined" refers to the overall occurrences of a word in the corpus.

[6] Prototypicality is a parameter which makes it possible to quantify how many times a word is employed, in this case, as a false Italianism. By taking into consideration 'non-refined false Italianisms' and 'refined false Italianisms' and comparing them, it is possible to calculate the percentage of what is called prototypicality: the closer the number of non-refined false Italianisms to the number of refined false Italianisms, the higher the degree of prototypicality of a false Italianism.

all its occurrences, finding that the word is used in the COCA as a false Italianism in 180 examples out of 183[8], with a prototypicality of 98.4%.

Table 2 shows the frequency and prototypicality of *alfresco* in the 1990s and the 2000s:

	Non-refined false Italianism	*Refined false Italianism*	*Prototypicality (%)*
1990s	39	38	97.4
2000s	183	180	98.4

Table 2: frequency and prototypicality of *alfresco* in the 1990s and the 2000s

Still from a quantitative point of view, it is important to highlight the fact that from 1990 to 1999 the overall size of the COCA was of 207,446,322 words, which means that the percentage per million words (pmw) of the false Italianism *alfresco* is 0.18. From 2000 to 2012 the COCA counted 256,573,934 words, and the percentage per million words of *alfresco* is 0.7.

4.1. *alfresco* in American English: a qualitative analysis

Qualitative analysis involves the study of the collocational profile of *alfresco* in the COCA and therefore in American English. To obtain such results, the lexical context of each occurrence was analysed, thus classifying all the collocates of *alfresco* into three main categories: dining, entertainment, and wellness.

[7] Of which 129 times as a solid compound and 54 times as a compound separated by a space.
[8] The remaining 3 examples are cases where alfresco is employed as a proper noun.

Table 3 summarises the results for *alfresco* obtained in this section:

	Dining	*Entertainment*	*Wellness*	*Other*	*Total*
1990s	23 (60.5%)	7 (18.4%)	0	8 (21%)	38 (0.18 pmw)
2000s	117 (65%)	26 (14.4%)	10 (5.6%)	27 (15%)	180 (0.7 pmw)

Table 3: qualitative results of alfresco in the 1990s and the 2000s with percentages

As for the 1990s, in the examples where *alfresco* is employed in the field of dining, the false Italianism is preceded by the verbs *to dine*, *to eat*, *to have* (e.g. "*to have an alfresco tea*"), and is followed by *dining*, *dinner*, *lunch*, *luncheon*, *meals*, *restaurants*, *tea*. Moreover, *alfresco* collocates with words referring to the field of entertainment and its lexical environment includes *music*, *celebrations*, *entertaining* (e.g. *theatre*), and *matrimony*. The remaining 8 examples cannot be classified in any of the categories created and do not belong to any other specific semantic fields (e.g. "[...] but Thomas West set up his *alfresco* charnel house in view of everyone.").

In the 2000s, the category of wellness is introduced. In this case, the words which accompany *alfresco* are: *to exercise/exercising*, *running*, *stretching*, *yoga class/session*, *spa treatments*. *Alfresco* also collocates with words referring to the field of dining and is preceded by *cocktails*, *to dine/dining*, *dinner*, *drinking*, *to eat/eating*, *to have* (e.g. "*have breakfast, lunch or dinner alfresco*"), *lunching*, *to serve*, *supping*, and

followed by *banquet*, *cocktail/s*, *cooking*, *dining*, *dinner*, *feast*, *lunch/es*, *meal*, *restaurant*. Finally, *alfresco* also occurs together with words referring to the field of entertainment: *to bathe*, *dances*, *disco area*, *entertaining/entertaining space* (e.g. *theatre, to see a movie*), *events*, *festivities*, and *summertime bathing*[9].

5. The semantic prosody of *alfresco* in Italian and in English

By analysing the different collocations of *alfresco* in English and Italian, a difference in the semantic prosody between the American English *alfresco* and the Italian *al fresco* emerged.
Here are some examples taken from the COCA:

(4) "[…] and in summer meals are eaten *alfresco* on terraces surrounded by lush gardens."
(5) "Eating *alfresco* is one of the great warm-weather pleasures."
(6) "[…] used rustic wooden dinnerware (perfect for *alfresco* entertaining) and cotton-blend."
(7) "An unsightly patio on a challenging slope becomes a haven for *alfresco* entertaining on warm summer evenings."
(8) "SHAPE provides fresh, fun ways to exercise *alfresco*."
(9) "Take an *alfresco* yoga class, canoe on Lake Austin, join a guided hike in the nearby hills, learn how to propel a sleek, slim-bodied scull, or simply relax poolside."

The following are examples taken from the *itTenTen10*:

(10) "Per cominciare troviamo il padiglione Kumnanjong (Geumnanjeong). Costruito nel 1945, non è così antico, ma la sua posizione sotto gli alberi ne fa un luogo perfetto per sedersi e riposarsi *al fresco*."
(11) "I piccoli possono nel frattempo fare un sonnellino all´ombra, giocare *al fresco* o disegnare un po´."

[9] The remaining 27 examples, even in this case, cannot be classified in the existing categories of dining, entertainment, and wellness.

(12) "[…] bagno con vasca/doccia con acqua calda, luce elettrica con uso da gruppo elettrogeno, uso cantina per tenere i cibi *al fresco* […]"
(13) "Pensava al sorriso compiacente di sua moglie, alle bistecche di prima scelta comprate al macellaio e alla bottiglia di champagne messa *al fresco*."
(14) "Cambiare i connotati alle persone che vi stanno antipatiche non è più una cosa che rischia di mandarvi per un lungo periodo *al fresco*."
(15) "Il 24 giugno ricevette da Carlo Pisacane il suo testamento politico e dopo il fallimento della spedizione di Sapri, e dei correlati moti di Genova e Livorno, finì *al fresco* nelle carceri sabaude."

The examples from (4) to (9) show a positive aura associated with the English *alfresco*, and words such as *lush*, *pleasures*, *haven*, *fun* seem to confirm this positive meaning. Doing some activities *alfresco* – whether eating or partying or exercising – is seen as something healthy, fun and relaxing. This Italian phrase seems to fit this context much better than its English counterpart *outdoors*, as Italy offers extended natural landscapes where it is possible to do several sports throughout the year.

As for Italian, the semantic prosody can be neutral, when *al fresco* refers to fresh air (10) (11) or storage (12) (13), and negative, when it refers to jail (14) (15). As in the case of *al fresco* with the meaning of jail, its negative prosody is usually accompanied by some Italian verbs such as *sbattere* (*to throw*) or *spedire* (*to send*), which carry a strongly negative connotation.

6. Conclusions

This corpus-based research has confirmed that the Italian phrase *alfresco* can indeed be considered a false Italianism in English, since its meaning has undergone a process of semantic narrowing, going from the different meanings it carries in Italian – mainly "fresh air", outdoors or indoors, and "in jail" – to one

and the same meaning associated with this word in English, i.e. "outdoors".

As for quantitative results, this study has shown that the presence of *alfresco* in the 2000s is almost four times higher than it was in the 1990s and the semantic field of dining is prevalent. This trend may prove that English speakers use this phrase in association to the cultural stereotype of Italian lifestyle, characterised by love for good food, mild climate and "outdoor" surroundings, which make a perfect location for meals.

As for the qualitative results, what is important to stress is the extension of *alfresco* to a new semantic field, i.e. wellness, in the 2000s. It is interesting to notice that the wellness magazines found in the COCA and where *alfresco* is employed with reference to this category – e.g. *Shape* and *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* – were founded in the early 1980s, and were not present in the COCA in the 1990s. Therefore, the absence of this category in the 1990s could simply be due to a recent interest in wellness activities that, through the use of the false Italianism *alfresco*, are more related to leisure than to competitive sports.

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Translating Cultural Heritage on the Web

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Abstract

Within the wider scope of intersemiotic translation, this contribution intends to place its focus on the transmedia adaptation of multimodal content in web-based promotion of cultural heritage. This domain has been selected as the main field of investigation, primarily for the degree of engagement it shows with the full spectrum of transmedia communication across digital platforms and through mobile technologies. Historic monuments, sites and related events are usually described in specific place narratives on dedicated websites, remediated into virtual tours and photo galleries, promoted on the social web and disseminated through mobile apps for smartphones and tablets. In order to illustrate strategies and aims of these transmedia storytelling practices, English Heritage, the government body in charge of England's historic buildings, is taken as the case study by reason of its high profile, effective design and degree of innovation. The analysis highlights the effects of nonlinear narrativity and co-tellership on text formats and the forms of user interaction they foster, forms of interaction that, in turn, are modifying heritage discourse itself, contributing to the construction of participatory cultures and plural landscapes.

1. Study Background

As a meaning-making, knowledge-producing process intrinsic to humans throughout history, narrative transcends the literary

domain it has been conventionally associated with and continues to play a significant role in everyday life. Nonetheless, the act of storytelling appears today to have been deeply transformed by digital culture, which has accelerated the disruption of prototypical narrativity as canonically described in the Labovian model of narrative structure with regard to the everyday practices of real speakers in real contexts (Labov, Waletsky 1967). In particular, the interactive nature of web communication has enhanced the co-construction of stories, allowing for the co-presence of multiple narrators and thus violating the criterion of linearity (Page, Harper, Frobenius 2013) to develop multi-threaded storyworlds that often intersect and merge across different media platforms. The result is what has been defined as "transmedia storytelling" (Jenkins 2003, 2006) and as "networked narrative", with an eye to social media and "the practices of commenting, liking, linking, tagging, photosharing, and marking geographical location" (Page, Harper, Frobenius 2013: 192).

Whereas convergence culture and its forms of communication stand as the backdrop to the following essay, two further assumptions need to be made here as key to the theoretical framework of this analysis. The first stresses the crucial role of storytelling in the cultural heritage sector: since stories about places in the past and in the present are central in heritage promotion, it is narrative (Page 2010b; Georgakopoulou 2007, 2013) that "becomes a central analytic object to understand the genesis in interaction of storytelling, retelling, reworking, and suppression" (Haviland 2008). Second, once this focus on narrativity has been fully legitimised and in light of what has been briefly stated above, it follows that online heritage discourse can be regarded as a specific instance of a transmedia narrative world. Seeking feedback, improving visitor experience and leveraging information resources are all functions that are

carried out through a number of multimodal genres (from blogs and e-newsletters to locative devices such as interactive maps), across different digital platforms, as heritage websites regularly embed links to social media like Facebook, Twitter and YouTube, and, most recently, through mobile apps for smartphones and tablets (Boiano, Bowen, Gaia 2012; Giovagnoli 2013). For these reasons it seems legitimate here to extend the familiar notion of intersemiotic translation, whereby content is remediated across different media, and reach out to insights into the patterning of transmedia narrative, i.e. "inter-related and integrated media experiences that occur amongst a variety of media. A transmedia narrative tells multiple stories over multiple platforms that together tell one big pervasive story, attracting audience engagement" (Gambarato 2012: 72).

> Transmedia narratives can be represented as a centrifugal process: from an initial text a narrative big bang is produced, in which new texts will be generated to reach user-generated content. From this perspective, transmedia storytelling generates a textual galaxy (Mungioli 2011: 130).

Let us now focus on the online presence of English Heritage (EH) that can be said to summarise several of the best practices of online remediation of the cultural landscape[1] and to illustrate how intersemiotic translation and transmedia storytelling interact. We observe that descriptions of historic sites which are introduced on the homepage of the EH information-intensive website are translated into a diversity of text types that, while related to each other content-wise, are further disseminated on the web – embedded in the heritage portal itself, accessible on

[1] English Heritage is "an executive non-departmental public body of the Department for Culture, Media & Sport" in charge of heritage preservation whose "properties currently receive more than six million visits every year" (www.gov.uk). In the UK the understanding of the relationship between places and cultural memory has led to a widespread awareness of the importance the historical and ethnological patrimony the territory holds for the public. On the emergence of heritage politics see Waterton (2010).

the social web or downloadable in a specific app on demand[2] that requires 'mobile-ready' content. It so happens that, by a creative combination of storytelling, visualisation strategies and usability criteria, historic sites are described in specific place narratives, but also remediated into virtual tours, photo galleries and videos[3] and promoted via social media.

Selecting English Heritage as a relevant case study by reason of its high profile, effective design and degree of innovation, this work investigates how the linguistic and discursive features of digital storytelling are adjusted to adapt to distinct media contexts and which forms of user interaction they foster. Finally, it intends to reflect to what extent these forms of interaction, in turn, are modifying heritage discourse itself by aggregating communities of practice online and offline.

2. **Methods and Data Set**

In light of the peculiarities of CMC (Garzone 2009), this work espouses a social-interactional view of narrative, examining a variety of text types not just in terms of genre but also of "tellership" (Ochs and Capps 2001), which can be individual or shared. As for remediation, it is clearly enhanced by medium-enabled features: digital narratives migrate across multiple platforms and evolve in this process, being reshaped and enriched with new voices, as in the co-constructed conversational exchanges retrievable on the social web. These a-typical small stories (Georgakopoulou 2007, 2013)[4] are here taken as instances of what has been introduced above as a

[2] The English Heritage Days Out App.

[3] Though narrative analysis is evidently applicable to film, it is outside the remit of this work to focus on video material like that uploaded on YouTube by English Heritage, which shows a multiple focus on preservation projects, education and the archiving of immaterial practices (i.e. "How to Ride Side Saddle like a Victorian Lady").

[4] A concise account of this more recent trend in narrative analysis within sociolinguistics and narratology that takes into consideration narrative structures diverging from the Labovian model is provided in Georgakopoulou (2007).

transmedia narrative. Arguably, it is user-generated content together with co-tellership and nonlinear narrative that makes transmedia storytelling a deeper and more radical process than what is commonly regarded as intersemiotic translation (e.g. from book to screen, from comics to television etc).

Heritage is concerned with the physical presence of historic buildings as well as with the activities of sightseers. This is why place deixis, the set of linguistic and pragmatic functions that position the self in the world, has been selected as a key analytic area in this investigation of heritage discourse and place narratives (Herman 2001), on the assumption that the description of the spatial relationships between monuments and visitors, i.e. of embodied space, may also shed light on heritage-related cultural practices. A further analytic distinction should be made at this point between geolocation information, or "hyperlocality" (Carroll *et al.* 2013), as a mobile affordance in which visual content tends to be predominant, and the actual linguistic encoding of place in CMC (Knaś 2013; Page 2010a; Page, Harper, Frobenius 2013), especially on the social web. Expressing location – in a mediated environment, by means of short messages such as comments, posts and tweets, and with a frequently shifting personal deictic centre typical of CMC which characteristically alternates from many to one, from one to one, from one to many – needs to resort to a variety of linguistic cues and discursive strategies whose aim is not only referential but also social, as place deixis has both a linguistic and extralinguistic value. Quite understandably in periods of dwindling public money, heritage politics increasingly needs to rely on the participation and actual involvement of stakeholders. This is why effective digital communication plays a role of paramount importance not only in spelling out the four core values of understanding, valuing, caring for and enjoying

heritage but also in attracting potential members and aggregating supporters and volunteers (Paganoni 2015).

3. The Heritage Sector and English Heritage

The popularity of the Government agency English Heritage, the body in charge of protecting historic buildings and monuments, stems from the fact that heritage is at the heart of the UK's tourism industry and, as such, represents a resource to be duly preserved and branded.

> *Everywhere we* look, history surrounds us. Here at English Heritage we champion our historic places and advise the Government and others to help today's generation get the best out of our heritage and ensure it is protected for the future (*heritagecalling.com*, English Heritage blog).

From the mission statement itself we can see that the collective institutional voice ("we", "our") places the national community of which English Heritage is part in a metaphorised and intense spatial relationship with "history" ('surrounding' people) by means of the indefinite adverb ("everywhere"). History works in turn as a metonymy for "historic places" and "heritage", i.e. the historic built environment English Heritage is mainly responsible for.

In line with its stated mission, the EH website – a well-designed interactive portal – places its emphasis largely on old buildings, introduced by short descriptive texts and illustrated by corresponding pictures. While, on the one hand, the obvious aim of evocative photos is to foster communal identity by making history a shared resource, on the other hand "historical storytelling has been effective in engaging community members" (Carroll *et al*. 2013). Embedded in the heritage portal

itself and related to each other content-wise, stories are then rewritten for the social web and mobile apps.

The migration of text types across different media platforms involves processes of remediation and intersemiotic translation. It should be pointed out, however, that what is being investigated here is not simply the effort of making content more easily exploitable for mobile usage, for example by creating a mobile version of the website (as the one devised by English Heritage) or by selecting high-contrast pictures with fewer details and shorter captions for the smaller screen of phones and tablets (Boiano, Bowen, Gaia 2012). Though usability is indeed a feature – and an important one – of cross-media practices, the focus here is rather on the transformations of the linguistic and discursive features of storytelling itself in different contexts. Since representations of the cultural landscape need to rely on the encoding of spatial information, place deixis is helpful to understand how space is not just material, but also social and embodied (Farman 2012). To this purpose narratives on the following four distinct media will be compared in what is clearly an exercise in qualitative research.

- The English Heritage website (english-heritage.org.uk)
- The English Heritage Facebook page (www.facebook.com/englishheritage)
- The Twitter account (@EnglishHeritage)
- The English Heritage Days Out App (on iPad)

The heritage icon chosen for comparison is Apsley House, also known as Number One London, once home to the Duke of Wellington. Pasted below are the textual excerpts describing the well-known heritage building and here taken as an example of how digital stories are rewritten across media.

3.1. The English Heritage Website

On the EH website the text producer is the institutional voice speaking from Apsley House, which becomes the deictic centre and point of anchorage in the narrative. With its rich art display and perfect location in the heart of London the mansion is introduced by a few lines dense with historical explanations that are made easily expendable for tourists. Visitors are first elliptically addressed without using any personal indexicals when suggesting other possible leisure activities in the surroundings ("Why not include a stroll") and then invited to enjoy the famous art collections ("Don't miss").

(1) Addresses don't come much grander than *'Number One London'*, the popular name for Apsley House, one of the most interesting visitor attractions *in London*. Home to the Duke of Wellington after his victory over Napoleon at Waterloo, the interior of the house has changed very little since the days of the Iron Duke.
It boasts one of the finest art collections in London, with paintings by Velazquez and Rubens as well as a wonderful collection of silver and porcelain. Pride of place goes to a massive nude statue of Napoleon. Why not include a stroll through *nearby Hyde Park*, and a visit to *nearby Wellington Arch* for a great value family day out in London.
Don't Miss
- The gilt Portuguese service awarded to Wellington
- The breathtaking Waterloo Gallery
- Canova's dominating statue of Napoleon (*english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/apsley-house, emphasis added*)

From the general presentation in example 1 a hyperlink leads to a characteristic piece of storytelling in the domain of public history (example 2) that provides deeper insights into the historical significance of the "Iron Duke". The name of the building becomes the narrative starting point to offer a concise

"biographical recount" (Coffin 2006: 53) of Wellington and to locate him in time and space.

(2) HISTORY OF APSLEY HOUSE
Apsley House was originally designed and built by Robert Adam between 1771 and 1778 for Baron Apsley – from whom it takes its name. It passed to the Wellesley family in 1807, being first owned by Richard and then his younger brother Arthur Wellesley – the first Duke of Wellington.
Wellington is most famous for defeating Napoleon at the Battle of Waterloo in 1815, but this was only the culmination of a brilliant military career, including strings of victories in India and later in Spain. He was also a major politician, rising from representing a small Irish constituency in 1790 to becoming Prime Minister in 1828 (*english-heritage.org.uk/daysout/properties/apsley-house/history-and-research*).

As is typical of mainstream historical recounts like the one above, narrative emphasis is placed on information "gleaned from primary and secondary sources rather than entertainment", readers are not invited "to challenge the view of events presented" and "people, places and events are generalized" (Coffin 2006: 58).

3.2. The English Heritage Facebook Page

'Going Facebook' is a digital strategy increasingly popular to interact with one's audience by means of freewheeling conversational exchanges that are usually started by the publication of a status update on the part of the Facebook page owner. In this case it is English Heritage itself that has opened a dedicated page, accessible from its own website to connect with people interested in heritage and involve them in its experience and preservation.

For the purpose of this analysis the status update on Apsley House reported below (example 3) has been selected together

with the related comments and timestamps (all listed in example 4), leaving aside other textual components typical of the Facebook template, such as pictures and 'likes', which also contribute to sharing content.

(3) The lovely *Apsley House at Hyde Park Corner* is looking rather splendid as the evenings get darker! We always look better in the dusk as well…(*English Heritage*, 27 September 2012)

(4) a. [*name deleted*] A fine building and museum. *I'll pop in* again as soon as I've signed up my EH membership. Any day now! Last few pennies &c &c
11.21, 3 October 2012
b. [*name deleted*] *Number one London*. Cant beat that address.
11.34, 3 October 2012
c. [*name deleted*] @ [*name deleted*] EH membership a worthwhile!
11.47, 3 October 2012
d. [*name deleted*] beautifull *(sic)* building
11.47, 3 October 2012
e. [*name deleted*] The house is beautiful. *I was here* a couple of months ago. Very impressive.
12.28, 3 October 2012
f. [*name deleted*] Great *to visit* sevres porcelain, eagle standards etc
13.58, 3 October 2012

We can observe that the storytelling on Apsley House is shared among multiple users that co-construct an improvisational narrative. This multifocal approach results in a shifting deictic centre according to each speaker's location in space and activity. Unlike the institutional voice of the EH website, the status update localises the mansion at Hyde Park Corner through the gaze of a bystander facing it at dusk, a stance which corresponds to the attached picture that shows the façade of Apsley House in the dim light of a late afternoon. Reflecting the multiple experiences of the heritage building on the part of EH

subscribers, comments verbalise this stance translating it into the shifting locations of a network of social actors and adding an affective dimension to the whole visit, which took place in an unspecified past and is now virtually re-enacted with an eye to the future ("I'll pop in again", 4a). Arguably, this affective identification inspired by the picture of the house that accompanies the status update could explain the ambiguous use of the proximal deictic adverb *here* instead of *there* in example 4e, as if visuals were able to awaken the memory of place and stir the power of imagination to the point of conjuring up the feeling of actual presence.

Bridging the gap between narrative production and reception, the deictic shift allows storytellers "to relocate from the here and now of the current interaction to the alternative spacetime coordinates of the storyworld" (Herman 2001: 521). This "results in a new form of dwelling in the combined space of the digital and real constituted through narrative acts" (Page, Harper, Frobenius 2013: 209) and in "an ongoing sense of an ever-present 'now'" (Page 2013: 41).

3.3. English Heritage on Twitter

As characteristic of this microblogging site, status updates (examples 5 and 7) from @English Heritage alternate with tweets from followers (examples 6 and 8) in reverse chronological order (here violated for the purpose of exemplification).[5]

(5) **English Heritage** @EnglishHeritage18 Jun
#onthisday in 1815, Wellington's army ended Napoleonic rule at the Battle of Waterloo. Discover more at **@ApsleyHouse**

(6) [*name deleted*]

[5] Hypertextual links have also been deleted.

Lovely visit to Apsley House earlier today. Very impressed by @EnglishHeritage Waterloo event
1:00 AM - 23 Jun 13*(emphasis added)*

(7) **English Heritage** @EnglishHeritage 13 May
What do you think a 241 year old grand piano sounds like? Here's your chance to find out...

(8) [*name deleted*]13 May
Oldest English grand piano to be played in concert at **Apsley House**, once of Duke of Wellington: *Would go* if I could! *(emphasis added)*

While the voice of the heritage agency relies on the interpersonal dimension of language through the use of imperatives ("discover") and questions ("What do you think…"), replies express the reaction of EH followers and mark their spatial location with reference to the events announced, which can be attended ("Lovely visit") or missed ("would go if I could").

The status update and reply in examples 7 and 8 refer back to the following press release on the EH website (example 9) and post on the EH Facebook page (example 10). These networked texts dealing with the same event can be seen to build up a transmedia narrative across distinct media platforms in which different voices and stances merge.

(9) 13 MAY 2013
THE OLDEST ENGLISH GRAND PIANO *COMES TO APSLEY HOUSE*
The oldest surviving English grand piano, built in London by renowned piano maker Americus Backers in 1772, *has gone on display at Apsley House in London*, the home of its former owner, the first Duke of Wellington (english-heritage.org.uk, *emphasis added*).

(10) Take a look at this beautiful instrument… How old do you think it is? Here's a clue: It's the oldest surviving English grand piano, and *it's just gone on display at our very own Apsley House in London* – which just so happens to be the home of the piano's former owner,

the first Duke of Wellington! – with John Christal and Joy Joyski (English Heritage on Facebook, 13 May 2013, *emphasis added*).

Example 9 foregrounds the institutional voice of English Heritage, whose deictic centre is at Apsley House itself. This sense of place is clearly not simply geographical but above all social, i.e. English Heritage can be seen to 'inhabit' the mansion it is responsible to preserve. In example 10, on the other hand, the EH voice identifies itself with the online community of subscribers and visitors affectively engaged in the building and the events it hosts ("our very own Apsley House"), thus co-sharing not just narratives of the place but also responsibility for its good maintenance.

3.4. The English Heritage Days Out App

The Days Out App was launched in April 2011 in line with a communication campaign that aimed to refresh the EH brand. Customising one's own itinerary for heritage tourists is an option that was already available on the EH website itself where we can find an interactive map of England embedded on the top right-hand corner on the homepage and referred to by the non-finite clause of the nominal group "Places to visit" (example 11) (Paganoni 2012).

(11) PLACES TO VISIT
Select a region to start exploring or search for a day out *near you* (*english-heritage.org.uk, emphasis added*)

We notice, however, that the mobile version skips the interactive map, most likely for reasons of simplified design. Users are first invited to "find a day out" and then to "find a property".

The English Heritage Days Out App, whose icon is the English heritage logo (a red crenellated square suggesting the battlement of a medieval castle), develops the intuitive user interface of the mobile website, fully exploiting geo-coding affordances that "allow information and interaction to be located in space" (Carroll *et al*., 2013, n.p.). While place deixis shows a significant linguistic shift from "near you" on the mobile website to "near me" for the app (example 12), search tools help to match a property with individual needs, providing a concise description of the historic location selected (example 13).

(12) Step into England's story -> *Near me* (i.e. a list of heritage buildings located within fifty miles) (*English Heritage Days Out App, emphasis added*).

(13) Apsley House, home of the first Duke of Wellington and his descendants, stands right in the heart of London at Hyde Park Corner (Apsley House/property details, *English Heritage Days Out App emphasis added*).

Worthy of notice is the EH brand claim announced in the start screen of the app: "Step into England's story". In other words, history, which is turned into the tangible assets of the historic environment according to the ideology of what has been defined as AHD, i.e. "authorised heritage discourse" (Smith 2006), is now narrativised to include multiple 'stories', co-authored by heritage visitors that leave their digital footprints in so doing.

The interactive map of England on the EH institutional website fosters an interpersonal stance through which the Government agency addresses potential visitors in their "serendipitous discovery" (De Caro, Di Blas, Spagnolo 2010: 3) of heritage sights, still offering some kind of guidance for playful exploration. The final end user of the Days Out App, instead, is constructed as a fully autonomous individual that relies on geolocation services to map out a personal exploration

and experience of place. In this case, place deixis signifies the much greater degree of user involvement that is not just limited to playing with the online content but reveals a meaningful cultural practice: the (hopefully) growing appropriation of the cultural landscape and local heritage which CMC "makes more available to community members", while the institutional voice of English Heritage is left in the background.

4. Conclusions

All the networked narratives here analysed (which include the list of users' comments on Facebook) clearly differ in the ways in which they translate and reframe the reciprocal relationship between the building and its visitors, a relationship which can be explicitly worded ("This house is beautiful. I was here a couple of months ago. Very impressive", on the EH Facebook page), or simply alluded to ("Why not include a stroll through nearby Hyde Park, and a visit to nearby Wellington Arch", on the EH website). Nevertheless, we can easily identify two main deictic centres, the English Heritage institutional and the end user's one. The shifting dialectics between the two contributes to the creation of embodied spaces, or "taskscapes" (Ingold 1993), i.e. spaces that are made meaningful by the self's presence and current activities. This presence, which is physical and virtual at the same time, is differently constructed and lexicalised in terms of place deixis, depending on the representational medium espoused. Quite understandably, the degree of user involvement is much greater on the social web where users' perceptions and expectations are incorporated, unlike the institutional website.

In a nutshell, the emblematic case of English Heritage aims to illustrate how transmedia storytelling strives to bring together the voices of social actors from different locales in a new discursive space. In so far as heritage discourse prioritises the

notion of heritage as public value, what stands out clearly is that new media may effectively contribute to the construction of participatory cultures, plural landscapes and collective engagement. The social web, in particular, appears to be of paramount importance to foster active participation among communities, online and offline. The concrete references to everyday contexts and practices and the appeals to an audience composed of ordinary people make it possible for places and experiences of the past to be revisited and incorporated into individual narratives and personal histories. The main influence of this kind of digitally enhanced interaction on heritage discourse would seem to be the shortening of the distance between the narrating and the narrated world, which – in the case of the cultural landscape – will hopefully succeed in preserving local heritage through affective and thus effective participation in it.

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Remediating tools and methods in the teaching of specialised translation

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Abstract

The advent of the New Information Technologies has implied the reshaping of teaching methods and instruments in university and post-university courses, including those in specialised translation. Translation teaching is increasingly influenced by new forms of work organisation, based on community and collaboration, such as cloud translation, collaborative translation and crowdsourcing translation, in which information literacy plays a fundamental role. This paper sums up the fundamental steps of a research project in translation teaching designed for a class of students in economic and financial translation. The project focuses on the need to re-mediate long-established learning methodologies. To this purpose, a case study is described which illustrates how the integration of Web 2.0 technologies into traditional didactic methods might help students develop their thematic competence in a Massive Online Collaboration (MOC) environment.

1. Introduction

In 2009, the Directorate-General of the European Union launched a new programme, the *European Master's in Translation* (EMT), intended to promote a network of Universities that offer first and second level degree courses in specialised translation. To join the network, the DG requires that the candidate Universities hold courses which can provide

students with a range of competences that modern translators need in order to work as professionals. These competences include not only the standard skills offered by traditional translation curricula, i.e. linguistic, thematic, intercultural, documentation and work management competences, but also new skills, closely related to the technological knowledge demanded by the digital age.

Indeed, the advent of New Information Technologies (NITs) has led to a *remediation* of traditional teaching methodologies and tools, or as Sørensen et al. have argued, to a process of *redidactisation*, that is a "*process through which traditional ways of teaching and learning are integrated into new media and embrace the potentials of these media.*" [Sørensen, Hubert, Risgaard, and Kirkeby 2004: 59, translation by Bo-Kristensen and Meyer 2008:28].

Conventional teaching approaches to the translation of specialised texts consist in training students to analyse source texts, translating them into the target language and revising them in order to improve their readability by target culture (TC) readers. Due to the development experienced by the market, such didactic approaches need to be *remediated*, i.e. they must be re-designed and *re-purposed*, in order to prepare students to cope with the demands of their future profession. In other words, translation trainers need to "take a 'property' from one medium and re-use it in another" [Bolter and Grusin 1996:39] in compliance with the requirements of *immediacy* and *hypermediacy* [*ibid*] that NITs imply.

As recent studies have shown, translation has evolved towards *cloud* or *collaborative translation*. Therefore, students in specialised translation should be trained to work in Massive Online Collaboration (MOC) environments [Austermühl 2011] or, to put it otherwise, in Virtual Communities of Practice, in which their *invisibility* as translators, although in a rather

different sense than the one provided by Venuti (1995), is definitively sanctioned. Students' translation competence, too, is an important phase of this *crowdsourcing* process, in that it results from collaborative ontology construction [Farquhar, Fikes and Rice:1996].

2. Teaching specialised translation: the *remediation* of old media

Drawing upon McLuhan's outstanding lesson (1994), Bolter and Grusin (1996) coined the term *remediation*, i.e. the reshaping of contents of the old analog media into the new digital ones. Lately, this concept has been widely used by scholars concerned with new methods of teaching foreign languages, including translation. Significant studies have been provided by Bo-Kristensen and Meyer (2008), and Sørensen, Hubert, Risgaard, and Kirkeby (2004, in Bo-Kristensen e Meyer 2008). In their opinion, the use of new technologies, especially the Web, enables students to become part of a virtual community in which they can rely on the interaction between the logic of *immediacy* and the logic of *hypermediation*.

In this respect, the profile and competences that the modern student in specialised translation must have, entails a new form of literacy, i.e. *information literacy*, which, as Loucky suggests, includes "*computer literacy, critical thinking and information skills, Information Technology (IT) literacy, learning how to learn (or lifelong learning) literacies, and library or digital media literacies*" (Loucky 2008: 281-2). The improvement of these literacies largely depends on the readability level of a text.

Another interesting study has been carried out by Stone (2009). Although his research mainly focuses on the training of a company's in-house staff, his guidelines seem to fit the training of university students in specialised translation, too. Stone's

model is a blended learning method, i.e. it is based on the combination of traditional teaching methods (*classroom face-to-face lessons*) and innovative online methods (*e-learning*). Both are formal methods implying the presence of a trainer (*Instructor-led Training*), although the online method entails, so to speak, a *just-in-time* service provision, and a larger collective involvement of the trainees. These two aspects become more relevant in the case of informal learning methods, which give more space to users and make a larger use of the Web 2.0 technologies. Web 2.0 is

> an evolving collection of trends and technologies that foster user-generated content, user interactivity, collaboration, and information sharing. Common examples of Web 2.0 technologies include wikis, blogs, forums, podcasting, social networking, and social bookmarking (Stone 2009: 4)

Thanks to these tools, students are able to work in a MOC context; they become members of a *virtual community of practice*, i.e. a group of persons "who share a concern, a set of problems, or a passion about a topic, and who deepen their knowledge and expertise by interacting on an ongoing basis" (Wenger, McDermott & Snyder 2002: 4); they operate in real time using the new information and communication technologies to share their knowledge, resources and skills.

The shift to Web 2.0, then, upsets the old hierarchical relationship between trainer and trainees in that the latter, too, contribute to interpreting the texts, creating new resources, sharing information, and exploiting, as best as they can, the existing tools.

Sessoms (2008: 90) successfully sums up this technological turn which is affecting teaching, too (Fig. 1). Indeed, from a static way of teaching, an attitude typical of the Web 1.0 that focuses on the role of the teacher, we are moving towards a more

dynamic, interactive, democratic way of teaching, in which the student's proactive attitude becomes relevant.

TRADITIONAL (Web 1.0)	NEW (Web 2.0)
Teacher-centered instruction	Student-centered instruction/learning
Single-sense stimulation	Multisensory stimulation
Single-path progression	Multipath progression
Single-media	Multimedia
Isolated work	Collaborative work
Information delivery	Information exchange
Passive learning	Active/exploratory/inquiry-based learning
Reactive response	Proactive/planned response
Isolated, artificial context	Authentic, real-world context

Figure 1: Source: Sessom 2008: 90 – Table 1. *Differences between traditional and new technology enhanced instruction*

Various scholars have studied this change from a teacher-centred to a student-centred learning, from a kind of learning autocracy to a form of democratic learning. Atan (2012: 2), for example, puts emphasis on the new practices of discourse enhanced by the ICT-based collaborative learning environment, stressing, in particular, the new power relationships between teacher and students: the latter "become responsible for their own learning and the learning of others. The teacher is no more the authority who determines what is studied and assesses the quality of students' work."

For Dooly (2008), this new form of collaborative and cooperative learning is based on constructivism, i.e. the construction and transformation of knowledge by students who operate, at the same time, as researchers, critical thinkers, decision-makers (Dooly 2008: 21ff), in a dynamic web-based environment (Web 2.0) rather than in a static face-to-face setting (Web 1.0).

Using the image of Wittgenstein's philosophical turn from the *Tractatus* to the *Philosophical Investigations*, de Mul argues

> In Web 1.0, that is characterised by 'a Tractatus approach', the web consists of documents – at present more than a billion – that are linked to one another through Hypertext Markup Language (HTML) […] In the emerging Web 2.0 the emphasis shifts from the layout of the webpage, determined by the HTML-code, to the actions of the database that is hidden behind the web pages. This shift results in a transformation of the static web page into a dynamic one, that constantly changes through interaction with its visitors. The driving force behind the development of Web 2.0 is XML, an 'Extensible Markup Language' […]. (de Mul 2008: 169-71)

Unlike Web 1.0, then, in Web 2.0 users are no longer consumers but *prosumers* or proactive consumers integrated within the production of the learning process (Toffler 1980: 282).

3. Teaching translation in the age of *Wikis*

One outstanding outcome of Web 2.0 technology is represented by Wikis, large collections of web pages whose content can be modified by users. Wikis are representative of the phenomenon of *crowdsourcing*, a term coined by Jeff Howe (Howe 2006). It is an innovative mode of work organisation based on collaboration, voluntary involvement and democratisation of the roles played by the members, who join together to form a community. The protagonist, then, is the group rather than the individual.

In this respect, wikis are significant instances in which users do not act as consumers but as prosumers, in the sense we have shown above. A variety of projects have been designed based on this idea of collaborative translation: the *Community Translation Project*, the *Cross Lingual Wiki Engine Project*, *Kantan MT*, just to mention a few.

As a result, translation courses must be designed to prepare students to work in this new environment. The project presented in this paper follows these lines. It starts from the assumption

that the vast majority of students who choose a University course in specialised translation have no domain competence. Nonetheless, they must learn to translate highly specialised texts (e.g. economic, financial, legal, medical, chemical). Very often, trainers have to meet these learning demands, notwithstanding shortage of time and other drawbacks such as lack of human resources. So, what University courses can do is to give students methods and tools, profiting from the innovations of NITs. In other words, technological competence may enable translation students to improve their intercultural and thematic competence, as well as their linguistic and terminological skills.

In the next sections, I discuss how students' thematic competence can be fostered thanks to Web-2.0 instruments. The case study shows how the students' awareness of a specialised subject in finance and its translation into Italian can be improved using a Web 2.0-based approach. The sample text is taken from an economic meta-text, a user's guide to Corporate Annual Reports (Stanko and Zeller 2003):

Capital resources are debt and equity available for funding capital expenditures.

A student or a specialist in economics and finance would have no problem making sense of the term "equity". For students in specialised translation, on the other hand, understanding its meaning is a very hard task due to the highly polysemous nature of the word and the specific meaning it takes on in the various contexts in which it occurs.

According to traditional teaching methods adopted in face-to-face classroom, students would be trained to research the term in specialised dictionaries and glossaries. The most diligent would even go to libraries to check specialised books. This, however,

would take time before a final decision could be made about the interpretation of the term and the best way of translating it.

In a Web 1.0-based learning approach, students are trained to search for terms in the Internet using both search engines and online corpora. This approach, in principle, proves to be very useful in that it allows students to find a huge amount of data in a very short time. Nonetheless, it would be very time-consuming to visit over 65 million results provided for "equity", for instance, by Google. Searching for the term with the help of online (as well as offline) corpora does not help students to become aware of the sense of the text either. Corpora can help find the patterns in which the word, or the phrase, occurs and even identify, though with considerable difficulty, the right context of use for interpretation (Fig. 2). Nevertheless, the information they provide is not enough to form a translator's thematic competence.

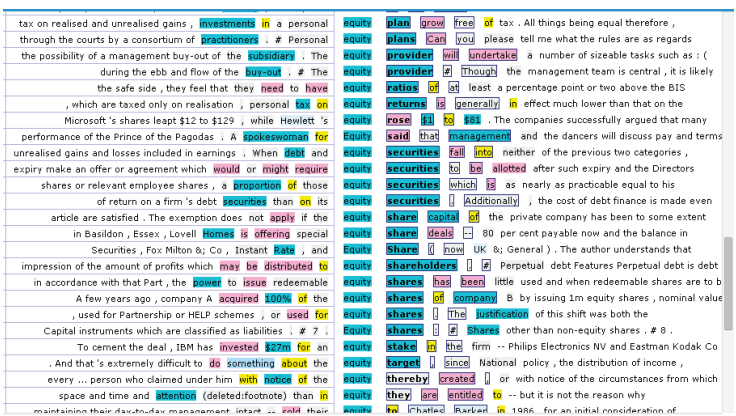

Figure 2: from http://corpus2.byu.edu/bnc/

Indeed, a third approach that can actually contribute to constructing students' thematic competence in translation is needed. The fulfillment of this task is based on the initial assumption of this paper, i.e. the need to integrate traditional

teaching methods into Web-2.0 based media. Exploiting the potential of cognitive theories and Novak's concept-mapping model (Novak et al., 2008), I suggest an approach that re-mediates concept maps through the Web 2.0. This represents a helpful methodology for users in that they can have immediate graphical representation of knowledge as well as an understanding of the relationship between the searched term or phrase and the ideas which move around it, i.e. its context of use. One instrument that combines Web 2.0 and the cognitive approach of concept maps is WikiMindMap (www.wikimindmap.org), a platform that allows users to have, in a very short time, a mind-map of a search carried out in Wikipedia[1].

WikiMindMap is the point of departure of my project for a methodology intended to construct students' thematic competence. The data created by means of WikiMindMap can be saved in other mind-map creator software tools, such as Freemind (Fig. 3), which enables users to grasp the various contexts in which the search term or phrase is used.

In my case study, for instance, Freemind shows the various semantic fields and the related concepts of the word "equity"

[1] A Web 2.0 tool similar to WikiMindMap is eyePlorer (http://vionto.com/show/).

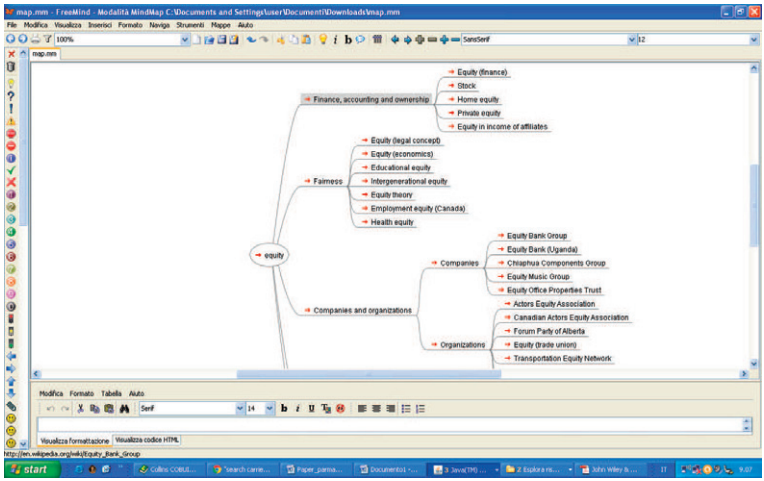

Figure 3: Freemind – "equity"

Each word or group of words (*node*) is a link to a Wikipedia page that, in general, contains information as well as links to translations into other languages. An important advantage of Freemind is that it allows users to edit the information in the concept map generated by WikiMindMap, or even add extra data, links, images, videos, etc., thus helping students create thematic competence by themselves.

Many of these tools are cloud-based; in other words, they enable users to share their knowledge with their peers as well as with the larger discourse community of which they are members. New Coggle (www.google.it), for instance, allow users to create community and share concept maps with other users who have the same interests and, possibly, want to collaborate in knowledge construction for translation purposes.

4. Conclusions

The Web 2.0 tools presented in this paper are just some of many available on the market. Regardless of the instrument used,

however, we must focus on the importance of the learning methodology, which, as I have shown, exploits NITs in order to amplify the knowledge resources of students and the impact of collaborative work. Borrowing from McLuhan, Web 2.0 tools, like any other medium, are but "extensions of man". They help man intensify and extend his senses and functions but they cannot do without him:

> media act upon one another through the agency of our own senses. It is in this mode that man appears as the reproductive organ of the technological world, a fact that Samuel Butler bizarrely announced in Erewhon. (McLuhan 2003: 40).

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Academic Discourse in Translation: Perspectives and Challenges

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Abstract

This paper presents a state-of-the art overview of research on the translation of academic discourse from and into English. A classification framework to analyse the literature is presented drawing categories from Translations Studies and Language for Specific Purposes. The analysis indicates that the translation of academic discourse has started being examined quite systematically only recently. However, various descriptive and theoretical issues remain underexplored, such as the role played by discipline and directionality. In addition, few empirical studies have investigated to what extent the dominant position of English as a *lingua franca* for academic communication affects the epistemological orientations of other research traditions through the practice of translation.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the translation of academic discourse within the context of English as the *lingua franca* (ELF) of academic institutions and scholarly communication. It is concerned with the translation of texts such as abstracts, research papers, books and textbooks into and from English. As for translation into English, especially in the case of abstracts and articles, this practice tends to be "covert" (House 2006: 347), as the translator is not credited and readers perceive the target text (TT) as originally written in the target language (TL). That is why it is often believed that non-native speaker scholars draft their writing directly in English, with the only external mediation being revision/editing. However, recent studies have pointed out that translational activity into English exists. Pérez-

Llantada *et al*. (2011: 24-25) report that two of the ten Spanish scholars that they interviewed have their papers translated into English in order not to spend too much time on the writing process and devote more energy to primary research. Pisanski Peterlin (2014: 60) underlines that in certain disciplinary and cultural contexts many researchers have limited proficiency in English and regularly make recourse to translation services. Finally, it is not unusual for local journals to publish research in English and to rely on translation. For instance, Bennett provides the example of a prominent journal of Portuguese history that publishes entirely in English and that "appears to make a systematic use of translation" (2012a: 280). While non-native academic writing in English has received considerable attention, academic translation into English has started being explored only recently (e.g. Bennett 2011; Pisanski Peterlin 2013a; Williams 2007). However, since translation involves a mediator, who in most cases is not a member of the academic community (Pisanski Peterlin 2013b: 60), this practice is rather different form that of using English for publication purposes. Therefore, investigating the product, process and practice of academic translation into English would enhance our understanding of the writing-for-publication process and its implications. Among these are practical concerns related to the training of academic translators[1] and issues of cultural dominance related to the need of translations to adhere to English writing conventions, which in the long run may lead to the occultation of non-Anglophone knowledge traditions (Bennett 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2011).

The prominent role of English implies that a lot of translational activity also takes place from this language into other languages. For instance, not only are academic textbooks often translated, but abstracts and research papers are translated too, as in the case of international biomedical journals with local editions (Williams 2005) or journals aiming at a very broad international reach and commissioning translations of entire

[1] Pérez-Llantada *et al.* (2011: 25) report that the scholars relying on translation lamented the poor quality of translation services.

volumes.[2] This situation stimulates investigations into how, through translation, English influences other languages.

This article represents the very initial stage of a project aimed at studying academic translation from English into Italian and vice versa. As for IT-EN translation, the aims are: 1) to assess to what extent the practice of academic translation into English is used as a strategy for publication purposes by Italian scholars; 2) to analyse what specificities academic translations present as compared to source language (SL) texts, original texts in English and texts directly written in English by Italian native speakers; 3) to verify the hypothesis that the dominance of English, which requires a target-oriented approach to translation, results in epistemological losses. As regards EN-IT translation, the objectives are: 1) to understand how widespread this practice is and what academic genres are more often translated; 2) whether English, due to its prestige, leaves traces in the TT that may affect the receiving epistemological orientations.

As a first step in this direction, I provide an overview of existing studies of academic translation, in order to identify what aspects have been analysed, what theoretical assumptions and methodological approaches have characterised recent research and, especially, whether the challenges for translation raised by the current dominance of English have been explored. To gather relevant publications, I carried out two parallel searches using the ERIC Collection and the Translation Studies Abstracts Online database.[3] In both cases, search options were restricted to peer-reviewed publications in the past twenty years, using descriptors such as "translation", "academic discourse", "scientific texts" and "specialised/-ized translation". I obtained twenty publications specifically focused on the translation of present-day academic discourse.[4]

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[2] An example is the *Socialist Register*, a well-established multidisciplinary journal discussing socio-political issues from the standpoint of the independent new left, which has "editions in Spanish, Portuguese and Turkish, with individual volumes translated and published in Iran and South Korea" (http://socialistregister.com/index.php/srv/about/editorialPolicies#focusAndScope, last accessed 10 May 2015).

[3] For more information, respectively see http://eric.ed.gov/ and https://www.stjerome.co.uk/tsa/, last accessed 15 January 2014.

[4] I only considered studies dealing with interlingual translation involving English as SL or TL.

Starting from these studies, the list of suitable papers for review was extended consulting references and the authors' list of publications when available online.

2. Academic discourse in translation: an overview of the literature

The framework presented here classifies studies in terms of the area of Translation Studies they contribute to, also drawing categories from Language for Specific Purposes. Following is the taxonomy, which includes six criteria:

i) *Area within Translation Studies*. Four main areas were identified: Terminology (Term), Text Analysis (TA), Translation Ethics (TE), and Translator Training (TT).

ii) *Sociological layer*. Two levels were identified: expert-to-expert (EE) communication and expert-to-novice (EN) interaction.

iii) *Directionality*. This criterion regards the languages involved and whether translation occurs into or from English.

iv) *Discipline*. The disciplinary domain was classified in terms of the general area (e.g. Natural Sciences). When possible, indication is given as to the specific discipline (e.g. medicine).

v) *Focus*. Following Saldanha and O'Brien (2013), studies were classified according to whether they were predominantly product-, process-, participant- or context-oriented.

vi) *Methodology*. In product-oriented research most investigations use corpus-assisted techniques to text and discourse analysis. Process-oriented research is based on introspection, while participant-oriented studies have employed interviews and questionnaires.

Table 1 presents the result of the search of the literature on academic translation from and into English. Each column represents a category in the taxonomy. Five papers deal with Terminology. These investigations have in common the interest in expert-to-expert interaction. Despite differences in terms of disciplines (mainly in "soft" fields), focus and methodology, they all challenge traditional views of terminology. In particular, Kerremans (2010) criticises approaches that assume mechanical

transfer of terminology across languages because of prescriptive views ignoring the context of use of terms and their lexical variants. Other studies question ideas of scientific universalism (Tennerman 2002; Price 2008) especially when discipline-specific knowledge is based on metaphorical conceptual models originated in particular linguistic and cultural contexts, which implies that terminology may be language and culture-bound, hence far from being universal and unambiguous.

The majority of the studies investigated here, however, is concerned with Text Analysis. The focus is most often on expert-to-expert interaction, although occasionally expert-to-novice texts are analysed, particularly textbooks (Pavesi and Tomasi 2001; Pavesi 2003). Most investigations concentrate on the Social Sciences and the Humanities, probably because it is in those domains that cultural-specific factors come more visibly into play or that academic translation is more frequent. More than half of the studies use corpus-based and sometimes corpus-driven techniques. Among the most recurrent phenomena analysed in investigations dealing with translation from English are the lexico-grammatical configurations of individual items (Pavesi 2003; Laviosa 2004; Williams 2005, 2006, 2007) and metadiscourse (Mauranen 2000; Balaskó 2008; Pisanski Peterlin 2010, 2013b). The features of translated texts, which have been found to differ from both source texts (STs) (Pavesi 2003; Jalilifar 2009; Igder and Karimnia 2010; Krein-Kühle 2011) and, in some studies (Mauranen 2000; Pavesi and Tomasi 2001; Williams 2005, 2006, 2007), from original texts in the TL too, have been explained in various ways. Some analyses have attributed differences to the translation universals of simplification and explicitation (Pavesi and Tomasi 2001; Pavesi 2003; Igder and Karimnia 2010). Other investigations, especially those focused on metadiscourse, have hypothesised that discrepancies are due to lack of translator awareness of TL norms (e.g. Balaskó 2008) or to the translator's reluctance to intervene (Pisanski Peterlin 2014). However, these hypotheses remain largely to be verified, as only Pisanski Peterlin (2014) interviewed translator trainees providing initial evidence for the second option.

Study	Area	Layer	Directionality	Discipline	Focus	Methodology
Balaskó (2008)	TA	EE	English-Hungarian	Not specified	Product: textual metadiscourse	Corpus-driven. Parallel and comparable corpus (SL and TL originals)
Bennett (2006)	TE/TA	EE	NA	Humanities: literary criticism	Product: paragraph structure, verbal processes, nominalisation	Analysis of two comparable texts (in English and Portuguese). Critical discourse analysis
Bennett (2007a)	TE/TA	EE	Portuguese-English	Humanities	Product/Process: writing style	Discussion supported with examples
Bennett (2007b)	TE/TA	EE	Portuguese-English	Humanities	Context and epistemology	Discussion supported with examples
Bennett (2011)	TE/TA	EE	Portuguese-English	Applied sciences/ Humanities	Context/Product: problem areas, ideology	Discussion supported with examples
Bennett (2012a)	TE/TA	EE	English-Portuguese	Humanities: history	Product/Process/Context: differing writing styles and the spread of translations from English	Discussion supported with examples. Case study: bibliographic searches
Bennett (2012b)	TT/TE	EE	SL-English English-TL	Humanities	Curriculum	Translator training programmes analysis
Igder and Karimnia (2010)	TA	EE	English-Persian	Sciences	Product: explicitation and simplification	Comparison of translations and STs
Jalilifar (2009)	TA	EE	English-Persian	Humanities: applied linguistics	Product: shifts in thematic progression	Comparison of translations and STs
Kerremans (2010)	Term	EE	English-French/Dutch French-English/Dutch Dutch-French/English	Natural Sciences: biodiversity	Product: subject-specific terms	Corpus-based. Parallel multilingual corpus
Krein-Kühle (2011)	TA	EE	English-German	Natural and Applied Sciences	Product: register shifts	Corpus-based. Parallel corpus

Laviosa (2004)	TA/ Term	EE/EN	English-Italian	Social Sciences: business	Product: the translation of "business"	Corpus-based and corpus-driven. Comparable corpus (SL and TL originals)
Mauranen (2000)	TA	EE;	English-Finnish/ other SLs-Finnish	Not specified	Product: textual metadiscourse	Corpus-based. Parallel and comparable corpus (in Finnish)
Musacchio (2005)	TA	EE	English-Italian	Social Sciences: macroeconomic s	Product: translation norms	Corpus-based. Comparable corpus (translations and TL originals)
Parks (2004)	TA/ Term	EE	Italian-English	Humanities: philosophy	Product/process: problems areas	Translation commentary; Introspection
Pavesi (2003)	TA	EN	English-Italian	Natural Sciences: biology	Product: motion verbs with the preposition "into"	Corpus-based. Parallel corpus
Pavesi and Tomasi (2001)	TA	EN	English-Italian	Natural Sciences	Product: explicitation and simplification	Comparison of translations and STs and TL originals
Pisanski Peterlin (2008)	TA	EE	Slovene-English	Social Sciences: geography	Product: the thesis statement	Corpus-based. Parallel and comparable corpus (SL and TL originals)
Pisanski Peterlin (2010)	TA	EE	Slovene-English	Social Sciences: geography	Product: hedging devices	Corpus-based. Parallel and comparable corpus (SL and TL originals)
Pisanski Peterlin (2013a)	TT	EE	Slovene-English	NA	Participants: attitudes towards ELF	Semi-structured interviews and questionnaires
Pisanski Peterlin (2013b)	TA	EE	Slovene-English	Social Sciences/ Humanities	Product: textual metadiscourse	Corpus-based. Parallel and comparable corpus (TL originals)
Pisanski Peterlin (2014)	TT	EE	English-Slovene	Natural Sciences: neuroscience	Participants	Translation task analysis, questionnaire and interview

Price (2008)	Term	EE	English-Spanish	Social Sciences: anthropology	Process: how to translate "bewilderment"	Discussion and introspection
Temmerman (2002)	Term/ TT	EE	English-any TL	Social Sciences	Product: metaphor. Implications for trainees	SL analysis
Williams (2005)	TA	EE	English-Spanish	Applied Sciences: medical biology	Product: references to "research/researchers" in thematic position	Corpus-based. Comparable corpus (translations and TL originals)
Williams (2006)	TA	EE	English-Spanish	Applied Sciences: medical biology	Product: the item "report" and its contexts of use	Corpus-based. Parallel and comparable corpus (TL originals)
Williams (2007)	TA	EE	English–Spanish	Applied Sciences: medical biology	Product: translation of the verb "observar"	Corpus-based. Comparable corpus (translations and TL originals)

Table 1: Publications on the translation of academic discourse

As for the impact of English on TL norms and epistemological preferences, the results obtained so far are either partly contradictory or not directly comparable. For instance, Balaskó (2008) reports consistent calques from English into Hungarian in the translation of textual metadiscourse strings referring to figures, but Mauranen (2000) finds that in the case of multi-word sequences carrying metatextual meanings translated from English and non-English sources into Finnish, cultural prestige is less important than other factors such as the sociological layer, as popular non-fiction texts seem to diverge more from TL expectations than academic texts.

The text analytical studies of academic translation into English are mostly product-oriented (Pisanski Peterlin 2008, 2010, 2013b), the only exception being Parks (2004) who provides insights into problematic aspects of the translation process through commentary and introspection. A common aspect of product-oriented studies is that a domesticating approach is viewed as an undisputable strategy for successful translation into English. This approach is quite understandable considering the gatekeeping role of reviewers and editors, who would hardly accept a paper not conforming to the target culture expectations. However, there have been studies within the area of Translation Ethics that have taken a critical stance to this approach. Bennett (2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2011) explores issues of power imbalance between English and other languages, as well as the epistemological assumptions inherent in the use of the English language with special reference to the Portuguese language and academic context. Bennett argues that over time, target-oriented processes of translations into English may have an "epistemicidal" effect, eroding alternative ways of conceptualising knowledge and disseminating it, a threat of which translators should be aware. Building on this argument, in a further study, Bennett (2012a) explores how ethical concerns can be integrated in translator training programmes through *ad hoc* curriculum designs. Bennett's hypothesis of a progressive loss of epistemological variety, however, still needs to be fully substantiated by empirical research. Corpus-assisted discourse analytical explorations specifically designed to test it would be useful in this respect.

5. Concluding remarks

This review of the literature on academic discourse in translation revealed that the most explored area is that of Text Analysis, while fewer studies on terminology have been carried out. Nevertheless, these investigations raise important cultural questions in the translation of terms, advocating a TL-oriented approach respecting the linguistic, cognitive and situational context of the receiving culture, while also enhancing the comprehension of crucial disciplinary concepts (Price 2008). The investigations dealing with academic translation from English show that this practice affects the TL at various levels, including lexico-grammatical patterns (e.g. Balaskó 2008; Igder and Karimnia 2010) and textual configurations (e.g. Mauranen 2000; Pisanski Peterlin 2008; Krein-Kühle 2011). However, the extent to which TT features are translation universals or are specifically due to the influence of English is still unclear. Empirical studies comparing academic translation from English and non-English sources would help clarify this issue. In addition other contextual factors, such as the translator's competence and attitudes, seem to play a role, but they have not been explored systematically. More studies complementing Text Analysis with ethnographic approaches focusing on participants or the process of translation would be necessary.

The investigations dealing with translation into English, on the other hand, provide evidence of the existence of alternative discourses of knowledge, which do not perfectly fit into English academic writing conventions (Pisanki Peterlin 2008; Bennett 2006, 2007a, 2007b, 2011, 2012a). This situation poses practical as well as ethical challenges for translators, although only Bennett has devoted considerable attention to ethical issues, also discussing concrete pedagogical implications (Bennett 2012b).

Among the likely factors influencing academic translation that deserve investigation are discipline and directionality, which remain almost unexplored. Directionality, in particular, would be interesting to examine to determine whether the epistemological preferences of non-English speaking academic communities are affected the most in translation into or from English.

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Remediating from a didactic perspective: re-using translated literature to boost language learning

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Abstract

1. Introduction

This paper sets out to discuss the links between translation and language pedagogy, focusing on translated literature, in particular, and suggesting how the use of 'Young Literature' in translation in the Foreign Language (FL) class could benefit the learners. Our analysis will be carried out with the help of practical examples drawn from our own personal experience at University level in an Italian context, but we hope that other colleagues will find that the type of materials we have used and the activities we have created may easily be adjusted to different educational contexts.

The approach which underlies the choice of such materials and activities stems from the merging of three different but intertwined perspectives which are at the basis of our research:

1. The presence of the students' mother tongue in the FL class has always been the object of speculation on behalf of educators and researchers (Gass and Selinker 2008, in particular Ch. 4). Presently, the prevailing opinion seems to be that of a reappraisal of recourse to the mother tongue, with a focus on the crucial role it plays in the process of FL learning (Cook 2001; Creese and Blackledge 2010, Deller and Rinvolucri 2002,

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Shweers 1999), especially with beginners (Dajani 2002, Rinvolucri 2001, Deller and Rinvolucri 2002).

2. As of the last decade of the 1900s (Malmkjaer 1998; Campbell 1998), there has been a gradually more explicit and by now radical recovery of translation as a valuable FL teaching tool. This process of recovery has recently been promulgated and supported by authoritative studies, the most eloquent example being Cook 2010 (See also Laviosa 2000, 2011; Witte *et al.* 2009; Deller and Rinvolucri 2002).

3. Evidence of the acknowledgment of translation as a learning strategy, even if sometimes in the looser sense of reformulation/recasting, is present in reference documents for language educators ever since the 1990s (The Common European Framework; Oxford 2001; O'Malley and Chamot 1990).

Due to space constraints we will concentrate on points 1 and 2, leaving readers free to consult the documents mentioned in 3 at their own leisure.

1.1 Use of the mother tongue in the process of learning a FL.

The presence of the pupils' mother tongue in the FL class was banned by the so-called "direct method" (really an approach) at the beginning of the last century, but it has never disappeared from actual classroom practice.

Arguments against did not consider its valuable psychological function of building up self-confidence during the learning-process. The elicitation of similarities between the two languages (and not of differences, only) is undeniably reassuring for the less adventurous student. While learning a second language, the use of the mother tongue may act as a form of

scaffolded help which is indispensable to build up FL competence, i.e. as part of that support which is necessary until students can apply new skills and strategies independently (Rosenshine and Meister 1992, DiCamilla and Antón 1997). In Italy, at the end of the twentieth century, while making large recourse to mother tongue in daily class practice (see the research reported in Di Martino and Di Sabato 2012b), the teaching environment still seemed to be 'theoretically' against the presence of Italian in the FL class. Freddi's (1999) was rather an isolated voice, and his mention of the possibility of using the mother tongue while teaching a FL at primary school was nothing more than a suggestion. According to Freddi, offering the student the Italian equivalent of some foreign words or expressions might well be "necessary": "The need to provide pupils with the equivalent of words, abbreviations or expressions which are frequent in daily life must not be underestimated: shop signs, road signals, newspapers headlines, commercial brands, etc." (our translation) (Freddi 1999: 126).

Freddi deems reference to the mother tongue *necessary*, then, not *advisable* or *useful*, and this position, though isolated and not supported by specific arguments, is nonetheless worth considering. This is especially true if we take into account that, upon widening our perspective, more than one journal in the field of language education has published articles on the subject over the last thirty years (see for example, Antón 1999, Atkinson 1987, Collingham 1988, Cook 2001, Duff and Polio 1990, Juarez and Oxbrow 2008, Turnbull and Arnett 2002, Turnbull and Dailey-O'Cain 2009, Wells 1999).

Cook (2010) highlights code-switching and code-mixing as evidence of the inevitable presence of more than just one language in most communicative events in present-day society (see also Kramsch 2009). This is certainly understandable historically with reference to pluralistic societies such as the

USA, but these considerations may reasonably be extended to European communicative contexts as we experience them nowadays (Di Sabato 2011a, Di Martino and Di Sabato 2012b). Recourse to the mother tongue *as well* is a component of the European Union's (EU) much advocated multilingualism[3]. These two concerns of recent research and the EU policy on language education have certainly contributed to revising previous attitudes regarding the relationship between the mother tongue and the FL(s) in the language learning process.

Last but not least, studies in the field of Second Language Acquisition (SLA) have certainly been responsible for the now complete rehabilitation of recourse to mother tongue both by teachers and/or learners. For example, SLA research[4] emphasises its inevitable presence in the FL class, and the crucial role it plays in the process of learning a FL (Cook 2001, Creese and Blackledge 2010, Gass and Selinker 2010).

1.2 The recovery of translation as a valuable tool in FL teaching

As hinted at in the previous paragraph, it is not a simple matter to keep the issues of mother tongue and translation separate when dealing with FL teaching. The two are indeed so intertwined that the rehabilitation of the first brings about the use of the second as a consequence, and vice versa.

Along with Cook (2010), the major publications in English concerning language teaching only mention language co-existence - namely translation - as a historical phenomenon

[3] The EU's position is clearly stated in the "Council Resolution on a European Strategy for Multilingualism" and in several other documents since the presentation of the so-called "mother tongue +2" objective in Barcelona in 2002 (then part of the European Commission Action Plan issued in 2003).

[4] Selinker himself, in his seminal work on interlanguage (1972), defines the role played by the first language in the process of SLA as 'transfer' rather than 'interference' (as in the case of Behaviourist approaches), therefore rejecting the negative connotations of the latter.

(Carter and Nunan 2001, Hedge 2000, Johnson 2001, Richard and Rogers 2001).

The return to the so-called cross-lingual teaching (Cook 2010) does not necessarily mean a return to translation because the former does not necessarily imply the latter, though the latter is of course one of the practical applications of the former. According to Cook (2010), it is much more acceptable to speak about the students' own-language use in the FL classroom than to speak of translation because "pejorative overtones" have frequently been attached to this term due to the attitude towards it in past approaches to the teaching of FL(s). As already noted above, from a theoretical point of view, evidence of the 'rediscovery' of translation in the FL class can be found in several works published over the last decade (Cook's 2010, along with Deller and Rinvolucri 2002, Laviosa 2000, 2011, Witte *et al.* 2009).

In as much as we are personally concerned, this consideration was, in a way, the *logical* step to take in a research path aiming at delving into all the possible implications of mother tongue presence in the FL class. It also perfectly matched our need to draw most benefit from its actual use, in an action-oriented view of the educational environment such as the one we firmly support.

Likewise, it was *inevitable* to first start surveying existing attempts at teaching a FL through translation (Di Martino 2012a, Di Sabato 2007, 2010, 2011a, b) and then to carry out proper fieldwork (Di Martino and Di Sabato 2012 a, b). The subsequent aim was offering colleagues practical ideas and suggestions which came to us as a direct result of such research (Di Martino 2009, 2011a, forthcoming).

We are presently attracted by the opportunities offered by Tymoczko's notion of 'holistic cultural translation' (2007) in helping young adults to construct and acquire awareness of their

identity (see also Laviosa 2011and 2014). Being the most visible manifestation of a culture or sub-culture, cultural practices play a major role in constructing personal and social identities and achieving social cohesion. Since these vary from culture to culture, activities involving the source text are useful in guiding learners towards acquiring awareness of their set of cultural practices. The subsequent reflection on the translated text(s) help(s) to analyse them on a contrastive basis thereby recognising the distinguishing traits of another culture (which should not necessarily be perceived as 'different'). Similarly, learners may benefit from being taught to recognise those aspects of diaphasic and diastratic variation typical of dialectal layers of language, registers, genres, etc., which fall under the concept of 'overcoding' drawn by Tymoczko (2007): more specifically, overcodings name those linguistic patterns that indicate a higher order set of distinctive traits in language practices, such as what is peculiar/distinctive of a particular genre (poem, novel, essay, report, etc), mode of communication (oral or written; printed or digital; synchronous or asynchronous etc.), style and register (determined by communicative purposes - formal, informal, dialectal, academic, professional, etc.).

2. Pedagogical application

We can now move on to the second – 'applied' - part of our paper with two recommendations deriving from evidence on the issues dealt with above:

1) Albeit a spontaneous aspect of the learning process, reformulation of input has to be encouraged in order to create in the learner the habit of resorting to all the possible ways of communicating, both at an interlinguistic and intralinguistic level.

2) The presence of different codes and languages in the FL class is both inevitable and valuable. It is the mirror of most contemporary communicative contexts; teaching a FL without this awareness would be a mistake.

Building on this theoretical framework, we will argue that translation can be a crucial tool both to stimulate language awareness and to build up meta-linguistic competence.

To this end, we will report in 2.2 on a series of activities that are part of a wider Action Research (AR) plan focusing on exploring the links between literature and language learning for mutual benefit. We carried out these activities with our third-year university students at undergraduate level. The materials used (book extracts) belong to a type of literature especially tailored to suit the tastes of young adults, as the results of a survey we carried out amongst many of our students revealed. The methodology adopted is a guided analysis of the source texts, i.e. original texts in the learners' mother tongue, followed by contrastive analysis of 'official' translations into a FL, English in this case.

'Generalising' from the results of our AR with reference to our students' production, we will argue that, by working on a contrastive basis, learners can:

(a) acquire register awareness in both mother tongue and FL;

(b) develop sensitivity to the use of jargon in different linguistic and cultural environments.

2.1 Possible activities for language development (a guided analysis)

Here follows the narration and description of some observational fieldwork, which consisted in systematically collecting and reporting on the class events relating to the students' work on the activities we devised. We chose to work with a limited number

of students, a group of twenty third-year undergraduate students with a B2 level of competence in English in most cases, in order to make the observation task more focused. The students were already familiar with the basics of the main theories of translation and had been trained to compare/contrast source and target texts highlighting 'surprising' translation choices and formulating hypotheses regarding the possible reasons behind them during term 1 (the activities we are about to present took place during term 2). Before starting the activities, we discussed with our students the general goals of the project, what we were planning to do during classes, what would be the focus of our attention and the purpose of the observation. We took short notes on everything that seemed to be going on in class during the lessons, making sure we wrote down our impressions, and we described the event and our reflections on it in full soon after the class, while it was all still fresh in our minds. Our role as observers-participants was quite demanding; however, while we are aware that the use of an external observer would probably have helped in some way, we also know that the 'observer effect' might have made our students' response 'atypical'. Finally we allowed some time to reconstruct what happened during each lesson through interactive class discussion at the start of the following lesson, both to make sure our impressions were right and our results were actually shared, and also to raise our participants' awareness of their essential role in research, while at the same time stimulating their sense of responsibility and independence in relation to their learning.

In order to offer the reader a practical example of the types of activities that can be used to raise the students' language awareness, we will here present some of those that we created, based on an extract from a well-known Italian novel, Ammaniti's *Come Dio comanda.* This text is very popular

among young adults and among those parents eager to grasp something of a world which is becoming more and more cryptic for them as their children grow up.

In addition to being in tune with our students' reading preferences, Ammaniti's book was also identified as a good choice on the part of the teacher due to the fact that it was not only published in the UK, but also in the USA, in a slightly different version, which offered the opportunity to present students with two different published translations and the consequent identification of the (albeit very few) different choices due to the diatopic variation between the two 'Englishes' involved.

In its original version, the book offers many interesting samples of *italiano tendenziale*. To focus our students' attention on the author's choice of this diastratic variety, we prepared and handed out a form based on the main elements identified by Sobrero 1990 and re-used by Cortelazzo 1994 as characteristic of young people's language (see Di Martino 2013: 182) and asked our students to fill in the empty spaces with appropriate examples. Our objective was to help students realise that the character who best represents the existence and use of young people's language in *Come Dio comanda* is Esmeralda.

This type of text, presented through the appropraite language-focused activities can help expose the student to diastratic variation. A variety of registers and styles is there to be found and analysed for didactic purposes, and descriptive parts contain clues to identify the contextual and social elements which influence the production of spoken language.

As argued elsewhere (Di Martino 2013), Ammaniti's language in *Come Dio comanda* is mostly neo-standard Italian. There are features (particularly lexical features) which characterise certain portions of the text as being closer to actual youth parlance, but it is difficult to neatly pinpoint the divide. Nonetheless, an

activity like the one mentioned above can help students to become aware of the use of taboo words, generally related to the sexual sphere, which is typical of youth-speak and of the 'need' to be verbally ostentatious. Pornolalia and coprolalia, in particular, are a significant part of this age group's language and are often used to affirm individual identity. Thus, we feel that students should be able to recognise such language in the FL(s) they study both in order to judge the way other people approach them as well as to discourage a distorted view and inappropriate use of it in real situations (also see Andersson and Trudgill 1990; Dewaele 2004).

2.3 Critical reflection on source and target texts

The second step of our experiential investigative path consisted in a contrastive analysis of the 'official' translations of *Come Dio comanda* into British and American English. As Cook argues, "(d)iscussion of translation problems […] necessarily involves explicit declarative knowledge about language and languages, and a metalanguage for their formal description (Cook 2010: 121). We handed some extracts to our students organised into different columns: the first column contained the original text, the second the American official translation, the third highlighted any different translation choices for the British market version in the extract under study. Fig. 5 below is an abridged version of the work sheet

SOURCE TEXT	TRANSLATION 1	TRANSLATION 2
«Scommetto che sei entrata in para per il piercing!» disse Esmeralda.	"I bet you're freaking out about that piercing!" said Esmeralda.	

Ma come faceva quella là a capire sempre a cosa stava pensando? Le leggeva nel pensiero?	How did that girl always know what she was thinking? Could she read her mind?	
Fabiana guardò l'amica che stava rollando un'altra canna.	Fabiana looked at her friend, who was rolling another joint.	
[…]	[…]	
Esmeralda porse la canna a Fabiana.	Esmeralda held out the joint to Fabiana.	
«Almeno facciamoci il cannino della buonanotte.»	"At least let's have a goodnight puff."	
«No, sono troppo cotta. Non mi reggo in piedi. Vado.»	"No, I'm too spaced out. I can hardly stand up. I'm going."	
«E dài, Fabi, lo sai che porta sfiga farsi le canne da soli» fece Esmeralda con la vocina da bambina triste.	"Oh come on, Fabi, you know it's bad luck to smoke a joint on your own," said Esmeralda in the voice of a sad little child.	
«Devo andare…»	"I've got to go…"	
Le afferrò la	She seized her	

mano. «Sei arrabbiata, vero, perché ti ho detto del dentista?»	hand. "You're mad at me, aren't you, because of what I said about the dentist?"	cross with

Table 1: handout for activities focusing on contrastive analysis and/or on diatopic variation in English

It is interesting to notice that *The Crossroads* mysteriously became *As God Commands* in the American version, thus completely losing the depths of the original title: reflection on how the same text changes across different English varieties can help students become aware of how diverse different Englishes and different English-speaking cultures actually are.

In the source version, our students easily identified some of the morphological, syntactical and lexical aspects specific to Italian spoken language. Moreover, work on both the Italian and the English versions side by side helped them identify the distinctive elements of spoken language in both.

The students immediately realised that both target texts (which actually only contain minor differences) are quite leveled. In order to help them better identify the reasons why they *sounded milder* than the source text, we focused their attention on some of the words and expressions they had previously identified as characteristic of youth-speak, inviting them to investigate the translator's choices of equivalents by asking their mother tongue teachers for more information or by consulting dictionaries[5]. We limited our critical reflection on the

[5] The following dictionaries were available to the class at the University Library (from more to less recent): Green, Jonathan, 2006, *Cassell's Dictionary of Slang: A Major New Edition of the Market-Leading Dictionary of Slang*, Cassell, London; Partridge Eric; Victor Dalzell, 2005, *The New Partridge's Dictionary Of Slang And Unconventional English,* Routledge, London-New York; Ayto, John, 2003, *The Oxford Dictionary of Slang* (Oxford Paperback Reference), Oxford Univeristy Press, Oxford;

translated texts to the lexical component, mainly in order to adjust the activity to the students' level of competence in English.

At this point, some students were already attempting to evaluate the translator's work. Considering Ammaniti's slangy language is used as a sociological rather than a purely linguistic phenomenon in the source text, i.e. it is there to mark social differences, it was natural to feel its removal from the English translation should have been compensated in some way. While arguing about the conscious or unconscious leveling of the language carried out by the translator, the students, who had already taken part in a lesson on the subject, noted that this could partly be due to the fact that translators sometimes tend to adapt source texts to make them more 'palatable' for a wider target audience[6].

One may object that dialogues created for narrative purposes do not have the quality of sufficient authenticity to make them didactically exploitable for language-learning/teaching purposes. We argue, instead, that such dialogues may sometimes be more 'authentic' than the dialogues used in textbooks and that, to our purposes, characters might well be seen as real individuals creating various representations of themselves in relation to others through their language choices (Di Martino 2012b; Di Martino and Di Sabato 2014). This is also in line with Kramsch (2006), Laviosa (2011) and Bowles (2010), who argue that literature helps develop awareness of the 'production of complexity' in human communication.

To give an idea of other possible types of activities which could be created around texts such as these that are aimed at improving both language and translation competence, we will briefly mention the groupwork that the students carried out

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Manzoni, Gian Ruggero; Dalmonte, Emilio, 1980, *Pesta duro e vai tànquilo, Dizionario del linguaggio giovanile*, Feltrinelli, Milano.

[6] For a discussion on this issue see, for example, Kenny 1998 and Xia 2014.

under the supervision of *CELs* (mother tongue teachers) as a follow-up to the text analysis they carried out with us, *docenti di cattedra* (Italian teachers of English linguistics). We can offer no reflective feedback at this stage as we chose not to act as observers to avoid affecting the results with our presence in classes in which we did not normally take part. Table 2 presents the task (different groups worked on the same task, later sharing results and discussing different choices) as well as (b) homework assignments. The intralinguistic translation (implying the production of both a more standard and a less standard version of the source text) assigned as homework was commented on with the *docente di cattedra* in the linguistics class.

(a) GROUPWORK

1. Read the original.

2. How old are Esmeralda and Fabiana , in your opinion? What makes you say so?

3. Do you feel they belong to a specific social class? If so, which one and what makes you say so. If not, why not?

4.a. Underline the parts that you feel are not in standard Italian.
b. What would the standard equivalents of these non-standard words and expressions be?

5. Now read translation N. 1 without making reference to the original.

6.a. In what English-speaking country do you think the book was published?

b. What makes you say so?

7. Re-read translation n. 1, still with no reference to the original text, and underline the expressions that you feel are not in standard English.

8. Now, compare the non-standard parts in English to the non-standard parts you previously identified in the Italian text. Does each non-standard Italian expression correspond to a non-standard expression in English?

9.a. Now match the non-standard Italian expressions with their corresponding non-standard English ones, copying them side by side.

b. Do you feel they show a similar level of non-standard or do the translated expressions sometimes not correspond to the same level?

c. In the latter case, label them as stronger or softer than the original.

10. How do you picture the Esmeralda and Fabiana of translation n.1? Do you feel they are the same age and social class in both texts? If so, what clues in the texts make you say so.

If not, why not.

11. If you were the Esmeralda and Fabiana of the original, would you speak as the Esmeralda and Fabiana of translation n. 1?

12. If you were an English-speaking Esmeralda or Fabiana living in the country where the translation was published, would you speak the way these characters do in translation

n. 1? If so, why.
If not, why not.

13. Do the same with the Italian dialogue.

(b) HOME ASSIGNMENT

MAKE THE ORIGINAL (ITALIAN) VERSION *MORE* STANDARD	NOW MAKE IT *LESS* STANDARD

Table 2: groupwork carried out under the supervision of *CELs* and *docenti di cattedra*

Reflection and critique on how conversational sequences travel from one language/culture to another helps raise awareness of linguistic and socio-cultural norms (as well as deviations) both in the mother tongue and in the FL. As appears from Figures 4 and 5 and the related discussion, this awareness raising process occurs for the very reason that reflection on conversational sequences journeying across languages/cultures makes such factors as linguistic and socio-cultural norms and deviations more explicit. This is precisely what we have to concentrate on if we want to judge whether the translation of specific parts of a text is effective and appropriate; this is equally crucial in order to boost language learning. Tasks like these introduce students to the endless potentialities (and variations) of language as a living entity.

Conclusion

Following Laviosa's (2011) invitation to reunite language and translation teaching methods, so as to build up a learning path 'paved' with challenging activities aimed at developing awareness and critical thinking while enhancing both interlinguistic and intercultural competence, we have here

attempted to combine theoretical outcomes with practical examples of tasks that could be used to this end.

After a brief excursus into the state of the art of translation in FL teaching/learning, we have proposed a 'chain' of activities around texts of Young Literature in translation and carried out observational fieldwork with a group of twenty third-year undergraduate students to ascertain the feasibility of such activities in class and reflect on the benefits our students could gain from them.

We were guided by the learners' prerequisites indicated by Gnutzmann (2009) to ensure the success of translation activities in language classrooms:

- Their interest in class should go beyond instrumental proficiency in the spoken language;
- They should possess a natural curiosity about languages;
- They should be willing to experiment and search for 'best solutions';
- They should be prepared to discuss the quality of their translations and translation-related work with others;
- Consequently, they need to be linguistically aware; conscious language learners and not self- conscious language learners (2009: 73).

This learning path involved the joint work of Italian teachers of English linguistics and mother tongue teachers, who were willing to cooperate on a cross-language basis. Our request might have been looked at as controversial, exposing us to the risk of being confused with a return to the Grammar-Translation methodology or to a mere resorting to the mother tongue on order to elicit language items which are difficult to explain in the foreign language, but it was not. We agree with Cook that:

> One has the feeling that for many commentators, while some smattering of translation here and there might be accommodated within a bilingual classroom, a substantial translation component would mark a much more significant break with the past, and still attract the old direct-method witch hunts. (Cook 2010: 53)

In point of fact, this is a crucial issue. To mark the difference with the past accommodation of translation in the FL learning class, teachers have to set the translation component within a well-grounded methodological basis. In our case, agreement upon the latter was a major prerequisite for the success of the teaching experience. Indeed, we were lucky to find mother tongue teachers with no prejudice at all.

We feel that the results of our fieldwork can contribute to advance research that aims at combining translation with language learning. Our model also offers the opportunity to reconsider another re-admittance into the FL class: popular literature might offer unexpected resources to the language teacher to work on communicative and intercultural competence as well. Our current research work is in fact devoted to combining literature and translation pedagogy (Di Martino and Di Sabato 2014).

We wish to conclude by actively encouraging other colleagues to carry out similar research. Only a small number of participants (twenty students) were involved in our research, and this limits our ability to overview and understand the diversity and heterogeneity of the phenomenon.

Over the last thirty years, questions such as:

> where and in which way could translation possibly assist the learner in acquiring a higher language proficiency? What role does the translation have in facilitating and enhancing intercultural competence? What is the nature of translation, or rather, what kind of cognitive processes are involved when we translate? (Witte *et al.* 2009: 4)

have partly found an answer thanks to the work of linguists, FL and translation teachers. However, research still needs to be moulded into a sound and well-grounded approach to translation in language education that can definitively transcend the remains of the Grammar-Translation Method. In Cook's words: "Though the step from own-language use to translation might seem small, a deep historical distrust of translation militates against it." (Cook 2010: 53)

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"History is Horrible. Especially in Schools:" Remediating History Books for Children in Translation

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Abstract

The paper focuses on information books on history and their translation, thereby examining the changes occurred in the translating process. If popularizing is an act of "mediation between expert and lay audience", this "hybrid genre", at the crossroad between informative and entertaining discourses, can be said to create a multifaceted and multimodal type of mediation that needs to meet children's supposed cognitive abilities and background knowledge. In particular, the analysis shows that historical information books undergo a further process of "re-mediation", underlying a different idea of popularisation and a different idea of readership. In point of fact, the shifts between the source texts and the target texts reveal an unexpected for of "complexification" through which the translations turn out to be more accurate than their respective originals. Therefore, the translations imply the idea that this "informal learning", even if it is optional, needs to be detailed and exhaustive.

1. Introduction

One of the essential vehicles for popularising and spreading knowledge among a juvenile audience are information books. Bought and read with the aim of satisfying one's personal

curiosity on a specific topic, thus "for interest or pleasure", or as parallel resources in classrooms (Mallet 2004: 623), they compete with and endorse school textbooks or coursebooks by exploiting devices and characteristics of more innovative and "modern" media, disseminating expert discourse (Derewianka and Coffin 2008: 187-188). In actual fact, popularisation aimed at children often creates new textual forms (Myers 1989: 171), frequently employing multimodal stratagems (Kress & van Leeuwen, 1996; Veel, 1998; Unsworth 2006, 2007) in order to present facts in an enjoyable yet explanatory manner to their addressees. Even if basically ancillary to the institutional supports of formal education, these extracurricular materials thus shake off the shackles of the mere simplification supposed in genres aimed at children and of the strict didacticism of compulsory learning.

Popularisation is therefore more than a generalising paraphrase even when addressed to readers who are not only deficient in specialised knowledge but have also a limited understanding of the world due to their early phase of cognitive development (Myers 1989); it is even in this context a mediation that meets the needs, tastes and background encyclopedia of particular lay readers. It is then important to analyse the mediation strategies through which children's access to knowledge is granted and through which children are engaged. In particular, history information books will be examined since historical themes play an important role in children's non-fiction (Scanlon 2011: 69).

More specifically, a comparative perspective will be adopted as it is conceived as a magnifying glass for identifying the different ways in which history is mediated and re-mediated for children in different social and cultural contexts. Shifts and adaptations between a corpus of English history information books and their Italian translations will be hence investigated

since they are considered as indicators of different ideas of popularisation and knowledge.

2. Mediating Knowledge for Children: Information Books

In the same way as that of targeting adults, popularisation aimed at youngsters involves a mediation of the expert discourse for the lay audience. Its specific addressees, though, have limited background knowledge and cognitive abilities so that the "gulf" (see Myers 2003) assumed to exist between experts and lay audiences appears to be vaster (see Myers 2003; De Marchi 2007), presupposing a more evident asymmetrical communication between the participants involved.

However, it is hard to conceive this mediation as a mere simplification. As highlighted by De Marchi, if codes and concepts must necessarily be simplified in popularisation for children given the fact that their cognitive and linguistic skills are not fully developed, they should not be dumbed down to trivialisation or banality (2007: 27). Evoking the idea of popularisation as a sort of intralingual translation (Gotti 1993), Paladin and Pasinetti, when defining popularisation for children, point out that it is more a process of creation and re-elaboration (1999: 15).

Popularising processes for young people, as well as those for adults, also seem to be characterised by great flexibility, embracing "a vast class of various types of communicative events or genres that involve a transformation of specialised knowledge into 'everyday' or 'lay' knowledge" (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk 2004: 370). This communicative elasticity also leads to the creation of "new textual forms" (Myers 1989: 171), varyingly affected by the quandary between education and entertainment which besets children's literature in general.

This dilemma has its paradox in information books where the instructive ends are evident, yet entertaining components appear to be unavoidable: Collet points out that information books must "combine scientific rigour and attractiveness in order to sell to children, but also to parents" (2006: 126). The optional nature of these popularising tools is actually what distinguishes them from textbooks, which conversely accompany students in their institutional and obligatory course of studies, directly supporting and orienting lessons in the classrooms. Private and collective fruition is another distinctive feature between the two. As a matter of fact, textbooks "are shared by the pupil and the teacher, designed for the class, an instrument for educational methods following a precise syllabus" (Collet 2006: 124) whereas information books "help learning in school or (are) read at home for interest and pleasure" (Mallet 2004: 623).

In particular, even if popularising products can be found for different ages, the age group that provides information books with fertile ground is from eight to ten years old, an age at which the more developed logical and deductive capacity merges with many other different forces and impulses of pre-adolescence such as the desire to be more autonomous and a natural attraction towards transgression and humour (De Marchi 2007: 22). As mentioned beforehand, as somehow intrinsically moulded on their readers, information books designed to attract young readers have a fundamental entertainment function: this combines with the evident instructive purpose, in most cases becoming an effective popularising strategy. The entertainment is construed at different levels and at different degrees to the point that traditional information books often give rise to different forms of "'edu-tainment', a hybrid genre that relies heavily on visual material, on narrative or game-like formats, and on more informal, less didactic styles of address" (Scanlon and Buckingham 2002: 142).

From a more practical point of view, information books could basically be defined as "illustrated books (or books having photographs) that are usually on one topic, that topic typically identified by the title" (Pappas 1986: 4). Images, particularly in school science books for pre-teenagers, became increasingly predominant (Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Veel 1998; Unsworth 2001, 2006, 2007) and information books seem to have undergone a parallel transformation. Multimodality is hence to be seen as a clarifying and explicative means as well as an appealing one, thus helping to create the less didactic and serious dimension of these non-fictional texts.

Essentially, many languages "with an immediate communicative impact", many genres and many different codes are used (see Paladin and Pasinetti 1999: 15) in order to create a mediation between the explicative discourse and the entertaining discourse (Santamaria, Bassols, Torrent 2011).

3. Mediating Children's Access to History through Information books

History generously lends itself to popularisation. In fact, children's access to historical knowledge is very often helped and encouraged outside the schooling context, with information books playing a major role in enhancing it (Scanlon 2011: 69).

Formally, they revolve around one particular historical epoch or classical civilisation in order to attract an international readership (Scanlon 2011: 71) and tend to keep up with the epistemological and paradigmatic changes within the discipline. The influence of the nouvelle histoire led to a fundamental shift in the focus of these texts: the lives and deeds of big names in history are no longer their undisputed protagonists, having been ousted by the context, the culture, the beliefs of common human beings. Furthermore, these components, "that shape a given

time" (Zarnosky 2009: 253), are not "imparted" to the young readers as something objective and fixed, "ready-made and neatly packaged" (Zarnosky 2009: 253). Children's historical literacy is developed through the presentation of a plurality of voices and sources and through a critical approach (Zarnosky 2009: 250). As a consequence, the historical discourse therein created is less authorative and "more explorative" (Scanlon and Buckingham 2002: 148) than the one found in textbooks, thus inevitably seducing the specific readership involved.

This target is then further seduced by other aspects. In fact, even if it is less obvious than for information books centred on scientific disciplines, textbooks and, consequently, information books on humanistic subjects frequently rely on visual materials (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 16) and exploit all the devices typical of this "hybrid genre". Thus, together with pictures, cartoons, advertisements, handbills, we find other "'modern resources' which are deployed across any page" (Derewianka and Coffin 2008: 187-188).

4. Translating Popularisation for Children

The interlingual translation of popularisation "as a genre with its own communicative purpose" (Liao 2013: 131) is almost disregarded by Translation Studies: in fact, it is "still an under-researched area in translation studies" (Liao 2013: 131) despite entailing problems of, for example, accessibility, intensified in multimodal contexts (see Liao 2013) and interesting re-modulations and re-mediations of the relationship between writers and readers in the passage from the source texts to the target texts (Liao 2010). Correspondingly, the translation of popularising literature for children seems to remain unexplored, even more so if it is seen within the framework of the translation of children's literature in general. In fact, more than a decade

ago, O'Connell wrote "[…] this area remains largely ignored by theorists, publishers and academic institutions involved in translation research and training" (O'Connell 1999: 208). Despite there having been a real acceleration in the study of translation aimed at children and many of its genres with their translations having actually been examined (see Lathey 2006: 2), popularising texts for children only comes under scrutiny in an article written by Reiss in 1982, considered an important reference point, "une réference importante" (Di Giovanni, Elefante, Pederzoli 2010: 13). In "Zur Übersetzung von Kinder – und Jügendbchern. Theorie und Praxis", Reiss includes in her typology of texts the informative text type addressed to children and affirms that its translation should mostly aim at rendering the content in a precise way (1982: 8). She also underlines the importance of adapting the language and the style of the source texts to the target readers. When considering the background knowledge of the target readers, she additionally emphasizes the necessity of explanations and omissions related to the content to be transmitted. Puurtinen (1995: 58; see also Tabbert 2004: 313), however, argues that the translation of these texts implies more than the correct transmission of the content and its adaptation to the target readers, since they combine several elements and functions.

This is actually a key to understanding the fact that behind the translation of popularising texts for children there is a further remediation of the expert discourse both for the source child lay reader and for the target lay reader. Thus, an informative text seldom remains immutable when entering the target culture. In this perspective, a comparative analysis of the translations of informative texts is conceived as a magnifying glass as it can give prominence to the mediation and re-mediation processes involved.

5. The Corpus

The analysis starts from three parallel corpora of three British series for children and their respective translations into Italian. The first one comprises a selection of books from Peoples of the Past, published in the seventies by Silver Burdett/MacDonald Educational when, somehow, today's "telling History to children" originated (Collet 2006: 123) and their translations published in Italy by Vallardi (Milan), Popoli del passato. The second is composed by a selection of books from Dorling Kindersley Eyewitness series, issued in the 1990s in association with the British Museum, and their Italian translations published in the book series entitled In Primo piano by DeAgostini (Milan). The third corpus is a selection of books from Scholastic's Horrible Histories in the 1990s and their translations into Italian published by Salani Editore (Milan) with the title Brutte Storie.

Peoples of the Past is a traditional series of information books for children on history whose page layout and devices used to build the historical discourse are typical of more current collections too, where the "[…] verbal text becomes just one of the elements integrated by information value, salience and framing, and reading is not necessarily linear, wholly or in part, but may go from centre to margin, or in circular fashion, or vertically, etc. […]" (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 [1996]: 178)

With slightly simpler page organisation than recent books, the volumes of the series written by different authors are not hefty (more or less 60 pages) and have a large format, illustrations, drawings, maps, photographs, synoptic tables and timelines at the end printed on glossy paper. More specifically, each double page is an independent unit with a main text on certain aspects or episodes of a specific civilisation (Maya, Egyptians etc.) accompanied by photographs alternating with drawings and their

captions (see, for example, Unsworth, 2006, 2007) in a smaller font with respect to the central text, offering more specific information.

A more sophisticated example of this typology of history books is DK Eyewitness series. Again, the books of the series are glossy large-format hardbooks, using the double-spread as a narrative unit but their layout is more complex, since the page is crowded with full-colour photographs or careful representations of artefacts, buildings, and maps. Indeed, it is designed as a sort of "paper museum", and "the dominance of photographs seems to increase the sense of the factuality of history: statements about the past appear to be backed up by hard evidence." (Scanlon and Buckingham 2010: 150)

On the other hand, Horrible Histories is a new genre in history popularisation for children, which has had great success since its first appearance at the beginning of the nineties. Its direct consequence was the production of theatre and television shows, games, pop-up books and other gadgets inspired by the series, together with other similar collections on different disciplines, such as Horrible Science (for a detailed analysis see Bell 2008), and imitations. Written by Terry Deary and translated in different languages, this series scatters the classical structure of information books, starting with the titles themselves such as Rotten Romans or Vicious Vikings. The distinguishing characteristics that render it "unique when it was first published in the early 1990s - and which account for its continued popularity today - include an informal mode of address, irreverent sense of humour, and preoccupation with the 'gory' aspects of life in the past" (Scanlon 2011: 71). Much longer than the volumes of People of the Past (twice the number of pages), they resemble short novels (Bell 2008: 84), in which the body of the verbal text is interrupted and interspersed by black and white drawings and vignettes by Martin Brown that "provide social

and political commentary, using satire and irony to criticise monarchs, politicians, the clergy, military leaders, and so on. Single images (rather than longer sequences) are often presented, which is also in line with political cartooning for adults" (Scanlon: 2011: 81). This irreverence also embraces institutional schooling and teachers, who are often portrayed as boring and dull-witted.

In actual fact, as noted by Scanlon and Buckingham when comparing the images in Horrible Histories and DK Eyewitness (their observations are valid also for People of the Past), the different pictures employed – on the one hand, cartoon-like drawings and on the other photographs and somehow realistic drawings "already convey a different epistemological and pedagogic approach to history" (2011: 150). In People of the Past the use of coloured drawn-illustrations and photography, seen in our culture as able to reproduce reality, aim to convey the "factuality of history" (Scanlon and Buckingham 2002: 150). On the contrary, images in Horrible Histories do not have any claim of authority or reality: "Their purpose does not seem to be re-create history accurately, but to encourage a somewhat irreverent approach to the subject" (Scanlon and Buckingham 2002: 150).

6. Comparing English and Italian Popularisations for Children: Re-mediations in Translation

The comparative analysis of these British juvenile non-fiction history books and of their Italian translations will serve as a magnifying glass for examining the different forms of mediation and re-mediation of expert historical discourse in informational books for children. In actual fact, when a popularising text for children enters a new social and cultural context, it is further

exposed to a re-mediation process, thus disclosing a different idea of popularisation and knowledge.
In particular, some essential aspects will be considered: how these books and their translation interact with historical information, and how they exploit a typical strategy of popularisation for adults, that is, the anchoring to the readers' present.

6.1 Between Past and Present: Remediating the Anchoring Strategies

One typical aspect of the popularization of history for children, shared with adult popularised historical discourse, is the anchoring to the present and to the experience of the reader. As Gotti underlines, popularising texts in general regularly refer to the "esperienze comuni del lettore profano" (1993: 219). Although these products are mainly designed for an international market, there are references to the "common experiences of the lay reader", to the popular culture and the present where he/she lives, such as music, cinema, television and sport (see D'Angiò and Maganzi 2007). It is a popularising strategy that takes the expert discourse and "relate[s] it to other elements of non-scientific culture" (Myers 1989: 171) that are familiar and comprehensible to the reader. Their main goal is to clarify unknown concepts by exploiting situations and notions that can be easily understood by readers, thereby having a didactic function as "explanatory flash-forward" (Bondi 2015: 25): sizes, distances, or objects are explained by resorting to analogies between past and today's elements.

These references are sometimes so general that they do not create problems in the process of translation. Still, changes can be found due to differences in the readers' cultures and background knowledge. The culture-bound element, which is

usually the second term of the analogy, has thus to be adapted and the analogy mediated in the source texts as in example (2) in which London and Cardiff are turned into Rome and Bologna.

(1) Messages were carried at around 150 miles a day – that's London to Cardiff if you want to look it up on a map. (Incredible Incas: 35)
(2) Percorrevano circa 325 chilometri al giorno – più o meno come da Roma a Bologna, se date un'occhiata alla cartina. (Incavolati Incas: 35)

These anchoring references can also have a familiarising function to shorten the distance between the world of the historical discourse and the world of today's readers. By fostering a link between the two worlds, the past is no longer seen as something distant and alien (see. Mainly aimed at involving the readers, they are commonly based on sport, particularly football, in order to engage pre-teenagers (especially males). However, even if teens theoretically have similar tastes and interests all over the world, these anchoring references are fully embedded in the cultural context of the addressees and discrepancies between the source and target cultures are inevitable:

(3) The biggest St Bart's Fair was in London […]. Then it was banned by the killjoys because the crowds became too rough and violent – a bit like England football matches today. (England: 122)
(4) La più grande fiera di San Bart si tenne a Londra, […]. Poi fu soppressa dai guastafeste perché la folla diventava troppo rozza e violenta, un po' come a una moderna partita di calcio. (Indecente Inghilterra: 122)
(5) Split from your sisters who are sent off to work in some distant temple or forced to marry some great national hero … like Prince Charles! (Incredible Incas: 30)
(6) Vi dividono dalle vostre sorelle che vengono mandate a servire qualche tempio lontano o costrette a sposare qualche famoso eroe

nazionale … come Maurizio Costanzo! (Incredibili Incas: 30) [my italics]

Therefore, in the example (8) England, which is mentioned in (7), is omitted since this can be applied to Italian matches as well. Prince Charles (9) is then turned into a sort of cultural equivalent, Maurizio Costanzo (10), a famous and not very handsome Italian anchorman.
Notable additions are made when the translators feel the need to give more accurate information to their readers:

(7) A papyrus scroll and a bronze pen and inkpot. Papyrus was like paper, but made from reeds. (The Romans: 18)
(8) Rotolo di papiro con penna e calamaio di bronzo. La carta di papiro era abbastanza simile alla nostra carta ed era fatta con i fusti del papiro, una pianta acquatica. (I romani: 18)
(9) In 73 BC a gladiator called Spartacus led a rebellion in Rome. Who was he? He was from Trace (which is called Bulgaria now) and originally he'd joined the Roman army. (Ruthless Romans: 56)
(10) A Roma nel 73 a. C. un gladiatore di nome Spartaco capeggiò una rivolta. Chi era costui? Veniva dalla Tracia (oggi divisa tra Bulgaria, Grecia e Turchia) e in origine si era arruolato nell'esercito romano. (Rivoltanti romani: 56)

In the Italian translation (11) of (12), it is added that papyrus was made from a papyrus plant, a water plant, and it is specified that it was abbastanza ("enough") similar, but not exactly the same as our paper. Again, further clarifications are given in the Italian translations because these are believed to be information necessary in order to give an idea of past objects and geography. Hence, in (13), Thrace is not called Bulgaria now but is a place nowadays "divided among Bulgaria, Greece and Turkey" (14).

6.2. Re-mediating Contents towards accuracy

The tendency of the Italian translations to be more rigorous can be identified also when timelines are involved. The dates, which are erroneous, inaccurate, or not the official ones, are corrected. For example, in the Timeline of Cut-Throat Celts (7-9) the English text dates the expulsion of the Celts out of Greece after the sack of Delphi in 279 A.C while in the Italian text the date is 273. The date of 60 B.C in which Julius Caesar is said to have invaded France is changed to 58 B.C. (Cinici Celti: 7-9). Many other examples are scattered throughout the series.

Other mistakes are corrected. In the Italian caption accompanying the illustration representing a silver broach in DK Ancient Rome, Zeus is changed into Jupiter (Giove), since Zeus is the Greek god and not the Roman one. Similarly, when translating the story of Mark Anthony and Cleopatra (22), the translator uses the name Octavianus, explaining that the name Augustus was adopted after he became Emperor:

(21) […] She decided to bet on Mark Antony... and became his lover. She lost her bet. And when Mark Antony lost in a war against Augustus – Cleo was finished. (Awesome Egyptians: 23)
(22) […] Ma Cleopatra aveva puntato sull'uomo sbagliato. E quando Antonio venne sconfitto da Ottaviano (che in seguito sarebbe diventato imperatore col nome di Augusto), anche Cleo fu perduta. (Spaventevoli egizi: 23-24).

This remediation of the STs towards accuracy leads to complete rewriting where the history of Italy, namely Rome, is concerned, such as in the following example:

(23) The first Romans were conquered by their neighbours, the Etruscans. In 509 BC, there was an Etruscan king of Rome called Tarquin the Proud. The citizens rebelled against Tarquin and drove him from the city. (The Romans:10)

(24) A Romolo, che fu il primo re di Roma, succedettero Numa Pompilio, Tullio Ostilio, Anco Marzio. Alla fine del VII secolo a.C. Roma cadde sotto il predominio dei potenti etruschi. Gli ultimi tre re di Roma, Tarquinio Prisco, Servio Tullio e Tarquinio il Superbo, erano etruschi. Nel 509 a.C., i romani si ribellarono a Tarquinio il Superbo, e lo cacciarono dalla città. (I romani:10)

In the Italian translation (24) of the Romans (23) in Peoples of the Past the seven kings of Rome are listed, creating a more complex and detailed text.

7. Discussion and Conclusions

Historical information books are the main vehicles of popularisation of history aimed at children. Mainly conceived for pre-teenagers, they are not simply accounts of deeds and facts, but are more sophisticated multimodal products, keeping up with epistemological changes in the academy, which "make History an object close to everyday life, easy to understand, where human beings are authors and actors at the same time. It is a link between those who make History and the non-specialists. It tends to make it familiar, less dramatic, and helps to tame it or even to make up with it" (Collet 2006: 124).

Expert discourse is here mediated for addressees who not only are non-specialists, but also do not have all the encyclopedic baggage and cognitive and linguistic abilities of adults and need to be more involved so as to encourage them in their knowledge acquisition fostered by this non-fictional material. Oscillating between education and entertainment, just like most children's literature, informative texts arouse their readers' curiosity and interest, employing many devices such as the direct address of the recipient, the use of different kinds of images and media, of an informal language or of irony. These features are typical of popularising processes for children of different disciplines, including humanistic ones. History is, for example, a fruitful

resource for these texts, achieving great results in terms of accessibility and fun.

In particular, a comparative analysis of three British information series on history and their Italian translations has proven to be a magnifying glass for examining the forms of mediation and re-mediation subsumed when specialists' discourse – in this case historians' – is popularised. When these volumes enter a new cultural context, they are not always identically transferred, but they are tailored to the target readers' pre-existent knowledge and to the knowledge they are supposed to acquire.

When the references to the historical sources and to the knowledge to be disseminated are examined, it can be seen that Italian translations tend to be more precise and to prefer a sort of "complexification", rather than the expected forms of simplification. In fact, notions and historical facts are specified and detailed in their respective target texts in order to be as accurate as possible: explanations are, for example, added, often using more specific terms or inaccurate references are corrected. The pedagogic burden and the educational norm thus seem to prevail in the Italian translations even in the light of the predominant entertaining function of some of these products.

Different ideas of readers are therefore implied, denoting a different image of the child reader (Oittinen 2000; O'Sullivan 2005). Italian readers are supposed to be in need of having serious, or at least, exact information books to read, closely related to the history of their country. As a matter of fact, accuracy seems to be their main goal, thus highlighting different notions of popularisations, according to what child readers' should learn.

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Remediating Popular Science from Press Magazines to Online Editions: The Table of Contents as a Case of Intralingual Translation

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1. Introduction

In our ever-more globalised world, the digital age profoundly affects mass media communication. Over the past two decades, the online publishing industry has undergone a number of changes, from technologies of production, transmission, reception and consumption to journalism skills. With more consumers using mobile devices such as tablets and smartphones to access the online versions of newspapers and magazines, digital technology also entails changes in reader expectations. As an expert in the field like Thurman (2005a) clearly states, online journalism is different. He points out that the web essentially differs from print because "[...] technology is not just part of the production process but is fundamentally bound up with the content" (Thurman 2005a: 228). Moreover, from the point of view of the relationship between readers and the new medium, their physical response to text is influenced by its screen-based nature and its global reach affects their "geographic profile" (Thurman 2005a: 226). Changes also occur in the overall editorial process because of the ease and speed of accessing online information (Thurman 2005a: 226). Such differences inevitably have an effect on the way language is tackled by journalists in the new medium since it tends to be adapted for the screen.

Similarly, digital technology has a major impact on the process of translation nowadays. As Cronin (2013) observes, on

the one hand, a drive towards automatic translation calls for the production of 'controlled languages', that is to say simplified languages easily translatable by a machine. On the other hand, the need to cope with an ever-increasing global audience claims for a global *lingua franca*, which "[...] is deemed to be simpler, safer [and] more culturally sensitive" (Cronin 2013: 38).

For these reasons, both online journalism and translation, tend to come to grips with notions of 'immediacy', 'transparency' and 'plain speaking' (cf. Cronin 2013).

This paper seeks to explore the world of printed and digital magazines in the domain of popular scientific discourse. In particular, it aims at investigating what happens when headlines contained in a Table of Contents undergo a process of *remediation* (Bolter and Grusin 1999) and are published online. It is argued that such a shift represents an instance of "intralingual" (Jakobson 1959) translation. Focussing on a case study centred on *National Geographic* (henceforth NG), in its printed and online versions, we will carry out a linguistic analysis to examine how language choices differ when migrating from the page to the screen.

The final goal of this study is to see whether such differences between printed and online Table of Contents might be related to (1) practical constraints of the digital medium, (2) issues of global communication and/or (3) needs to cope with the rhetoric of 'immediacy' and 'transparency' typical of the new media (cf. Cronin 2013).

2. Background and theoretical framework

This paper draws on the author's previous research (Manfredi 2014) into the analysis of the *interlingual* translation of headlines in the feature articles contained in the same issues of the American printed edition of NG and its Italian version, with

special focus on metaphor, both lexical and grammatical (Halliday 1994). With respect to this small corpus, analysis of data had shown that, despite a general tendency to a more explicative style, headlines essentially remained metaphorical in the process of translation.

Here we aim at examining the headlines of the Table of Contents (mostly different from those of the articles themselves) and see whether in the process of *remediation* from print to web similar strategies of *translation*, in this case *intralingual*, were adopted. Drawing on existing research on the so-called 'explicitation hypothesis' (Blum-Kulka 1986; Baker 1996; Steiner 2002), this paper seeks to examine whether 'simplification' and 'explicitation' also pertain to this case of intralingual translation. We hold that a cross-disciplinary approach can help analyse the *remediation* of headlines included in the Table of Contents of popular scientific magazines.

Our linguistic study is fundamentally grounded on translation studies (henceforth TS), with some insights from journalism, media studies and online communication. TS offers us both the theoretical framework to explore the much-discussed concept of 'explicitation' and the analytical tool for categorising the functions of headlines (Nord 1995; 2012). However, since we are dealing with a text-type embedded in the world of journalism, also some notions from this field are, we believe, vital for a more thorough understanding.

Before turning to the analysis of concrete examples from our corpus, we will sketch very briefly the major theoretical issues underpinning our approach.

2.1. Explicitation

In the literature on translation, widely-accepted claims regard preferences for 'simplification' and 'explicitation' in a target

text (TT) with respect to the source text (ST) – from Levy (1969) and his assumption that lexical impoverishment and explicitation are tendencies of translated texts, to Toury and his well-known "law of growing standardization" (1995), according to which TTs tend to be standardised with respect to their STs. The specific notion of explicitation was firstly introduced by Vinay and Darbelnet, who defined it as "a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language (TL) what remains implicit in the source language (SL) because it is apparent from either the context or the situation" (Vinay and Darbelnet 1995: 342). The concept was further investigated by Blum-Kulka (1986) and Baker (1996), the former positing the 'explicitation hypothesis', which "[...] postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the linguistic and textual systems involved" (Blum-Kulka 1986: 19); the latter arguing for "[...] an overall tendency to spell things out rather than leave them implicit in translation" (Baker 1996: 180). More recently, applying a systemic functional linguistics approach to translation, Steiner (2002) has explored the 'explicitation hypothesis' to establish properties of translated texts, with special reference to the language pair English-German and to the translation of metaphor.

From an analysis of our data we will attempt to demonstrate that resorting to explicitation can be said to be also typical of the process of remediation at issue.

2.2. Function(s) of headlines

From the perspective of journalism, Papuzzi (2010: 192) makes clear that the primary function of a headline is that of condensing news and information, accordingly reducing the time for reading. Its second function is that of introducing and

commenting the topic of the article. We argue that headlines included in Tables of Contents of a popular scientific magazine like NG have the additional function of catching the readers' attention and engendering their curiosity.

Within the framework of TS, Nord (1995; 2012) classifies titles and headlines according to their function, or rather functions, since they can be fulfilled contemporarily. Linking to language functions, the scholar identifies six different functions of titles and headlines, namely: 'distinctive', 'metatextual' (which she has recently renamed 'metacommunicative': see Nord 2012: 69), 'phatic', 'informative' (or 'referential'), 'expressive' and 'appellative'. While the 'distinctive' function helps distinguish one headline from another, the 'metatextual' function makes it recognisable as a title of a given text-type. The 'phatic' function serves the scope of "establishing a first contact with any prospective reader" (Nord 1995: 264). When any piece of information with regard to the topic is provided, we are dealing with the 'informative' (or 'referential') function, while when the author's attitude or emotion is conveyed, the 'expressive' function is at work. Finally, "to evoke the attention and interest even of those readers who have had no previous interest" in that kind of text, the 'appellative' function is achieved (Nord 1995: 264).

In our analysis, we will focus in particular on the 'referential' and 'appellative' functions. Indeed, as typical of popular science (cf. Gotti 2012), the ultimate aim of headlines/subheads in magazine articles is both to inform and entertain their highly educated readers. It is argued that the Table of Contents is intended to achieve the same function(s) as well. It allows readers to scan it before making a choice about which articles to read in depth. Not surprisingly, headlines in Tables of Contents – usually written by editors rather than journalists – often function like 'advertisements'. In the case of the Web, securing a

web audience implies even fiercer competition. As Thurman puts it:

> [w]hereas on the printed page stories compete with a dozen or so others for readers' attention, online the competition is much greater. Users are just a few clicks away from billions of web pages. (Thurman 2005b: 239)

3. Material and methodology

The analysis is based upon a small corpus of feature articles from the popular science magazine NG, in its printed edition and its online version, which we name, for analytical purposes, National Geographic: Print (henceforth NGP), and National Geographic: Web (henceforth NGW). NG is the official journal of the American National Geographic Society and its interests include geography, archaeology, natural science and the promotion of environmental and historical conservation. As many other magazines nowadays, it also offers a digital edition, which does not charge for access, but requires registration.

The small corpus comprises the headlines included in the Table of Contents in 6 issues, from January to June 2012, in print and online, and consists of 35 headlines respectively[1]. Despite the limited size of the corpus, we hope that it can offer some working hypotheses for further studies.

In our small corpus, 31 % of headlines in the Table of Contents are the same in the printed and online edition; 19 % are the same as the articles' headlines, while 50 % are 'new' with respect to both the printed Table of Contents and to the articles themselves. Our study will mostly (but not exclusively) focus on the latter category.

[1] Although the study also includes an analysis of another crucial element in the Table of Contents, i.e., the so-called "nut-graph" (a paragraph that summarises the essential elements of an article briefly, hence 'in a nutshell'), space constraints prohibit illustration.

For the purpose of analysis, the headlines have been classified according to their function(s) and their metaphorical value. To offer an overview of our study, some illustrative examples have been selected.

4. Analysis

The linguistic analysis reveals that language choices in the Tables of Contents often differ in the two versions of NG, NGP and NGW. The articles, by contrast, are simply maintained intact, in line with the kind of product, which is a "digital adjunct", rather than a "purely digital magazine (i-mag)" (cf. Holmes 2013: 190ff).

Let us now move on to see to what extent through a selection of practical examples.

4.1. Instances of explicitation

Explicitation can be applied through different techniques, even though addition is definitely the most widely employed.

The printed versions show a preference for noun strings, which are often explicated in the digital editions by the addition of a verbal group and/or a prepositional phrase, as in the following examples:

(1) NGP: Hi-Line, Hard Life; NGW: <u>Hanging On</u> in the Hi-Line (NG 1)
(2) NGP: Outer Banks Bliss; NGW: <u>At Home</u> <u>in the</u> Outer Banks (NG 6)

(1) announces an article about northern Montana's Hi-Line, a zone characterised by harsh isolation, which one century ago had represented a 'homestead' – i.e., in North America, "a plot of public land granted to a settler for the purpose of establishing a home and farm"[2]. Whereas NGP contains an elliptical structure, with two nominal groups, separated by a comma and linked by a double alliteration ('h' and 'l'), which seems to emphasize the 'hard life', NGW explicates, through a verbal group ('hanging on'), the action of homesteaders and their descendants, who have been remaining clinging to the land.

In (2), North Carolina's Outer Banks – a string of narrow barrier islands often hit by storms and hurricanes – is the home (and heart) of the photographer writing the article. While NGP conveys his love for the place by expressing his feeling through the evocative noun 'bliss', i.e., "perfect joy, supreme delight", pre-modified by the toponym, without making any explicit reference to the fact that he loves living there, NGW explicates the sense of belonging through more explicit prepositional phrases, 'at home' and 'in the (Outer Banks)'.

Explicitation sometimes implies both addition and grammatical restructuring, such as pre-modification transformed into more explicit post-modification, like in:

(3) NGP: Masked Meanings; NGW: Masks <u>That Make</u> Magic (NG 4)

Here the article revolves around masks, which in Africa are said to embody spiritual forces. NGP is definitely more ambiguous, since the epithet 'masked' seems to convey the figurative meaning of "having the real features or character obscured or disguised", rather than making concrete reference to wearing a mask. Conversely, NGW offers a concrete reference to the object 'mask', which has become a noun, post-modified by a

[2] All definitions of items are taken from *OED* (online edition: www.oed.com).

defining relative clause, ‘that make (magic)’. Also the effect that these masks are supposed to have, i.e., ‘magic’, is added, making the nominal group more explicit.

In other cases, even in the absence of any addition, the nominalisation of NGP is ‘unpacked’ in NGW, as we can see in the following instance:

(4) NGP: Ghostwalker; NGW: Walking <u>with Ghosts</u> (NG 4)

In this specific case, NGP focuses on the doer of the action, i.e. the film-maker Cameron, who wandered through the sunken wrack of the Titanic, among the spirits, and is therefore defined a ‘ghostwalker’. In NGW, the nominalisation is ‘unpacked’ into a verbal group, ‘walking’, followed by a prepositional phrase, explicitly realising a circumstance of accompaniment.

Let us now discuss an example of an apparently different nature:

(5) NGP: He’s Such a Player; NGW: A Showboating Bird (NG 5)

(5) concerns an article about a species of bird, the male club-winged manakin that lives in the tropical forests of South America and, in order to woo a female, dances and makes music with its wings. NGP, untypically, displays a finite clause where the qualities of the manakin are hinted at, through the noun ‘player’. However, the reference through the personal pronoun ‘he’ is endophoric, i.e., extra-textual. NGW, on the contrary, despite featuring a condensed nominal group, makes the protagonist, a ‘bird’, explicit. What is striking is the unusual collocation with ‘showboating’, meaning that “seeks to attract public attention”, which can engender the reader’s curiosity, making the headline more appellative.

A good number of examples regard the addition of toponyms in the online edition:

(6) NGP: Strange Socotra; NGW: Yemen's Legendary Island (NG 6)
(7) NGP: Smitten by an Owl; NGW: Smitten by an Ural Owl (NG 6)
(8) NGP: Rocks on a Roll; NGW: How the Rock Got to Plymouth (NG 3)

In (6), (7) and (8), the explicitation of 'Yemen's', 'Ural' and 'to Plymouth' make the digital headlines definitely more referential. In (6), the explicitation can be said to be double, since the proper noun 'Socotra' in NGP, most probably unknown to many readers, has been replaced with the geographical common noun 'island' and with the country where it is located, i.e., Yemen. As regards the epithet 'strange', for some unaccountable reason, it has become 'legendary' online, offering a case of adaptation. 'Strange', indeed, refers to biodiversity in Socotra, which is home to endemic species, strange plants and animals found nowhere else on Earth. Presumably, 'legendary' was considered more appellative for a web reader. (7) preserves the appellative function fulfilled by 'smitten', a verbal form from the rhetorical and rare 'to smite', meaning "to strike or hit", far from plain language. (8) is definitely the most referential, not only because of the addition of the place name Plymouth, but also for the complete omission of the pun of the printed version, where 'Rocks on a Roll' clearly evokes the musical term 'Rock 'n' Roll'. Here the focus is on the geological phenomenon of boulders, also known as 'erratic blocks', that is to say special large rocks apparently brought by glaciers. In this case NGW explicitly mentions the concrete noun 'rock', the action performed ('got'), one of the places where it moved ('Plymouth', among other destinations). In addition, it hints at the topic of the article, which is going to 'reveal' the origin of such unusual rocks.

4.2. More Referential

The analysis has shown that more referentiality in the online version is often achieved through 'plain speaking'. By way of illustration, let us consider the following example:

(9) NGP: Wayfaring Apostles; NGW: The Journey of the Apostles (NG 3)

The archaic 'wayfaring' (describing a person who travels or journeys by road) that pre-modifies the noun 'Apostles' in NGP has become a more referential head noun, 'journey', followed by post-modification; thereby the doers of the actions are specified.

The example that follows demonstrates the higher objectivity of the online edition:

(10) NGP: The Calm Before the Wave; NGW: Tsunami Science (NG 2)

NGP embodies nominalisation ('calm') and a metaphorical 'wave', for 'tsunami'. NGW's 'tsunami science' is factual and unadorned, hence referential and less 'poetic'.

Resources to make the headline expressive are quite common in the printed version, as exemplified in:

(11) NGP: Marseille Miracle; NGW: Fraternité in Marseille (NG 3)

In NGP, the alliteration ('m') seems to emphasise the not well-specified but implicitly positive 'miracle', which hints at the exceptional nature of the multicultural city of Marseille, a good example of integration. Conversely, NGW disambiguates the nominal group by explicating the subject matter of the article. The insertion of a French noun like *Fraternité*, albeit widely

known, seems nonetheless in contrast with the logic of 'transparency' inherent in new media.

4.3. More Appellative

The corpus also includes instances of less referentiality in the online version than in the printed edition and of a dominant appellative function:

(12) NGP: Kazakhstan's Tomorrowland; NGW: Tomorrowland (NG 2)
(13) NGP: Leonardo... Or Not?; NGW: Lady With a Secret (NG 2)

(12) introduces an article about Astana, the new capital of Kazakhstan. NGW shows an unusual case of omission of the referential toponym, so that the metaphorical neologism 'Tomorrowland' – used to convey the fact that a city is "brash and grandiose and wildly attractive" to young people seeking success – functions more appellatively.

(13) provides a significant example: whereas NGP includes explicit reference to Leonardo, NGW merely contains a mysterious 'lady', without any hint at the famous painting or its artist. A metonymy like 'lady' rather functions to engender the reader's curiosity, making the headline more appellative.

It might be worth mentioning as a case in point an example where the digital version maintains ambiguity, but is undoubtedly more expressive and 'literary':

(14) NGP: Sun Struck; NGW: Sunny, With Chance of Woe (NG 6)

In an article centred on solar storms, the printed headline contains a non-finite clause, 'sun struck', which sounds more objective than the epithet 'sunny' of the digital edition. Moreover, the online version adds an item that OED labels as poetic or rhetoric, i.e., 'woe', meaning "a condition of misery, affliction, or distress; misfortune, trouble; grievous or sorrowful state"*, which sounds more appellative.*

A further example of a more appellative nature in the online version can be represented by:

(15) NGP: Arabian Seas; NGW: Tales of the Arabian Seas (NG 3)

(15) introduces an article about modern environmentalists who try to preserve the region's seas and their treasures, from coral reefs and sea grass beds to sea snakes, turtles and sharks. While NGP simply contains a geographical noun such as 'Arabian Seas', NGW shows the addition of 'tales of', which might function as an appellative element that conveys a sort of legendary atmosphere. What is noteworthy is that the Italian printed version of the magazine presents a headline more similar to the online one: *Epopea dei mari d'Arabia*, where the noun *epopea* evokes myth and a legendary past.

4.4. Intralingual translation

We conclude with an example that appears to support the hypothesis of the process of intralingual translation taking place when moving from print to Web:

(16) NGP: Unseen Titanic; NGW: *The Titanic*, Illuminated (NG 4)

(16) is focussed on Titanic. NGP starts from the premise that it sank, thus it is concretely "not seen, unperceived, invisible" and metaphorically 'unknown'. From a different perspective, NGW

is based on the fact that new technologies, one hundred years later, have revealed images of the famous wreck, metaphorically 'brought it to light', making experts aware of what really happened. This is precisely what, within the framework of TS, Vinay and Darbelnet (1958) would consider a typical instance of 'modulation', a method of translation that entails a change in the point of view. The *remediated* headline can therefore be considered a clear example of intralingual translation. Interestingly, also in the interlingual translation into Italian, the headline "Unseen Titanic" has been rendered through the same strategy and has become *Luce sul Titanic*.

5. Findings and discussion

The picture emerging from the findings seems to partly confirm a tendency towards explicitation and more referentiality in the process of remediation discussed so far. What might partially explain these general trends is related to the needs posed by SEO, an acronym that stands for Search Engine Optimisation (see Holmes 2013: 198). In other words, cryptic elements tend to be avoided by journalists/editors in order to make web pages more visible to search engines and consequently bring more visitors. Furthermore, since web readers tend to collect and compare different pieces of information in order to make a choice, they seem to prefer "accurate and complete information" (Thurman 2005b: 239). The needs of the web reader might also be accounted for by the idea of plain speaking: research in the field of media studies showed that, on the web, readers tend to prefer a plainer style (Thurman 2005b: 238).

Many instances of more referentiality in the online edition might also be explained by the needs of the global reader. In an era of global communication, "[a] defining characteristic of online journalism is its ability to reach beyond the traditional

limitations of [press] circulation" (Thurman 2005b: 247). A new international audience might expect less culture-specific contents and more global issues.

However, although 49% of the digital headlines included in the small corpus are referential, out of which 15% are more referential in comparison with their printed counterpart, they also convey an appellative function, apparently achieved by 48% of the headlines under scrutiny. In some cases, (e.g., (12), (13), (14), (15)), the digital headline seems even more appellative. Likewise metaphors, which we did not analyse in detail here due to space constraints, occur in 49% of the digital 'texts' examined, if we take into account both lexical and grammatical metaphor (cf. Manfredi 2014).

The issue raised by media studies that digital headlines tend to use plainer language and avoid puns (Thurman 2005b: 246) was not totally confirmed by our data. We argue that it might be explained, at a more general level, by the special kind of domain and by the particular kind of audience and, at a specific level, by the kind of sub-text-type we are dealing with. As Gotti (2012: 145) remarks, the concept of popularisation rests on two fundamental aspects, i.e. the kind of audience and the functions of the text. An addresser, specialist in the field, shares scientific discoveries or specialised issues with a non-specialist addressee, i.e., a wide audience of educated, and interested, laypeople, who expect to be both informed and entertained. More specifically, the purposes for which feature articles are written are diverse: they "[...] may campaign with conviction, entertain with wit and verve, shock, explain, reveal, respond, caution, inspire, inform, enlighten" (Taylor 2005: 118). Even the digital world with its drive for fast and efficient communication might leave space for different expectations on the part of the readership. Arguably, only surveys in the realm of reception studies might be able to offer a valid response.

6. Conclusions

The small size of the corpus does not permit significant generalisations or definitive conclusions and further research is required. In order to achieve more relevant results, an analysis of a wider corpus of NG would be paramount, even from a diachronic perspective. It would also be interesting to combine a multimodal analysis of illustrations within the Table of Contents of the digital edition, in order to examine whether other semiotic signs could have influenced linguistic choices. Besides, the analysis should be extended to include a variety of sources, thus other popular science magazines. Still, a wider theoretical descriptive research could also be integrated with surveys in the area of reception, carried out by language experts.

The ultimate aim of this paper – despite the small-scale case study – would encompass an attempt to formulate hypotheses about linguistic properties of *remediated* Tables of Contents in popular science magazines and to establish whether the result of this kind of intralingual translation could be considered as representative of a specific (new) Register/Genre. Borrowing Cronin's words, also in the case of intralingual translation here discussed,

> [o]ne of the challenges [...] is how to unleash the progenerative potential of the global, digital community to allow for the emergence of new forms of expression and engagement. (Cronin 2013: 141)

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