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Foreword

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Welcome to Issue 6 of the *Journal of Languages, Texts, and Society! LTS is* an interdisciplinary, postgraduate-run journal hosted at the University of Nottingham, which focuses on literary interventions, the translation of cultures, and the social aspects of language(s). This Issue features a wide array of content from researchers in Nottingham and the UK at large, as well as around the globe, and it is varied in themes and topics, much to the reader's benefit. From literature studies to sociology, linguistics, and poetry, the pieces included in this Issue are a testament to their authors' creativity and academic standards, and showcase the interdisciplinary nature of our journal. Indeed, within the borders of Issue 6, a wide range of research in articles as well as reviews are provided, highlighting the ongoing and new research in these given fields.

The comprehensive nature of Issue 6 also evidences the value of a PGR journal: it provides authors with detailed and supportive feedback to ultimately get the most out of the publication. Without the hard work of the editorial team – all postgraduates and early career researchers themselves – and the quality of reviews received, Issue 6 would not be what it is. For this, we would like to thank them.

In this Issue, we have strived to compile a collection of works that are thoughtful, timely, and creative, bridging the boundaries between genres and languages and allowing authors to explore interdisciplinary thoughts, ideas, and social issues. The Issue also takes us on a literary journey through time and space: Amélie Doche of Birmingham City University begins the Issue locally but over a century ago, exploring themes of transitivity and family relations in *Sons and Lovers,* a 1913 semi-autobiographical work by Nottinghamshire's own D.H. Lawrence. Will McCrory of Unisadhuguna, Jakarta, brings us halfway around the globe to explore the architectural history of the planned city of Chandigarh, India, through a critique of 'collaborative modernism'. Moving farther east, Gianmarco Fiorentini of Ca'Foscari University of Venice takes us to contemporary Japan with a sociolinguistic analysis of 'appropriate repertoires' and the challenges of authority and mobility surrounding them. Aleksej Tikhonov of Humboldt University Berlin brings us back to Europe to debate the language(s), politics, and religion(s) of East and South Slavonic German rappers, as well as the identity-creating functions of their songs.

Moving beyond geographic borders, this Issue also includes pieces on health and inclusivity. Hoa Ninh of Ho Chi Minh City University of Education examines how online language regarding cancer immunotherapy treatment can influence the informed decisions made by patients and carers. Lastly, Lucía Muñoz Martín of the University of Burgos argues in favour of queer-inclusive education in EFL classrooms, noting how the misrepresentation of women and the mis- and under-representation of LGBTQIA+ individuals reinforce gender stereotypes and can lead to gender-based violence.

Beyond traditional academic articles, we are also delighted to feature two creative translations. Silvia Ghirardelli of the University of Sheffield brings us 'Circulating Women's Stories,' a translation of a 2022 article by Giulia Siviero originally written in Italian about an early 20th century periodical called *La Lucciola* ('firefly') that was founded and written

predominantly by women across Italy. Next, Kimberley Pager-McClymont of the University of Aberdeen's International Study Centre and Marcello Giovanelli of Aston University bring us a creative translation in conversation, exploring the role of stylistics in writing and translating poetry as Pager-McClymont translates Giovanelli's and her own original poems from English to French.

The final section of our Issue is composed of book reviews, which continue the themes of multilingualism and globality. Focusing on literature, Dalila Villella of Birkbeck, University of London, presents a review of *Cow-Boy* by Jean-Michel Espitallier, an eclectic story which traces the journey of Espitallier's grandfather from south-eastern France to the United States in the early 20th century. Bettina Juszak of York University discusses Jane Hiddleston and Wen-chin Ouyang's edited volume *Multilingual Literature as World Literature*, which seeks to eliminate the stark borders between languages and nations. Moving to stylistics, Steve Justice of TaeJae University, South Korea, provides a review of *Style in Narrative: Aspects of an Affective-Cognitive Stylistics* by Patrick Colm Hogan, which seeks to answer broad and challenging questions such as 'What is stylistics?'. Exploring similar questions, Paula Ghintuială of Aston University reviews *Telecinematic Stylistics,* edited by Christian Hoffmann and Monika Kirner-Ludwig, a volume which considers the potential posed by the discourse of film and television for linguists. Finally, moving to the universality of human stories, Stefana Garello of the University of Palermo brings us a review of *L'istinto persuasivo. Come e perchè gli umani hanno iniziato a raccontare storie* by Francesco Ferretti, which reveals the intertwined relationship between storytelling and persuasion by tracing the origins of human communication.

We, the editors, have been delighted, inspired, and informed by the diversity of texts published here, and we hope it does the same for you, the reader. Thank you for coming this far on our journey, and we hope you will continue onward, where adventure surely awaits…

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Relationships, Ideology, and Transitivity: Reading Paul Morel's Mental Landscape

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Introduction

D.H. Lawrence's semi-autobiographical *Sons and Lovers* – published in 1913 – was initially entitled Paul Morel. The change of title suggests a shift of focus from the individual to the individual's relationships with both his parents ("sons") and women ("lovers"). Since critics have emphasised Paul's oedipal relationship with his mother (Allen and Curtis 44), the present article sets out to focus on Paul the lover. Specifically, it aims – through the study of romantic relationships – to develop insights into Paul Morel's characterisation. Sons and Lovers recounts the story of the Morels, a working-class family from the North of England. The novel comprises two parts. The first part focuses on the Morel family and particularly on the marriage between Gertrude, an educated woman who comes from a high-income earning family, and Walter Morel, a coal miner. The couple have four children: William, Annie, Paul, and Arthur.

Gertrude and Walter's marriage collapses as it encounters major crises: Walter's consumption of alcohol, which leaves the family financially struggling, and the death of William – Gertrude's favourite son – at the end of the first part of the book. As a result, Gertrude turns her attention to Paul. She says that she "should have watched the living, not the dead" (Lawrence 162) to which the omniscient narrator adds that "[her] life now rooted itself in Paul" (Lawrence 162). The second part of the book centres on Paul and the women around him: his mother and two young women, Miriam Leivers and Clara Dawes. It comprises nine chapters. I am particularly interested in Paul's emotional and sexual awakening, thus I have chosen to examine three extracts taken from the first two chapters, "Lad-and-Girl Love" and "Strife-in-Love". These two chapters function as a pivot point in *Sons and Lovers*: Paul the son gradually becomes Paul the lover. Additionally, chapter 7, "Lad-and-Girl Love," "begins with the promise of exorcising the intense but destructive passion between mother and son with which Part One ended (Schwarz 263). Chapter 8, "Strife-in-love" focuses on Miriam and Paul "to show briefly how the mother's influence continues" (Schwarz 263). I have decided to focus on Paul Morel's relationship with women, and especially with Miriam, hence why Miriam is present in the three extracts I am focusing on.[1] Paul and Miriam's relationship proves to be an excellent medium through which to explore Paul's complex characterisation. *Sons and Lovers* is mostly narrated by a third-person omniscient narrator. The third-person omniscient point of view features an extradiegetic all-knowing narrator who has a direct and complete access to characters' knowledge, feelings, and thoughts. Such point of view enables an openness and flexibility that first person omniscient narrators do not have in the sense that one person always has a limited view of their own mental states.

In this article, I will attempt to answer the following question: To what extent do transitivity patterns and points of view shed light on Paul Morel's personality, motives, and desires? To answer these questions, the literature review first sets out the theoretical and analytical perspectives underpinning the study. The first section – featuring Paul and Miriam's encounter – presents the ways in which Miriam and Mrs. Leivers perceive

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[1] All the excerpts are available in the appendices.

the male protagonist. The second analysis considers Paul and Miriam's unacknowledged romance. Specifically, it endeavours to uncover Paul's sexual desire for Miriam. The third section shows a re-orientation of Paul's desire: the protagonist construes Miriam's friend Clara Dawes as an object of desire while relegating the former to the home. Finally, the conclusion discusses the implications of focalisation for the interpretation of *Sons and Lovers* and considers the potential benefits of the concept of 'implicit' zero focalisation for stylistic analyses.

Literature Review

The third-person omniscient narration deploys itself through various 'focalisers' who each emphasise different perspectives and angles of vision. While most of the terminology surrounding focalisation tends to be visual, focalisation does not exclusively pertain to what can be seen. Focalisation can also refer to what can be heard, felt, touched, understood, and to the thought processes of characters. Bal defines focalisation as "the relation between the vision and that which is seen, 'perceived'" (142). As Toolan notes, focalisation highlights the "bi-directionality of narrative: the fact that the focussing on a particular object in a particular way reveals that object but must also reveal (or try not to reveal) the perspective and ideology from which that subject is seen" (61). Thus, focalisation restricts narrative information in relation to the experience and knowledge of the characters and/or the narrator (Genette 1972). Genette distinguishes three types of focalisation: external, internal, and zero.[2] External focalisation foregrounds a narrator who "says less than a character knows" (Simpson 33). Internal focalisation emphasises a narrator who "shows us what characters see, either from the point of view of one character (fixed) or more than one character (variable)" (Simpson 33). Zero focalisation occurs when a "narrator says more than any of the characters know".[3] The present article introduces the term 'implicit zero focalisation' to refer to instances where zero focalisation momentarily penetrates internal focalisation. One way to identify these instances is to focus on the attitudinal lexis

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[2] Genette, Gérard, *Figure III*. (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1972).
[3] Ibid.

introduced in the text: when the attitude(s) displayed do not seem to emanate from the focaliser, they likely stem from the omniscient narrator who reminds the reader of their presence in internally focalised passages. While narrators (who speak) can be intra- or extra- diegetic – i.e. can respectively be inside or outside the story – focalisers (who see) necessarily pertain to the narrative. The distinction between those who speak and those who see tends to be overlooked, although, as Bal points out, "it is possible, both in fiction and in reality, for one person to express the vision of another" (143).

The emphasis on focalisation naturally leads to a concern about points of view. My analysis uses Simpson's (1993) four categories of point of view in narrative fiction, which are predicated on the Fowler-Uspensky model (Uspensky 1973; Fowler 1996 [1986]). Simpson's categories include the ideological, temporal, spatial, and psychological planes. The ideological plane refers to the value systems and sets of belief that reside in texts; the temporal plane helps to convey a sense of time and duration through temporal deixis; the spatial plane corresponds to the narrative 'camera angle' (i.e. spatial deixis) and the psychological plane lays emphasis on the characters' thoughts or states of mind. A fifth point of view needs to be added: Uspensky's phraseological plane (1973), which focuses on the ways in which fictional characters address each other. Although Uspensky's phraseology can be encompassed within the ideological plane, Violeta Sotirova's monograph *D. H. Lawrence and Narrative Viewpoint* devotes a chapter to "naming characters", which shows the significance of naming choices and conventions in Lawrence's oeuvre. Because I am interested in investigating Paul Morel's mental state(s), I will hereafter pay particular attention to the points of view on the ideological and psychological planes. Ideology "contribute[s] to the production, reproduction or transformation of relations of domination" (Fairclough 87) – as such, it is expected that the analysis of Paul's mental landscape will give insights about his assumptions about Miriam and Clara, and perhaps about the opposite sex more generally.

Simpson also argues that the "linguistic indicators of point of view" (Short 1996) can be "enriched through reference to another layer of textual organization" (Simpson 10) known as transitivity. Halliday's

transitivity system "construes the world of experience into a manageable set of process types" (Halliday and Matthiessen 170). There are six types of processes: material, mental, behavioural, verbal, relational and existential. Each process involves a participant (i.e. the subject of the verb), a process (i.e. the verb) and, in the case of transitive verbs, an object being acted upon. Material processes refer to clauses of "doing and happening" (Halliday and Matthiessen 179): they involve an Actor carrying out the action, a Process (a material verb), and, when applicable, a Goal. Mental processes refer to clauses "of sensing" (Halliday and Matthiessen 197) relating to the world inside our consciousness: they involve a Senser doing the sensing, a Process (a mental verb) and a Phenomenon (i.e. that which is felt, thought, perceived or wanted). Behavioural processes refer to clauses featuring "physiological and psychological behaviour" (Halliday and Matthiessen 248): they involve a Behaver and a Process (a behavioural verb). Verbal processes are "clauses of saying" (Halliday and Matthiessen 252): they include a Sayer and a Process (a verbal verb). Relational processes are "clauses of being and having" (Halliday and Matthiessen 210). They can be of two types: attributive in which "a is an attribute of x" or identifying in which "a is the identity of x." Each of this type can feature intensive relational processes, in which "x is a", possessive relational processes in which "x has a" and circumstantial relational processes in which "x is at a". Existential processes "represent that something exists or happens": they involve the deixis "there" followed by a Process (existential verb) and by an Existent: event.[4] Analyses of transitivity structures have "been a popular part of the analytic toolkit of work within the critical linguistics tradition [and] has been employed to uncover how certain meanings are foregrounded while others are suppressed or obfuscated" (Simpson 96). Focus on linguistic transitivity – the representation of processes and the participants involved in those processes – enables the analysis of ideational meaning in texts regarding "who does what to whom" (KhosraviNik 60). When processes occur with no visible agent (i.e. no participant), the co-text may enable readers to construe the missing transitivity pattern.

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[4] I base this explanation on Halliday and Matthiessen's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar.*

Additionally, the to-and-fro movements between deontic modality (emphasising obligations and opinions) and *verba sentiendi* (emphasising thoughts, feelings, and perceptions) to low epistemic modality have led me to integrate Simpson's concept of "Shading" into the analysis. "Shading" refers to the various ways in which modality is deployed in narratives. Simpson distinguishes three types of shading: positive, neutral, and negative. Positive shading – the most common type of narrative modality – foregrounds a narrator's desires, thoughts, duties, feelings, obligations and opinions towards events and other characters (Simpson 51). Neutral shading features the "complete absence of narratorial modality" (Simpson 55). Negative shading foregrounds a narrator relying on "external signs" to approach reality – this mode features many perception adverbs (e.g. "apparently"), cognitive verbs featuring a low epistemic modality (e.g. "I suppose") and structures based on human perception (e.g. "it seems to be").

Paul and Miriam's encounter: Weakness, compassion, and implicit focalisation (appendix 1)

The first extract I chose to study occurs at the very beginning of the second part of the novel. At this stage, Miriam and Paul are strangers to each other. This extract features internal focalisation through Miriam. As a result, Paul is described from her point of view. This excerpt works towards characterising Paul and Miriam. My analysis is threefold; I first focus on the way Paul is perceived by Miriam – and by the readers. This then leads me to reflect on Miriam's personality traits. Finally, I examine the ways in which this early extract unveils the protagonists' future relationship.

In the first extract, Paul Morel is perceived and described by two women: Miriam and her mother. A transitivity analysis reveals that Paul tends to be described through relational processes in the attributive mode. Relational processes are processes of "being". Miriam, and at one instance, her mother, straightforwardly attribute certain qualities to Paul. Paul takes on the role of Carrier; Miriam endows him with two qualities: "clever" and "ill". Then, Mrs. Leivers adopts a mother's attitude by assuming that he is "tired and cold". The reader thus perceives Paul

as a weak man, who needs to be taken care of. Miriam attributes one possessive relational process to Paul: he is someone "who ha[s] a death in the family". This strikes me as particularly relevant insofar as the verb "to have" denotes the idea of possession: one can have a car, or one can have a lover. In short, one can have some tangible object. But here, the internal focalisation emphasises that "Paul ha[s] a death"; "a death" signals the lack of something – the disappearance of a loved one. Then, an existential process states the existence of Paul: "but here was a new specimen". This process contrasts with the preceding utterance which states that Miriam "scorn[s] the male sex" by introducing someone whom she can actually like, a different "specimen" who is not so "male" as far as he is defined by a lack. This observation aligns with Jacques Lacan's psychoanalytic theory, built around the idea that women are defined by a lack: "for the woman, what Lacan calls the knot (tangle) of castration is equivalent to a not (nonexistence) of symbolic castration" (Mykyta 51). Thus, Paul appears – through Miriam's eyes – as a weak, dispossessed specimen who could be close to Miriam because of their shared symbolic castration. Moreover, it seems worth mentioning that a "specimen" refers to something that is collected to be tested and examined. Gertrude's and Miriam's attitudes towards Paul match this characterisation. As Violeta Sotirova points out, more than showing a wide emotional distance between mother and son, Gertrude's reference to Paul as "it" denigrates Paul's humanity (86).

Two stylistic devices signal Miriam's romantic nature and her affection for Paul: transitivity (especially mental processes) and focalisation on the psychological plane (and especially boulomaic modality). Indeed, if Paul can be defined as the Carrier of various attributes, Miriam's depiction concurs with that of a Senser who feels. The first sentence of the second paragraph illustrates this observation: "[t]hen he was so ill, and she felt that he would be weak". Despite the differences between the two characters, the coordinator "and" allows "a writer to place like items together" (Tufte 99). The two protagonists are put on the same syntactic plane, which suggests some kind of equality between them. Miriam's desires find expression through boulomaic modality – emphasising wishes, desires, and dispositions – and the conditional mood, which, by virtue of being *irrealis*, denote unreality, i.e.,

hypotheses, hopes or desires. For instance, Miriam thinks that "she could love him. If she could be mistress of him in his weakness, take care of him, if he could depend on her, if she could, as it were, have him in her arms, how she would love him." The phrase "have him in her arms" and the repetition of the verb "to love" establish degrees of desire. Although her feelings towards Paul were hinted at earlier in the passage, they are now made explicit. The extract gives the reader insight into Miriam's sacrificial nature, which is first suggested by the weak epistemic modality in "seemed nothing to her": she does not see her own beauty, nor does she seem to be aware of herself as a person. Indeed, Miriam appears to be more concerned about other people, especially those who are suffering. The focalisation on the ideological plane, and particularly the sentence indicating that Paul's suffering "exalted him almost sky high in her esteem", convey this idea. This extract foretells the kind of love Miriam will show to Paul: an *agape* love, which, in the Bible, refers to a pure and sacrificial love of humankind.

Even if the extract mainly features internal focalisation, there is sometimes what I would term an 'implicit' zero focalisation which allows the extra-diegetic narrator to temporarily penetrate the internal focalisation to comment on the characters of the novel. The first sentence of the passage presents Miriam as a "quaveringly sensitive thing". The axiology contained in this phrase opens a focalisation on the ideological plane: the narrator suggests that such a sensitive Senser should be pitied, hence her being described as a poor "thing". Interestingly, Paul keeps reproaching Miriam for being over-sensitive. One may thus argue that the narrator identifies with the male character. As I mentioned earlier, Lawrence initially intended to call the novel *Paul Morel* and based the eponymous character upon himself. Commenting on the aesthetic of language in literature, David G. Butt and Annabelle Lukin advance that "textual organisation is metonymic with respect to complex cultural configurations which may be, or may not be, explicitly encoded elsewhere in the culture" (214). In other words, Paul's attitude towards Miriam may reflect Lawrence's own attitude towards women and, perhaps more generally, may offer insights into the relations between men and women in twentieth-century Britain. The references to Miriam's self-sacrificing nature help the reader understand what kind of woman Miriam will

prove to be for Paul: a substitute for his mother, or a rival of his mother. This impression is reinforced by the fact that Paul considers returning to and marrying Miriam after his mother's death at the end of the novel.

I would like to point out that, in this excerpt, one utterance does not match the protagonists' future relationship. The coordinating sentence "[t]hen he was so ill, and she felt he would be weak" grants Paul with lasting qualities through the verb "be" in the relational process while ascribing Miriam with fleeting qualities through the verb "feel" in the mental process. The characters' future relationship disproves these processes. Miriam's love will prove to be steady – thus differing from her role as a Senser. Paul's affection, however, will change several times – thus annihilating the steady relational processes established here.

Paul and Miriam's romantic walk: Nature, sexual awakening, and negative shading (appendix 2)

Later in the novel, Miriam and Paul have taken the habit of going for a walk late at night, which exasperates Mrs. Morel. This extract features one of their walks. It is internally focalised, but unlike the preceding extract, the narrative is focalised through Paul Morel. This passage throws light on Paul's repressed sexual desire for Miriam. My analysis will be twofold. Attention will first be laid on Paul's psychology, and specifically on his state of confusion. I will then consider the stylistic strategies which have for effect to convey Paul's latent desires. In this extract, some aspects of language seem to "limit the narrative to the perspective of that reflector" (Simpson 138). Thus, the omniscient narration becomes temporarily restricted. Effectively, this shift entails the introduction of an attenuated focalisation, which relays the impression that "we are momentarily restricted to the visual range of a particular character" (Simpson 2014, 31). For instance, in "the way home was through a gap in the sand-hills", the spatial and affective deixis "home" refers to Paul's house. By using this term without supplying any additional information, the narrator assumes that the reader knows which house they are referring to. Therefore, one may suspect that the passage will emphasise Paul's point of view on the temporal, spatial, and psychological planes.

In this passage, Paul reacts to Miriam's presence in a way that he does not seem to understand. Negative shading, which emphasises the uncertainty of the focaliser, here refers to Miriam or points out Paul's bodily reactions to her presence. In the clauses "somehow she ignored them" and "she seemed in some way to make him despise himself", adverbs denoting estrangement all relate to Miriam. Even though the reader does not perceive the scene through her eyes, they get the impression that she controls the focaliser's thoughts insofar as she acts as the Behaver in his inner narrative – or at least as the entity influencing Paul's behaviour ("make him despise himself"). Miriam appears as a "foreign entity" that Paul cannot grasp. Moreover, the latter does not acknowledge that her presence causes the strong physical reactions he is experiencing for the first time. Once again, negative shading is foregrounded: "his blood seem[s] to burst into flame". Yet, the metaphor of fire is often associated with sexual desire. Paul's internal narrative features weak epistemic modality when he thinks about Miriam. The linguistic indicators enabling the weak epistemic modality are modal verbs ("he might want her"), weak adverbs ("he could scarcely breathe"), and negations ("he could not").

However, if Miriam and what she arouses in him remain mysterious, Paul shows an ability to appreciate the world around him. In the first paragraph dedicated to the description of the landscapes or at the very end when he talks to his mother, positive shading is foregrounded. In other words, the narrative is richer in positive *verba sentiendi*. The verb "love", for instance, occurs three times but surprisingly never refers to Miriam. It describes Paul's attitude towards nature "[he] love[s] to see [the sea] clanging the land", "he love[s] to feel himself between the noise [of the sea] the sandy shore" and his attachment to his mother as he "love[s] to think of [her]". Despite the fact that the narrator depicts the main protagonist's internal conflict through an attenuated focalisation, it is ultimately an artifice as "[he] almost always knows more than the hero" (Genette 194). One of the purposes of this linguistic process is to invite the reader to see beyond the character's worldview. In order to see beyond Paul's lack of understanding, the narrative features an 'implicit' zero focalisation embedded within the internal focalisation. This implicit zero focalisation manifests through the dreamlike and sensual atmosphere,

which unveils Paul's desire for Miriam. Hence the prominence of the senses. All senses are mentioned but olfaction; it is, however, hinted at by the context and the "implied reader" (Genette 260) will rely on their discourse-world knowledge of the smell of sea air. The focalisation on Paul's senses adds to the understanding of the text and helps decipher its "written picture" (Judovitz 30). The sense of hearing is alluded to in the personification of the sea: "whisper of the sea". The sea can here be thought of as a sign – in the Aristotelian sense of the term – in that it designates an implied meaning which the author willingly conceals (Todorov and Klein 127). Because the sea tends to be associated with the soul and the unconscious, this excerpt seems to suggest that Paul is sleeping and that his body responds to censored voices and emotions (Jones 286). This would lead me to advance the possibility that the sea serves as a "world-building element", i.e. as an element which makes narrative evolve (Gavins 36). This element can only help building the construed textual world if readers possess and mobilise the right kind of generic or "discourse-world" knowledge to interpret the passage. For instance, knowing that meditation apps and videos commonly use ocean and sea sounds to enable people to "let go" (Doche 331) and reconnect with their bodies and minds would be particularly useful to determine Paul's current mental state. After the "whisper of the sea", the narrator employs negative shading to render the main character's sensations: "[t]he whole of his blood seemed to burst into flame, and he could scarcely breathe." In *Sons and Lovers*, "Lawrence is intruding into the silence of unconscious physiological experience and inviting the reader to participate directly in the sensual life of his characters" (Schwarz 258). I earlier mentioned (in section 1 and in the present section) two instances of 'implicit' zero focalisation, which enable the author to momentarily trespass ontological levels by entering the diegesis. According to Booth, there are three possible types of authorial commentaries: "commentary that is merely ornamental, commentary that serves a rhetorical purpose but is not part of the dramatic structure, and commentary that is integral to the dramatic structure" (155). In *Sons and Lovers*, extra-diegetic interventions encourage readers to recognise the continuity between the text and the wider context of culture to better participate in the former. Thus, such interventions serve a rhetorical purpose.

I now explore how the sense of sight is conveyed. In keeping with the intricacies of the sense of hearing, the sea, and the unconscious, Paul happens to be both an observer and the object being observed. In his role as Behaver, Paul "[stares] at the immense and ruddy moon"; similarly, through personification, the moon becomes the agentive Behaver: "[a]n enormous orange moon was staring at them from rim of the sandhills". As readers, we observe Paul both observing and being observed. Thus, readers can be said to be the ultimate observing consciousnesses. Our double-vision stems from the implicit zero focalisation which allows for a tacit authorial intervention. The narrative also introduces a sense of touch: Paul "loved to feel himself between the noise of [the sea] and the silence of the sandy shore." Here, the sense of touch recalls the sexual connotation engendered by "[the sea] [...] clanging at the land". If Paul does not acknowledge his innermost desires, the extradiegetic narrator knows all about it; the narrator translates the expected moment of climax –a "first love-kiss"– into Paul's encounter with Nature. In literary and non-literary contexts alike, Nature tends to be given feminine characteristics, hence the expression "Mother Nature". For instance, in Sylvia Plath's "Elm", the poetic voice uses the pronoun "she" to refer to both the elm tree and the moon while relying on readers' discourse-world knowledge of the sea as a feminine force (Doche 7). While these observations would suggest that this passage enacts Paul's sexual desire for Miriam, I would like to point out that Nature takes on an agentive role which Paul lacks. Effectively, by "clanging at the land", the sea plays an Actor role. In this excerpt, Paul receives rather than performs arousal, which echoes Miriam's earlier characterisation of him as someone with a lack. Here, the romantic atmosphere created by the implicit zero focalisation combined with Paul's use of linguistic features identified as "typically female" (Mills 35-42) poke fun at Paul's obliviousness. Moreover, focalisation on the ideological level enables readers to deduce that the term "purity" (appearing in single quotes in the text) and the phrase "such a thing" – which both refer to Paul's physical attraction to Miriam – should be understood as instances of irony.

Paul and Miriam's conversation: Objectification, competition, and the rise of Paul the lover (appendix 3)

This scene takes place at Miriam's house. Paul and Miriam are on their own and engage in a conversation about Clara Dawes, Paul's future lover. The protagonists have an equal share in the dialogue. Although one may infer that the internal focalisation will express both characters' viewpoints, focalisation in a passage of direct speech crucially depends on the narrative surrounding it, i.e. the co-text. Internally focalised, the preceding extract focuses on Paul's inner narrative, which gets interrupted by Miriam's direct question. And within the dialogue, short passages of narrative refer to Paul's thoughts, for instance when he "wonder[s] why Miriam crouch[es] there". As the reflector of fiction, Paul controls the readers' perceptions of the female characters. My analysis aims to demonstrate that Paul objectifies women. I shall first consider his feeling of superiority vis-à-vis Miriam, which contrasts with the relationship established in the first passage. I then focus on Paul's impressions of the absentee Clara.

In this extract, Paul appears to be physically and spatially superior to Miriam, whose inferiority and submissiveness find expression in her posture. Indeed, Paul is seated whereas Miriam "crouch[es] there brooding in that strange way." The spatial deixis "there" and "that" allow Paul to distance himself from Miriam both spatially and emotionally. Although Miriam stands spatially close to him, he uses the adverb "there" and not "here". On a similar note, Paul comments on Miriam's position by using "that" when the reader may have expected him to say "in [this] strange way" instead. Together with the pronoun "that", the adjective "strange" emphasises emotional remoteness, which signals Paul's lack of empathy towards Miriam. Additionally, the verb "to crouch" adds to the idea of inferiority as it can be used to describe both human and animal behaviours. Miriam here appears as a pet owned by Paul. That being said, let us remember Miriam's characterisation of Paul as a "specimen" in the first extract. The two protagonists mutually annihilate their humanness. The following Narrative Report of Action reinforces the analogy between Miriam and a pet: "Miriam bowed her head [...] She bowed a little lower." According to Leech and Short (277), this type of narrative report suggests

that the omniscient narrator exerts total control over the report. Thus, the reader's perception of Miriam's submissiveness does not come from the main protagonist; rather, the all-knowing narrator presents Miriam as submissive, which would suggest that this perception has some truth value. In the above-mentioned process, Miriam acts a Behaver, a role which is "akin to [that of an Actor]" (Simpson 23). However, I would argue that the process fails insofar as Miriam's behaviour consists in not behaving and staying submissive. Moreover, naming strategies lead readers to believe that Miriam is inferior to Paul in their respective relation with Clara. The phraseological point of view takes on much relevance here – its linguistic indicators encompass proper nouns, titles and honorifics, and other orthographic cues linked to naming. Miriam refers to her friend as "Mrs. Dawes" twice: first in the course of the dialogue and then in the final paragraph focalised from her perspective. This naming strategy may result from Clara's higher social status. While Paul and Clara have just met, the former refers to her as "Clara" in the narrative passages intertwined within the dialogue. On an ideological level, this suggests that Paul places himself as Clara's equal, although he effectively comes from a lower socio-economic background. As Short points out, "we can feel 'close' or 'remote' to other people in social terms. Someone to whom [we] refer with 'title + last name' would be remote socially, and [we] would normally refer to those with whom [we] are close by their first name" (Short 272). The characters' respective naming strategies have a twofold impact: Paul elevates himself whilst Miriam remains inferior. This excerpt foretells the sequel to the novel; Miriam and Clara will grow distant from one another while Paul and Clara will become intimate with each other and eventually engage in a relationship.

If Miriam is depicted as a "pet", Clara first appears as a "beast". Indeed, she fulfils the role of Carrier in two possessive relational processes and is attributed the two following qualities: "fight" and "a grudge". Paul does not know Clara; yet, he perceives her as someone rather violent. When Miriam asks him what he likes about Clara, he replies: "I don't know – her skin and the texture of her – and her – I don't know – there's a sort of fierceness somewhere in her. I appreciate her as an artist, that's all." Combined with negative shading – reflected in the low epistemic modality and the words of estrangement – the four dashes

generate a sense of uncertainty which would suggest that Paul wonders how to describe Clara. As there are "alternative ways of expressing 'reality' [...] people can make decisions about how to express [it]" (Simpson 201). Here, Paul ultimately chooses existential process ("there's a sort of fierceness somewhere in her") to avoid any material that would support an explicit Actor role. This allows him to convey Clara's fierceness in an objective manner; this apparent objectivity could not have been conveyed through possessive relational processes, such as "[she has] a sort of fierceness". Similarly, when Paul asks Miriam to "[l]ook at her mouth – made for passion", the dash makes up for the verb "to be". Once again, the avoidance of a relational process allows Paul to distance himself from his own assumptions, one of which being that some women are "made" for sexual intercourses. In both instances, the deletion of the agent has for effect to universalise Paul's words: Clara is construed as an object of desire for all men, and not only for Paul. Like implicit zero focalisation, instances of implicit transitivity – implicit in the sense that typographical features construe processes – seem to hint at Paul's (or Lawrence's?) sexist ideology. Another interpretation could be that Paul (and/or Lawrence) endeavours to examine what he does not understand. Paul relies on external signs to describe Clara. He speaks about "her skin", "her throat" and uses words denoting estrangement such as "a sort of" as well as weak epistemic modality ("I don't know"), as if he were trying to analyse her, like he would do with a piece of art ("I appreciate her as an artist"). Despite Paul and Miriam's complex relationship, both protagonists are denied a fully-fledged humanity. Through the eyes of both Miriam and Gertrude, Paul appears as a specimen, i.e. a "it". Through the eyes of Paul, Miriam appears as a benevolent creature. While Clara appears to be construed as a sexual object and/or as an object of appreciation, her spatial and emotional remoteness at this stage enables Paul to fantasise about the woman's strong agency: he "should have thought" that Clara was free enough to choose whom to marry or to divorce. Agency places Clara closer to humans than non-humans on the scale of animacy. It is worth pointing out that, in the twentiethcentury, and particularly in rural areas, women were still heavily dependent on either their parents or their husbands. And indeed, when Clara separates from Baxter, social conventions mean that she returns to live with her

mother. Although Paul appreciates Clara's incredible strength of character, he reduces its value by granting Clara linguistically passive roles. This extract features two mental processes in which Paul plays the agentive role of Senser and Clara the passive role of Phenomenon: see "I like her" and "I appreciate her". In this passage, Paul perceives Clara as inferior to him; yet, because the reader knows that Miriam sees Paul as a "specimen", Clara is higher on the scale of agency.

Conclusion

Focusing on Paul's and Miriam's processes has proven to be illuminating. The first excerpt marks Paul's encounter with Miriam, who characterised him as a "new [and weak] specimen" upon meeting him. This characterisation concurs with Gertrude's and Mrs. Leivers's perceptions of the male protagonist; according to them, Paul is but a "ill" object (a "it"). The second excerpt further reinforces Paul's perceived lack of agency: his sexual arousal is mediated through Nature, which takes on an agentive role. As a Behaver in Paul's internal narrative, Miriam also shows an active role. The opening passage of Chapter XIIII "Strife in love" seems to challenge the characterisations established in the previous chapter. Miriam here exposes her "religious state." She bends her knees, remains still, and listens to Paul as he finally fulfils a Senser role with a new, spatio-temporally distant phenomenon: Clara. It is interesting to notice that the women who are, at this stage, emotionally or spatio-temporally close to Paul, deprive him of any agency. These women – Gertrude, Miriam, and Mrs. Leivers – share one characteristic: they all display an overly caring attitude towards Paul. On the contrary, at first glance, Clara does not show any interest in getting to know Paul.

I have indicated that, at times, the extradiegetic narrator breaks through the internal focalisation to comment on the fictional character presently acting as focaliser. I conceptualise these moments as instances of 'implicit' zero focalisation in the sense that the all-knowing narrator momentarily reminds us of their presence by providing readers with insights which are inaccessible to the reflectors of fiction. In the first excerpt, the extradiegetic narrator hints at Miriam's sensitive and compassionate nature. In the second extract, implicit zero focalisation

allows the narrator to draw parallels between Paul's experience of nature and his sexual arousal generated by Miriam's presence in a dream-like atmosphere. In the third excerpt, implicit focalisation leaves way to implicit transitivity, which foregrounds Paul's hesitancy to take on a fully agentive Actor role when analysing Clara. Implicit transitivity requires readers to construe the missing processes, i.e., to fill in the blanks. Both implicit focalisation and implicit transitivity encourage readers to mobilise their discourse-world knowledge for the purposes of interpretation. For this reason, the readers' interpretations of tacit authorial commentaries depend on their perceptions of the ideological patterns underlying the text, which ultimately depend on the readers' own values and beliefs. I have also noted that negative shading seems to be functioning as a trope. In "Lad-and-girl love", the use of negative shading marks Paul's emotional and bodily arousal as he and Miriam walk towards Theddlethorpe. In the following chapter, "Strife in love", negative shading enables Paul to examine Clara in detail by presenting her as a piece of art that needs to be deciphered. This shift in agency shows Paul's development from a love-and-care-receiver to a love-and-care-provider, i.e., from Paul the son to Paul the lover.

The present article has shown that the intricacies surrounding Paul Morel's characterisation emanate from the interrelation of voice and vision. Regarding the study of focalisation, my analysis suggests that stylisticians could benefit from using the concept of 'implicit' zero focalisation. The concept has the potential to identify the odd instances where extra-diegetic attitudes break through the diegesis, thus hinting at the author's ideology and/or at the ideological context in which the literary artefact was developed.

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APPENDICES

First extract: pp. 166-167.

Her beauty – that of a shy, wild, quaveringly sensitive thing – seemed nothing to her. Even her soul, so strong for rhapsody, was not enough. She must have something to reinforce her pride, because she felt different from other people. Paul she eyed rather wistfully. On the whole, she scorned the male sex. But here was a new specimen, quick, light, graceful, who could be gentle and who could be sad, and who was clever, and who knew a lot, and who had a death in the family. The boy's poor morsel of learning exalted him almost sky-high in her esteem. Yet she tried hard to scorn him, because he would not see in her the princess but only the swine-girl. And he scarcely observed her.

Then he was so ill, and she felt he would be weak. Then she would be stronger than he. Then she could love him. If she could be mistress of him in his weakness, take care of him, if he could depend on her, if she could, as it were, have him in her arms, how she would love him!

As soon as the skies brightened and plum-blossom was out, Paul drove off in the milkman's heavy float up to Willey Farm. Mr Leivers shouted in a kindly fashion at the boy, then clicked to the horse as they climbed the hill slowly, in the freshness of the morning. White clouds went on their way, crowding to the back of the hills that were rousing in the springtime. The water of Nethermere lay below, very blue against the seared meadows and the thorn-trees.

It was four and a half miles' drive. Tiny buds on the hedges, vivid as copper-green, were opening into rosettes; and thrushes called, and blackbirds shrieked and scolded. It was a new, glamorous world.

Miriam, peeping through the kitchen window, saw the horse walk through the big white gate into the farmyard that was backed by the oak wood, still bare. Then a youth in a heavy overcoat climbed down. He put up his hands for the whip and the rug that the good-looking, ruddy farmer handed down to him.

Miriam appeared in the doorway. She was nearly sixteen, very beautiful, with her warm colouring, her gravity, her eyes dilating suddenly like an ecstasy.

'I say,' said Paul, turning shyly aside, 'your daffodils are nearly out. Isn't it early? But don't they look cold?'

'Cold!' said Miriam, in her musical, caressing voice.

'The green on their buds ____' and he faltered into silence timidly.

'Let me take the rug,' said Miriam over-gently.

'I can carry it,' he answered, rather injured. But he yielded to her.

Then Mrs Leivers appeared.

'I'm sure you're tired and cold,' she said. 'Let me take your coat. It is heavy. Your mustn't walk far in it.'

Second extract: pp. 204-206.

One evening he and she went up the great sweeping shore of sand towards Theddlethorpe. The long breakers plunged and ran in a hiss of foam along the coast. It was a warm evening. There was not a figure but themselves on the far reaches of sand, no noise but the sound of the sea. Paul loved to see it clanging at the land. He loved to feel himself between the noise of it and the silence of the sandy shore. Miriam was with him. Everything grew very intense. It was quite dark when they turned again. The way home was through a gap in the sand-hills, and then along a raised grass road between two dykes. The country was black and still. From behind the sand hills came the whisper of the sea. Paul and Miriam walked in silence. Suddenly he started. The whole of his blood seemed to burst into flame, and he could scarcely breathe. An enormous orange moon was staring at them from rim of the sandhills. He stood still, looking at it.

'Ah!' cried Miriam, when she saw it.

He remained perfectly still, staring at the immense and ruddy moon, the only thing in the far-reaching darkness of the level. His heart beat heavily, the muscles of his arms contracted.

'What is it?' murmured Miriam, waiting for him.

He turned and looked at her. She stood beside him, for ever in shadow. Her face, covered with the darkness of her hat, was watching him unseen. But she was brooding. She was slightly afraid – deeply moved and religious. That was her best state. He was impotent against it. His blood was concentrated like a flame in his chest. But he could not get across to her. There were flashes in his blood. But somehow she ignored them. She was expecting some religious state in him. Still yearning, she was half aware of his passion, and gazed at him, troubled.

'What is it?' she murmured again.

'It's the moon,' he answered, frowning.

'Yes,' she assented. 'Isn't it wonderful?' She was curious about him. The crisis was past.

He did not know himself what was the matter. He was naturally so young, and their intimacy was so abstract, he did not know he wanted to crush her on to his breast to ease the ache there. He was afraid of her. The fact that he might want her as a man wants a woman had in him been suppressed into a shame. When she shrank in her convulsed, coiled torture from the thought of such a thing, he had winced to the depths of his soul. And now this 'purity' prevented even their first love-kiss. It was as if she could scarcely stand the shock of physical love, even a passionate kiss, and then he was too shrinking and sensitive to give it.

As they walked along the dark fen-meadow he watched the moon and did not speak. She plodded beside him. He hated her, for she seemed in some way to make him despise himself. Looking ahead – he saw the one light in the darkness, the window of their lamp-lit cottage.

He loved to think of his mother, and the other jolly people.

'Well, everybody else has been in long ago!' said his mother as they entered.

'What does that matter!' he cried irritably. 'I can go a walk if I like, can't I?'

'And I should have though you could get supper with the rest,' said Mrs Morel.

'I shall please myself,' he retorted. 'It's not late. I shall do as I like.'

Third extract: pp. 214-215.

'What did you think of Mrs Dawes?' she asked quietly.

'She doesn't look very amiable,' he replied.

'No, but don't you think she's a fine woman?' she said, in a deep tone.

'Yes – in stature. But without a grain of taste. I like her for some things. Is she disagreeable?'

'I don't think so. I think she's dissatisfied.'

'What with?'

'Well – how would you like to be tied for life to a man like that?'

'Why did she marry him, then, if she was to have revulsions so soon?'

'Ay, why did she!' repeated Miriam bitterly.

'And I should have thought she had enough fight in her to match him,' he said.

Miriam bowed her head.

'Ay?' she queried satirically. 'What makes you think so?'

'Look at her mouth – made for passion – and the very set-back of her throat———' He threw his head back in Clara's defiant manner.

Miriam bowed a little lower.

'Yes,' she said.

There was a silence for some moments, while he thought of Clara.

'And what were the things you liked about her?' she asked.

'I don't know – her skin and the texture of her – and her – I don't know – there's a sort of fierceness somewhere in her. I appreciate her as an artist, that's all.'

'Yes.'

He wondered why Miriam crouched there brooding in that strange way. It irritated him.

'You don't really like her, do you?' he asked the girl.

She looked at him with her great, dazzled dark eyes.

'I do,' she said.

'You don't – you can't – not really.'

'Then what?' she asked slowly.

'Eh, I don't know – perhaps you like her because she's got a grudge against men.'

That was more probably one of his own reasons for liking Mrs Dawes, but this did not occur to him. They were silent. There had come into his forehead a knitting of the brows which was becoming habitual with him, particularly when he was with Miriam. She longed to smooth it away, and she was afraid of it. It seemed the stamp of a man who was not her man in Paul Morel.

The merits of queer-inclusive education in EFL classrooms

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Introduction

English as a Foreign Language (EFL) classrooms comprise several groups of students with different backgrounds according to their nationality, race, class, ability, age, gender or sexual identity. Many EFL students in the US do not match the patriarchal norm of being male, white, middle class, young, heterosexual and able-bodied, resulting in an inherent disadvantage for them when learning the target language. Implicit biases which might arise in the classroom can negatively affect students' motivation, thus preventing them from producing meaningful language output and from negotiating their identities in the new social contexts provided in the classroom (Kaiser, 2017; Liddicoat, 2009). These implicit biases can enter the lessons through classroom materials and discourses which remain apolitical and outdated, not focusing on real life issues not being inclusive, diverse nor equal for all students who attend the lessons.

Many classroom materials display stereotypes and silence oppressed communities in an implicit way through images, language, audio

recordings, and reading texts, among other means. According to Motschenbacher (2010 cited in Paiz, 2015) EFL and ESL textbook publishers usually delay the portrayal of societal changes in their texts. Consequently, societal changes carried out during 2020, including the LGBTQ+ protests in places including Poland and Thailand, the LGBTQ+-inclusive Black Lives Matter movement in the USA, and the feminist strikes which took place globally on the 8th of March of 2020 are not portrayed in these lessons.

For non-normative students (i.e. not male, not white, not middle class, not heterosexual, non-disabled, and all the possible intersections) to reach their potential in EFL classrooms, teachers should base their lessons in social justice and human rights by debunking stereotypes which may come up in the lessons through classroom materials, visibilising topics and collectives which are normally silenced from discourse, and by using inclusive language regarding race, gender, age and sexual diversity, for example. However, there seem to be disparities in teacher education, resulting in many teachers not being aware of the aforementioned issues, therefore unintentionally perpetuating the patriarchal system in their lessons. In order to have an inclusive EFL classroom it is essential for teachers to be implicated, allowing students to be represented by incorporating an inclusive co-education pedagogy that teaches English while transversally teaching about different real world issues like sexism, racism and homo/transphobia.

In this article, some tips, ideas and resources will be proposed to make EFL classrooms inclusive of all gender identities and sexual orientations (whilst always bearing in mind the intersections of race, ethnicity, class and ability), focusing on queer and trans-inclusive education.

Theoretical approaches to include gender and sexual diversity issues in the language classroom

There are several theoretical approaches supporting the inclusion of gender and sexual diversity in the language classroom. Following Freire's (2000) pedagogy of the oppressed, teachers can only show solidarity with the oppressed students (gender and sexual diverse people with or without intersectionalities with race, class or ability in this case) when they start

seeing them as individuals who have been silenced and deprived of some of their rights. Teachers in this sense become allies to the oppressed and help fight for their rights in the classroom, giving them a voice and an accurate representation.

According to the Critical Pedagogy framework, teachers raise awareness of human rights and citizenship issues through discussing these issues with their students, analysing them critically, and thus developing a critical consciousness on otherwise silenced topics including gender and sexual diversity (Giroux, 2001).

Another approach is the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (Lazar, 2007) according to which teachers shed light on gender and sexual diversity matters, , troubling hegemonic power relations, gendered assumptions and stereotypes. This may be done in subtle or more overt ways. Following this approach there is the Feminist post-structuralist discourse analysis, a method of analysis formulated by Judith Baxter in 2008, which combines Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis and Post-structuralist feminism. This involves teachers analysing classroom materials and discourse in their lessons and personally raising any inequity found.

The last approach outlined is Queer Theory, which aims at troubling social norms regarding gender and sexual diversity, such as heteronormativity or cisnormativity, for instance. Teachers following this approach focus on deconstructing heteronormativity and other oppressive boundaries in the classroom (Pennell 2020).

Each of the aforementioned theoretical approaches have been used in at least some EFL classrooms for years now, both separately and together. However, not every teacher is familiar with them or knows how to put them into practice due to first, the disparities in teacher training, or the lack thereof, and, second, to their implicit biases, as research has found that age, religion, political views, race and geographical location can have an effect on how teachers view LGBTQ+ students negatively. According to Hall & Rodgers (2018) the teachers who presented more negative attitudes were those with a fundamentalist religious orientation, those in the South, Midwest, and Mountain regions, and teachers of colour. In order to raise awareness among teachers it is imperative to include

teacher training in gender and sexual diversity; for instance, Riggs, Rosenthal & Smith-Bonahue (2011) claim that a combined cognitive-affective intervention can have a positive impact on pre-service teachers' attitudes.

The aim of the following section is to review some of the interventions put into practice in EFL classrooms including gender and sexual diversity issues and to give some suggestions of teaching materials and their uses in the EFL classroom.

Practical approaches for the inclusion of gender and sexual diversity in EFL classrooms.

In the past, several different attempts have been made to address gender and sexual diversity in the language classroom. Vandrick (2001) suggests the inclusion of human rights issues in everyday lessons, in order to fight racism, sexism and other forms of discrimination. According to different studies (Paiz, 2015.;. Vandrick, 2017..)..,. the inclusion of topics like gender identity should be transversal, that is, not at the centre of the curriculum or the protagonist of a unit, but rather included in a subtle way in every lesson. It is proposed that this will lead students to see the topics as something natural which is related to the lesson.

According to Paiz (2017), any teaching material can be 'queered', understanding 'to queer' as the troubling or challenging of otherwise patriarchal classroom discourse. This serves to create spaces where all gender identities and sexualities can be "engaged with in a manner that is both respectful of individuals and critical of all identity positions and subjectivities" (Paiz, 2017, p. 354). A clear example of queering the heterosexist curriculum could be by using authentic material created by the teachers where diversity is portrayed and every student can feel included in the lesson. However, this can be an arduous task, as it requires teachers to prepare their own material, and it is difficult to represent every marginalised collective in the lessons. As a result, another option to challenge the heterosexist discourse could be to queer the existing heterosexist discourses. This way, a teacher can use an extremely sexist advertisement, for instance, and discuss all the reasons why it is sexist or heteronormative, giving a voice to those individuals

who have been oppressed by that piece of discourse (Paiz 2015; 2017). Textbooks, discourses, activities, images and illustrations, films, songs, audio recordings, and even sexist language can be queered in the EFL classroom just by acknowledging how heteronormative or patriarchal they are, identifying stereotypes and defying them in the classroom discourse. Extremely heterosexist grammar examples can also be analysed, such as "Sandra is a nurse. Ben is a medical student." (Latham-Koenig et al, 2012), posing questions such as "Why do you think the writers of this book chose to give Sandra a nurse job and portray Ben as a medical student?" This way, a discussion can be raised on how society attributes women those occupations which are related to caring and men those occupations which are considered more prestigious.

On the other hand, some of the previous research on the inclusion of gender and sexual diversity issues in the EFL classroom include specific activities such as bringing up news of violence against these oppressed collectives; using writing tasks for "imagine that..." essays, as "imagine having a different sexual orientation or a different gender identity"; using film, song or even literature (Vandrick, 2001). In addition, many researchers find literature a nice way to bring up the topic, Sanders & Mathis (2013) propose the use of books and plays which have characters with a different gender or sexual identity as the patriarchal norm, in order for students to connect with the stories and the characters. Guijarro Ojeda (2005) proposes the use of poetry in the EFL classroom to raise awareness around the social problems of our days, using a transversal approach. Additionally, some researchers propose using the grammar examples to portray other possible realities, for example "When I went to Alex's house to drop off some paperwork, I met Jerry, who is his longtime partner" (Vandrick, 2001, p. 1), or "These two women are walking arm in arm" (Norton and Pavlenko, 2004, p. 5).

As acknowledged above, many scholars have studied how to address gender and sexual diversity inequities and, in the following section, some practical examples and resources are proposed to make EFL classrooms inclusive of all students, no matter their gender or sexual identity, whilst always bearing in mind the intersections of race, ethnicity, class and ability. These tips are aimed at all EFL teachers of all levels, ages and

institutions (public or private).

Practical guide to include gender and sexual diversity issues in the EFL classroom

In the EFL classroom, students are not learning the target language without context. they do so while acquiring a set of ideas which can appear in the *explicit* curriculum, i.e. the textbooks or other classroom materials, and in the *implicit* curriculum, that is, the teachers' speech, classmates' interactions, and norms and values which come from society (López-Ojeda, 2007), and the *null* curriculum, which refers to that content that is silenced in the classroom (Rodriguez, 2013). Thus, it is the teacher's job to challenge such patriarchal ideals in the classroom, while also practising the five key language skills outlined by the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR): Spoken Interaction, Spoken Production, Listening, Reading and Writing.

EFL textbooks are replete with sexist language, from occupation roles to personality descriptors. In order to fight against sexism in language, teachers can convert sexist language into inclusive language by changing gender-specific words for their inclusive counterparts. In relation to occupations, *-man* compounds (*chairman*) can be changed to *-person* compounds (*chairperson*), some other *-man* compounds (*fireman*) can be changed to neutral words (*firefighter*) (Pauwels, 2003, p. 563). In relation to the family, gendered words such as *brother* or *sister* can be replaced by their neutral counterpart *sibling*. In regards to personal relationships, some words such as *boyfriend* or *girlfriend* can be changed to *partner*, for instance. Table 1 shows some of the most common gender-neutral words to use in English.

Occupations		The Family		General vocabulary	
Chairman	Chairperson	Brother or sister	Sibling	Guys or ladies and gentleman	Everybody
Handyman	Handyperson	Mother or Father	Parents	Man-made	Artificial
Waitress	Waitperson or server	Niece or Nephew	Nibling	Man-kind	Human-kind
Salesman	Salesperson	Boyfriend or girlfriend	Partner or significant other	Man or women	People
Air hostess	Flight attendant	Husband or wife	Spouse	Freshman	First-year student
Fireman	Firefighter	Son or daughter	Child	Handsome or beautiful	Good-looking
Policeman	Police officer	Miss or Mrs.	Ms.	He/she	They

Table 1: gender-neutral words to fight sexism in language.

Heterosexist books can be useful if the teacher chooses to use them critically by discussing and challenging the stereotypical representations portrayed (Harman, 1978) by selecting from these books role plays which include gender bias (Talansky, 1986), and reversing gender roles in the cases of subordination (Willeke and Sanders, 1978) to make them explicit. This way, according to Pawelczyk a teacher an "rescue" a sexist or extremely heteronormative text (2014, p. 56).

According to Chung and Courville (2008), books act as mirrors which reflect the world and, at the same time, they can provide a window into the lives of others, thus expanding students' personal experiences. It is therefore important to present texts where characters are not heteronormative, that is, books which show people who normally are oppressed in society. This way readers will have empathy for them, even

if they do not know anyone who is oppressed in their everyday life.

In the present section, I will outline some literary recommendations to use in the EFL classroom, starting with kindergarten and primary school children's books. *And Tango Makes Three* (2005) by Justin Richardson and Peter Parnell is an emotive story, based on real events, about two male penguins who fell in love and adopted a baby penguin at the Central Park Zoo. This book can open the door to discussions around different types of families and sexual diversity, as in this case, Tango has two fathers, instead of one mother and one father. In the same area, *Heather Has Two Mommies* (1990) by Leslea Newman can be used to start a debate about another type of non-normative family, one with two mothers. In relation to gender diversity I would suggest two books: *Pink is for Boys* (2018) by Robb Pearlman and *I am Jazz* (2014) by Jazz Jennings and Jessica Herthel. The first book can facilitate debate around what boys are supposed to like or not like according to patriarchal society, in this case the colour pink; the second book is about a trans girl who tells her story, which may be used to spark conversation around different gender identities. Secondly, for secondary school students and adults, on the topic of sexual diversity there is *Boyfriends with girlfriends* (2011) by Alex Sánchez, a book which follows a group of teenagers who have sentimental feelings for each other, and which presents homosexual relationships. In the light of gender diversity *Almost perfect* (2009) by Brian Katcher shows a trans character, Sage. This book is particularly important to comment on in class due to the language it uses; Sage says that being born a boy is her "big secret" which gives much importance to the fact that she is trans, a fact which should not actually be of so much significance to her identity. At the same time, it could prove revealing to discuss her friend Logan's feelings when he finds out that Sage is trans: why does he get angry, frightened and betrayed?

When possible, teachers can use the technological resources they have available in order to project films, series, music, music videos or short films in class. Paiz (2015) stated that merely incorporating queer popular media into the classroom is not enough. This is because tv and cinema, particularly in the United States, tend to stereotype and to whitewash LGBTQ+ identities and women (Sewell, 2004; Sonnekus, 2009 cited in

Paiz, 2017). What teachers can do to complement this is to ask students to write down sexist and heterosexist comments they see or hear in the film or commercial that they are watching (Chung and Courville, 2008). One of the films which can be analysed in Secondary school or with adult students is *But I am a cheerleader* (1999) directed by Jamie Babbit, a film about a lesbian cheerleader who gets sent to conversion therapy. This film will likely generate conversations about conversion therapy as well as posing the question: "What does a lesbian look like?". It is very common for EFL lessons to feature listening activities of the type *fill in the gaps of the lyrics*. For this, teachers could choose songs which had lyrics referring to the issues we want to talk about in the lesson, for instance, *Born This Way* (2011) by Lady Gaga is a hymn to the LGBTQ+ community with lyrics as "Don't be a drag, just be a queen" or "No matter gay, straight or bi, Lesbian, transgendered life, I'm on the right track, baby, I was born to survive". Thanks to this song we can learn about drag culture and how it dismantles the patriarchy, as well as the fact that "people are born this way", which contradicts the idea that LGBTQ+ people "become" or "turn" gay. Another audiovisual input could be analysing music videos, which are much shorter than films, and also have the songs' lyrics to analyse. *Symphony* (2017) by Clean Bandit featuring Zara Larsson tells the story of two black men who are in a romantic relationship. Here the classroom discussion could focus not only on homoromantic relationships, but also on the issues black gay men have to go through. Continuing with shorter content, one can add You. Tube videos, for example 'Do you have a gender-bias?' (2017). The video tells the following riddle: "A father and son get in a car crash and are rushed to the hospital. The father dies. The boy is taken to the operating room and the surgeon says, 'I can't operate on this boy, because he's my son.' How is this possible?" Students in class could then be asked to solve the riddle, and from their answers and the answers from the video the teacher could address gender stereotypes.

Art can also be a great resource for discussions – teachers can use images, photographs, paintings, sculpture or even make-up for students to analyse, describe and speak about. Artists can be discussed in class, in relation to either their art or their biographies; Frida Kahlo, for instance, could generate considerations of the intersections between gender,

disability, queerness and/or race, and Andy Warhol, whose sexual identity was criminalized and suppressed in the United States, would also make an interesting subject.

In order to avoid future oppressions, students should learn about historical movements as the feminist waves, the Stonewall riots, the Black Lives Matter movement, etc. (Benito, 2018; Pichardo, 2015). The introduction of these topics can be done by providing students with authentic reading materials from newspapers, for example. In this case, teachers would have to complete the textbook by including their own materials.

Teachers can use important dates to cover issues of sexism or LGBTQ+phobia explicitly. Potential suggestions include LGBT History Month, Gay Pride, Australian Mardi Gras, Brazil's Carnival, International Women's Day, International Day of Women and Girls in Science, World AIDS Day, International Day Against Homophobia, Transphobia and Biphobia, and International Day of Peace (Pichardo, 2015).

As seen before, there are many ways of troubling the EFL classroom through authentic material (video, audio, reading, etc.). But there are still some more topics to be covered in the preferred format of the teacher in question such as the evolution of fashion, women in space, women in sports, LGBTQ+ famous people from history, same sex marriage, the family, sexist uniforms from around the world, gender roles, the gender binary in other societies, how peri   are viewed around the world, feminism, etc. Many of these topics raise awareness of the intersectionality between topics like gender, nationalism, class and religion.

On the other hand, celebrities are often role models for teenagers, so by talking about oppressed celebrities, students can feel more connected to said topics. Some celebrities are openly LGBTQ+ (like Ricky Martin, Ellen Degeneres, Sir Ian McKellen, Jojo Siwa, Sam Smith, Laverne Cox, Elliot Page, Nikkie de Jager, Lil Nas X, Elton John, for instance), others are allies who choose to defy gender roles using fashion (Harry Styles, Bad Bunny, Jaden Smith, for example). In class we can talk about these famous people, show what they do and who they are, thus starting a

discussion about gender and sexual diversity. For instance, Haley Kiyoko is an openly lesbian singer and LGBTQ+ activist in the music industry who uses her platforms to raise awareness. On one occasion she critiqued Rita Ora's song 'Girls' (2018) for fuelling the male gaze while marginalizing the idea of women loving women.

 Finally, it is important for teachers not presume universal heterosexuality, as it is very likely that at least one of their students will be LGBTQ+ or has family members or friends who are; and to use any "teachable moment" possible to include these topics: a comment, a look, an image, a sexist joke, etc. When encountered with homo/transphobic or sexist comments, according to Chung and Courville, "almost any response is better than ignoring the situation. You may not know exactly what to say, but you must stop the harassment." (2008, p. 55).

Limitations

Troubling the typical sexist and heterosexist discourse of the EFL classroom can be a challenge in itself. As it has been previously stated, textbooks do not help to overcome this social problem, it is the teachers who not only need to work on their own, look for or create specific materials which represent diversity, but also have to be cautious about the way students respond to these topics, as EFL classrooms are very diverse and there might be students who feel uncomfortable because of their backgrounds, such as religion or being an LGBTQ+ person still in the closet, for example. Sometimes students or their families can reject this pedagogical approach due to the fear of possible indoctrination, meaning that teachers feel compelled to explain the ethical reasons behind the decision to talk about these human rights issues in the classroom (Yoshihara, 2013).

Another limitation in the literature of this field is the lack of knowledge teachers have about these topics due to a lack of professional training (Pawelczyk, 2014; Yoshihara, 2013). Consequently, future training interventions on how to queer the EFL classroom should be a subject of further research. In order to effectively make EFL classrooms equal and safe to all students, all teachers will have to be trained in sexual-affective

diversity and gender equality (Benito, 2018; Davis and Skilton-Sylvester, 2004).

In addition, there are also limitations when putting all these suggestions into practice in the EFL classroom, as teachers will have to take into account their students' ages, backgrounds, linguistic ability, classroom materials available, etc. In the case that students do not have the linguistic ability to articulate their opinion in the target language, they could do so in the language of instruction or their mother tongue.

Conclusion

There is a need to challenge the sexist and heterosexist discourses in the EFL classroom, which, without a critical analysis, continues to perpetuate the oppression of minority groups such as women and LGBTQ+ individuals. This challenging – or *queering* – of the EFL classroom materials and discourse can be accomplished by training teachers in sexual-affective diversity and gender equality. However, until this kind of training is available for all EFL instructors, teachers can still challenge their classroom discourse by using the materials proposed in this article.

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Chandigarh's Institutional and Emerging Counter Narratives

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Introduction

Chandigarh, India, is the state capital of Punjab and Haryana and sits close to the Himalayan Foothills. It was commissioned in the late 1940s shortly after the partition of India, which saw Lahore, the former state capital of the region, fall within the national boundaries of Pakistan. An American team initially headed the city's design, with architects Albert Meyer and Matthew Nowicki at the helm (Chalana and Sprague 201). However, following Nowicki's death in a plane crash in the Libyan desert in 1950, the project fell under the auspice of Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew. Chandigarh was hence not the modification of a pre-existing urban settlement, as Lahore had been under British colonial rule, but instead a bespoke city constructed from scratch as an embodiment of secular modernity in post-Independence India.

My research explores the architectural history of Chandigarh, India, through the critical perspective of 'collaborative modernism'.

Conceptually, my research deviates from Madhu Sarin's critique of Chandigarh as being European modernist architecture transposed onto the plains of Punjab, by the Swiss architect Le Corbusier (378). However, this article seeks to explore the following questions: Do the institutions in India specifically devoted to the architectural history of Chandigarh incorporate the Indian architects that contributed to the city, or do they perpetuate their obscurity? If so, is it possible to perceive counter-narratives emerging that might displace Le Corbusier's dominance? Accordingly, this work focuses on Chandigarh's developing self-representation by considering narratives about the city found in India. It considers whether national institutions promote the narrative of a lone visionary or 'genius', in the form of le Corbusier, parachuting onto the Punjabi Plains to create an urban blueprint for the new capital with little or no help, and concomitantly whether these institutions downplay the considerable local and international support that the architect received.

Methodology

First, this article will consider the narrative of the city's design and construction presented by both the Le Corbusier Centre (henceforth LCC), and the City Architecture Museum (henceforth CAM). The LCC is devoted to the preservation of Le Corbusier's cultural legacy in Chandigarh and is run by the municipal tourist board. Meanwhile, although the CAM is the concern of Chandigarh municipal museums, both LCC and CAM are managed by Deepika Gandhi. The CAM aims to provide visitors with an overview of the making of Chandigarh, situating the city within a post-partition/independence context.

Second, this article will address the concern that Jeanneret's contribution to the city has been overlooked by canonical discourse. Accordingly, attention will be given to the recent efforts of Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture to reinvigorate scholarly investigation into Pierre Jeanneret's contribution to the design of Chandigarh.

Third, consideration will be given to Vikramaditya Prakash's recent architectural guide to Chandigarh (2014), which controversially ascribes several significant buildings to Indian architects, previously attributed

to either Le Corbusier or Jeanneret.

Methodology: Explaining the article's use of the term "narrative" and its methodological implications

The reference to *narrative* in this article relates to Partha Mitter's critique of the canon of art history and the way it is supported by a Eurocentric narrative of art. Mitter (2008) highlights Hans Belting's concern expressed in *The End of the History of Art* (1987). As Mitter explains, Belting articulated the fear that art history as a discipline would collapse as a grand Hegelian narrative due to what Belting perceived 'as a progressive disjunction between the awareness of the enormous diversity of art forms and practices and the narrow focus of canonical art histories' (531). Art history's brittle Eurocentric focus would lead to its downfall. However, as Mitter (2008) argues, this fear has yet to be vindicated, and the master narrative remains intact. Using this logic, art history, or art histories, have a master narrative from which others might cascade. Furthermore, according to Mitter, these emerging narratives come into existence in relation to the pre-existing master narrative (531). For example, Modernism from Europe would simply be referred to as Modernism, whereas other forms of Modernism require what Mitter refers to as a qualifying epithet, Indian Modernism, Eastern European Modernism and so forth (532). Narrative then, is a taxonomic story that binds together artistic production, and its point of reference is a Eurocentric one.

It is hard to overlook the fact that emerging narratives, reflecting a desire for greater inclusivity, appear to reproduce the very logic they seek to nuance. This is possibly inadvert and can be explained by the general lack of scholarship on the discipline's epistemological foundations. Arguably, what Mitter (2008) refers to as the master narrative remains entrenched since its epistemological basis is not fully understood. As Kamini Vellodi (2021) notes, citing works including Vernon Hyde Minor's *Art History's History* (1994) and Christopher Wood's *A History of Art History* (2019), publications on the subject are limited. Accordingly, taxonomic innovations that emerged in the writings of Giorgio Vasari (1568) and Johann Winckelmann have become

naturalised. Fortunately, recent publications such as Éric Michaud's *The Barbarian Invasions: A Genealogy of the History of Art* (2019), have made a significant contribution to our understanding of art history's epistemological underpinnings.

According to Vasari and Winckelmann, each founders of art history who wrote, respectively, in the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries (Michaud 15), art was not only the result of the artist's individual creative capacity but also reflective of the racial group to which the artist belonged (*ibid.*). Both Vasari and Winkelmann proliferated the notion that the artist was a conduit of specific artistic and stylistic traits associate with their "people." Within his canonical *Lives of the Most Eminent Painters, Sculptors and Architects* (1568), Vasari presented biographies of individual artists based on regional characteristics, grouping artists together based on their locality. Meanwhile, as Michaud (23) suggests, this grouping resulted in the notion of national schools and their corresponding styles, pioneered by Roger de Piles and his publication of *The Taste of Several Nations* in 1699. De Piles' decision to divide artistic production into 'schools' reinforced the Vasarian conflation with artistic style and race. As Michaud shows, de Piles' categorisation related to both urban centres and nations including Rome, Florence, Flanders, Germany, and France (23). Furthermore, this taxonomy gave the implicit notion of a centre. According to de Piles, taste became less refined the further one departed from the apparent primary centre of Rome (Michaud 206). However, for the purposes of this article, the precise functioning of de Piles' logic is not overly important. What is crucial, however, is the Eurocentric assumption that the closer a culture or people are to the perceived 'centre' or 'spiritual home' of art (be it, as in this case, Rome, or, alternatively, Paris or New York), the more able they are to both appreciate and to produce art is still pervasive today. It is not dramatically overreaching to apply this to architecture.

Next, it is necessary to answer the question: How does art historical epistemological bias relate to the architectural history of Chandigarh and the emphasis given to Le Corbusier, in the role of the cities' creation? Both Western and Indian narratives that emerged from the 1970s have given profound importance to Le Corbusier and credit the architect with

the design of the city. Madhu Sarin (1977), architect and scholar based in Chandigarh, critiqued Le Corbusier for having crudely transposed European modernism into the Punjabi plains. Von Moos (1977), on the other hand, presents the city as a convergence of ideologies, emerging from the mutual concerns of both Le Corbusier and Nehru. Curtis (1997) characterises Le Corbusier as a lone male 'genius' who created the plan for the city after briefly contemplating the Himalayan foothills.

The above narratives place Le Corbusier in a central role in Chandigarh's story. Ironically, Le Corbusier spent most of the city's construction elsewhere, delegating the city's design to his cousin Pierre Jeanneret and Indian team. It seems inconceivable to acknowledge an ancillary European modernist and his Indian cohort within canonical discourse, despite the clear historical evidence of their noteworthy and, at times, significant contributions. Perhaps this is because of inherent hierarchical conceptions relating to both India and Pierre Jeanneret and their position within pre-existing narratives about modernism. The inability to fully acknowledge Jeanneret's role emanates from the notion that he was ancillary to Le Corbusier. Likewise, the contribution of the Indian architects that worked alongside Jeanneret have not received just recognition, perhaps because of the notion that modernism is somehow solely European. In this respect, the term *narrative* is used as a shorthand for the art historical and architectural historical discourse that surrounds the Indian city, which gives undue emphasis to the role of Le Corbusier.

This article responds to the research trajectory established by Vikramaditya Prakash with *The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (2002) and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture* (2000). Both texts give undeniable focus to Le Corbusier. However, both endeavour to articulate the Indian contribution to Chandigarh. Such publications made the unprecedented step of incorporating accounts from the Indian architects involved, facilitated by personal connections. Vikramaditya Prakash is the son of Aditya Prakash, one of the architects who worked with Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret. Similarly, Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga included an entire chapter from Jeet Malhotra, another member

of the Indian team. As shown in the 'Research Context' section below, scholarship from architectural historians like Iain Jackson (2013), Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague (2013) developed this research trajectory. This article therefore aims to understand the relation between this emerging discourse in order to open a critical space to demonstrate the Indian contribution to Chandigarh as well as the narratives found in the municipal collections devoted to the city's creation. Aware that Jeanneret might have been underrepresented in canonical accounts, this research sought to investigate if a more nuanced account of the architect's contribution existed in an Indian setting. I also wanted to establish if the selected institutions cohesively documented the Indian contribution to Chandigarh.

As the city's two municipal institutions devoted to the architectural history of Chandigarh, both the CAM and the LCC were consulted over multiple visits during the fieldwork of this research. The ultimate intention was to uncover a more inclusive account of the city's creation that included further evidence of Jeanneret and the Indian team's contribution. This article also considers the presentation of Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew's contribution to the city. Researchers such as Iain Jackson (2013) suggest that both the role of Fry and Drew, not least their work with Indian architects such as Aditya Prakash, has been under researched. Accordingly, this work also seeks to reflect on the presentation of these architects within the highlighted municipal collections. To avoid a narrow focus and to consider the developing nature of Chandigarh's self-representation, this article considers the output of Vikramaditya Prakash and a recent travel guide that ascribes buildings previously ascribed to European architects to Indian architects. Furthermore, this article considers recent commemorations of Pierre Jeanneret held in 2017 and reflects on what they contribute to emerging narratives about the city's creation.

It is now appropriate to explain certain omissions. The museums selected for this study could have included the Pierre Jeanneret Museum, however, this institution was established in 2017, after my itinerary had been formalised. Following my initial 5-week scoping and networking trip to India in early 2017, I was aware of the importance given to

Jeanneret by some in India and had looked for institutions that might help provide a more nuanced account of the architect's role. To defend the exclusion, in 2017 the museum did not have its own website and so it was difficult to locate. Having discovered its existence, I planned to visit the museum, but my research trip to India ended abruptly because of unforeseen circumstances. Regarding the recent scholarship on the city, this article could have considered texts such as *Le Corbusier Rediscovered: Chandigarh and Beyond* (2018), by Deepika Gandhi. However, since the CAM and the LCC are both managed by Gandhi, I felt that including Prakash's text offered the article a more balanced stance. Also, I did not want the article to become a critique of Deepika Gandhi's museums and academic work on the city. Another key reason for including Prakash's publication is its notable ascription of buildings previously assumed to be the work of the European architectural team referenced above to Indian architects instead. This unprecedented gesture in the evolving narratives surrounding Chandigarh necessitates its inclusion in this article.

Research Context

Since the beginning of the 21st century, there has been a resurgence of interest in the architectural history of Chandigarh. This started with Vikramaditya Prakash's Chandigarh's *Le Corbusier: The Struggle for Modernity in Postcolonial India* (2002) and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture* (2000). Such publications represented the emergence of a discourse that prioritised the accounts from those that were directly involved in the city's construction. This literature therefore counterbalances the oversimplified celebration of Le Corbusier's involvement in the process that is found in some Western literature.

Prakash (2002) made the gesture of not merely highlighting the Indian contribution to the city but went further and named nine Indian architects that worked on the city: MN Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash. The importance of other key Indian figures, such as Chief Engineer P.L. Verma and Administrator Prem Thapar, was

highlighted. While the latter individuals had been mentioned in previous publications such as Ravi Kalia's *Chandigarh: The Making of an Indian City* (2002) and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture* (2000), Prakash's gesture of articulating the extent of the Indian involvement was unprecedented. Following Prakash, scholarship by individuals such as Iain Jackson (2013), Manish Chalana and Tyler. S. Sprague (2013) has enabled this emergent research trajectory to develop.

This research reacts against the dominant conception of Chandigarh as the work of a single architect, as problematised by Jackson (1). It seems important to provide some renditions of the Chandigarh narrative found in Western scholarship, for example, Colin Davies' *A New History of Modern Architecture* (2017), states:

> In February 1951, Le Corbusier travelled to India with his cousin and collaborator Pierre Jeanneret and for the first time saw the full potential of the project. Here was a chance to realise his ambition to design a government centre and align his architecture with the prestige of political authority. The League of Nations, The Palace of the Soviets, The Mundaneum and the UN headquarters had all been disappointments. Chandigarh promised satisfaction at last. (232)

Davies reduces Chandigarh to The Capitol Complex (the section of the city where the governmental buildings are located) and omits the Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city. Mailis Favre (2015), offers more nuance, stating:

> After a lifetime exploring the urban question, Le Corbusier, along with his associate and cousin Pierre Jeanneret and architects Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew, was finally entrusted in 1950 with the construction of Chandigarh, the capital of the Punjab state, a symbol of modernity and peace in a divided region, a city forged from any available material, on desert terrain, with the Himalayan ranges visible in the distance. Jawaharlal Nehru wanted a "new town, symbolic of the freedom of India, unfettered by the traditions of the past, an expression of the nation's faith in the future." On this immense construction site, Le Corbusier assigned residential areas to his associates and focused on the sites of power: Administration department, the Palace of Assembly, and the High Court of Justice. (48).

Within this analysis, there is a tacit acknowledgement that it could be beneficial to a greater and more nuanced understanding of Chandigarh's architectural history if we conceptualise the city beyond its governmental buildings. Furthermore, this slightly more pluralistic narrative mentions Fry, Drew and Jeanneret, thereby ebbing away at the notion of Le Corbusier as the lone male genius. There is overt mention that the residential areas were assigned to Le Corbusier's associates, which distances Le Corbusier from the city at large. This recalls the work of Manish Chalana and Tyler S. Sprague within the article 'Beyond Le Corbusier and The Modernist City: Reframing Chandigarh's 'World Heritage' Legacy' (2013). The article suggests the importance of rethinking Chandigarh's legacy and heritage beyond a 'Le Corbusier dominated framework' (206). Chalana and Sprague suggest viewing the city as a collaboration affords the city a 'richer and more nuanced historical significance' (207). However, Favre (2015) does not reference the Indian team; meanwhile, Le Corbusier is once more given centrality in the analysis.

The present article seeks to build upon a clear resurgence of interest in Chandigarh and narratives about the city that go beyond or displace the centrality of Le Corbusier. This article explores whether Indian architects that contributed to the design of the city remain invisible in the Institutional narratives within Chandigarh's municipal museums. This research helps understand if the invisibility of the Indian architects in Western scholarship reflects a knowledge transfer issue, e.g., that a more inclusive narrative exists in India that has not permeated into international scholarship, or if there is a confluence between Indian narratives and Eurocentric accounts of the city. This would entail perpetuating the story of a lone male genius, Le Corbusier, arriving in India to create an urban blueprint for Chandigarh with little or no assistance; overlooking the significant local and international support that the project received.

Theoretical framework

My research considers Chandigarh's architectural history through the lens of *collaborative modernism*. This theoretical concept functions as an investigative device deployed to unpack how Chandigarh was created and aims to augment certain figures. It will hence spotlight hitherto overlooked figures, among them Indian architects, engineers and administrators who are not typically included or given prominence in narratives of the city.

Collaborative modernism seeks to show that Chandigarh emanated from a mutual flow of ideas, collaboration, and emotive interactions. The notion of collaborative modernism does not suggest that the working relations that facilitated Chandigarh's creation transcended the post-colonial historical conditions of its creation. There is little doubt that there would have been a hierarchy between the white western 'experts' and their Indian counterparts. However, collaborative modernism suggests that as the working relations developed, it is possible that different roles, responsibilities, and contributions disrupted this implicit hierarchy.

Collaborative modernism uses a post-colonial critique of modernism's Eurocentrism. This involves questioning the inherent teleology associated with modernism which upholds in temporal terms a single straight line of modernity's development, one which perceives of Europe at the pinnacle and the rest of the world playing catch-up. The problematic that emerges in relation to the. The problematic that emerges in relation to the CAM and the LCC is whether they reinforce this linear spatialised history or disrupt it. While both might cohesively account for the roles of the Indian architects, town planners and engineers that contributed to the city, it is equally possible that they continue to perpetuate their obscurity, and to reinforce the linear spatialised narratives associated with modernism.

The conceptual coordinates of this article have been informed by *Museum Making: Narratives, Architectures and Exhibitions* (2012) edited by Suzanne MacLeod, Laura Hourston-Hanks, and Jonathan Hale. Within their co-authored introduction to the text, entitled 'Museum Making – The Place of Narrative', the editors problematise the function

of narratives within museums (xxii), which has great relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism. The view that narratives are human constructs dependent on an editorial process that perpetuates certain perspectives and stories at the expense of others informs the perspective of this article.

MacLeod, Hanks, and Hale show the potentiality of museums as interpretive environments and conveyors of narratives. Their multidimensionality and the interplay between the architectural, spatial and the textual facilitate this ability. From a methodological perspective, this article will also examine these respective elements in relation to the CAM, the LCC and the recent Jeanneret commemorations held by Panjab University and Chandigarh College of Architecture. This article will consider the extent to which the museums offer information that might facilitate a more nuanced micro-historical perspective on the city, which might displace the centrality of Le Corbusier from macro-historical narratives about the city.

Collaborative modernism, much like the art historical concept transnational modernism, advocates a reframing of the 'archive.' To briefly explain, the concept of collaborative modernism relates to interrelated discourses such as transcultural modernism and transnational modernism, which explore the phenomena of global modernism. Global modernism refers to modernism produced in the global context. Transnational modernism implies a network of firmly established nation states through which modernism circulated. Exponents of transnational modernism offer new ways of thinking about what can be considered an archive. Rowe, when discussing the endeavour to document the activities of the Black Arts Movement, presents the notion of a 'living archive' (290). Reference is made to the work of individuals including Eddie Chambers, Paul Gilroy, Kobena Mercer and Gilane Tawadros, citing their contributions to the journal *Third Text*.

> The concept of the "living archive" recalls a Foucauldian understanding of the archive as a "practice that causes a multiplicity of statements to emerge." The archive thus understood is transformed from a passive library or repository of past records "outside time and place" to an active system of enunciation' (290).

Reframing the archive is important to collaborative modernism, as it focuses on three sites of investigation: literature, the museum, and the archive. It is the view of collaborative modernism that these discursive sites make up what Rowe aptly conceptualises as an active system of enunciation. It is the contention of both this article and collaborative modernism that institutions such as the LCC and CAM form constituent parts of a system of enunciation, pertaining to the history of Chandigarh. It can be suggested Vikramaditya Prakash's (2014) travel guide to Chandigarh, especially with its decision to circulate archival information in a small and accessible publication, can be regarded as a disruptive element within an evolving system of enunciation. Methodologically, this article integrates these separate discursive fields when considering the different institutions involved in Chandigarh's developing self-representation.

This article regards granular and micro-historical detail as significant. To understand why, it is useful to consider Jo Melvin's article 'Holes in the archive – to fill or to leave, that is the question' (2015). The article reflects on archives and the material they contain. It also considers the decisions that researchers must make when including or excluding certain historical information. With great relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, Melvin articulates the importance of exploring material that might offer insight into the interior worlds of the protagonists or actors in question:

> Research exposes what was once confidential in letters, for example, in notes of ideas committed to paper or recorded from conversations. Often these documents reveal the dirty side: art's interpersonal connections, passions, opinionated reactions, anecdotes, hearsay, and gossip. It this kind of dirty matter which gives the archive its peculiar status and distinguishes it from the 'clean publication.' Often overlooked, the dirty or the banal can invigorate. It is transformative in its effect. (71)

Collaborative modernism concurs with Melvin's suggestion that 'dirty matter' anchored around the anecdotal and interpersonal can reconfigure historicised accounts through a 'vivid reconnection' (71). Both this chapter and collaborative modernism suggest that the consultation of micro-historical information and putting it into dialogue with macro-

historical narratives has the potential to alter the status of material and information previously considered ancillary. This process is transformative for both the sources in question and pre-existing macro-historical narratives of Chandigarh.

The City Architecture Museum

The permanent collection of the institution was installed in 1997 to commemorate India's independence and remains largely unchanged to this day. Why the institution has not engaged with developments in scholarships on the city, is not clear. Arguably, the hegemonic status of this narrative has been isolated from debate, evoking the sense of a grand and unchanging narrative. This exploration of the museum will consider the spatialisation of the narrative found within this institution. I will commence with the basement of the building, which contains material adjudged curatorially to be less important than the subsequent sections of the museum's display.

When entering the museum, we encounter an instructive wall text by architectural historian Rajnish Wattas, who co-authored *Le Corbusier Rediscovered: Chandigarh and Beyond* (2018), with Deepika Gandhi, the director of The City Architecture Museum. The text summarises the various sections of the museum. Wattas, with a sensitivity to spatial concerns, references how the entrance takes the visitor into the basement of the museum, whereupon the trauma of partition and the necessity of Chandigarh's construction is contextualised. Subsequently, we learn that we will discover how Chandigarh's site was selected, and the site's topography, vegetation and archaeology ('Introduction' Wall Text).

The text proceeds to mention the sketches and studies produced by the pre-Le Corbusier America team, led by Mayer and supported by Nowicki, another American architect. There is reference to Mayer's development of the original master plan for Chandigarh. Including Mayer – the architect and civil engineer who initially headed the project – on the lower ground floor spatially suggests that the American occupies a place in the figurative basement of Chandigarh's history, thereby indicating a curatorial value judgement of this contribution. However, the decision to include Mayer (and Nowicki) at all seems significant,

since although architectural historians including Van Moos highlighted the importance of the Mayer plan as early as 1977, Jeet Malhotra still found it necessary in 2000 to put on record the contribution that the American team had made.

However, this reference to the Mayer Plan does not indicate a deviation from a Le Corbusier dominated narrative. This minimal gesture which complicates the centrality of Le Corbusier in the narratives about the city is not sufficient for collaborative modernism. This is because this does nothing to subvert the idea that Chandigarh's modernism was imposed, since it merely points out an American input that preceded the European team. Rather than displacing Le Corbusier's centrality, including Mayer and the American team, does little more than prop up the grand narrative that ensues in relation to Le Corbusier.

Key Figures in the Chandigarh Story

In the 'basement' of Chandigarh's history, we also find an exhibit displaying information on key Indian figures from the Chandigarh story. There is a plaque entitled 'Significant Personalities who shaped the making of Chandigarh'. These individuals are as follows.

> Gopi Chand Bargava, Chief Minister of Punjab (1947-April 1949; August 1949), Bhim Sen Sachar, Chief Minister of Punjab (April 1949-October 1949; 1952-1956), Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister of India (1947-1964), Partap Singh Kairon, Chief Minister of Punjab (1956-1964), Dr. M.S. Randhawa, First Commissioner of Chandigarh (1966-1968), C.P.N. Singh, Governor of Punjab (1953-1958), N.V. Gadgil, Governor of Punjab (1958-1962). (Adapted from 'Significant Figures' Wall Text)

There is little information or context, and the plaque could be more detailed. Regarding the concept of collaborative modernism, it is useful to understand which individuals contributed and to have a chronology of their involvement. However, the list-like, factual form of their inclusion here contrasts dramatically with the animated, almost lyrical exposition of the Euro-American architects in the text above. Although Mayer, Nowicki, Drew and Fry are designated to the basement of Chandigarh's history, we still learn something about their background and involvement with Chandigarh. Based on these exhibits, the institution

seems more focused on celebrating the European contribution than it does presenting evidence of a significant Indian agency in Chandigarh's design and development. Due to the lack of textual elaboration and its positioning within the spatial organisation of the museum, one can extrapolate a curatorial judgement on the significance of these contributions. These figures sit at the bottom order of hierarchical significance in the museum's narrative about Chandigarh.

Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew

There are wall texts on Pierre Jeanneret, Jane Drew, and Maxwell Fry. Despite the importance of these architects, they are within the basement of Chandigarh's history, located as subordinate within the museum's spatial hierarchy. In terms of how the narrative has been spatialised, Fry and Drew are in the underbelly of Chandigarh's history, reflecting a curatorial value judgment about their significance to the making of the city. Consideration will first be given to the information on Pierre Jeanneret. Saliently, Jeanneret's biographical information is anchored in relation to Le Corbusier:

> Pierre Jeanneret was born on 22 March 1898. Like his famous cousin Le Corbusier, he too migrated to France, where the two worked together. He stayed on as Chief Architect and Town Planning Adviser to the Punjab Government until ill health forced him to leave in 1965 – long after other members of the team had returned. ('Pierre Jeanneret' Wall Text [CAM])

Of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism is the text that describes Jeanneret's contribution pre-empts literature such as *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints in the Sands of Indian Architecture*. This is because the institution acknowledges Jeanneret affected architecture throughout the city. There is reference in the wall text to the architect's work on the Panjab University campus and the Gandhi Bhawan building. However, the notion that Jeanneret was 'prevailed upon' to join Le Corbusier, implies a subordinate relation, which is hard to overlook. It is acknowledged that Jeanneret supervised an Indian team, but the members of this team are not named, and this is not mentioned again.

The location of this information within the spatial hierarchy of the

museum and the fact that neither the role of Jeanneret or the Indian team is given articulation in the subsequent sections of the museum, suggest this historical actuality is conveyed as footnote in Chandigarh's dominant narrative. The hegemonic status of this grand narrative which preserves the centrality of Le Corbusier, leads to a curatorial failure to respond to evolving scholarship on the contribution of Pierre Jeanneret.

Now it is necessary to consider how Jane Drew and Maxwell Fry are considered in the collection. Saliently, the information on Fry and Drew is largely contextualised within the origins of the Chandigarh story. Drew played a vital role in persuading Le Corbusier to take the commission and this is referenced by the museum's wall text ('Fry and Drew' Wall Text). Consequently, there does seem to be a curatorial decision to include some relevant historical information and contextualising the role of Fry and Drew.

The museum text mentions the contributions of Fry and Drew to the design of Chandigarh but does not elucidate the significance of their role in the design of Sector-22. The institutional narrative does not mention, for example, Drew's work with Aditya Prakash including the hospital in Sector-16. The lack of information on the Prakash collaboration is a clear instance of how the institutional narrative fails to convey a sense of Indian agency. The Prakash dimension is centrally relevant to the concept of collaborative modernism, since it shows not only collaboration – which is integral to architecture anyway – but collaboration with an Indian architect specifically. Failure to include this type of micro-historical information, can be regarded as a missed opportunity to disrupt the wider macro, generally Le Corbusier dominated narrative. Consequently, not only are Fry and Drew spatialised to the basement of Chandigarh's history, the historical details of their involvement are far from comprehensive. Furthermore, prime opportunities to inform visitors about the collaborative aspect of Fry and Drew's work in Chandigarh, are overlooked.

Le Corbusier

Le Corbusier first appears in the basement, through wall panel and text. We find biographical detail combined with more subjective claims about

the buildings that the architect designed in Chandigarh, in this lyrical exposition of the architect:

> Charles-Edouard Jeanneret was born in La Chaux-de-Fonds on 6 October 1887 and adopted the pseudonym Le Corbusier.
>
> He was a powerful thinker of urban theories and propagated a bold modern architecture. In 1951 he was appointed Architectural Advisor to the Punjab Government for the designing of Chandigarh. This city represents the expression of his revolutionary ideas and is where his greatest monuments have been erected. ('Le Corbusier' Wall Text)

Moving on from the basement, the middle floor is firmly devoted to Le Corbusier and an exposition of his architectural principles and work completed in the city, achieved through a range of exhibits including models of the buildings in Sector-1. There is also *The Edict of Chandigarh*, which is displayed across several wall panels. As the significant text-based exhibit informs us:

> The object of this edict is to enlighten the present and future citizens of Chandigarh about the basic concepts of the city so that they become its guardians and save it from the whims of individuals. ('Edict of Chandigarh' Wall Text)

Therefore, the museum operates as a repository for Le Corbusier's intellectual and architectural 'genius,' which according to the logic of this document should be preserved in subsequent developments within the city. This further indicates the hegemonic and unchanging nature of the narrative that it presents. The museum, therefore, takes on a central role both in the preservation of Le Corbusier's legacy and the architects aesthetic values. This is both intriguing and problematic, since as the recent lecture from S.D. Sharma reveals, Le Corbusier would only send very basic architectural drawings. Indeed, these blueprint style sketches would then be adapted by individuals such as Pierre Jeanneret and P.L. Verma. If the objective were to truly celebrate and preserve Chandigarh's aesthetic values, it might also give exposition to Jeanneret's aesthetic principles or Verma's excellent capacity for transforming sketches into engineering actuality.

However, the CAM does not idealise Le Corbusier or the design process

as exclusively harmonious. The curators have included letters that indicate various frictions amongst the design team. There is a significant letter between Le Corbusier and Jawaharlal Nehru, which can be perceived as achieving at least three functions within the institutional narrative of the museum. Firstly, it indicates that although Le Corbusier is venerated within Chandigarh and its municipal institutions, that he most certainly came up against opposition during the design process:

> I have myself spent hours of anger, indignation and discouragement on the site of the High Court and Secretariat not being able to give my orders myself. I had to transmit them to a Sub-Engineer who himself transmitted them to a higher authority. The effects of these orders were not appreciable till fifteen days later. This is a mistake which should not last and which appeals to common sense to obtain a just reparation of power and responsibilities. (Letter from Le Corbusier to Nehru)

Secondly, although it was necessary for Le Corbusier to contact Nehru, very often it was the diplomacy of Pierre Jeanneret that navigated these numerous difficulties during the design process. Thirdly, the letter demonstrates that Le Corbusier was not averse to acknowledging the contributions made by his cousin. It can also be viewed as introducing the notion of Jeanneret's huge contribution to the institutionally endorsed narrative of the city. However, this is not explicitly signposted.

> Things have turned out well (it is not so every day!) thanks to the personality of M. Pierre Jeanneret who has occupied the post of Senior Architect since February 1951. His temperament is perfectly adapted to the task set before him. Effectively, he is respected like a father and liked as a brother by the fifty or so young men who have applied to work in the Architects' Office. Pierre Jeanneret by means of his persistent work, his fundamental loyalty and his real capacity, has won over the respect of his staff and of everybody in Chandigarh. (Letter from Le Corbusier to Nehru)

Its inclusion demonstrates a symbiosis between institutionally endorsed narrative and emerging trajectories within Indian research on Chandigarh and the growing need to recognise Jeanneret-signified by texts such as and Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga's *Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret: Footprints on the Sands of Indian Architecture*, which was published shortly after the installation of the museum's permanent collection. Yet, while this type of micro-historical information is included

within the institution, it does not disrupt the overarching logic of the institutional narrative, which seems predicated on celebrating Le Corbusier's architectural legacy in Chandigarh.

The Le Corbusier Centre

The LCC was established in 2008 and is located in the Old Architects Office, which, alongside the Old Engineers Office and staff residences in Sector 19, is one of the earliest constructions of the city. The building retained its original function until 1965, when the Department for Urban Planning shifted to its present location within the U.T. Secretariat in Sector 9. It is a site redolent with significance for any narrative about the city. It was where Le Corbusier, Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Jane Drew worked alongside the Indian team to design the city. The permanent collection, installed in 2008, displays a range of archival documents, drawings and photographs detailing the design and construction of Chandigarh. The focus of this section will be to consider the interplay of narrative, architecture, and spatial arrangement within the context of this museum, and whether it perpetuates the largely Le Corbusier dominated narrative found at the CAM.

Let us consider how the narrative of the LCC unfolds in relation to the spatiality of the museum. The museum commences with a corridor. On one side, we find photographs and information on Le Corbusier and saliently on the other, photographs and text about Pierre Jeanneret. The wall text states:

> Pierre Jeanneret, one of the associates of [the] Le Corbusier team who stayed for 17 years in Chandigarh looking after the project (first Chief Architect and Secretary to Government). Most humble and noble person who created several projects himself. ('Pierre Jeanneret' Wall Text [LCC])

Figure 1. Entrance at the Le Corbusier Centre, taken in October 2017, during my three-month research trip based at Panjab University. © Will McCrory.

There are several portraits including photographs of Jeanneret with Rajinder Prasad (the first president of India). There is also another striking photograph (Fig. 2), which captures, as the wall text informs us:

> Pierre Jeanneret's ashes being carried by Jacqueline his niece to be immersed in Sukhna Lake as per his wishes. Also present is Dr. M.S. Randhawa and architect M.N. Sharma. ('Pierre Jeanneret' Text Accompanying Photograph)

Thus, from the initial spatial arrangement and museum artefacts (photographs), it is evident that the narrative intimated by this initial encounter with the narrative presented in the LCC, seeks to assert a stronger role for Jeanneret in Chandigarh's story. This involves referencing the esteem held for Jeanneret's often-noted humility and the extent to which he assimilated into the Indian context, symbolised by his ash scattering in Lake Sukhna.

Furthermore, Fig. 1 shows both sides of the corridor flanked by photographs of the architects, with curators placing a photograph of the Euro-Indian team at the end of the corridor. The institution is devoted to Le Corbusier, however, the narrative encountered seems more expansive. The visitors entering the museum can see that Le Corbusier and Pierre Jeanneret are given the same level of importance within the institution's narrative about the city. It is apparent that despite being named the LCC, the narrative of the city is presented more pluralistically in comparison to the CAM. This constellation, which combines spatial layout and museum exhibits, shows an acknowledgement that the city was an Indo-European venture; that this is spatialised from the outset.

Figure 2. Photograph exhibited at the Le Corbusier Centre. Courtesy of the Le Corbusier Centre. © Will McCrory

Documents and Correspondence Room

The room entitled 'Documents and Correspondences' holds several correspondences between Le Corbusier and Jawaharlal Nehru amongst others. This space contains a letter from the Chief Minister of Punjab dated October 18th/19th 1961. The letter concerns the formalising of the Indian architects involved in the project. Of relevance to the concept of collaborative modernism, the document complicates the notion of a homogenous nine-man Indian Team, as presented by Vikramaditya Prakash (2002). As the letter states:

> The trouble about the seniority of senior architects really arose about two years ago. As you are perhaps aware architects for the Chandigarh Capital Project were initially taken only on an ad hoc basis for the building of this city. It was only recently that a decision was taken to formally organise an architect's area in the Punjab P.W.D [...]. Naturally, the question of fixing inter seniority of the architects, who had been taken into service from time to time arose. (Letter from Chief Minister (1961))

It can be extrapolated that one of the reasons for the differing lists of architects at various times, is that the Indian architects were hired on a casual, non-permanent basis. Determining the inter-seniority of architects required establishing a commission to make the final judgement. It is telling that this commission was instructed to consult Jeanneret and none of the other European architects involved (Fry and Drew had long since departed India). The perception was that Jeanneret had worked so closely with each of these architects that he would be able to make an informed judgement on their individual merits as architects. Saliently, this list contradicts the list provided by Vikramaditya Prakash in 2002:

1) M.N. Sharma

2) A.R. Prabhawalkar

3) U.E. Chaudhary

4) B.P. Mathur

5) J.S. Dethe

6) Aditya Prakash

7) J.R. Malhotra

8) P.J. Ghista

9) R.R. Handa

10) V. P. Dhamija

11) Surjit Singh. (Letter from Chief Minister (1961))

The implications of this list are enormous, since at the beginning of this project, based on information from Vikramaditya Prakash, I held the assumption that the Indian Team comprised of M.N. Sharma, A.R. Prabhawalkar, B.P. Mathur, Piloo Moody, U.E. Chowdhury, N.S. Lamba, Jeet Malhotra, J.S. Dethe and Aditya Prakash. However, this archival document held at the LCC complicates the accuracy of this list. This document therefore reveals a compelling insight that prior to the formation of the PWD under Pierre Jeanneret in the 1960s, the Indian team was employed on an ad-hoc basis. The disparity between the two documents reflects one of the key difficulties that any research seeking to better understand and document the Indian contribution to Chandigarh must overcome. To put it plainly, the Indian contribution is often unquantifiable as no formal records exist. The casual rather than permanent status of the Indian architects, is what distinguished the Indian architects from their European counterparts. This relates directly to establishing who counts in the story of Chandigarh and by extension, what gets recorded provides the basis for subsequent historical narratives about the city.

Furniture, Committee Room, and Master Plan of Chandigarh

Figure 3. Pierre Jeanneret photographed with Indian architects. (n.d) Courtesy of The Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh, India. © Will McCrory

The final room of the museum entitled 'Furniture, Committee Room and Master Plan of Chandigarh' is located within the seminar room where Le Corbusier would pontificate during his visits to the city (Prakash 2014 176). Curatorially, Jeanneret's role is once again alluded to with several large reproductions of photographs that show the architect during his time in Chandigarh.
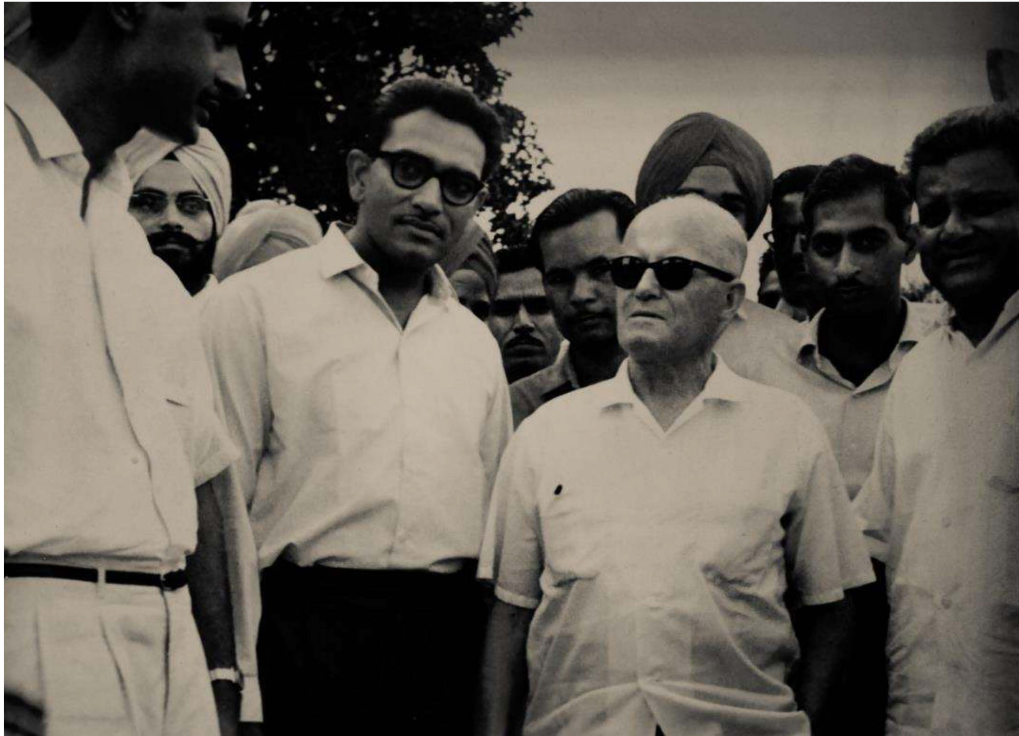
Figure 4. Pierre Jeanneret Photographed with Indian architects including J.S. Dethe, S.D. Sharma and O.P. Mehta. (n.d) Courtesy of the Le Corbusier Centre, Chandigarh, India. © Will McCrory

There are two photographs which are particularly striking. Fig. 3, captures Jeanneret's integration into the Indian team, as he poses for a large group photograph. Fig. 4 shows Jeanneret alongside J.S. Dethe, S.D. Sharma and O.P. Mehta, demonstrating the difficulty of providing a homogenous list of architects that worked on the city. Neither of these photographs are dated. There is also a wall display devoted to model maker Rattan Singh. The inclusion of this panel results from possibility that this was where Singh's models were presented to the team before, they were executed as structures. This could have been explicated; the result of not doing so gives a disproportionate emphasis to Singh, the only Indian contributor to have a wall panel devoted to them.

This disruption of a neat narrative is perpetuated by an exhibit which provides another conflicting list of architects (Fig 5). It is not affixed to a wall but casually propped up on a chair. The list is emblematic of a desire

to identify the specifics of who did what and when; the institution successfully problematises the notion of a definitive or cohesive Indian Team. Furthermore, this decision to include contradictory lists and the perceived messiness this creates surrounding the history of Chandigarh's design, could well be regarded as an intentional curatorial device to evoke the complexity of Chandigarh's creation. Furthermore, this carefully orchestrated uncertainty, functions as a counterbalance to the assertiveness of the grand hegemonic Corbusian narrative found at CAM.

Figure 5. List of architects provided by The Le Corbusier Centre. Taken in October 2017, during my three-month research trip to Chandigarh, based at Panjab University. Courtesy of The Le Corbusier Centre. © Will McCrory

The LCC compensates for the monolithic nature of the CAM and introduces the notion of a significant Indian agency through articulating

the significance of Pierre Jeanneret. This ushers in the narrative of his ongoing collaboration with the nebulous, ill-defined entity that is referred to as *the Indian Team*. Although we encounter several lists of Indian architects, their involvement is not articulated, nor is their specific information on individual architects. Given that there is currently an unused section of this building, one wonders if these narrative omissions could be addressed within the context of this museum?

Contemporary Celebrations of Pierre Jeanneret and their Discontents

This article will now consider *Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret: Foot Architect of Chandigarh* the 2017 commemoration of Jeanneret's contribution to the city, in relation to Vikramaditya Prakash's *Chandigarh* (2014), a guidebook to the city. *Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret* (2017) saw multiple events across the city, including a two-day symposium at The Chandigarh College of Architecture, tours of the Capitol Complex and Panjab University and an exhibition entitled *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret*. The event featured speakers such as Deepika Gandhi, and architectural historians Surinder Bahga and Rajnish Wattas. Prakash's *Chandigarh*, ostensibly an architectural guide to Chandigarh, can also be perceived as a vehicle for disseminating the author's recent research, as it begins to ascribe certain buildings to Indian rather than European architects.

Figure 6. Handout for Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret: Foot Architect of Chandigarh. 2017. Chandigarh College of Architecture. © Will McCrory

Commemorating the Legacy of Pierre Jeanneret commenced on December 3, 2017, with an inaugural lecture from architect S.D Sharma (hosted at the Chandigarh College of Architecture), who notably worked with both Le Corbusier and Jeanneret on the design of Chandigarh. Sharma's (2017) lecture, entitled *Pierre Jeanneret: Apostle of Creative Humility*, focused on Jeanneret's individual merits and his contribution to the design of Chandigarh. S.D. Sharma stated the following:

> He [Jeanneret] had three roles to play in Chandigarh, in the making of the city.
>
> 1. The implementation of Le Corbusier's projects in Sector 1 and Capitol Complex. Le Corbusier was only to come twice a year but a month each

time. In his absence he [Jeanneret] would go to the site to tell him what is happening and that everything is being implemented. Le Corbusier was only sending basic plans, but the details and everything else are being looked after here [Chandigarh]. That was a difficult time and luckily for Corbusier and Jeanneret. We had P.L. Verma, Chief Engineer, who was a great engineer, such a great engineer that he would go during the night and see [inaudible]... That is why the workmanship of the Capitol Complex is comparable to anywhere in the world.

2. The second thing was the personal projects, like the government housing, schools, dispensaries hospital and above all the mega projects like the university- Panjab University- that was a very big thing! He was always under the shadow of his cousin but given a chance he has shown himself as a great architect, a sort of genius by creating the university.

3. The third was the training of Indian architects, it was in their contracts, Le Corbusier and Jeanneret's that apart from whatever building they do, they would also train Indian architects [inaudible]... Architects from the office, those with practical knowledge would regularly visit the college, so that they would impart a very practical training to the students. (Sharma)

Sharma's lecture is intriguing for several reasons. First, Sharma's lecture clarifies that Le Corbusier sent very basic plans for Sector 1 and The Capitol Complex, and it was down to Jeanneret and P.L. Verma to translate these basic architectural drawings into reality; that this resulted from their hard work and labour. Second, despite having lived under the shadow of his cousin, Jeanneret contributed significantly to the architectural fabric of the city, designing civic amenities and the sizeable Panjab University Campus. Third, that Jeanneret would visit the Chandigarh College of Architecture to mentor the junior students which attended this institution; also guiding the young architects under his auspice.

The exhibition *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret*, was another event associated with the 2017 commemorations of Pierre Jeanneret held in Chandigarh. The exhibition, housed in a public gallery located on the Panjab University campus largely focused on Jeanneret's work design work for the very same campus. The exhibition conveyed the architect's contribution to the city and his architectural expertise. The exhibition cited Le Corbusier acknowledging

the tireless work of this cousin:

> In Chandigarh, Pierre Jeanneret had the thankless task of supervising, step-by-step, the creation of the new capital city, of sticking to the plans and carrying them through when the path was difficult and strewn with obstacles. On his own initiative, Pierre Jeanneret has created some excellent architecture with modest means and in the face of enormous difficulties. (Le Corbusier Archival Material)

The exhibition explores Jeanneret's work on Panjab University Campus but does not explicate the role of the Indian architects with whom Jeanneret collaborated. The exhibition includes a photograph of the Indian/Euro team from 1954 (roughly five years before any of the university buildings were constructed), including the following: V.P. Dhamija, S.K. Datta, M.S. Siali, R.R. Handa, B.P. Mathur, A.R. Prabahawalkar, M.N. Sharma, P. Jeanneret, Jane B. Drew, Le Corbusier, E. Maxwell Fry, N.S. Lamba, J.S. Dethe, Aditya Prakash, Jeet Malhotra, Surjit Singh, B. Dass, S.G. Nangla. Crucially, only one of these architects – B.P. Mathur – collaborated with Jeanneret on the design of Panjab University, while the other architects that worked with Jeanneret on Panjab University Campus included J.K. Chowdhury and B.S. Kesevan.
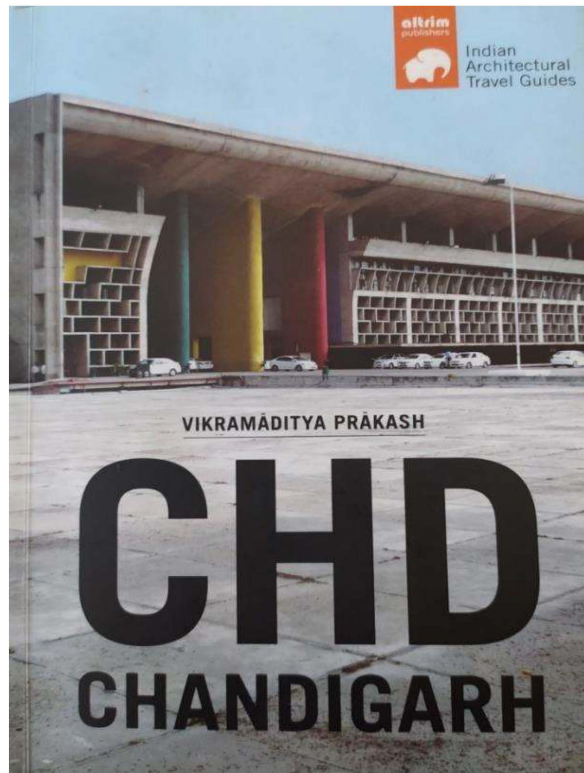
Figure 7. Front cover of Vikramaditya Prakash's Chandigarh, a pocket-sized guidebook to Chandigarh. Author's own photograph. © Will McCrory

Now let us turn our attention to the potential disparity between *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret* and Prakash's Chandigarh, published in 2014. The latter is at first glance a travel guide to the city, and it serves this function more than adequately. However, this publication transcends its status as a guide to the city, becoming an intervention into architectural-historical documentation of the city.

The publication provides a new list of the Indian architects that contributed to the city, differing from Prakash's earlier one provided in 2002, which attests to the difficulties that researchers face when attempting to clarify the nature of the Indian contribution to Chandigarh. The rest of the publication divides the city into various sections such as 'Capitol Complex and Sukhna Lake, 'The City Centre,' 'Museum Complex' and 'Panjab University'. The publication provides

maps (fig.8), photographs, annotated historical information (fig.9) and cites the architects responsible for each of the buildings. Prakash provides an overview of who did what and when. Prakash uses this as an opportunity to acknowledge, for example, Aditya Prakash's work on the Chandigarh College of Architecture (1969), previously attributed to Le Corbusier. Prakash also renders B.P. Mathur's contribution to Panjab University campus emphatically clear, perhaps most notably ascribing The Student Centre (1970), to Mathur rather than Jeanneret. Vikramaditya Prakash demonstrates a micro-historical preoccupation with the granular detail of authorship and design.

Figure 8. Detail from Prakash's Chandigarh. Detail from map representing the Capitol Complex. Author's own photograph. © Will McCrory

There is discord between *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret* and Prakash's *Chandigarh* (2014), the architectural

historian's guidebook to the city. Even when they concur, for example in accrediting of The Gandhi Bhawan to Jeanneret, the work of Sarbjit and Surinder Bahga could have been called upon, to provide a more nuanced micro-historical account of Panjab University's creation. This building was the result of Jeanneret's immersion into the local context and his dialogue with Indian colleagues, who suggested the reference to the tomb found in Fatehpur Sikri.

While *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret*, attributes significant works such as the AC Joshi Library and The Student Centre to the Swiss architect, Prakash attributes them to B.P. Mathur (115). Likewise, whilst the exhibition attributes buildings such as The University Hostel for Girls and The Health Centre to Jeanneret, Prakash cites them as Jeanneret/Mathur collaborations (120-121). Therefore, this article shows that there is a heterogenous quality to the counter narratives emerging about Chandigarh's creation.
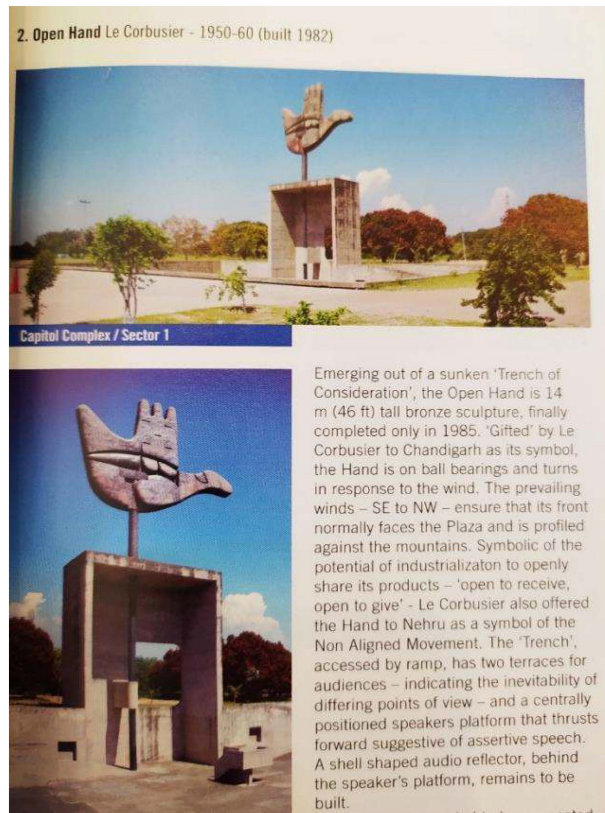
Figure 9. Detail from Prakash's Chandigarh. Example of presentational format.
Author's photograph. © Will McCrory

Conclusion

This research demonstrates a distinction between the LCC and the CAM, since the latter goes some way to mitigate the centrality of Le Corbusier, through highlighting the contributions of Pierre Jeanneret and the Indian contributors. The analysis offered in this article reveals that although the museum does not focus exclusively on the legacy of Le Corbusier, it does give the architect textual and spatial centrality within a permanent collection that alludes to plurality. On the other hand, this research reveals that within this Corbusian narrative, we still learn of the contributions of Maxwell Fry, Jane Drew and Pierre Jeanneret. However, these contributions are largely consigned to the basement of Chandigarh's story. The CAM gives Jeanneret a greater presence within the institutional narrative, which is pre-emptive of research published at

the beginning of this century. Yet Jeanneret is always ancillary to Le Corbusier. Furthermore, the Indian agency included within this narrative demands further expansion.

This research elucidates that the archival material on display at the LCC shows Prakash's (2002) concept of a team of nine Indian architects to be at the very least problematic historically. Intriguingly, the contextualising of Chandigarh's Indian agency can also be seen as inconsistent, with at least two contradictory lists being displayed. It could be suggested that this ambiguity perhaps accounts for Prakash continuing to press the matter of Indian agency in Chandigarh, and recent institutional drives to commemorate Jeanneret would be well complemented by this type of micro-historical research.

While *Modernism in South Asia: The Work of Pierre Jeanneret* and celebrations of the architect seek to assert the significance of Jeanneret in the Chandigarh context, arguably this emerging narrative replicates the coordinates of the Corbusian narrative, e.g., lone white male genius. Such observations confirm that overall, the museums and their curation reflect a confluence with Eurocentric discourse on the city, focusing on lone white men and their architectural output on the Plains of Punjab, with all other parties playing a secondary role.

This could be avoided through allowing the type of micro-historical information presented by Prakash, to alter the coordinates of the wider, currently Le Corbusier dominated narratives about Chandigarh. The failure to accurately present not only the individual architectural achievements of Indian architects such as Aditya Prakash, but also the Indian team's various collaborations with both Pierre Jeanneret, Maxwell Fry and Drew, perpetuates the coordinates of the lone male genius narrative.

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The Quest for Sociolinguistic Invisibility in Contemporary Japan: The Shift of Linguistic and Cultural Repertoires in the Context of Social and Geographical Mobility

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Introduction

Japan has been often perceived as a monolingual and culturally homogeneous country. It is only in the past few decades that the many aspects of theories on the Japanese (*nihonjinron*) have been critically addressed if not outright debunked by scholars (Burgess 2007; Doak; Murphy-Shigematsu; Yoshino). Beyond the lens of ideology, contemporary Japan is home to a plethora of languages, cultures and ethnic groups (Heinrich & Yamashita). In addition to this linguistic and cultural diversity, modernist views on traditional notions of nation-states must now confront the forces of globalization. With the advancement of instantaneous communication technology and intercontinental travel

being as accessible as ever, Japan is presented with the challenge to both shape and be shaped by the flows typical of the age of globalization. As a result, issue related to 'the coming together of different cultures' (*tabunkakyōsei*) stand at the forefront of current debates and preoccupations among scholars, policy makers and the general population (Burgess 2012). Despite phenomena including migration and the strength of Japan's cultural power abroad contributing to its internationalization, this paper argues that it is possible to identify processes of exclusion and inclusion that are made manifest in many aspects of contemporary society. Through a series of examples, this study highlights how possessing certain sociolinguistic traits can be critical for social and geographical mobility. At the same time, the study argues that one's own sociolinguistic profile does not only effect, but is also informed by, social and geographical dislocation. This research considers the duality between centre and periphery, the transition between levels of educations, the discourse on ethnic minorities as well as the perception of *nikkei* returnees and foreigners as potential sites of struggle where sociolinguistic invisibility is not only a desirable trait but also potentially correlated to social and geographical mobility.

Being sociolinguistically invisible means to be able to reproduce the linguistic repertoire that is considered most prestigious and widely accepted. This has the benefit of signifying one's own affiliation with a group or certain category in a way that is easily recognizable by others belonging to said group, at the cost of silencing other traits (Blommaert 2010). Demonstrating mastery of the language (and associated cultural practices) that is considered 'standard', implies the existence of 'deviant' categories as well. Japan is no exception and if scholars still have to confront themselves with the myth of monolingual Japan it is because it can be seen as an example of successful language planning and standardization (Heinrich 2012). On the one hand, the modernist views that the policy makers who constructed a national language (*kokugo*) adopted during the last century indeed served to make of Japan a highly literate country. On the other hand, the pivotal role that central institutions have had in the process of making Japan a modernized nation left a linguistic and cultural legacy that is capable of influencing contemporary discourses on several internal and international issues.

Regardless, it is people who remain at the core of culturally situated and structural dynamics. Attitudes towards language and culture can be recognized, produced and reproduced both on the local and the national level by institutions, families and individuals. Intercepting these attitudes and their social actors means to intercept societal processes of erasure that are happening against the backdrop of wider social and geographical transformations that are occurring in both rural and urban spaces in contemporary Japan.

Previous studies have highlighted how language, registers and styles play a role in the organization of social life and cognition (Pennycook 2012). In contexts of mobility, certain language varieties can represent both a form of capital enabling upwards social and geographical movements or a potential source of struggle for not being recognized as valuable resources (Hawkins & Cannon; Park & Wee; Trudell). Taking on matters of mobility enable us to examine structural inequalities as they develop in a globalizing world against traditional views on nation-states (Beck). The emerging duality is that of the centre and the periphery. The standardized and the deviant become associated with certain social and geographical spaces. It is when they overlap through mobility that a vertical stratified image of power is revealed. In these spaces, language becomes a commodity in what Bourdieu imagined as a marketplace, with people competing within it for profit and with certain linguistic varieties having less societal power than others. Japan too is said to present characteristics of the centre versus periphery paradigm when it comes to ethnic minorities and the perception of language varieties (Doerr; Shimoda; Suzuki).

Issues related to migration, centre/periphery and transitions between levels of education often imply the movement of people and their resources. Thus, the theoretical framework from the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2010) is used for the analysis here. This approach takes into consideration the changes of value and function of sociolinguistic resources in contexts of mobility. The hypothesized correlation between the presence (and absence) of certain repertoires and social and geographical mobility in Japan is explained through the tools that Blommaert defined as "scales", "orders of indexicality" and

"polycentricity" (6ff). Blommaert argues that linguistic resources move across what he defined as 'scales', forming layered vertical spatiotemporal dimensions when interacting with one another. The movement from one scale to the other implies a change in function, structure and meaning. It is a movement through a hierarchically layered system in which higher scales (such as institutions and norms) tend to prevail over lower scales. This view results in structured semiotized metaphors of space and time. This is represented as Fig. 1, below.

Higher scale
- Timeless
- Translocal/Widespread
- General
- Decontextualized
- Uniformity

Lower scale
- Momentary
- Local
- Individual
- Contextualized
- Deviation
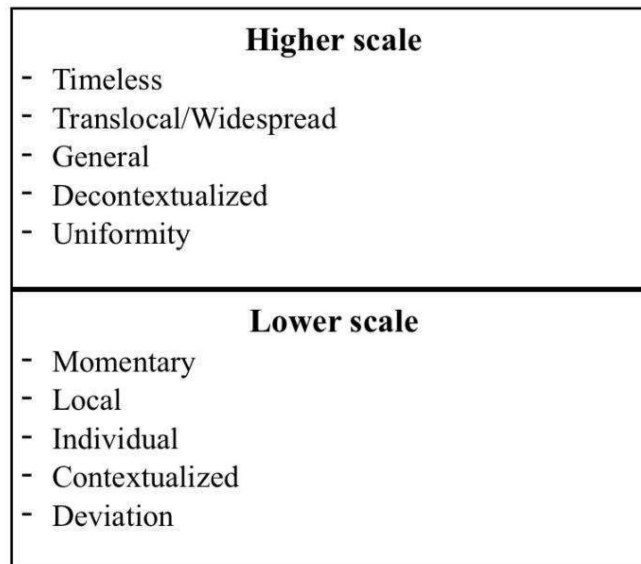
Fig.1. Representation of high and low sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert 2010)

Each scale organizes different patterns of normativity. Cumulatively, they dictate what counts as standard, acceptable or fitting, including in relation to language. Linguistic resources become mobile holding different potentials when moving through different "orders of indexicality." (Blommaert 2007). In other words, certain linguistic choices may work in a context but not so much in another. This implies patterns of authority, evaluation and control, and ultimately contributes to establishing processes of exclusion and inclusion by real or perceived

others. Within this theoretical framework, authority is said to emanate from 'centres' that people orient to when communicating. These can be either real or perceived bodies of social and/or cultural authority that Bakhtin called 'super addressees'. Blommaert (2007) argues that the environments in which humans communicate are almost always polycentric, meaning that it is possible to identify multiple centres that one is orienting to. The combination of topic, style and place are all part of a semiotic package that contributes to organize roles and identities by dictating what counts as appropriate within a specific environment. Given that real or perceived norms and criteria of appropriateness emanate from these centres, one can follow or violate them at any given time depending on the orientation. This may be done either intentionally, by accident, or because one simply cannot behave differently. Thus, analyzing sociolinguistic phenomena in the context of globalization is useful to understand those processes of inclusion and exclusion that emerge when linguistic resources are inserted into patterns of mobility.

Centre and periphery; Standardization and deviation

The concepts of centre and periphery, whether of political or geographical nature, have been historically associated with Japan. Historians have recognized many configurations during the course of its history and today the northern region of Hokkaidō and the southern archipelago of the Ryūkyū are said to be facing challenges typical of this dichotomy (Lewis). As minority languages (often linked to liminal territories) are faced with the risk of extinction (Heinrich, 2012) and the demographic crisis is emptying rural areas (Matanle Sato), Tōkyō further consolidates its dual role as capital of the country and global city. Thus, phenomena correlated to what could be identified as the centre-periphery duality are made manifest in contemporary Japan.

Tōkyō is the centre for politics, finance, and is the chief transportation hub of Japan as well as being a gateway for international traffic, so it is an ideal physical centre. It has been so since the days of old Edo (1603-1867) when it became apparent that the Kantō region was destined to host the new capital. The centrality of the city is reflected in matters of language as well. During the time of shoguns (military rulers of feudal

Japan), the archipelago comprised of so many different languages that traveling from one domain to the other often required translators. The issue of the mutual unintelligibility of regional languages started to be perceived by language planners as a problem to be solved. The modernization of Japan, which took inspiration from the institutions and policies of Western countries, needed to include a form of common communication as well. Consequently, a highly codified and standardized form of language known as 'National Language' (*kokugo*) came to be (Okamoto & Shibamoto-Smith). During the nineteenth and early-twentieth century, the 'movement for the unification of written and spoken language' (*gen bun itchi undō*) was successful in replacing older and different forms of language with the vernacular variety. Having used the varieties from the Tōkyō area as the basis upon which envision the newly created national language, the city acquired the role of an ideological linguistic centre. This further established its central role which becomes even clearer today when juxtaposed with other peripheral areas showing the symptoms of this asymmetric relationship. As a result, gradually moving away from Honshū, and reaching the geographical limits of the country means to encounter languages and cultures that must measure themselves against the resulting dichotomy to find answers for their future (Fiorentini).

With the standard language being inspired by the Tōkyō variety, the notion of dialect emerged as a hierarchically inferior deviation within this newly imagined sociolinguistic system. Under these conditions speaking a dialect often led to trouble. For example, children at school in Okinawa caught in the act of speaking in ways other than the standard language were forced to wear a dialect tag (*hōgen fuda*) as a form of punishment (Kondo 1999). In this sense, hiding (or erasing) one's own sociolinguistic profile was not only encouraged, but materially enforced. With time, the linguistic choices made in the capital have been observed to filter through the rest of the country; scholar Yanagita Kunio describes these linguistic concentric circles with his centre versus periphery theory (*hōgen shūken ron*). Thus, it is safe to say that the capital Tōkyō has acquired the role of a Blommaertian sociolinguistic centre: it is the maker of norms and criteria of appropriateness that people tend to orient to when producing meaning. Thus, it is safe to say that the capital Tōkyō

has acquired the role of a Blommaertian sociolinguistic centre; the maker of norms and criteria of appropriateness that people tend to orient to when producing meaning. This corresponds to the 'Higher scale' of Fig. 1, for it is characterized by a widespread and translocal reach, as opposed to limited to local contexts.

The resulting centre/periphery dichotomy is not only linguistic but geographical as well. The dialects of Japan have been divided into specific categories, each reflecting a position within Japanese language ecology. They are primarily divided into Eastern (including Tōkyō) and Western (including Kyōto) in addition to the Kyūshū, Hachijō groups and the Ryukyuan languages belonging to the Southern archipelago of Okinawa. This classification returns a vivid image of Japanese language ideology as it is projected by the centre. The projection physically extends to many of the islands that comprise the Japanese archipelago as a whole. The government has described many liminal territories as underdeveloped, devising strategies to reverse a decline that dates back to the prewar decades. The decline was not only linked to the lack of physical infrastructures, but was also a matter of societal development as well (Kuwahara).

Regardless, ongoing issues remain. The current state of the Ainu language in the northernmost island of Hokkaidō and that of the languages from the southernmost archipelago of Okinawa show how liminal territories are often characterized by language endangerment (Heinrich 2012). At the same time, contemporary language revitalization efforts in those areas are a sign that despite dialects faced severe suppression in the heyday of language standardization, since the postwar years there has been an increased attention towards the preservation of dialects (Shimoda). Discourse around the nostalgic hometown (*furusato*) and the subsequent appreciation of local forms of expression remind us that language is not bound to a fixed entity, but it is also a local practice linked to social and material cultural elements (Pennycook 2010). However, the tendency to consider dialects as a way to express locality also implies a polycentric view. On the one hand, dialects orient towards their own local contexts (the prefecture, the city, the village). On the other hand, their perceived idiosyncrasy reminds that the centre (the

standardized language) is also accounted for. This is especially notable in Japanese media, where dialects, registers and styles are often assigned to characters expected to embody certain roles. For example, the Japanese translation of the popular novel *Gone with the Wind* (1936) assigned the Tōhoku dialect (*Tōhoku ben*) to slaves and side characters, contributing to its idea of marginalization (Hiramoto 2009, 2010).

The linguistic repertoire comprising one's own sociolinguistic profile changes in value and perception depending on the centre of attention one is orienting to and the scale that it traverses at a given moment. We saw in the examples cited above how dialects that function locally suddenly change the way they negotiate the speaker's identity when becoming mobile. When juxtaposed to real or imagined centres they are marginalized and perceived as hierarchically inferior as opposed to the widespread standardized language. The higher scale context they are inserted into marks them as deviations, ultimately assigning different indexical trajectories to them akin to stereotyping. The distance between the centre and the periphery where the dialect is spoken becomes increasingly ideological as well. Meanwhile, the distance between what is considered standard and what is not is expressed in many different ways. As Blommaert (2010) remarks, since the majority of communication is polycentric by nature, one is free to break the rules at any moment. Forms of 'playful' polycentricity can be identified regardless of the physical space the linguistic resource is being deployed in. Numerous institutions at the prefectural level have consciously made the ideological distance between themselves and the centre a tool to negotiate their identities. It is not rare to encounter local dialects in touristic contexts and local linguistic landscapes (Long & Nakai). Sometimes, local grammar points and words are even turned into manga characters in a way similar to mascots, appearing on merchandise and collectibles. In this case, the physical, cultural and linguistic distance between prefectures and the centre is turned into a marketable commodity. Consciously silencing standardized language also unlocks new possibilities. It has been observed that young people sometimes take part in what has been described as language cosplay (dress-up/disguise) speaking in a specific dialect instead of the standardized language for the perceived properties associated to it and as an act of linguistic

transgression (Heinrich 2018).

Despite the widespread diffusion of standardized speech in contemporary Japan, peripheries are still putting efforts into preserving and using dialects as a means to promote local identities. This is especially true for Japan's bordering regions. Regardless, the Ainu of Hokkaidō to the North and the Ryukyuan languages in the South are among the groups whose languages have been threatened by extinction despite being a critical part of their local culture and history. In addition to local issues, Japan has been struggling with a nationwide demographic crisis for more than a decade as well. The consequences are that not only its population is ageing, but the population decline is also decreasing the number of speakers of those varieties that occupy a precarious position within this system. The trend, shared by other developed nations as well, has been well documented by scholars (Coulmas *et al.*; Matanle & Sato; Matanle) and is said to impact many aspects of society, especially in rural areas. Once again the duality between centre and periphery emerges. The role that global cities like Tōkyō have acquired as modern, young and vibrant cities marks a sharp contrast to declining surrounding regions.

In a way similar to Western capitals, Tōkyō has also increased its linguistic and cultural 'super-diversity', a term used by Vertovec when describing the dynamic and varied transnational migrations characterizing contemporary major cities (1025). In this context mobility other than being oriented towards the centres can become an actual necessity for the survival of many, including those in stages of transition, for example young people. As a result, language too becomes inserted into patterns of mobility.

Education and mobility

Many young students in Japan decide to invest in cram schools (*juku*) to acquire the tools needed to achieve their aspirations which usually include increasing the odds of being accepted to a high ranked institution. This, in turn, can lead to better prospects in the job market. Previous studies have addressed the importance of the transition between education levels and working life in Japan (Chiavacci; Entrich;

Honda; Pilz & Alexander; Roberson). These studies comment on Japan's tendency to rely on forms of credentialism that culminate in the correlation between university rank and a graduate's search outcome on the job market. However, entrance to top-ranked universities in Japan tends to be competitive. Up until 2020, a national standardized test was held throughout the country in mid-January with the goal to give both private and public universities additional criteria of selection for the admission of candidates. Since the test was administered only once a year, many students had to resort to independent study for a year in the hope of being admitted the following year. The exam was part of the wider 'examination hell' (*juken jigoku*) – a term that describes the many exams that a student in Japan must take during transitions between levels of education. However, it should be noted that this phenomenon is part of a wider western-centric narrative on the myth of academic excellence in East Asia. As Hikaru and Rappleye remark, the examinations are critical for only a selected part of the population, usually identified as the upper middle class. They also note that Japan is taking action to alleviate the pressure on students through diversifying its pathways towards university.

Beyond stereotyping, mobility does play a role in the life of students. Upon graduating high-school it is not uncommon to move to another prefecture sometimes far from home to attend university. After graduating university mobility once again becomes necessary. During the job hunting seasons companies usually hold information sessions that students must attend when applying for a job and this requires extensive nationwide traveling. We see how critical mobility becomes in this context and the role that a city like Tōkyō acquires. As described earlier, the city, and to an extent other centres that offer opportunities otherwise unavailable elsewhere, are also the makers of complexes of norms and perceived appropriateness criteria that people tend to orient to (Bakhtin). These are continuously produced and reproduced by phenomena like the one discussed above. This influence is projected into hierarchically organized norms, forms and expectations that become part of an ideal repertoire. This results in the need to orient toward these real or imagined centres when discerning between what is standard and what is deviant. As we will see with an example below, linguistic, cultural,

social, and even potentially aesthetic deviations are detrimental within this system. Thus, moving across physical and social space means to be subjected to processes of normativity and be evaluated on the basis of what the centre one points to indexes as appropriate. Given the hierarchal structure that characterizes this system, it is clear how the highest levels (those associate with centres) are the more power-invested. Erasing deviations, through mastering the patterns of normativity established at a given level, implies the possibility to move up, or 'jump', from lower levels. Those who achieve mastery of standard repertoires usually become mobile actors across these social and physical spaces. However, as this mobility is made possible by processes of erasure, sociolinguistic invisibility is ultimately made a prerequisite.

Patterns of mobility and erasure within a Japanese story

In this section, I present a story that, I argue, narrates dynamics typical of the centre and periphery dichotomy and of the journey towards a higher scale within this sociolinguistic system. I will start by providing background information on the story, then move to an analysis of the semiotics behind the phenomena influencing the characters. Lastly, I will focus on acts of physical and social mobility. Since the analysis will borrow from a film offering scenes of highly semiotic value, the mutual reinforcement of images and textual resources within this multimodal medium will be considered (Kress & Van Leeuwen).

The story is from a novel written in 2013 by Nobutaka Tsubota which is based on real events. The literal translation of the title is rather self-explanatory, "The story of the high-school gal who managed to raise her deviation score by 40 points and pass the entrance examination for Keiō in one year" (*Gakunen biri no gyaru ga ichinen de hensachi wo yonjū agete keiō daigaku ni genekigōkaku shita hanashi*). The story was made into a film in 2015 under the shorter title *Birigyaru*, and has been generally well received, ranking among Japan's highest-grossing films of that year. The plot revolves around Sayaka, an underperforming student who is threatened with expulsion from her private high-school following an incident caused by her group of like-minded friends. She manages to avoid expulsion but loses the privilege of being admitted to a university

based on recommendation. Despite her poor academic abilities, Sayaka starts attending a cram school (*juku*) and finds resolve in the support of her mother and a skilled teacher. Eventually, she begins to change and eventually manages to pass the entrance examination for Keiō University.

The story fits within the coming of age genre but, as the title suggests, is also culturally-situated within the context of Japan. We can immediately see how interpretation of the story's title varies depending on the centre one orients to. In fact, the international audience would struggle to see what the point of being admitted to Keiō is. Although it is implied throughout the story that Keiō is a prestigious University in Tōkyō, to a Japanese viewer who knows perfectly what Keiō is (or someone familiar with Japanese higher education) the name alone is normally enough to evoke the sense of challenge that entails trying to be admitted there. When the novel was made into a film and distributed internationally, the name *Flying Colors* was chosen. The title shifts to a more marketable length and English-friendly format. It also shifts the focus by implying the completion of a task (in this case a nod to the national university entrance examinations) as often indicated by the proverbial English idiom 'with flying colo[u]rs'. The concept of overcoming academic obstacles has also a rather wide appeal even beyond Japanese borders. However, the Japanese title *Birigyaru* (a nickname connoting a misbehaved girl) goes further towards highlighting the inappropriate behaviour of the protagonist. In fact, she may be considered a *gyaru*: part of a female subculture characterized by a unique aesthetic and 'rebellious' attitude, expressed through speech patterns that are said to diverge notably from what is perceived as the norm among girls of their age and indeed female language in general (Gagné).

Through the story it is possible to highlight agents of change that ultimately led to mobility and sociolinguistic erasure. Firstly, in Sayaka's quest centres and peripheries emerge as the polarized semiotic spaces that the main character navigates. We can see how the protagonist's disregard for her high school norms and her being a *gyaru* make her an outcast in respect to this centre of authority. Her teacher calling her

human garbage (*ningen no kuzu*) is an example. She is badly perceived not just for her lack of scholarly knowledge, but especially for her behaviour as a carefree *gyaru*, an attitude incompatible with the institution. She is actually orienting towards those set of criteria that entail being a *gyaru* rather than those befitting a student of an upper middle class private high-school. As a consequence, due to the fact that she is still a high school student, she is inevitably put at the periphery of this centre she must confront on a daily basis.

Spaces also reflect this relationship. Sayaka is shown enjoying frequent visits to night clubs, karaoke venues as well as roaming the streets at night. However, far greater centres of authority soon emerge from the story that are both social and geographical in nature. When she is first asked by the cram school teacher to pick a university to prepare for, all the names that he suggests are well-known institutions from either Tōkyō or Kyōto. Sayaka jokingly picks the one that she thinks is the most prestigious, Keiō in Tōkyō. She is surprised when the teacher actually follows along and starts preparing her a study plan. This is when her centre of reference subtly begins to change. Simultaneously, new appropriateness criteria and norms are projected by this new centre of power – which occupies a higher place in our imagined hierarchy of layers, discussed above – and so inequality is made manifest.

It is only when orienting towards this centre that Sayaka's poor academic abilities are truly made evident and assigned a rank. Her writing and speech are perceived as funny at best; she even struggles pronouncing and writing the name of the university she wishes to attend correctly. She displays the attitudes and the mannerisms typical of her *gyaru* background. It is made clear that in order to be admitted and move to Tōkyō, she needs to change by adhering to the strict prerequisites imposed by the new centre she is orienting to. She is confronted with different centres; the first is her school, but then the focus gradually shifts to Tōkyō's Keiō University and thus what was the centre becomes the new periphery. When she begins shifting her orientation from her usual space to more 'normative' stratified vertical layers, she is inevitably subjected to different forms of indexicality that value resources differently, thus, highlighting her current incompatibility.

Blommaert (2010) refers to this as 'orders of indexicality'. Under this framework, being a *gyaru* and achieving Keiō admission are perceived as paradoxical by her peers and high school teacher. While it would be easy to consider just her low scores and poor academic performances as the sole markers of failure, there are further factors involved. Embracing admission to Keiō as her goal, implies a change of habits in a way that is unknown to her. Sayaka is reminded multiple times that it is all in her best interest to learn to adapt as she would gain many benefits from being admitted there. In other words, she needs to get rid of her deviant traits to increase her chances of success. She is encouraged to start watching the news, acquires new words and she gradually changes her routine until she quits her *gyaru* lifestyle completely. Her world view changes as she continues her quest to develop these skills, including the repertoires that will make her fit for Keiō. She is reminded multiple times that it is in her best interest to learn to adapt as she would gain many benefits from being admitted to Keiō. Ultimately, what was perceived as appropriate to and coherent with the centre she previously oriented to becomes inadequate to this new configuration of events.

Some of the most apparent transformations are both linguistic and aesthetic. At first she dyes her hair back to its. At first she dyes her hair back to her natural colour, but then, as her resolve increases, gets a shorter cut and starts wearing simple tracksuits. She drops the mannerism that characterized her *gyaru* persona, showing increased proficiency in the national language (*kokugo*) as well as increasing the number of characters (*kanji*) associated with the history, geography and culture of Japan that she can now read as it would be expected from her. She also acquires English writing and reading skills with the aid of her new dictionary. By the time she concludes her training at the cram school, all the linguistic and aesthetic traits that have caused her to be perceived as deviant have disappeared. She now proves to be able to deploy linguistic and social repertoires that are perceived as appropriate.

This change in repertoires and its subsequent change in the way others come to perceive her are a product of Sayaka's quest to be admitted to Keiō. The ability that this institution has to enact its principles and index the student's repertoires is compatible with what

Blommaert (2010) described as a higher scale. The higher level of this imagined stratified hierarchy layered system is occupied by Keiō, the centre the protagonist orients to. The characteristics of a higher scale are all present. The university is presented as having a rich history as well as an established presence, with the name alone functioning as a synonym for timeless prestige. At first, Sayaka is deemed unworthy by everyone to be admitted there, but is then redeemed when she aligns with the criteria set by the powerful institution, suggesting that its influence is widespread, widely accepted and nationwide. The entrance examination is a tangible example of how these criteria are physically enacted. Students from different areas gather in selected places to have their repertoires tested in the same way, becoming protagonists of acts of deterritorialization. Sayaka starts at the bottom of this hierarchy of scales, having in the past indulged in momentary activities in local and narrowly-situated settings. As time passes, she tries to move from her lower sociolinguistic level to the higher scale, with the result that the norms and criteria of the higher level start to prevail over the lower ones. This kickstarts the linguistic and aesthetic changes discussed earlier.

By making use of its multimodality the film emphasizes mobility in a variety of ways. It starts and ends with scenes shot around the same subject: a bullet train (*shinkansen*). Here, it represents a symbol of both geographical and social mobility. At first, we see the protagonist as a child watching the train passing by. The train passes over a bridge by a river bank, intercepting a local bike lane that the protagonist uses for her daily commute. Throughout the film, the protagonist visits the place and stops to gaze at the passing train several times, either alone or with different supporting characters. It is here that her mother has the idea to send her to a private school.

Here, she also shares her thoughts with a fellow student from the cram school. By the end of the film, she is last seen on board of the very same train she had seen so many times from afar, wearing formal clothes and headed to Tōkyō. Away from the tracks the cram school teacher waves goodbye as he witnesses the beginning of her physical journey towards the capital.

The centres the protagonist orients to are also very physical. Initially,

her high school and home juxtapose the arcades, karaoke venues and the streets she used to roam during her *gyaru* nights. As she quits her *gyaru* lifestyle to focus on her studies, she starts spending the majority of her time either at home or at the cram school. The high school, both as a place and as an institution is de-emphasized because the protagonist now is orienting towards criteria set by another institution which is higher on the hierarchy, Keiō. For this reason, she would rather spend her days at the cram school preparing for that specific entrance examination rather than at her regular school. Both her mother, the first who decided to send her there, and her teachers are well aware of this dynamic.

The idea here is that acquiring the repertoire associated with a specific higher centre is essentially a preparation for a physical departure (accompanied by its social implications) that will eventually occur. At first, geographical mobility is needed when the entrance examinations are held. Students gather in sizable numbers to take the test at the same location and have their specifically acquired repertoires tested. They thus become protagonists of acts of deterritorialization. This movement is not only physical, but also cultural and social. As they physically move closer to the centre they have been studying hard to adapt to, their chances of becoming social actors permanently associated with it increase.

At last, the protagonist finally manages to be accepted to Keiō. This proves once and for all that her previous, 'inadequate' repertoires have been erased and brought to a 'national standard'. This erasure comes with the reward of the opportunity to leave for Tōkyō. Conversely, those who have failed to completely adapt themselves, for example one of her friends from the cram school, are left behind, failing to move both socially and geographically.

Mobility beyond borders

The story commented above portrayed acts of mobility occurring within national boundaries. However, Japan is also home to people whose sociolinguistic profiles have roots behind its borders. Discourse on ethnic homogeneity has had a prominent role in shaping popular perceptions towards migration at the cost of downplaying the country's actual

diversity (Doak). Regardless, there are now several communities and individuals from many different countries contributing to Japan's cultural and linguistic diversity. The variety of transnational profiles is reflected in the numerous terms associated with one's own heritage in relation to residence. On the one hand, the word *nikkeijin* (person of Japanese descent) is the Japanese term used to describe a migrant or a person with Japanese ancestry who is often not a citizen of Japan and may live or have lived abroad. On the other hand, people living in Japan born from one Japanese parent and one non-Japanese parent are often referred to as *hāfu* (from the English half).

Regardless of ideology, the combination of the country's low fertility rate and its diversified immigration is leading to an unprecedented number of varied sociolinguistic profiles being present in Japan. There are many communities in the country characterized by transnational forms of heritage. Language is said to be a central aspect for the identity of these individuals whose engagements with language ideologies vary widely (Takamori). Although potentially having access to multiple languages, it is in the combination of performance within a specific physical space that their liminality emerges. In her study, Takamori highlights how the people of Japanese descent (with one Japanese or American parent) she interviewed occupied contradictory spaces in regard to their ability (or lack thereof) to deploy the linguistic and cultural repertoires that they were expected to master. For example, there were those who failed to perform their Japaneseness adequately but felt at ease with their North American heritage. For them, Japanese as a heritage language does not necessarily mean inclusion, but rather a potential source of nervousness and embarrassment. If observed through the lens of sociolinguistic of globalization, cases like these show how mobility has the potential to impact on the perception associated to a certain sociolinguistic profile. Being polycentric, they are subjected to multiple criteria of appropriateness, but it is when inserted into patterns of mobility, getting closer to a specific centre, that certain criteria tend to prevail on others. Kondo (1990), observed how although Japanese Americans may look Japanese and have Japanese surnames, they may act more American than Japanese, leading to an idiosyncratic reaction by a Japanese observer. In this case, mobility changed the value of

Japanese as a linguistic resource. Possessing a certain degree of fluency in an East Asian language such as Japanese could be seen as a resource back in North America, but the same could not be said if not appropriately deployed in Japan according to local criteria of appropriateness. Furthermore, phenotypical characteristics that do not match mainstream notions of Japaneseness may contribute to index to the otherness of the individual. The ultimate result is that the individual is considered as an outsider subjected to local orders of indexicality, rather than as an actual local peer. Osanami-Törngren has addressed the issue, and after interviewing several individuals in Japan coming from mixed backgrounds, hypothesized that multiple ethnic options are available to them. This has several implications. Given the inability to move past local orders of indexicality and having their Japanese identity not fully recognized, the option to pass as foreigners or embracing a *hāfu* identity proved to be effective strategies. Through real or simulated acts of deterritorialization, a person can pass as a seemingly mobile actor (a foreigner from abroad, a heritage speaker *hāfu*, etc.) rather than a strictly local one. This erasure grants the ability to be subjected to more advantageous criteria of appropriateness. Real or simulated mobility once again changes the value and ownership of linguistic resources with intentional erasure being the key to unlock new advantages related to one's own sociolinguistic profile. However, the double-edged nature of these acts has been commented upon by Suzuki and Miller (1986, 1995), who call it a form of speech commodification. Given the folk beliefs that the Japanese can speak Japanese perfectly, whenever a foreigner (or a person assumed to be) demonstrates fluency to any degree it becomes a source of amazement (Fukuda). Mistakes and imprecisions are said to be non-threatening as they both confirm and reinforce this ideology rooted in forms of nationalism that find in media an ideal outlet.

Processes of erasure can be based on personal initiative. More or less consciously, one person can opt to silence certain traits and prioritize others out of personal preference or necessity. However, history tells us that sometimes these processes can also be imposed, leading to the widespread and systematic stigmatization of certain ethnic and linguistic profiles. These perceptions may then change once again with the passage of time and the alteration of historical circumstances. The *nikkei*

community of Hawai'i is an example of this. People started emigrating from the Nipponic archipelago to Hawai'i in 1800 to seek new employment opportunities in the islands' agricultural sector. Since migrants were from different prefectures, Hawai'i quickly became a point of contact for many different languages. These were not only regional varieties from Japan, but also languages from other countries of East Asia. In this context, a process of language mixing is said to have occurred, inevitably silencing certain components while keeping others (Asahi & Long; Shimada & Honda). Despite the difficulty of that harsh life, many workers eventually decided to stay, forming families and communities in the process. The early generations made the preservation of their cultural identities a priority. They maintained schools and places of worship, keeping in touch with their heritage. However, when WWII came to Hawai'i, so did a form of anti-Japanese sentiment. Despite being members of the Hawaiian society, many *nikkei* were locked behind bars for their heritage alone. In other words, speaking Japanese could have meant imprisonment during those times. At the end of the war, this forceful process of erasure eventually came to an end. Today, Hawai'i' is home to one of the most influential Japanese communities in the world. The community is putting effort into the preservation of its heritage, including its language. As a result, the number of Japanese speakers in Hawai'i' is one of the highest of the nation. The ideological perception of one's own sociolinguistic profile in Hawai'i' has been tied to the ever shifting waves of history, facilitating or threatening it depending on the historical circumstances.

Another category of mobile actors who have their repertoire and identity tested is that of the *hikiagesha* (returnees). The term indicates people of Japanese descent who were either born in or lived abroad for extended lengths of time before deciding to head to their homeland. While the *hikiagesha* come from several countries of origin, communities from Brazil and Korea are said to be the most numerous, as well as being those who receive the most attention from the media (Tsuda 2003). Some of these individuals move to Japan temporarily to work and save money to bring back home, becoming *dekasegi* (working migrants), while others eventually settle in Japan, establishing transnational households in the process. However, the more culturally-distant second or third

generations (*nisei, sansei*) tend to be the ones who move to Japan, which leads to a series of challenges. We discussed earlier how mobility can renegotiate a person's profile depending on context. Local orders of indexicality are shaped by the semiotic forces emanating from real or perceived centres. Despite foreigners in Japan are more common than in the past, for many people the only way to meet a person of Japanese descent who came from Brazil remains the television or magazines. Stereotypes and images associated to the Brazilian *nikkei* are produced and reproduced through media. Tsuda (2003) commented on the critical role that Japanese media has in shaping the discourse around this group in particular. Tsuda has observed that there is some degree of variation in the portrayal of individuals associated with this heritage depending on the channel (public broadcast or commercial corporation). However, essentialism and generalization remain the main tendencies, ensuring mass appeal of the shows. This results in the reinforcement of prevailing ethnic perceptions towards this demographic segment. This is evident by the downplaying of their foreignness in order to make them more appealing to the Japanese audience who in turn retain the expectation that they managed to preserve Japanese culture thanks to their Japanese ancestry. We can therefore see how media acquires the role of a powerful semiotic central force capable of shaping public perceptions towards categories of individuals that many may never even meet once in their lifetimes. The expectations set in this way serve as criteria of appropriateness which are evaluative in nature. They are widespread and central since they emanate from the respected centre of authority that is public television in Japan (Pharr). Thus, a set of sociolinguistic traits are associated to an individual before he/she even speaks. The repertoire that is eventually deployed is juxtaposed with the concrete combination of linguistic resources available to the individual which may not meet the expectations. Consequently, certain traits are erased in advance. The process of erasure here is potentially double-fold. On one hand is the erasure on the Japanese side of those traits associated with foreignness. On the other hand, Tsuda (2000) reported instances where Japanese-Brazilians return migrants in Japan preferred to intentionally silence their Japaneseness emphasizing their Brazilian national identity instead. However, the emphasis on foreign traits instead of Japanese

ones is said to not always be successful because as Tsuda (1998) notes, prejudice and discrimination towards this minority happens on the basis of not only language but also on the basis of looks and behavior. In a sense, this process is similar to the one observed by Kingsberg who described the process of inclusion of Japanese in Brazil as characterized by the gain of some features and the loss of others to gain inclusion. What has been observed in Japan is a form of resistance based on erasure enacted against disadvantageous criteria of evaluation. In other words, certain traits are silenced with the result that one's own profile is situated in relation to a different centre of attention. The repertoire available to the speaker is valued differently, based upon one's own aspirations.

Conclusion

Mobility has the often disturbing ability to dislocate cultural and linguistic resources across wide geographical and social distances. Education, work and migration in general represent patterns of mobility which individuals or groups are inserted into. When moving, the linguistic and cultural resources of these peoples change in value, becoming subjected to local criteria of normativity and appropriateness emanating from real or perceived centres of attention. Changing one's own orientation towards one centre rather than the other implies the erasure of certain traits and the acquisition of others. The historical centrality of the capital and its institutions as well as the ongoing demographic crisis which is leaving rural areas increasingly empty are contributing to deepen the divide between centre and periphery in contemporary Japan. In this context, mobility becomes a necessity along with the traits that enable it. Entering the mainstream means to be able to reproduce the skills established by the higher sociolinguistic scale. Major city centres and their institutions are increasing their influence within and beyond national borders, becoming influential normative points of reference in the process. Acts of erasure to achieve the traits perceived as most suitable as well as their associated acts of deterritorialization are the result of the orientation towards real or imagined centres. These may be intentional, as in the case of the student who underwent major personal transformations in order to be admitted

to a prestigious university in the capital, or the Japanese Brazilians prioritizing the traits indexing their foreignness whilst in Japan. Processes of erasure can be imposed as in the case of the Japanese Americans during WWII. They can also be unintentional as in the case of the *nikkei* returnees whose linguistic and cultural resources turned out be detrimental in the new setting.

If we consider the culturally-situated context of Japan, these processes of erasure lead to forms of inequality, ultimately playing a role in the perception of sociolinguistic invisibility as a cause *and* effect of human mobility. Thus, renegotiating one's own profile, for example by erasing traits not associated with the most widely accepted local criteria of appropriateness, becomes a widely pursued endeavour which ultimately culminates in acceptance or rejection by the corresponding group. With global cities like Tōkyō increasing their linguistic and cultural diversity at a fast pace, contemporary language ideology is tested on a truly global stage. Therefore, it is desirable for future research to take on new sociolinguistic challenges that could help us understand the relationship between mobile resources and their ability to renegotiate asymmetric power relations. Potential areas of analysis include the categorizations of what is commonly perceived as centre and periphery as well as local and translocal ethnic profiles, ideologically as real or imagined as they may be.

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'Cautious excitement': The Evaluative Prosody of Cancer Immunotherapy in Online Newspapers and Web Pages of Health Organisations

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Introduction

Examining how a specific cancer treatment is evaluated in different online health information text types can expand our understanding of the challenges that patients and carers may face when making informed decisions regarding that treatment. For cancer patients, one of the main purposes of using the Internet is to find the latest treatment protocols (Dickerson et al.), among which is immunotherapy – the emerging 'fifth pillar' of cancer treatment, joining other well-established options:

surgery, chemotherapy, radiotherapy, and targeted therapy (Oiseth and Aziz 250). Cancer immunotherapy, the study of which is known as immuno-oncology, is a broad term for a group of treatment methods that work by 'activating the immune system for therapeutic benefit in cancer' (Mellman et al. 480). These treatment methods include, for example, producing man-made antibodies to target cancer cells, using drugs to block the proteins that prevent the immune system from identifying cancer cells, or genetically engineering white blood cells to recognise cancer cells (Madden). This study aims to explore how online texts targeting non-specialists evaluate this group of treatments. My use of the term 'evaluation' will henceforth refer to the following definition:

the expression of the speaker or writer's attitude or stance towards, viewpoint on, or feelings about the entities or propositions that he or she is talking about. That attitude may relate to certainty or obligation or desirability or any of a number of other sets of values. (Thompson and Hunston 5)

With a corpus-based discourse analysis approach (Baker *Using,* Partington et al., Kinloch and Jaworska), this paper focuses on exploring the evaluative meaning patterns of the words, phrases, and structures that frequently accompany the term *immunotherapy/ies*. These patterns are represented by the concept of evaluative prosody (Partington et al.). By unpacking different priorities and values of evaluation, this paper aims to provide insights into the discursive construction of cancer treatments in the public sphere. The texts under investigation belong to two different sources for general readers: online newspapers accessed via an online database and health organisations' web pages retrieved through a search engine, both written in English. My research question is: *How is the evaluative prosody of cancer immunotherapy linguistically constructed in online newspapers and web pages of health organisations?* Throughout the analysis, this paper will also demonstrate how a linguistic framework of evaluation can be used in combination with corpus-based analytical techniques to offer complementary insights.

Online health information and cancer immunotherapy

The present study focuses on two text types providing cancer treatment information and accessible through the Internet. Repeated discourses spreading through mass media can have an 'incremental effect' over time (Baker *Using* 13; Hoey; Stubbs 215). The emotional, cognitive, and behavioural impacts health messages can have on their readers or viewers have been noted in a large body of research (see Kline 558). More specifically, cancer information from traditional media and the Internet has led many patients to actively request specific treatments or even refuse recommendations from healthcare staff (Chen and Siu). Regarding cancer treatments, the Internet has been found to be among the most regularly consulted sources of information on chemotherapy by patients (Muusses et al.).

As noted, immunotherapy as a cancer treatment is the focus of this study. This treatment group has garnered increasing media attention (Worsley) with around 1000 clinical trials conducted worldwide in 2017 (Schmidt) and by August 2021, more than 10 types of immunotherapeutic treatments had been approved around the world (Cancer Research Institute). The development of immunotherapy has witnessed multiple shifts and debates among researchers. In 2003, Parish notes that 'during the last 110 years it is possible to trace at least five dramatic fluctuations in attitude towards cancer immunotherapy' (106). The term 'fluctuations' describes the back-and-forth switch between researchers' 'yes' or 'no' answers to the question 'Is there an immune response to malignant tumours?'. According to Parish, since 1985, the answer has been a definite 'yes', but there are still numerous difficulties that researchers need to overcome.

Evaluation emerges as a notable phenomenon in the discursive construction of immunotherapy for two main reasons. Firstly, mixed evaluation has continued to be shown in recent academic publications. For instance, researchers hailed cancer immunotherapy as 'the future of cancer treatment' (Khalil et al.), 'a paradigm shift' (Anagnostou and Brahmer), and 'a breakthrough' (Couzin-Frankel); however, in the same publications, these authors also outlined doubts, current and future

challenges preventing it from becoming mainstream. Whether such mixed evaluation can be observed in domains outside academia remains to be seen, but Madden has noted how the mass media often presented immunotherapy with 'hype' (5), causing misunderstandings for patients. Secondly, immunotherapy is not only a group of treatments, but it can also be considered a high-profile scientific achievement after two cancer immunologists were awarded the Nobel Prize in medicine in 2018. Although there has been research exploring how scientific advancements are linguistically represented to the public, e.g. studies on achievements in determining the human genetic code (Calsamiglia and Van Dijk) or the recently discovered particle in physics called Higgs boson (Incelli), no similar research has looked into immunotherapy to date. The Higgs boson study has shown how when scientific findings are reported to non-specialist news and blog readers, evaluative expressions of uncertainty or hyperbole are often employed.

Cancer treatments in the news and on health organisations' web pages

Research on news about cancer treatments has been relatively limited compared to research on news articles about cancer in general, and most studies have been conducted in health and medical fields. These studies have explored issues such as the extent to which different treatment-related topics were covered (Fishman et al.), how complementary and alternative medicine was framed (Mercurio and Eliott), or the positive and negative presentation of specific treatment types, for example, a relatively experimental form of treatment called PARP inhibitors (Coleman et al.) and a surgery option for breast cancer known as bilateral mastectomies (Sabel and Cin). Among these studies, those by Coleman et al. and Sabel and Cin essentially explore evaluation in news texts. Coleman et al. examined news articles found through the search engine Google focusing on the discussion of PARP inhibitors. The majority of articles were found to be overly positive due to journalists' and scientists' over-enthusiastic remarks or excessively favourable interpretations of clinical trial results based on small samples. Sabel and Cin, on the other hand, showed that in six major U.S. newspapers, reports of celebrities

choosing bilateral mastectomies had a much more positive tone than those about their decisions to have breast conservation. The authors drew a link between such a bias and many breast cancer patients' mistaken belief that bilateral mastectomies were invariably an optimal choice.

These studies have shown the potential biases carried by both online and print news articles about cancer treatments, but their categorisation of the sub-values of evaluation could not account for nuances. More specifically, Coleman et al. manually characterised each article as 'overly positive/negative' or 'neutral', and Sabel and Cin employed automated tagging using a dictionary of over 4500 words previously coded as either positive or negative (a process known as a sentiment analysis). Although such a binary characterisation provides unambiguous and convenient results, it only foregrounds the evaluation of desirability and ignores other values, e.g. certainty or importance. Studies in the field of linguistics can address this limitation by adopting linguistic theories of evaluation with a robust taxonomy.

Most existing studies on web pages managed by health organisations providing non-specialist information on cancer have also been undertaken in fields related to health and medicine. A vast body of such research focuses on the assessment of informational values by assigning scores to websites based on the presence or absence of the items mandated by a checklist (e.g. Dubois and Folch; Genova et al.; Jørgensen and Gøtzsche; Ream et al.). As such, they rarely engage in in-depth discourse analysis. The few studies on cancer web pages that do analyse language are concerned with how accessible the linguistic representations of cancer information are to readers of different educational and socio-economic backgrounds (e.g. Gibson et al.; Haase et al.) rather than how evaluation is constructed through language.

The present study seeks to contribute to the existing research on cancer treatments on web pages and in the news. Firstly, while the studies on web pages mentioned above have explored multiple stages of a particular cancer from prevention to palliative care, the focus of this paper is narrower, concentrating on a specific type of treatment and how

its evaluation is constructed. Secondly, unlike existing studies on evaluation of cancer treatments in the news that only centred on the positive-negative divide, this study aims to extend the scope of evaluation to include other values and observe when and how each type of evaluation manifests. Thirdly, the examination of two non-specialist text types allows for comparison. As Partington noted, 'it is very often just not possible to evaluate – or sometimes to even observe – the features of one discourse type unless it is seen in perspective, in contrast, with others' (225).

Methodology

Data

A corpus is 'a finite-sized body of machine-readable text, sampled in order to be maximally representative of the language variety under consideration' (McEnery and Wilson 32). Two specialised corpora were built for this study, one for online news sources, which will be referred to as NeC, and the other for web pages, referred to as WeC. This section will describe the database, search tools, and search terms used for data collection, as well as the inclusion criteria and characteristics of each corpus.

The data for NeC was retrieved from the online news archive LexisNexis. The search query can be divided into two parts, one addressing cancer (to eliminate results about immunotherapy as a treatment for other diseases such as allergies) and the other addressing the singular and plural forms of the term immunotherapy using a wildcard character. Regarding the cancer-focused part of the query, a detailed search term developed by Stryker et al. was employed to retrieve cancer news stories through LexisNexis. It includes all conceivable words referring to different human cancer types and stipulates that one of those words must appear at least twice in each text. Regarding the immunotherapy-focused terms, the results of a pilot search indicated that the majority of articles where there was only one instance of *immunotherapy/ies* did not treat the topic as primary, so it was decided that an article had to contain at least two occurrences of the terms for

immunotherapy. Combining the cancer-focused and immunotherapy-focused terms, the complete search query is as follows:

> ATLEAST2 (immunotherap!) AND (ATLEAST2 (cancer! OR leukemia! OR lymphoma! OR melanoma! OR hodgkin! OR tumor! OR sarcoma! OR carcino! OR retinoblastoma! OR adenoma! OR astrocytoma! OR blastoma! OR glioma! OR macroglobulinemia! OR meningioma! OR mesothelioma! OR mycosis! OR myelo! OR neoplas! OR neuroblastoma! OR osteosarcoma! OR pheochromocytoma! OR rhabdomyosarcoma! OR anticancer! OR oncol!)) AND NOT ((feline PRE/1 leukemia) OR (capricorn))[1]

To reduce the number of search results to a manageable size, the articles in NeC had to meet the following inclusion criteria:

(1) Being published in English.

(2) Being published in newspapers that offered both print and digital versions, or had switched from print to digital publications.

(3) Being published within a five-month period from August to December 2018. Using October 2018, the month in which a Nobel Prize was awarded to two immunologists for cancer research, as the median point, the target period was two months on either side of October 2018 inclusive, to capture the significance of this news event without overshadowing other social factors.

WeC contains English-language texts from non-specialist web pages that were retrieved by Google's search engine through two stages. The first stage involved using the Health on the Net (HON) search tool[2] (Boyer et al.). The HON search tool adopted Google's search engine, but it retrieved only the websites that carried its verified logo, which means these websites had been certified as reliable sources according to HON's standards, and then classified them according to two types of target readers – 'patients' and 'professionals'. As this study aimed to explore

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[1] In LexisNexis, '!' replaces zero or more characters at the end of a word; PRE/1 means the first word must immediately precede the second word.

[2] https://www.hon.ch/

non-specialist texts, those intended for patients were examined. With the HON search tool, there was no advanced query syntax as in LexisNexis, so two search terms were used to mirror the possible search queries that the average user may employ: 'immunotherapy' and 'immunotherapy AND cancer'.

The HON search tool generated only 10 Google search result pages in total for any query, and many reputable organisations that topped the lists of conventional Google search results had not been recognised by HON, e.g. Cancer Research UK or MD Anderson Cancer Center. As such, a further stage was required to include the web pages from such organisations in WeC alongside those verified by HON. At this second stage, all web pages that met the following criteria were added to WeC:

(1) featuring in the first 10 Google search result pages,

(2) containing verifiable sources of information,

(3) aiming to inform patients or non-specialists.

All the web pages were collected in July 2019.[3]

Both datasets were manually checked to remove duplications and ensure that in every text, cancer immunotherapy is considered the primary topic or among the primary topics. As such, a text was excluded if both following conditions were present: (1) immunotherapy was only mentioned in passing; (2) the primary topics of the text were not treatments but the description of a single patient's illness journey or the promotion of medical centres, products, charitable causes, or researchers' profiles.

Table 1 shows the number of texts in each month in NeC. Table 2 shows the number of words, texts, organisations, and countries included in NeC and WeC.[4] Both corpora are relatively small, but previous corpus-based studies of health communication have testified to the values of

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[3] To maximise the replicability of these Google search results, Google's personalisation features had been turned off prior to the searches.

[4] In compliance with LexisNexis's terms and conditions for a personal license and the terms of use on the websites collected (for example https://old-prod.asco.org/about-asco/legal/terms-use#section%209), only examples in the form of short extracts from the datasets are published.

small, specialised corpora (see Hunt and Brookes). Corpus tools have proved useful for even smaller corpora, e.g. nearly 37,000 words of online newspaper texts (Incelli) and around 50,000 words of web-based texts written by health professionals (Kinloch and Jaworska).

Table 1. Distribution of texts in NeC by month

Month	Number of texts
August	24
September	27
October	69
November	27
December	24
Total	171

Table 2. Descriptions of NeC and WeC

Corpus	Number of words	Number of texts	Number of source organisations	Number of countries
NeC	120,215	171	111	18
WeC	101,558	104	59	6

It should be noted that both corpora are imbalanced in terms of the countries represented. In NeC, the U.K. and U.S. account for the highest proportions of all the articles, 27.5% and 22.2% respectively. By contrast, WeC is dominated by texts originating from the U.S. (approximately 87%), from a range of research and education organisations, hospitals,

medical centres, governmental institutions, etc. As NeC contains international news within a five-month span and WeC represents popular online search results at a specific time, it is important to note that representations of immunotherapy may vary across different cultural, geographical, and temporal contexts.

Analytical approach

To explore the patterns of evaluative language around the term *immunotherapy/ies*, this study adopts the concept of 'evaluative prosody' proposed by Partington et al., with its roots in Sinclair's semantic prosody (*Looking;* "The Search"; *Trust*) and Stubbs's discourse prosody. In Partington et al.'s framework, they present three groups of lexical units with evaluative potential:

(1) items whose inherent function is evaluative (e.g. *wonderful*, *terrible*),

(2) items whose evaluative function is not inherent but apparent in interaction with other items (e.g. *cause*, *orchestrate*),

(3) items with no clear evaluative patterns but that in different contexts may begin to carry evaluations through repeated patterns. In an analysis of a short paragraph from a book review, Partington et al. (53) present 'book', 'recent history', and 'British government' as examples of this group because of the attitudinal patterns associated with each of them throughout that text.

Although 'immunotherapy' is a biomedical term, over the past decades, there has been much academic as well as popular interest in its development and impact, with both praise and scepticism (Anagnostou and Brahmer; Couzin-Frankel; Madden; Khalil et al). Thus, it is reasonable to place *immunotherapy/ies* in what Partington et al. call a sub-type of the third category above: 'predominantly denotational' and 'evaluatively neutral' items that are capable of accumulating evaluation 'if repeated or part of a cohesive chain' (53).

Based on such conceptualisations of evaluative potential, evaluative prosody can be defined as 'the interaction of the item with others of

particular polarity as witnessed within a certain text' (ibid. 60). In this study, the concept of evaluative prosody helps us focus our attention on: (1) one central entity, in this case, the name of a treatment group, and (2) its interactions with other items carrying evaluation.

To ascertain whether there are any repeated patterns in how *immunotherapy/ies* interacts with other items across collections of texts, two common techniques from corpus linguistics were employed: collocation and concordance analyses. Collocation refers to the statistically frequent co-occurrence of words (Baker *Using)*, and examining the collocates of a lexical item can provide insights into its evaluative prosody (e.g. Baker *Public Discourses*; Partington et al.; Hua et al.). Concordance lines are displays of a search term, i.e. node, alongside its immediate co-texts on either side; the analysis of these lines offers further insights into contexts and any patterns of co-occurrence.

Quantitative method

The first step was to generate collocate lists in NeC and WeC for *immunotherap** (the asterisk represents zero or more characters to include both the singular, plural, and adjectival forms of the word). There are a variety of collocational measures, and collocate lists can change considerably depending on the chosen statistics (Brezina 70). Thus, it is important to consider more than one algorithm (Baker *Using* 102). In this study, results from both Log-likelihood (LL) and Mutual Information (MI) were examined as LL prioritises collocates with high frequencies and MI prioritises collocates with high exclusivity in the collocational relationship (Brezina 74). For LL, a LL value of 15.13 or higher represents $p < 0.0001$ or 99.99[th] percentile (Rayson). For MI, any value above zero indicates a collocational relationship (Kolesnikova), with a usual cut-off point of 3.0 (Durrant and Doherty). As MI tends to feature low-frequency items (Brezina), a minimum collocation frequency of 5.0 was required in this study.

Lancsbox 4.5 (Brezina et al.) was used to generate collocate lists.

Lancsbox categorised results based on their positions: left, right, and 'middle' (referring to items with equal left and right raw frequencies). Following Jaworska's approach of examining the top 20 collocates, I examined the top 20 collocates in each position within a span of five words either side of *immunotherap**, although it should be noted that within these datasets, the 'middle' position had fewer than 20 collocates.

Qualitative method

After the collocates were retrieved, two qualitative analyses were conducted. The first analysis aimed to identify any recurrent themes among the lexical collocates, and which of those themes reflects the aspects of immunotherapy that are being evaluated. Grouping collocates together is an approach often adopted in collocation analyses that focus on a specific concept such as studies on 'climate change' (Grundmann and Krishnamurthy; Jaworska) or 'postnatal depression' (Kinloch and Jaworska). The categorisation of the collocates of *immunotherap** in both corpora was conducted manually with a bottom-up approach. This involved carefully examining the extended concordance lines of each lexical collocate to identify similar semantic features and discursive domains among these collocates, and then grouping them into themes that characterise the discursive patterns around the search term in the two datasets. It should be noted that some items were assigned to more than one theme.

The second analysis sought to explore which types of evaluation were constructed in each dataset. Bednarek's framework (*Evaluation*) was chosen for this purpose because it offers a synthesis of a wide range of evaluative sub-values identified in previous studies on stance (e.g. Conrad and Biber), appraisal theory (e.g. Martin and White), and in research by Lemke, Francis, Thompson and Hunston, Chafe, among other scholars. Such diversity is of particular importance, especially because much research on semantic and discourse prosody has demonstrated a 'simplistic view of attitudinal meaning' (Hunston "Semantic Prosody" 256) by examining only the positive-negative polarity. Table 3 summarises Bednarek's framework (*Evaluation*) with definitions and

examples from Bednarek's data for each parameter and its sub-values.

Table 3. A summary of Bednarek's Parameter-based Framework of Evaluation

Parameter	Characteristics	Sub-values/ Sub-types	Examples
Comprehensibility	'the extent to which writers evaluate entities, situations or propositions as being within or beyond the grasp of human understanding', including concepts of 'vagueness', 'explicitness', 'clarity', 'inexplicability', 'mystery', 'unsolved problems' and unknown 'states of affairs' (45)	Comprehensible	*plain, clear*
		Incomprehensible	*mysterious, unclear, vague, complex, ambiguous, uncanny, inconsistencies, questions over, no explanations as to why*
Emotivity	'the writer's evaluation of aspects of events as good or bad, i.e. with the expression of writer approval or disapproval' (45) Note: Analysis of emotive meaning is 'highly subjective' because there are 'no standardised procedures' for identifying them (46).	Positive	*a polished speech, stoutly*
		Negative	*a rant, fanatic, perverse, vicious, attack, stoop to*
Expectedness	'the writer's evaluations of aspects of the world (including propositions) as more or less expected or unexpected', including	Expected	*familiar, inevitably, typical, this is in line with, usually, routine, familiar, little wonder that*

Parameter	Characteristics	Sub-values/ Sub-types	Examples
	concepts of '(counter)expectation', 'usuality', 'familiarity', 'strangeness', 'contrastive/unexpected emphasis', and 'actuality' (48)	Unexpected	*astonishing, surprising(ly), strange, curiously, funnily, strangely, unexpectedly, oddly enough, bizarrely, stunning, unprecedented*
		Contrast	*but, however, although*
		Contrast/ Comparison (negation)	*not, no, hardly, only*
Importance	'speaker's judgement . . . in terms of importance, relevance and significance', including 'notions of stardom/famousness', 'influence/authority', and other related concepts (50)	Important	*key, top, landmark, celebrity, celeb, famous, superstar, empire, leading, senior, top, significant, crucial, crunch, decisive, do-or-die, high-profile, high-rolling, historic*
		Unimportant	*minor, slightly*
Possibility/ Necessity	'the writer's evaluation of what is (not) necessary or (not) possible', excluding 'objective modality' (Lyons) that refers to 'permissions', non-subjective 'obligations', rules, or 'news actor's ability' (50-51)	Necessary	*had to, supposed, required, should*
		Not necessary	*need not*
		Possible	*can, could, allowed*
		Not possible	*inability, could not*

Parameter	Characteristics	Sub-values/ Sub-types	Examples
Reliability	'both the writer's evaluation of the reliability of a proposition and his/her evaluation of the genuineness of an entity or entities' (52)	Genuine	*real*
		Fake	*choreographed, artificial*
		High	*will, be to, certainly, must*
		Medium	*will, likely, probable*
		Low	*may, could, possible*
Evidentiality	"writers' evaluations of the 'evidence' for their knowledge" (53)	Hearsay	*say*
		Mindsay	*think*
		Perception	*seem, appear, look, visibly, audibly, reveal, show, betray, there are signs that, obviously, evidently, apparently*
		General knowledge	*(in)famously, well-known*
		Evidence	*proof that*
		Unspecific	*it emerged that, meaning that*
Mental State		Belief/Disbelief	*accept, doubt, suspect*

Parameter	Characteristics	Sub-values/ Sub-types	Examples
	'the writer's evaluation of other social actors' mental states' (54)	Emotion	*scared, angry, appalled*
		Expectation	*expectations*
		Knowledge	*know, recognise*
		State-of-Mind	*alert, tired, confused, weary*
		Process	*forget, ponder*
		Volition/Non-Volition	*deliberately, forced to, end up*
Style	'the writer's evaluation of the language that is used, for instance, comments on the manner in which the information is presented, or evaluations of the kind of language that is used' (56) *Style:Self*: the writer's discourse *Style:Other*: third parties' discourse	Self	*frankly, briefly*
		Other	*promise, threaten*

For 'close reading' and manual annotation of the data with the evaluative parameters above, a sample of concordance lines from each corpus was used for this analysis. The sampling method is based on a notion elucidated by Hunston and Sinclair (74) – 'a local grammar of evaluation' – which examines grammatical constructions of evaluative patterns in corpus linguistics. Some examples from their work include patterns such as 'It + Link Verb + Adjective Group + Clause' (e.g. 'It was wonderful talking to you' (85)) or 'pseudo cleft' structures (e.g. 'What's interesting is the tone of the statement' (89)). This approach is further illustrated in Hunston *(Corpus Approaches)*. However, unlike their focus

on adjectives within clauses that can modify any subjects, the grammatical constructions selected for close examination in this study specifically feature *immunotherap**. The grammatical collocates of *immunotherap** helped identify such constructions. Specifically, one important observation (see Appendices A.1-A.4 for the collocate lists) was that many of the collocates on the right side of the node are verbs in active forms (e.g. 'has/have' + past participle, 'uses', 'used', 'is', 'are', 'may', 'will') because the term or the noun phrases ending with the term are often placed in the subject position of a sentence or clause and, therefore, treated as an actor in a process or a carrier of an attribute.

To retrieve such constructions, two steps were taken. First, all occurrences in which the term is followed immediately by a verb were retrieved. SketchEngine (Kilgarriff et al.) was used for this purpose as Lancsbox 4.5 did not allow for search queries that include both a lemma and a part of speech. Then, from the search results, I selected all the cases in which *immunotherap** or the noun phrase comprising it is strongly topicalised as the subject of the immediate sentence or clause containing it. Co-texts (one sentence preceding or following each search result) were included in the samples where they were considered necessary to complete or clarify the ideas of the retrieved sentences or clauses. The sample for NeC (shortened as NeCS) has a total of 177 instances (i.e. the occurrences of the search query plus the co-texts) or 1840 words, and the sample for WeC (shortened as WeCS) has 450 instances or 3140 words.

To explore the content of NeCS and WeCS, a qualitative thematic analysis (see Brookes and Baker) was conducted. I thematically coded the topics of all the instances. The codes were developed inductively, i.e. driven by the content of these instances. Some instances were assigned more than one code. The results of this thematic analysis helped identify the instances within NeCS and WeCS where evaluation can be best observed. Segments of these instances were then manually annotated with Bednarek's evaluative parameters using the UAM corpus tool 3.3v (O'Donnell), which also calculates the frequencies of those segments. The parameter-based analysis aimed to reveal the most prominent

parameters contributing to the evaluative prosody of the term, and examine their linguistic expressions and discourse functions within the two samples.

Analysis

Collocation in NeC and WeC

As noted in the *Methodology* section, the first analysis involved carefully examining the extended concordance lines of each lexical collocate, and then grouping these collocates into themes based on similar semantic features and discursive domains to identify the topics that evoke evaluation around the search term. As also explained in that section, two measures, LL and MI, were used to generate both high-frequency and high-exclusivity collocates, respectively. The top 20 collocates in each position (left, right, or having equal frequencies on either side) were generated (Appendices A.1-A.4), among which the lexical collocates were examined. As a reminder, the minimum statistical requirements were 15.13 for LL and 3.0 for MI. Some collocates were assigned to more than one theme.

Six emergent themes in NeC are presented in Table 4 with typical co-texts (added in brackets and italicised) to clarify their primary meanings where necessary and collocational statistics (in square brackets).[5] The first theme – *Disease, Treatment, and Science* – covers all the collocates that constitute the discussions of any biomedical aspects of cancer (e.g. 'body's'), specific types and processes of cancer treatment (e.g. 'chemotherapy', 'targeted', 'combination', 'service'), drug names (e.g. 'atezolizumab', 'nivolumab'), research (e.g. 'platform', 'show'), trials, the individuals involved (e.g. 'patient(s)', 'chief' (clinician/executive)), and the locations and names of medical institutes. This is also the theme with the highest number of collocates, as can be seen from Table 4. The theme of *Variety* includes only one collocate that appears in both corpora – 'several', as in 'several types of immunotherapy'. The theme *Quotation* contains a single collocate – 'said', which reflects the common use of direct

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[5] If a collocate is on both lists, its co-text is presented on the LL list only.

and indirect quotes to present opinions from experts and patients.

Table 4. Top collocates in NeC categorised into six themes

Theme	LL	MI
Disease, Treatment, and Science	cancer [828.39], treatment [360.77], drugs [274.14], drug [228.59] chemotherapy [214.92], patients [164.83], combination [155.43], field [131.06], uses [126.82], body's *(the body's immune system)* [117.15], trial [110.48], used [106.30], targeted [85.04], use [80.44], approach [46.00], trials [43.37], medicine [25.63], year *(one year of immunotherapy treatment)* [16.62] *Places:* royal [31.63]	platform *(the Immunotherapy Platform at the... Cancer Center; platform for research)* [6.85], involves *(a trial that involves... drug; cancer treatment routinely involves...)* [6.00], service [5.88], field [5.83], combination [5.78], combining [5.76], targeted [5.54], therapeutic [5.49], effectiveness *(to increase/improve/enhance the effectiveness of...)* [5.49], medication [5.37], body's [5.23], option [5.21], chief [5.13], offered [5.12], combined [5.07], along *(chemotherapy along with immunotherapy)* [5.06], drugs [5.00], using [4.98], atezolizumab [4.94], nivolumab [4.90], chemo [4.90], show *(findings show that...)* [4.88], tested [4.88], use [4.87], approach [4.58], trials [3.88], medicine [3.08], patient [3.04] *Places:* germany [5.88], marsden [5.77], royal [5.04], memorial [5.31], sloan [4.88]
Variety	several [22.53]	several [3.99]
Time	new [230.41], now [90.55], first [90.42], development [83.26], already [44.14]	pioneering [6.45], currently [5.33], development [5.21], advances [5.09], recently [4.98], already [4.45]
Potential	more *(will help make immunotherapy more effective in more patients)* [133.81]	promise [6.11], promising [5.68], shown *(has/have shown promise/promising results)* [4.88]
Success	more *(are more effective; is much more targeted)* [133.81]	extends *(extends the life of...)* [7.26], extend [5.49], breakthrough [5.09],

		shown (*have shown an increase in survival*) [4.88]
Quotation	said [181.19]	

The rest of this section will concentrate on the three themes where the concordance lines of the collocates reveal which aspects of the treatment evoke evaluation: *Time, Potential*, and *Success*. The first one is *Time*, which includes collocates depicting temporal order, change, and progress. With 'already', we start to see explicit evaluation (all examples henceforth are judged to be representative of the patterns being examined), e.g.:

1. Some prominent sceptics of immunotherapy had **already** started coming around. (*The Times* 24.11.18)
2. Immunotherapies are **already** revolutionizing treatment for several cancer types. . . . (*Iran Daily* 01.12.18).

Alongside such acknowledgement of progress, the quality of being 'new', which is the collocate with the highest ranking by LL in this theme, is also emphasised. 50/55 co-occurrences of 'new' associate immunotherapy with favourable developments or characterise it as a viable option different from but compatible with other treatments, e.g.:

3. A **new** immunotherapy can greatly extend the lives of some people with advanced head and neck cancer. . . . (*The Herald* 01.12.18)
4. . . . develop a **new** type of immunotherapy for prostate cancer by targeting a feature of cancer cells that has never before been tested. (*The Herald* 05.11.18)
5. One of the **new** immunotherapy drugs has shown promise against breast cancer in a large study that combined it with chemotherapy. (*Times Colonist* 24.10.18)

Not only the treatment but the people involved in its research are also characterised as innovative, as can be seen from the collocate 'pioneering' (6/8 co-occurrences), which tops the ranking by MI in this theme, e.g.:

6. Pierce, whose **pioneering** work in cancer immunotherapy helped expand pembrolizumab's use in the clinic,. . . . (*The Philadelphia Inquirer* 09.08.18)

The two themes that show the most explicit expressions of evaluation are *Potential* and *Success*. The former consists of items related to the positive evaluation of its current states or prospects and the latter contains items related to its past successful clinical results. The collocate 'more' appears in both themes and constitutes different evaluative topics. As can be seen from the co-texts in Table 4, in *Success*, the adverb 'more' highlights the advantages of immunotherapy over other groups of treatment (2/36 co-occurrences), whereas in *Potential*, as both an adverb and a determiner, 'more' characterises the advances expected to be made in the future (17/36 co-occurrences), which can be further observed in the following examples:

7. "What we learn from this study will help make immunotherapy **more** effective in more patients. . . . (*The Journal Record* 04.12.18)

8. In a bid to make immunotherapy, the newest cancer treatment, **more** accessible, doctors and scientists from across the country will hold a meeting. . . . (*Hindustan Times* 31.12.18)

In both *Potential* and *Success*, all co-occurrences of 'promise', 'promising', and 'breakthrough' indicate past and expected achievements, e.g.:

9. These cell-based immunotherapies continue to show great **promise** and are improving survival for many patients, including children, living with cancer. (*The Alestle* 06.12.18)

10. ". . . are thrilled to be so close to the launch of our clinical trials of two **promising** new immunotherapies." (*Victoria News* 07.12.18)

11. . . . a **breakthrough** immunotherapy drug called pembrolizumab, which has been found to stop some prostate tumours growing and even eradicate cancer altogether. (*Illawarra Mercury* 27.09.18)

Overall, the collocates constituting the three themes *Time*, *Potential*, and *Success* in NeC have shown that the primary topics evoking evaluation in NeC are recent medical developments, future possibilities, and past clinical results.

With the same analytical procedure used for NeC, six themes emerged from the collocates in WeC (Table 5). The first five themes in both Table 4 for NeC and Table 5 for WeC are similar, suggesting that both corpora have similar discussion topics: (i) concepts and people involved biomedical and scientific processes, (ii) range of treatments and effects, (iii) recent developments, (iv) hopeful expectations, and (v) existing successful results. Another similarity is that, in both corpora, evaluation can be clearly identified in the three topics (iii), (iv), and (v) above, i.e. *Time, Potential,* and *Success,* although the collocates constituting these themes may vary across corpora. Examples 12-15 illustrate the use of such collocates in WeC:

12. Immunotherapy is a **promising new** strategy to treat cancer. (*Cancer.Net*)
13. They give patients early access to **cutting-edge** treatments, like immunotherapy, which can lead to research progress, improved treatment and better results. (*PanCAN*)
14. Many cancer specialists are optimistic ongoing research in clinical trials will make immunotherapy even safer and **more effective** than it is today. (*Asbesto.com*)
15. The future of cancer immunotherapy is an **exciting** one. (*Roche*)

Table 5. Top collocates in WeC categorised into six themes

Theme	LL	MI
Disease, Treatment, and Science	cancer [2027.43], **immunotherapy** [1337.56], **types** [879.13], **effects** [691.91], **treatment** [657.36], **side** [653.50], **treatments** [461.75], **work**	**video** (*this video shows...*) [6.30], **non-specific** [6.25], **passive** [6.07], **biologic** [5.97], **harnessing** [5.75], **visit** (*a website*) [5.71],

	(*work by boosting your immune system*) [409.26], **type** [380.26], **non-specific** [303.81], **checkpoint** [206.78], **drugs** [358.87], **clinical** [357.33], **immune** [307.48], **doctors** [85.63], **certain** (*types/ immunotherapies*) [76.47], **well** (*how well immunotherapy works*) [70.93], **field** [49.71], **reactions** [41.17], **science** [37.90], **forms** [37.80], **approach** [36.33], **oncolytic** [23.67]	**refers** (*immunotherapy refers to…*) [5.71], **adjuvant** [5.71], **harnesses** [5.56], **active** [5.45], **experimental** [5.39], **program** [5.36], **fda-approved** [5.32], **management** (*of side effects*) [5.27], **medicines** [5.24], **widely** (*make it more widely used*) [5.21], **history** (*treatment history, history of immunotherapy*) [5.13], **question** (*question checklist*) [5.13], **combining** [5.06], **long-term** [5.04], **discuss** (*with your doctors*) [4.97], **having** (*immunotherapy as a treatment*) [4.97], **join** (*a clinical trial*) [4.97], **immunology** [4.97], **types** [4.93], **form** [4.92], **comes** (*comes in pills or capsules*) [4.87], **field** [4.65], **science** [4.51], **reactions** [4.13], **doctors** [3.97], **forms** [3.90], **approach** [3.80], **well** [3.74], **certain** (*types/ immunotherapies*) [3.69], **oncolytic** [3.33]
Variety	**different** (*types/ways, different from other cancer treatments*) [428.98], **several** [231.15], **ways** (*work in different ways, side effects affect in different ways*) [107.04], **wide** (*range/variety*) [34.72]	**wide** [5.10], **different** [4.97], **several** [4.94], **ways** [4.12]
Time	**new** [310.27]	**cutting-edge** [6.30]
Potential	**more** (*will make… more effective*) [259.61], **effective** [66.30]	**suitable** [5.56], **exciting** [5.43], **promising** [5.14], **benefits** [4.94], **effective** [4.14]

Success	work (*may work when other treatments don't*) [409.26], **more** (*more effective; more likely to work*) [259.61], **effective** [66.30]	**advantages** [6.20], **benefits** [4.94], **effective** [4.14]
Problem	**work** (*does not work for every cancer type*) [409.26], **severe** [34.30]	**challenges** [5.30], **everyone** (*not working for everyone*) [4.92], **severe** [3.26]

Unlike in NeC, the sixth theme in WeC is *Problem*, which reveals two aspects of immunotherapy that are cause for concern. First, all 12 co-occurrences of the collocate 'severe' point to the topic of side effects, e.g.:

16. Immunotherapies may also cause **severe** or even fatal allergic reactions. (*U.S. National Cancer Institute*)

It should also be noted that both 'side' and 'effects' are among the top collocates in the theme of *Disease, Treatment, and Science* in WeC but not in NeC.

Second, limited effectiveness is another notable theme evoking evaluation, as evidenced by 15/91 cases of 'work' and 11/13 cases of 'everyone', e.g.:

17. The most challenging issue is that checkpoint immunotherapy doesn't **work** for **everyone**. . . . (*Cancer Council Victoria*)

18. Not **everyone** benefits from immunotherapy. We are just scratching the surface of understanding what factors can be used to identify the patients who may benefit. . . . (*Cancer.Net*)

Overall, alongside the three themes *Time, Potential, Success* in WeC which foreground similar evaluation-oriented topics as seen in NeC, WeC also has the theme *Problem*, which focuses on the medical drawbacks related to side effects and effectiveness.

By looking at the similar semantic and discursive features of the top collocates, the first analysis has identified (i) the broad areas of meaning, i.e. themes, of the lexical items often found in the company of the central term, and (ii) which topics are most likely to contribute to its evaluative prosody. The repeated interactions between the term and certain thematic groups of lexical items have been shown to carry relatively

explicit evaluation. Specifically, in both NeC and WeC, evaluation is evoked around the topics of recent advancement (*Time*), favourable results in the past (*Success*), and hopeful expectations for the future (*Potential*). Notably, in WeC, one theme also points to concerns and difficulties (*Problem*). The next section will examine two samples of NeC and WeC, exploring their content and then describing in detail how different evaluative sub-values are used and combined.

An overview of the evaluative parameters

As described in the *Methodology* section, to explore which specific types of evaluation were evoked, the second analysis involved three stages: (i) creating two samples, NeCS and WeCS, of the main corpora, (ii) characterising the content of these samples, (iii) annotating and analysing the parameters of evaluation identified within these samples. As also noted in that section, stage (ii) was a qualitative thematic analysis, in which all the instances (i.e. the occurrences of the search query plus the co-texts) were coded inductively. Six categories emerged from this analysis, and the number of instances for each are presented in Table 6 below. Some instances were assigned to more than one category.

Table 6. The number of instances for each category in each sample

	NeCS		WeCS	
General comments	91	51.4%	116	25.8%
Definition	13	7.3%	81	18%
Effectiveness	54	30.5%	53	11.8%
Side effects	12	6.8%	48	10.7%
Cost	8	4.5%	3	0.7%
Others (biomedical and clinical facts)	22	12.4%	152	33.8%

General comments, which include sentences such as 'immunotherapy is exciting, yet we have much to learn' or 'immunotherapy may replace chemotherapy in 10 years', cover a wide range of topics rather than focusing on a single topic compared to the other groups. It is also the

largest group in both samples apart from *Others*. Preliminary analysis of the instances in *General comments* also revealed that this group has the most complex use of evaluative parameters, and thus it was the focus of the annotation stage.

The annotation stage considered all six core parameters (*Comprehensibility, Emotivity, Expectedness, Importance, Possibility/Necessity, Reliability*) and one peripheral parameter, *Evidentiality*. The other two peripheral parameters, *Mental state* and *Style*, were excluded as they are concerned with the evaluation of social actors' mental states and language use (Bednarek *Evaluation*), which are of little relevance to the concept of immunotherapy itself within these corpora. The sub-values of these seven parameters were assigned to segments of each instance within the *General comments* group. Table 7 shows the number of segments annotated with the sub-values of each parameter and their percentages (see Table 3 for the definitions of these sub-values).

Table 7. The number of segments annotated with evaluative sub-values found in 'General comments' in each sample

	NeCS – GC		WeCS – GC	
	N	Percent	N	Percent
Total units	225	100	217	100
Parameters				
Comprehensibility	3	1.33	4	1.84
Emotivity	63	28	58	26.73
Expectedness	63	28	64	29.49
Importance	45	20	42	19.35
Possibility/Necessity	0	0	2	0.92
Reliability	27	12	40	18.43
Evidentiality	24	10.67	7	3.23
Comprehensibility				
Comprehensible	0	0	0	0
Incomprehensible	3	1.33	4	1.84
Emotivity				
Positive	54	24	50	23.04

Negative	9	4	8	3.69
Expectedness				
Expected	30	13.33	29	13.36
Unexpected	5	2.22	2	0.92
Contrast	13	5.78	7	3.23
Contrast/Comparison	15	6.67	26	11.98
Importance				
Important	42	18.67	42	19.35
Unimportant	3	1.33	0	0
Necessity/Possibility				
Necessary	0	0	1	0.46
Not necessary	0	0	1	0.46
Reliability				
Genuine	2	0.89	1	0.46
Fake	0	0	0	0
High	10	4.44	4	1.84
Medium	4	1.78	13	5.99
Low	11	4.89	22	10.14
Evidentiality				
Hearsay	21	9.33	5	2.3
Mindsay	0	0	0	0
Perception	0	0	0	0
General knowledge	0	0	0	0
Evidence	2	0.89	1	0.46
Unspecific	1	0.44	1	0.46

The parameter-based analysis in the next section will explore in detail five out of the seven selected parameters. They include *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, and *Reliability,* which are the four most prominent parameters in both samples, and *Comprehensibility*, which has relatively limited occurrences compared to the top four parameters, but accounts for similar proportions in both samples, as can be seen from Table 7. The two parameters excluded from the in-depth analysis are *Evidentiality,* which accounts for 10.67% in NeC but only 3.23% in WeC, and *Necessity/Possibility*, whose figures are virtually negligible compared to the others. Regarding *Evidentiality*, the previous analysis of

the top collocates has identified *Quotation* as a notable theme in NeC compared to WeC. Thus, it is not surprising that *Evidentiality:Hearsay,* mostly through direct quotations, is also more prominent in NeCS. It should be noted that the views expressed come not only from the writer(s) of the articles but also from the individuals they quote. For the current purpose of exploring the evaluative prosody of the term *immunotherapy/ies*, analysis of such attributions is considered not necessary, although this may be of interest in future research. Regarding *Necessity/Possibility,* there are very few references to writers' evaluation of what should be done (2 occurrences for *Necessity* found only in WeCS) and no mention of writers' evaluation of what is possible in the past or present (*Possibility*), while, according to Benarek's (*Evaluation*) framework, future predictions evoke evaluations of *Reliability* rather than *Possibility*. Bednarek (ibid.) also noted that her newspaper corpus contained very few references to *Necessity/Possibility*, and hypothesised that this feature was 'restricted to other genres such as commentaries' (110).

The functions and usage patterns of *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, *Reliability,* and *Comprehensibility* in *General comments* will be delineated in the following sections. Further comments on the topics other than *General comments* will also be made. The total number of occurrences of a feature or pattern or the number of instances in which it appears will be shown in brackets where relevant.

General comments in NeCS

The four parameters *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, and *Reliability* are employed and combined in various ways to construct two main dominant and consistent themes: *Development over time* and *Potential versus Caution*.

Regarding development, the focus is on the status of immunotherapy as being new and different, which is formulated mainly through two parameters: *Emotivity* and *Expectedness*. As can be seen in the collocation analysis, 'new' is one of the top collocates of *immunotherap**. Bednarek ("Astonishing" 204) points out that although 'new' may appear neutral,

when it is associated with a desirable goal, for example in advertising discourse, it can carry positive evaluation. Similarly, in this context, 'new' does not merely refer to the late emergence of immunotherapy compared to other treatments, but is also associated with a forward step in scientific development, and a welcomed addition to existing treatment options. Thus, 'new' can be said to evince *Emotivity:Positive.*

Throughout the sample, this status of being new is realised directly through the adjective 'new' (14 occurrences), and indirectly through other expressions (seven occurrences) such as 'in a recent clinical trial', 'among the most current treatments', 'is an up-and-coming field'. However, there are two instances in which this theme is partially resisted:

19. The idea behind cancer immunotherapy is **not** new. **Yet** it's taken more than a century to prove its worth. (*Irish Daily Mail* 04.09.18)

20. Immunotherapy has been known to us for several years **but** the biggest development happened only recently. (*Khaleej Times* 06.10.18)

These two instances, while emphasising the contemporary significance of immunotherapy, also acknowledge the length of time between its inception and its current status, which offers a more realistic and better-informed account of scientific research.

Devices within the parameter of *Expectedness* (e.g. 'yet' and 'but' for *Expectedness:Contrast* in Examples 19-20) are not only seen in those two cases that discuss the 'new' status, but also commonly used in the construction of immunotherapy as being different or unique, in terms of both theoretical approaches and clinical results. Some examples include 'unlike' (three occurrences) and 'in comparison' (one occurrence), and even one extreme case formulation (Arribas-Ayllon et al. 68): 'immunotherapy is **like no** cancer treatment we've **ever seen**' (*The Daily Oklahoman* 02.09.18), all of which are part of *Expectedness:Contrast/Comparison*, with the final example carrying an undertone of *Expectedness:Unexpected.*

Alongside the 'new and different' status, another common thread in

the *Development* theme is rising *Importance* (38 occurrences). This is best illustrated in two occurrences where immunotherapy is said to have transformed from a 'last resort' into 'first-line treatment' or 'first choice'. These phrases highlight two opposite sub-values of *Importance*, mapping the progress immunotherapy has made from being *Unimportant* in the past – as a last resort – to becoming as *Important* as a first-line treatment for some cancers in the present, with growing advocacy for it to become a 'standard treatment' for other cancers in the future. In a similar vein, the question of whether it can eventually replace other treatments also arises from the sample. The evaluation of this future possibility, however, seems to be mixed as both the *Low* and *High* levels of *Reliability* are employed:

21. Immunotherapy **may** replace chemotherapy in 10 years. (*The Times of India* 11.11.18)
22. The immunotherapy **will not** replace the other cancer treatments, but within five years it **will** be part of the therapy for **almost** all patients. . . . (*CE Noticias Financieras English* 02.10.18)

Example 21 appears in a headline with no attribution and no clear supporting evidence in the body text, and Example 22 is attributed to one Nobel-prize-winning scientist. Such a difference in authorship can influence the degree of *Reliability* from readers' perspective. This exemplifies how 'expert authority' – one of the legitimation strategies described by van Leeuwen (94-95) – comes into play.

In the second theme – *Potential versus Caution* – potential is primarily constructed by a blend of *Emotivity:Positive, Expectedness:Expected* and *Importance:Important* with varying degrees of *Reliability*, and caution is mainly signalled by *Expectedness:Contrast or Emotivity:Negative*. The most common lexical items that construct the discourse of *Potential* are 'breakthrough' (four occurrences) and 'promise/promising' (five occurrences), both of which are collocates of *immunotherap** measured by MI. While 'promise/promising' is regarded as *Emotivity:Positive*, 'breakthrough' seems to incorporate both *Emotivity:Positive* and *Importance:Important*, as it refers to medical advances (*Importance:Important*) in treatment that tend to be associated with

desirable   implications   such   as   extending   or   saving   lives (*Emotivity:Positive)*.

Another important concept within *Potential* is hope (28 occurrences), which is a combination of *Emotivity:Positive* and *Expectedness:Expected*. Hope is represented either explicitly or implicitly. Explicit constructions include the word 'hope(ful)' (10 occurrences), e.g.:

23. While the immunotherapy is offering new **hope** to patients who are out of treatment options. . . . (*The Philadelphia Inquirer* 28.08.18)

Hope can also be constructed implicitly without the use of 'hope(ful)' (18 occurrences), e.g.:

24. Immunotherapy has **opened the doors** for all cancer patients. . . . (*Khaleej Times* 06.10.18)

Among those implicit constructions, there is one instance in which hope is expressed through a prediction for cures that go beyond cancer:

25. In the future, immunotherapy could develop into a **cure for many more illnesses than cancer**. (*The McGill Tribune* 06.11.18)

Another strategy for implicitly constructing hope is through the expression of *Reliability:High* (seven occurrences) and *Reliability:Low* (seven occurrences), illustrated by Examples 26 and 27 respectively:

26. . . . immunotherapy is offered, **guaranteeing** the patient greater adherence, efficacy, reduction of secondary risks of toxicity and greater benefit. . . . (*CE Noticias Financieras English* 13.11.18)

27. . . . it has sent a new jolt of energy into an age-old dream: that **maybe**, **just maybe**, medical science can turn terminal cancers into survivable conditions. (*The Times* 24.11.18)

The theme of *Caution* (eight occurrences), on the other hand, is often realised through *Expectedness:Contrast* (seven occurrences), e.g.:

28. And immunotherapy represents, perhaps, cancer treatment's most exciting breakthrough in decades. **But** it's no magic bullet. (*The Daily Oklahoman* 02.09.18)

29. . . . **although** immunotherapy is brilliant in theory, in practice the results thus far have been mixed. (*Eureka Times* 04.12.18)

Expressions of *Emotivity:Negative* (nine occurrences) also indicate potential problems that signal *Caution*, e.g.:

30. . . . one of the biggest **challenges** of immunotherapies is predicting how well they will work with the patient's immune system, and understanding what the side effects could be. (*The Independent* 19.11.18)

31. . . . he felt "**cautious** excitement" that immunotherapy may prove helpful for certain breast cancer patients. (*The Washington Post* 21.10.18)

Other topics in NeCS

The *Definition* group contains 14 instances that all personify 'immunotherapy', 12 of which are warfare metaphors, e.g.:

32. makes it easier for the body's natural defenses to fight cancer (*The Straits Times* 05.11.18)

33. adds arsenal to the immune system (*The New Zealand Herald* 15.09.18)

Although these metaphors do not explicitly convey writers' opinions, it can be argued that they embody the power of science and medicine, positioning scientific advances as gaining ground on a relentless and powerful arch-enemy – cancer – and, thus, expressing both *Emotivity:Positive* and *Importance:Important.*

As far as *Effectiveness* is concerned, there are two main topics: success and limitations. Reports of success (30 instances) are quite consistently tied to a particular type or group of cancers or patients rather than all cases (e.g. 'Immunotherapy works best in cancers that have **lots of mutations.**' (*The Daily Telegraph* 04.09.18)).

Limitation reports (12 instances) are presented using any of the three

following primary strategies. First, contrasting devices – *Expectedness:Contrast* – are used to follow up a limitation with a more hopeful finding (four instances), e.g.:

34. Immunotherapies tend to work for only a minority of patients. . . . **However**, these patients' tumours did not grow for an average of 21 months compared with five months for those on chemotherapy. (*The Times* 23.10.18)

Second, in at least one case, the pairing of positive/negative contrast is not directly signalled by a conjunction between two adjacent sentences/clauses but spreads over a paragraph and constructed by various sub-values ('only' for *Expectedness:Contrast/Comparison*, 'hope' for *Emotivity:Positive*):

35. The drug . . ., pembrolizumab, helps **only** one in ten men with prostate cancer [two sentences omitted]. Professor Swanton, . . . is pinning his hopes on developing a specific type of checkpoint inhibitor drug **in the hope that** it will be a 'one-size-fits-all' cure. (*Irish Daily Mail* 04.09.18)

There are four cases where the pairing spreads over the whole text, in which cases the discussion on the disadvantages of the treatment was placed in the final section of the article.

Third, limitations can be highlighted with *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible* (3 instances), e.g.:

36. . . . experts **still don't know** how to use it in the best form". (*Hindustan Times* 31.12.18)

Regarding the topic of *Cost,* it is unanimously portrayed as a caveat (*Emotivity:Negative*) with all instances pointing to low affordability ('high', 'exorbitant', 'major deterrent', 'jaw-dropping', 'controversial').

In the topic of *Side effects*, however, the overall picture is much less consistent with a mixture of *Emotivity:Positive* and *Negative*. Three out of twelve instances mention severe side effects, whereas one personal story reports none, and the other cases praise immunotherapy for having fewer side effects compared to other treatments.

In summary, the evaluation patterns found from the above parameter-based analysis of NeCS are in alignment with the primarily positive and hopeful tone reflected in the collocation analysis of NeC. Going beyond that surface, this analysis has also revealed nuances that would be very difficult to observe from the top collocates in NeC alone. Specifically, we could see variable levels of certainty (*Reliability:Low/High*), and contrastive expressions (*Expectedness:Contrast*) are drawn upon to maintain hope when less welcoming news is involved. The analysis has also shown that the *Importance:Important* is consistently constructed in NeCS, while both opposing sub-values of *Emotivity* co-exist in the dataset.

General comments in WeCS

The four prominent parameters *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, and *Reliability* also construct two broad themes in WeCS: *Development over time* and *Potential versus Caution*. However, there are noticeable differences in the employment of these parameters in the two sample corpora.

As also observed in NeCS, in WeCS the status of being new and unique is central to the *Development* of immunotherapy over time, with the use of *Emotivity:Positive* (e.g. 'new') and *Expectedness:Contrast/Comparison* (e.g. 'unlike chemotherapy and radiotherapy'). However, in some instances, 'new' (13 occurrences) does not appear alone but is part of an adjective phrase, being qualified by adverbials denoting comparison: '**comparatively** new', '**relatively** new', and 'a much newer treatment **compared to chemotherapy**'. Such adverbial hedges are considered part of *Reliability* (Bednarek *Evaluation* 21) as they reduce the scope of the statements. Another notable difference in WeCS is the cases in which 'new' is directly associated with difficulty in grasping its full impacts through *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible* (three occurrences), e.g. 'Because immunotherapy is so new . . . **predicting** the side effects for an individual patient is **not easy**.' (*Cancer.Net*). Thus, it seems WeCS is more careful with the description of 'new' than NeCS is.

Similar to two cases found in NeCS, there are four cases in WeCS in which the status of 'new' is resisted to emphasise the long history of the treatment: 'its origins go back **more than a century**'; 'immunotherapy is **not** a new idea'; '**isn't** a new science', 'the concept . . . has actually been around for **a long time**'. The 'unique' theme is also contradicted in one case where the focus is not on biological mechanisms and results but delivery methods, thus leading to a seemingly contradictory observation: 'Immunotherapy is **a lot like** *(Expectedness:Expected)* other forms of cancer treatment.' (*WebMD*)

Another sub-theme within diachronic *Development* that is present in both NeCS and WeCS is the growth in *Importance*. In both corpora, *Importance* is constructed as the increasing significance of immunotherapy in terms of its impact on the study and practice of cancer treatment. In WeCS, *Importance* is also discussed in terms of media publicity (six occurrences):

37. Immunotherapy . . . is generating **a lot** of **international headlines**. (*Canadian Cancer Society)*

These points likely serve the purpose of managing expectations, in which the popularity of immunotherapy is acknowledged in an attempt to affiliate with readers' media-led preconceptions of the treatments before presenting information that may either support or contradict such preconceptions.

The second major strand – *Potential and Caution* – is as complex in WeCS as in NeCS. Regarding *Potential*, apart from mentions of 'breakthrough' (*Importance:Important* and *Emotivity:Positive*) as already seen in NeCS, 'miracle' has also come up twice in WeCS. However, its positive quality is often intertwined with caution and is considerably diminished by *Expectedness:Contrast* or *Reliability:Medium/Low,* as in Examples 38 and 39 respectively:

38. **While** immunotherapy is nothing short of a miracle. . . , it **doesn't work for everyone**. (*healthline*)

39. There have been media reports of how immunotherapy is a "miracle drug" and how it can cure cancer. . . . Because of these

factors, people's **expectations can be high** when starting treatment.' (*Cancer Council Victoria*)

The most common *Emotivity:Positive* adjectives to highlight potentiality are 'exciting' (eight occurrences) and 'promising' (six occurrences), which are also the collocates generated with MI.

Similar to NeCS, the discourse of hope is also salient in WeCS, and manifests in numerous ways, either directly through two mentions of 'hope', or indirectly (17 occurrences), such as through the use of 'potential(ly)' (six occurrences), e.g.:

40. Immunotherapy has the **potential** to be effective for virtually all forms of cancer. (*PICI*)

Indirect expressions of hope can also include a combination of *Expectedness:Contrast, Expectedness:Expected* and *Importance:Important* (two occurrences), e.g.:

41. It is not yet a part of **standard, first-line treatment** for the cancer, **but** medical research is getting **closer to making it a reality**. (*Asbestos.com*)

Another strategy for implicit construction is the employment of *Reliability:Low* (nine occurrences):

42. Immunotherapy **may** work when other treatments don't. (*WebMD*)

As for the theme of *Caution*, three types of construction have been found. The first type indicates *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible* (four occurrences), e.g.:

43. And if it does work, some people are always **wondering** how long immunotherapy will control the cancer or whether the cancer will come back. (*Cancer Council Victoria*)

The second type emphasises *Expectedness:Contrast* (five occurrences), e.g.:

44. The field of immunotherapy is exciting, **yet** we have much to learn. (*Verywell Health*)

The third type evokes *Emotivity:Negative* (eight occurrences):

45. Immunotherapy can be **stressful**. . . . (*HCAHealthcare UK)*

Within *Caution*, a sub-theme, *Suitability,* has been found, which seems to be exclusive to WeCS. The adjective 'suitable' is one of the collocates generated with MI in WeC and does not feature in the top collocates in NeC. Close examination of WeCS reveals that it appears in a consistent pattern (five occurrences): *'whether/if immunotherapy is (a) suitable (treatment) for you'*. This is also true for all of the 12 occurrences of 'suitable' in the whole WeC. Two examples in WeCS are:

46. Ask your doctor if immunotherapy is a **suitable** treatment for you. (*Cancer Council NSW*)

47. If you . . . would like to know more about whether immunotherapy is **suitable** for you, talk to your medical team. (*The Brain Tumour Charity*)

In these examples, by using the structure 'whether/if' and refocusing the readers' attention on medical professionals ('your doctor/consultant/medical team'), the writers have detached themselves from the evaluation of the treatment and orient towards giving counsel to the readers by using imperatives.

Other topics in WeCS

Some observations of the *Definition, Cost,* and *Effectiveness* groups in WeCS are similar to what has been noted in NeCS:

(i) The dominant use of war-related metaphor and the stress on high costs

(ii) The use of *Expectedness:Contrast* devices to pair a less expected/ pleasant statement with a more positive prospect in *Effectiveness* (four instances out of 14 mentions of limitations), e.g.:

48. Immunotherapy doesn't work for all types of cancer. **But** doctors and researchers are still hard at work to create . . . and figure out. . . . (*WebMD*)

(iii) The feature of *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible* in discussions on the current lack of certainty (six instances in *Effectiveness*), e.g.:

49. Doctors **aren't sure yet** why immunotherapy helps only some people. (*WebMD*)

Unlike in NeCS, however, half of the comments on successful results (14 out of 28) do not mention specific types of cancer or patients and only provide a general overview such as 'works **better** for **some** types of cancer than for others'.

Side effects is a much larger group in WeCS compared to NeCS, with five primary features (Table 8).

Table 8. Evaluation of side effects in WeCS

1. The most consistent message affirmed throughout almost all instances is that immunotherapy does have side effects and those depend on various factors. Note: The possibility of having no side effects at all can also be inferred in one instance (Example 51).	50. Side effects from immunotherapy can vary depending on the type of treatment you receive and how your body responds. (*Cancer Council*) 51. You also might have heard that immunotherapy doesn't have side effects. But that's not always the case. (*MDAnderson*)
2. Conflicting constructions of *Expectedness* along with *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible*	- Construction of predictability: '**common** side effects' (eight instances) - Problematisation of the unknown (two instances): 52. Unfortunately, when immunotherapy does cause severe side effects, they are highly **unpredictable**. (*Asbestos.com*)
3. Modal verbs with *Reliability:Medium/Low* frequently precede mentions of side effects, especially in the case of high severity or seriousness (52 instances)	53. . . . **may** also cause severe or even fatal allergic reactions. (*U.S. National Cancer Institute*) 54. . . . some **may** be mild but others **can** be quite severe. (*FORCE*)

4. Quantifiers are sometimes employed to emphasise that *Emotivity:Positive* results are more usual than *Emotivity:Negative* ones (four instances)	55. Still, immunotherapy can, **on rare occasions**, cause other serious medical problems. (*Cancer.Net*) 56. **Most** side effects of immunotherapy are mild and go away once the body gets used to the drug. (*Canadian Cancer Society*)

Overall, through this parameter-based analysis of WeCS, we could see in much more detail how the status of being new and the concerns over many decisive factors, especially side effects, that have been previously observed are constituted by various evaluative strategies: making a range of comparisons/contrasts (*Expectedness:Contrast/Comparison*), using mainly the *Low/Medium* level of *Reliability,* or passing further evaluation on to experts. The *Importance* parameter has a consistent construction, whereas both opposing sub-values of *Emotivity* could be found.

In summary, the parameter-based analysis of both sample corpora has revealed:

(i) The similarities between the two samples include the consistent use of metaphorical *Definitions*, prominence of four types of evaluation (*Importance, Emotivity, Reliability,* and *Expectedness*), generally similar comments on *Importance* and *Cost,* and conflicting representations of *Development over time, Potential, Caution, Effectiveness*, and *Side effects.*

(ii) The differences between the two samples concern the construction of novelty, aspects of *Importance,* and WeCS's more diverse patterns within *Caution* and *Side effects.*

Appendix A.5 provides a list of all the parameters found in NeCS and WeCS for each topic, theme, and message.

Discussion

In the two corpora and their samples, the collocational relationships and the evaluation-embedded interactions of the items around *immunotherap** have shed light on how the evaluative prosody of this

treatment group is linguistically constructed. This section presents and discusses the answers to the research question by highlighting the convergence and dissonance of different evaluative strands identified from the two analyses above.

Common threads

Four observations on evaluative prosodies have been consistent in both types of analysis. First, the themes of evaluation (*Development over time, Potential versus Caution* in both sample corpora) correspond to the themes of collocation (*Time* and *Potential* in both corpora and *Problem* in WeC). Second, these corpora are characterised by the discourse of hope, as indicated by the collocational themes of *Potential* and *Success* in both corpora and the greater proportion of *Emotivity:Positive* compared to *Emotivity:Negative* in both samples (see Table 7). Third, news writers have a tendency to invite evaluation from multiple sources, as can be seen from the theme *Quotation* in NeC and the parameter *Evidentiality* in NeCS. Fourth, compared to NeC, information offered by health organisations in WeC tends to express more concerns over disadvantages and side effects, as evidenced by (1) 'side_effects' being among the top collocates in WeC; (2) the collocational theme *Problem* present in WeC; (3) the relatively higher proportion of the topic *Side effects* in WeCS (see Table 6); as well as (4) more explicit advocacy for seeking further information or professional counsel that can be seen within the theme of *Caution* in WeCS.

The parameter-based analysis has also revealed three consistently constructed evaluative patterns that could not be detected from the examination of collocates alone. First, there are two topics with consistent patterns of evaluation in both sample corpora: *Definition*, which is unfailingly portrayed through metaphors that evoke *Emotivity:Positive* and *Importance:Important*, and *Cost*, in which *Emotivity:Negative* is used throughout to highlight low affordability. This unchanging message within *Cost* is not surprising given that newly available or approved treatments are rarely covered by health insurance, thus becoming remarkably high-priced.

Second, across both sample corpora, the only parameter whose sub-values are construed in a consistent manner is *Importance* (in *Development over time, Potential*, and war-related metaphors). There is no debate around the current significance of immunotherapy within science and healthcare; even when *Importance:Unimportant* is mentioned, it only refers to the past to underline increasing importance in the present or future. The time period of data collection may have played a role in this unanimous portrayal of importance in the news articles, as datasets are all relatively recent: the news data were collected within two months before and after the Nobel Prize for two immunotherapy researchers in 2018, and the data of web pages were retrieved in July 2019, which is after the same milestone.

The third feature is different from the other two above as its pattern is relatively consistent within WeCS, but not NeCS: regarding *Reliability*, *Low* and *Medium* sub-values dominate. This aligns with findings in Sarangi and Clarke's study on communicating genetic risks, in which they found that hedging devices are the primary tool of formulating uncertainty used by geneticists to avoid giving overt advice to patients. Pointing out that uncertainty is an inherent feature of health communication and the act of giving information can be easily interpreted as giving advice, these authors suggested that using different types of hedges could help foreground information-giving and avoid the possible litigation that accompanies advice-giving. This tendency to sidestep advice-giving offers one explanation for the observations made above where writers actively urge readers to seek medical evaluation from their healthcare team.

Conflicting depictions

Despite the consistencies above, other aspects of this treatment group attract conflicting sub-values, as summarised in Appendix A.5. In NeCS, the presence of both *High* and *Low* sub-values in *Reliability* concerns two issues: the possibility of immunotherapy replacing other treatments in the future and the expression of hope for further scientific achievements

and better outcomes for patients. Notably, the former discussion does not come up in WeCS. Such variations within and across samples point to areas where information seekers might have trouble processing and what healthcare staff might need to address during consultations.

Another issue in which the duality of opposing sub-values is likely to be of concern to readers is side effects. Within the topic *Side effects,* which includes mild to severe ones, *Positive* and *Negative* sub-values of *Emotivity* co-exist in each sample corpus. The collocate 'side_effects' features much more prominently in WeC compared to NeC, and as WeCS is larger than NeCS, it is reasonable that *Side effects* in WeCS displays more complex patterns of evaluation. Another difference is that WeCS does not only briefly mention side effects as NeCS does, but presents and categorises them as, for example, 'common' (*Expectedness:Expected*), or 'unpredictable'   *(Expectedness:Unexpected*   and *Comprehensibility:Incomprehensive*). These discussions on side effects reflect a crucial concern in health information at large, as many researchers have recommended that side effects should be an indispensable part of written treatment-related information (Charnock et al.; Genova et al.; Jørgensen and Gøtzsche; Ream et al.). Thus, the fact that WeC and WeCS provide detailed descriptions of side effects exemplifies health organisations' attempts not to mislead readers or exaggerate the potential of these treatments. However, such contradicting evaluations may still be a source of anxiety to readers.

Conflicting information and opinions are not only shown through opposing   sub-values   but   also   through   constructions   of *Expectedness:Contrast* and *Expectedness:Contrast/Comparison.* These constructions are employed in various messages in both samples, but most notably in three discussions: *Being different or unique* (within *Development over time), Caution,* and *Limitations* (within *Effectiveness).* Through these parameters, we could observe the concessive pairings that have been described by Gill and Babrow as 'back-pedaling' in their study of breast cancer in women's magazines, 'because it seemed that these authors took two steps forward, then, realizing they had gone too far, took a step back' (142). Gill and Babrow pointed out that placing more positive

information first is either a rhetorical strategy to draw readers' attention or a testimony to the 'ambivalence on the part of journalists who wanted to provide very hopeful news but realized that the extremity of the hopeful news they provided was misleading' (142). On the other hand, placing less positive, uncertain, or cautionary information first has been identified by Leydon as a communication strategy much used by doctors in spoken encounters with patients to maintain hope. Leydon calls the phenomenon 'the power of proximateness', which 'refers to how doctors routinely organised information so that the relatively good followed the bad or uncertain' (1084), a turn design that enables doctors to emphasise the second part of the turn, sometimes explicitly by adding 'which is good' (1085). Although Gill and Babrow described journalists' styles and Leydon examined doctor-patient conversations, both of the strategies they identified could be observed in each of the sample corpora in this study.

Taking into account both the consistent messages and the conflicting evaluations that are present in the corpora and their samples, and the influences online information can have on patients' treatment decisions, it could be argued that whether information comes from news agencies or health organisations, readers are advised to utilise both sources with discernment, i.e. not to expect definitive advice in favour of or against the treatments. If readers seek to be well-informed, web pages from health organisations may be more helpful than news articles, because the former is more likely to explicitly advise readers to seek more information and make a greater attempt to sound the alarm about side effects, although as we have seen, the inconsistencies in its evaluation of side effects can still pose a challenge. This challenge is not just to readers but to health communication at large, because, as Han et al. pointed out, uncertainty stemming from probability, imprecision, lack of evidence, or conflicting opinions are unavoidable and irreducible. On the other hand, uncertainty resulting from the complexity of the information being discussed is essentially reducible (ibid.). News writers and organisational web writers could help reduce such complexity by providing accessible explanations

and guiding readers to more comprehensive sources, including health professionals, that can offer more detail or clarification on the treatments.

Conclusion

This study has examined the linguistic construction of the evaluation of cancer immunotherapy within a corpus of online news articles and another corpus of health organisations' web pages. To explore evaluation, two approaches were adopted, one from corpus linguistics (evaluative prosody), and the other built upon the literature of evaluative language (parameter-based framework). To identify the thematic groups of lexical items that reflect frequently discussed evaluative topics around the term *immunotherap**, I first examined its top collocates. Two collocational measures, MI and LL, were used to generate the top high-frequency and high-exclusivity collocates. The analysis then focused on identifying the similar semantic and discursive features of the top lexical collocates. A total of seven thematic groups emerged from the corpora, reflecting the broad areas of meaning often found around the term. Five of these themes are present in both corpora, suggesting five common discussion points: (1) biomedical and scientific processes, (2) variety of treatments and effects, (3) recent developments, (4) hopeful expectations, and (5) existing successful results. At the same time, the two corpora differ in two themes: in the news articles, (6) reporting verbs frequently occur near the term due to the use of quotation, while in the web page texts, (7) concerns over side effects or ineffectiveness constitute a notable theme. Within four out of these seven themes, specifically (3), (4), (5), and (7) above, the repeated interactions between the term and its collocates have been shown to carry relatively explicit evaluation and, thus, contribute to its evaluative prosody.

To explore specific types of evaluation constructed in each dataset, I examined two samples of the corpora. These samples are composed of the instances in which *immunotherap** or the noun phrase comprising it is placed in the subject position of the immediate sentence or clause containing it. Each sample covers six main categories: *General comments, Definition, Effectiveness, Side effects, Cost,* and *Others* (biomedical and

clinical information). The analysis focused on the *General comments*, which cover multiple topics and demonstrate the most complex patterns of evaluation compared to the other categories. All the instances in *General comments* were annotated with the evaluative parameters identified in Bednarek's framework. In terms of frequency, *Emotivity*, *Expectedness*, *Importance*, and *Reliability* are the four most prominent parameters in both samples, and *Comprehensibility*, although having limited occurrences, accounts for similar proportions in both samples.

The analysis then described in detail how the sub-values of these five parameters were used and combined in *General comments* as well as in the other categories. Consistent evaluative patterns have been found in statements related to *Definition* and *Cost* in both samples, with the former being characterised by *Emotivity:Positive* and *Importance:Important* and the latter *Emotivity:Negative*. *Importance:Important* is salient not only in *Definition* but throughout the two samples. Specifically, the increasing significance of the treatment from the past up to the present and the impact that it is expected to have in the future are highlighted by both sub-values of the *Importance* parameter. As noted in the *Discussion* section, the relative recentness of the datasets may have contributed to such constructions.

While some topics and evaluative sub-values underpin similar representations of the treatment in both samples, others reveal conflicting messages that may cause anxiety to readers. Multiple inconsistencies have been identified in the topic of *Side effects*. In both the news and web page samples, *Positive* and *Negative* evaluators of *Emotivity* have been found to characterise different levels of severity. Moreover, within the web page sample, where side effects are a much more prominent topic, two contrasting sub-values of *Expectedness*, i.e. *Expected* and *Unexpected*, have been observed in constructions of likelihood and predictability. Apart from side effects, another potential source of confusion to readers concerns the other two sub-types of *Expectedness* focusing on contrast and comparison. They could be seen in both samples, most clearly in discussions on *Being different or unique*

(within *Development over time), Caution,* and *Limitations* (within *Effectiveness).* One notable feature is the use of contrastive pairings, in which a more hopeful or positive message follows or precedes an uncertain, cautionary, or less positive one. I have argued that, in each sample, these pairings resemble not only the discursive strategy found in magazine articles about breast cancer (Gill and Babrow) but also the one used by doctors during oncology consultations (Leydon). Conflicting messages are also constructed through the evaluation of *Reliability*. As noted in the *Discussion* section, the prevalence of *Reliability:Medium / Low* within the web page sample reflects a tendency to employ hedges to communicate uncertainty and avoid advice-giving. Despite that pattern, overall, *Reliability* is still inconsistently represented as all three sub-values, i.e. *Low*, *Medium*, and *High,* have been found in each sample.

The collocation and parameter-based analyses together have provided complimentary insights into the evaluation of cancer immunotherapy. The topics and types of evaluation observed around the term indicate that its evaluative prosody, defined as the interaction between a lexical unit and other items carrying evaluation, is complex and may vary according to text types. Although both analyses have shown that the two corpora centre on three main topics of evaluation, i.e. temporal development, potential, and drawbacks, the specific issues addressed in each corpus are different in multiple ways. Similarly, despite both corpora having the same four most common evaluative parameters, among which *Importance* is consistently constructed, the sub-values of *Reliability*, *Emotivity*, and *Expectedness* constitute divergent or contradictory messages. Overall, hopeful comments and predictions are prevalent in both corpora, but, in web page texts, drawbacks and concerns are also emphasised. Therefore, as noted in the *Discussion* section, it is important for readers, including patients and carers, to be aware of where and how such evaluative strands converge and diverge in these non-specialist genres, so that they can be motivated to seek more information and avoid forming their opinions of the treatment based on only one news or web article, source, or text type. It may be useful for professional writers specialising in

health communication to be mindful of the conflicting evaluations that are present across multiple texts, as these writers could explicitly discuss potential causes of confusion or anxiety and promote information-seeking behaviour. It is also potentially beneficial for healthcare providers to be aware of both the consistencies and inconsistencies in these text types, in order to have open discussions about such contents with patients and carers.

The combination of quantitative and qualitative methods adopted in this study provides a useful approach to the examination of key concepts or entities. Whereas previous studies, such as those that explore 'financial crisis' (Schröter and Storjohann) and 'climate change' (Grundmann and Krishnamurthy; Jaworska), have not gone beyond collocation analysis, this study has taken a further step by conducting a qualitative analysis of all the occurrences in which the key term is topicalised in the subject position of its clauses or sentences, thereby allowing for a much more fine-grained level of observation and addressing the long-standing criticism levelled against the 'simplistic' good-bad evaluation (Hunston "Semantic Prosody" 256). Analysing the sample corpora comprising these occurrences and their co-texts has proven to be highly useful in unpacking more unsubtle evaluation. Firstly, the samples contain many of the top noun and adjective collocates, thus facilitating an in-depth examination of those items. Secondly, the samples are also representative of the complete corpora as their major evaluative themes are reflective of the themes identified in the top collocates. However, as the study centres on *immunotherap**, it necessarily ignores other possible types of constructions and references (e.g. by using pronouns or using names of specific drugs or treatment sub-categories), which could be explored in future research. As NeC consists of international news within a five-month span and WeC represents popular online search results at a specific time, they could not reflect how the representations of immunotherapy develop over many years or vary across cultural contexts. For that purpose, looking into diachronic changes over, for example, a decade, or collecting data from specific

countries will be useful. As this study only focuses on written texts produced by journalists and health professionals, future research exploring online information seekers' perspectives can reveal patterns of evaluation that are different from what we have seen so far.

Finally, language not only reflects social entities but also actively constructs them (Candlin et al. 323) and '[d]iscourses are constantly changing, interacting, merging, reproducing and splitting off from each other' (Baker *Public Discourses* 17). As knowledge about immunotherapy is still expanding, the construction of its evaluation is expected to change and potentially (re)shape patients' perceptions of their treatment choices. Thus, the evaluative language around immunotherapy will continue to be an interesting research subject. This study contributes to the formation of a future body of research that will explore the public evaluation of cancer treatments and medical advances through the lens of applied linguistics.

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APPENDICES

A.1 The top collocates in NeC with Log-likelihood

No.	Left	Freq.	LL	Right	Freq.	LL	Middle	Freq.	LL
1	the	477	1776.84	is	175	784.74	are	50	151.97
2	of	305	1160.69	a	181	568.58	approach	10	46.00
3	cancer	214	828.39	in	172	536.39	already	10	44.14
4	to	238	773.00	and	153	414.28	trials	12	43.37
5	that	106	329.16	for	116	394.81	when	14	37.77
6	with	85	288.33	treatment	84	360.77	royal	6	31.63
7	new	55	230.41	drugs	52	274.14	medicine	10	25.63
8	said	53	181.19	which	54	229.77	several	6	22.53
9	combination	24	155.43	drug	49	228.59	year	8	16.62
10	this	45	138.03	has	57	227.63			
11	field	20	131.06	chemothe-rapy	44	214.92			
12	on	43	113.68	as	57	189.85			
13	trial	26	110.48	patients	55	164.83			
14	an	34	108.95	more	36	133.81			
15	now	23	90.55	uses	18	126.82			
16	first	24	90.42	body's	21	117.15			
17	targeted	14	85.04	have	39	112.89			
18	development	15	83.26	used	22	106.30			
19	there	22	81.54	be	38	105.67			
20	use	16	80.44	at	38	99.10			

A.2 The top collocates in NeC with Mutual Information

No.	Left	Freq.	MI	Right	Freq.	MI	Middle	Freq.	MI
1	pioneering	8	6.45	extends	5	7.26	royal	6	5.04
2	show	11	6.13	platform	6	6.85	approach	10	4.58
3	involves	5	6.00	promise	9	6.11	already	10	4.45
4	germany	5	5.88	uses	18	6.11	several	6	3.99
5	field	20	5.83	service	5	5.88	trials	12	3.88
6	combination	24	5.78	promising	9	5.68	are	50	3.42
7	marsden	5	5.77	extend	5	5.49	when	14	3.19
8	combining	6	5.76	therapeu-tic	5	5.49	medicine	10	3.08
9	targeted	14	5.54	medica-tion	7	5.37	patient	6	3.04
10	effectiveness	5	5.49	currently	11	5.33			
11	development	15	5.21	memorial	8	5.31			
12	chief	8	5.13	body's	21	5.23			
13	offered	5	5.12	option	7	5.21			
14	breakthrough	10	5.09	combined	7	5.07			
15	advances	8	5.09	drugs	52	5.00			
16	along	5	5.06	atezolizu-mab	9	4.94			
17	recently	7	4.98	nivolumab	7	4.90			
18	using	15	4.98	sloan	5	4.88			
19	chemo	7	4.90	tested	5	4.88			
20	use	16	4.87	shown	9	4.88			

A.3 The top collocates in WeC with Log-likelihood

No.	Left	Freq.	LL	Right	Freq.	LL	Middle	Freq.	LL
1	of	661	2816.19	is	434	2099.19	it	70	150.95
2	cancer	535	2027.43	to	410	1160.49	ways	26	107.04
3	the	635	1896.87	for	272	1124.38	doctors	22	85.63
4	immunothe-rapy	335	1337.56	are	271	967.86	certain	22	76.47
5	types	158	879.13	a	258	731.39	well	20	70.93
6	effects	156	691.91	treatment	171	657.36	effective	16	66.30
7	what	111	666.41	in	228	649.88	field	10	49.71
8	side	153	653.50	treatments	101	461.75	reactions	10	41.17
9	and	271	628.47	different	77	428.98	science	8	37.90
10	how	109	554.94	can	127	413.52	forms	10	37.80
11	you	107	421.17	work	91	409.26	approach	10	36.33
12	type	81	380.26	some	98	360.40	any	12	35.53
13	about	69	315.19	drugs	86	358.87	wide	6	34.72
14	with	115	314.34	clinical	87	357.33	severe	12	34.30
15	new	66	310.27	may	94	346.40	their	16	29.90
16	other	90	304.55	as	116	339.69	were	12	29.81
17	non-specific	35	303.81	that	131	310.01	oncolytic	8	23.67
18	more	76	259.61	immune	146	307.48			
19	several	42	231.15	your	95	290.26			
20	checkpoint	60	206.78	be	95	284.77			

A.4 The top collocates in WeC with Mutual Information

No.	Left	Freq.	MI	Right	Freq.	MI	Middle	Freq.	MI
1	cutting-edge	5	6.30	video	5	6.30	wide	6	5.10
2	non-specific	35	6.25	biologic	22	5.97	field	10	4.65
3	advantages	7	6.20	harnessing	6	5.75	science	8	4.51
4	passive	14	6.07	2019	5	5.71	effective	16	4.14
5	behind	7	5.75	refers	5	5.71	reactions	10	4.13
6	adjuvant	5	5.71	harnesses	6	5.56	ways	26	4.12
7	visit	6	5.71	suitable	9	5.56	doctors	22	3.97
8	active	23	5.45	exciting	13	5.43	forms	10	3.90
9	fda-approved	7	5.32	experimental	6	5.39	approach	10	3.80
10	challenges	5	5.30	program	17	5.36	well	20	3.74
11	what	111	5.18	management	8	5.27	certain	22	3.69
12	history	5	5.13	medicines	27	5.24	any	12	3.33
13	question	5	5.13	widely	10	5.21	oncolytic	8	3.33
14	combining	8	5.06	promising	23	5.14	severe	12	3.26
15	long-term	11	5.04	discuss	8	4.97			
16	immunology	7	4.97	having	9	4.97			
17	benefits	21	4.94	join	5	4.97			
18	several	42	4.94	different	77	4.97			
19	types	158	4.93	everyone	13	4.92			
20	form	24	4.92	comes	7	4.87			

A.5 A summary of findings on evaluative parameters

		NeCS	WeCS
General comments			
1	Development over time		
1.1.	Being new	*Emotivity:Positive*	*Emotivity:Positive*
1.2.	Being new only to a certain extent	*Expectedness:Contrast Expectedness:Contrast/ Comparison*	*Reliability:Low/Medium*
1.3.	Challenges due to being new		*Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible*
1.4.	Being different or unique	*Expectedness:Contrast/ Comparison (Expectedness:Unexpected)*	*Expectedness:Contrast/ Comparison (Expectedness:Expected)*
1.5.	Growing importance in science and medicine	from *Importance:Unimportant* in the past to *Importance:Important* in the present	*Importance:Important*
1.6.	Growing media publicity		*Importance:Important*
1.7.	The possibility of replacing other treatments	*Reliability:Low Reliability:High*	
2	Potential		
2.1.	'breakthrough', 'promise/ promising'	*Emotivity:Positive and Importance:Important*	*Emotivity:Positive and Importance:Important*
2.2.	'miracle'		*Expected:Contrast Reliability:Medium/Low*
2.3.	'exciting'		*Emotivity:Positive*
2.4.	Being hopeful	*Emotivity:Positive and Expectedness:Expected Reliability:Low Reliability:High*	*Emotivity:Positive and Expectedness:Expected Reliability:Low*
3	Caution	*Expectedness:Contrast Emotivity:Negative*	*Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible Expectedness:Contrast Emotivity:Negative*

			Distancing writers from the need to evaluate
Other topics			
1	Definition		
1.1.	Warfare metaphors	*Emotivity:Positive and Importance:Important*	*Emotivity:Positive and Importance:Important*
2	Effectiveness		
2.1.	Successful results	(Consistently tied to a particular type or group of cancers or patients rather than all cases)	(Half of the comments on successful results do not mention specific types of cancer or patients and only provide a general overview)
2.2.	Limitations	*Expectedness:Contrast Expectedness:Contrast/ Comparison Emotivity:Positive Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible*	*Expectedness:Contrast Comprehensibility:Incomprehensible*
3	Cost	*Emotivity:Negative*	*Emotivity:Negative*
4	Side effects	*Emotivity:Positive Emotivity:Negative*	*Expectedness:Expected Expectedness:Unexpected Comprehensibility:Incomprehensive Reliability:Medium/Low Emotivity:Positive Emotivity:Negative*

Multilingual practices of East & South Slavonic German rappers and the political aspects of their lyrics

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Introduction

'*Seehofer ist ein Opfer, Schmock*' ('Seehofer is a loser*German*, shmok*Yiddish*') (CA_2021MWT2_15.txt).[1] In 2021, the German rapper Ćelo commented in his song '*GTA dva*' ('Grand Theft Auto*English* two*Bosnian*') on the statements of German conservative politician Horst Seehofer regarding the compulsory use of German in private life for all people living in Germany, amongst other xenophobic statements. Ćelo is one of the most commercially successful German rappers, and uses Bosnian and Yiddish

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[1] The references are the internal file names, consisting of the artist's pseudonym, the year of the release, the abbreviation for the release title, the ordinal number of the track, and the format of the file. Example: **CA_2021MWT2_15.txt** - Ćelo & Abdï **2021 M**ietwagentape **2 15 txt** file. In other cases: A: Antifuchs; CA: Ćelo (& Abdï); CB: Capital Bra; H: Haze; HAI: Haiyti; O and OL: Olexesh.

(apart from German in the quoted line). In 2014, the Bavarian Prime Minister Horst Seehofer expressed the demands of his party, the Christian Social Union of Bavaria (CSU), that multilingual people speak German in public spaces and at home (Szymanski). Seehofer has been Germany's Minister of the Interior, Building, and Community since 2018. He has tried to take targeted action against racism and discrimination within the state apparatus in his new role. Meanwhile, his politically left and intermediate opposition in the Bundestag doubt the actual impact of his work (Segador). As one of the most successful genres of music, rap can be seen as a mirror of the opinions of young people. Significantly, when the musicians themselves are affected by social and political processes, these processes become the subject of their songs. Therefore, lyrics by six German rappers with Slavonic language backgrounds are the focus of the analysis of this article: Antifuchs, Capital Bra, and Olexesh as artists with an East Slavonic background, and Ćelo, Haiyti, and Haze as artists with a South Slavonic background.

In German rap music (*Deutschrap*), multilingualism is a prominent point of interest. Here, not only the factor of multilingualism plays a role, but the general marginalisation of the musical genre, its artists, and its audience since the 1990s, especially in the Turkish-German context: '*German-Turks' liminal and marginal state of being, which has been pathologised as 'being torn between two cultures' for a long time in the discussions of their cultural and identity formations*' (Caglar: 245). Until the early 2010s, the main focus of the debate about the linguistic contact in Deutschrap, the use of German language, and the rising phenomena of multilingualism in rap lyrics was in regards to Turkish and Arabic (Chemeta; Dietrich & Seeliger; Loentz; Scharer; Simpson; Zbořilová). Since the beginning of the 2010s, German rappers with a Slavonic background have become ever more popular. The cause of the delay between the popularisation of Turkish in German rap and the mainly East Slavonic languages in German rap is the time of immigration to Germany. While migration from Turkey to (West) Germany started in the 1960s, migration from the former socialist

states of Eastern, Southeastern, and Central Europe began in the 1980s. The gap of 20 years is also reflected in the spread of languages in Deutschrap.

This case study analyses the use of multilingual resources in the lyrics of the six most-listened-to German rappers with East or South Slavonic language backgrounds. [2] In combination with political and religious aspects of the analysis, the corpus case study focuses on the question:

Which political and religious opinions are represented in the texts?

Methods of corpus linguistics and text clustering help answer this question by compiling a corpus of lyrics and analyzing relevant keywords in context. The texts will then be clustered stylometrically. The review of relevant research literature, the criteria of choosing the artists inclusively, the brief presentation of their language biographies, and the individual steps of the linguistic analysis will be discussed in more detail in the following sections.

Review of the relevant research literature

In 2016 Loentz discussed the role of '*Kanak Sprak*', which plays a significant role in Deutschrap.[3] The Kanak Sprak and its current variation '*Kiezdeutsch*' ('Hood German') are referred to as *migrant-specific youth languages* and represent nothing more than the German language with lexical, morphological, and syntactic phenomena which differ from standard language, although there are similar grammar

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[2] East and South Slavonic are the more dominant in Deutschrap in contrast to West Slavonic.

[3] The term *Kanake* has at least three meanings: (i) native Polynesia and the South Sea Islands, (ii) colloquial, pejorative, often a swear word for foreigner, foreign worker, especially Turkish people, and (iii) colloquial, pejorative, someone uneducated, simple-minded, a fool. In the article, meanings (ii) and (iii) are relevant. Therefore, *Kanak Sprak* is the code that people use. The term can be understood in a discriminatory and racist way, as it assumes that it is a primitive and incorrect way of using German. In the multilingual communities themselves, the expression can be used ironically as a self-designation (https://www.dwds.de/wb/Kanake Last Access: 12 July 2021).

phenomena in German dialects (Canoğlu; Wiese). As a result, the term *migrant-specific* is inappropriate in this context. Chemeta's paper transforms the discourse on multilingualism into a discourse on German rap, language, identity, and politics. He refers to rap lyrics and their function as the 'voice of migrants' (Chemeta 38) and compares German rappers with Hispano- and Afro-American rappers. According to his research, there are parallels between rappers from the US and Germany. A unique role is assigned here to the sub-genre *Gangsta rap and Street Rap* (ibid. 39), in which the question of identity and the use of language is not only a tool of communication and expression, but a symbol of power and a way of identity formation (ibid. 40).

The first German rapper of Slavonic origin whose multilingual behaviour in lyrics was dealt with is Schwesta Ewa (Bifulco & Reuter). The language aspect the authors discussed in the context of sociology, gender, and media studies referred to the Polish title of her first album *Kurwa* (ibid. 70).[4] Cotgrove (2018) was the first researcher who extensively examined the multilingual practices in Deutschrap in the 21st century in consideration of Slavonic languages. In addition to a detailed description of how multiethnolects in Germany developed under the influence of Turkish and Arabic (ibid. 72), he also takes nine rappers of different origins into account (ibid. 74). One of the nine artists has a Slavonic migration background - Capital Bra. In 2020 Tikhonov's pilot study was focused on German rappers with a Slavonic background. He analysed lyrics by the above-mentioned Schwesta Ewa (SE) and Capital Bra (CB), but added Olexesh (OL) and Krime (KR). The study compared West Slavonic (SE & KR) and East Slavonic influences (CB & OL), and identity models in German rap. Like Cotgrove, Tikhonov concluded that hybrid identities are formed through language behavior. One of the main findings was the frequent

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[4] In addition to the meaning given by the authors – *prostitute* – the Polish lexeme has at least four other meanings - (i) a woman who has many sexual partners, (ii) the expression *Damn!*, (iii) a *woman* [similar to the use of the lexeme *bitch* in English hip hop] (iv) a person who puts greed above morality (https://sjp.pwn.pl/szukaj/kurwa.html Last Access: 12 July 2021).

contextualization of international politics in the artists' lyrics with Ukrainian and Russian backgrounds, while the rappers with a Polish background were revealed as apolitical and hardly relating to Poland as their homeland. CB sympathizes with Putin, yet at the same time criticizes the war in Ukraine.

The next section describes why these artists were chosen for the analysis, and which aspects of their language biographies are relevant for this case study.

Artist (real name)	Birth info	Time of migration (area of socialisation)	Additional comments
Capital Bra (Wladislaw Balowazki)	* Siberia[5] (Russia) in 1994	- the second half of the 1990s: Russia Dnipro, formerly Dnipropetrovsk[6], in Ukraine - the beginning of the 2000s: Dnipro ☐ Berlin (socialised in the district Lichtenberg-Hohenschön-hausen)	- 1.8% of the district's population is equal to the citizenship of one of the countries of the former Soviet Union (Amt für Statistik Berlin-Brandenburg: 8)
Olexesh (Olexij Kosarev)	* Kyiv (Soviet Ukraine) in 1988	1994: Kyiv ☐ Darmstadt (socialised in the district Kranichstein)	- on his childhood in Kranichstein: 'Suddenly there were Arabs, Moroccans, Turks, Pakistani, Afghans, all kinds of skin colours. Of course, I wanted to play with them, I was a foreigner myself' (Sternburg 2020: 54)
Antifuchs (Emilia Reichert)	* Taraz[7] (Soviet Kazakhstan) in 1989	- 1990/1991: Taraz ☐ Flensburg (socialised in	- on her use of language: 'My roots

			somehow are also very fluid. [...] I let it flow into my language usage because that is how I grew up. We have developed our own language, something like 'Get the тележка' or 'Close the холодильник' [...]' (Melikov et al. 2021: 0:34:40)
Ćelo (Erol Husein-ćehajić)	* Frankfurt am Main (West Germany) in 1982	born in Germany (socialised in Frankfurt am Main)	- on his identity: ' I felt Bosnian [...] However, I am a hybrid. We are the Bosnians in the diaspora, abroad [...] I only spoke Bosnian in my

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[5] The exact place of birth is not publicly available.

[6] The city was renamed in the course of decommunization in 2016.

[7] One of the Soviet forced relocation regions for Soviet citizens of German origin (Brown; Apendiyev et al.; Sanders))

			parents' house, my mother tongue or native language. My parents also have never spoken German to me. I only spoke German at school or outside with friends' (Sternburg 2020: 23-26)
Haze (David Bošnjak)	* Villingen-Schwenningen (Germany) in 1989 or 1990	born in Germany (socialised in Karlsruhe)	- on his identity: 'My parents managed to keep me connected to my homeland. My youth was definitely Croatian. So, we spoke Croatian, we ate Croatian, we went to the Croatian church, I listened to Croatian music at home. Then

			you came out the door and were suddenly in Germany' (GERMANIA 2017: 0:22:00)
Haiyti (Ronja Zschoche)	* Hamburg (West Germany) in the early 1980s	Born in Germany (socialised in Hamburg & Istria (Croatia))	- on her childhood: 'I have actually had a double life since I was a child. During the summer, I was in Croatia with my father. In winter, I lived with my mother' (Zufic 2019)

Table 1 Artist's language biographies

Methods and data

4.1 Selection of the artists

Eight main criteria are necessary to ensure that the songs have a broad audience, so the semantic values can act as mechanisms of social, political, and cultural influence (Table 2):

Criteria Nu.	Criteria Description
(i)	The artist belongs to the German rap sub-genre Street Rap or Gangsta Rap[8].
(ii)	The artist or one of her/his parents have an East or South Slavonic migration background.
(iii)	The artist is under contract with a major label or a sub-label of a major label.
(iv)	The artist has released at least one album.
(v)	An official account represents the artist on YouTube and Spotify.
(vii)	The artist has at least one video on YouTube with at least 1 million views.
(viii)	The artist has at least one song on Spotify with at least 250,000 streams.

Table 2 Artist's relevance criteria

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[8] Excluded sub-genres are Battle, Conscious, Emo, Entertainment, and Hipster rap, Horrorcore, hybridisation of Pop and Rap, Right-wing and Left-wing rap, R'n'B, Porno rap, and Black metal rap (author's update of the categorization by Ruge 2015).

4.2 Corpus design

The 0.3-version of the **DRaKoSlav** (**D**eutsch **Rap Ko**rpus **Slav**ic Edition) corpus consists of lyrics of 763 songs from official albums, mixtapes, and EPs by the six artists. With regard to the distribution of the lyrics per artist, the corpus is composed as follows:
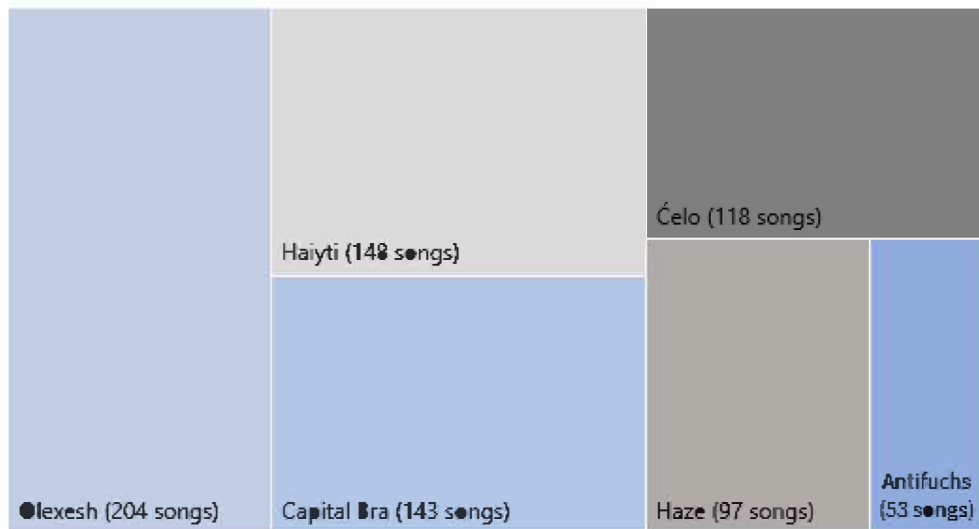

Haiyti (148 songs)

Ćelo (118 songs)

Olexesh (204 songs)

Capital Bra (143 songs)

Haze (97 songs)

Antifuchs (53 songs)

Figure 1 Structure of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data. @Aleksej Tikhonov

The varying quantity of songs per artist may give the impression of unbalanced data; for example, if the lyrics of 204 songs by Olexesh and 53 songs by Antifuchs are included in the corpus, there is a large contrast. However, the corpus still is representative. DRaKoSlav 0.3. contains lyrics of all songs released under the present artists' pseudonyms since the beginning of their careers in the early 2010s and up to January 2021. This compilation method guarantees the absolute accuracy of the data. In addition, there is a balance between the artists of South Slavic and East Slavic origin. In figure 1, the data from East Slavonic-German artists are represented with blue and 400 songs

(52.4%). The South Slavonic-German data are represented with gray and 363 songs (47.6%). The exact size of the corpus is 379,256 tokens, 307,973 words, and 3436 sentences. The number of the used lemma is 28269, including 4642 unique word forms as non-words or unknown words. The data was annotated as German txt-files on the SketchEngine platform with the RFTagger on the syntactic and morphological level (Schmid & Laws). The assignment of the word forms to certain POS classes is based on the automatic evaluation of the common suffixes and lower and upper-cases. Since the tagger was trained and evaluated on standard language texts, lexicon of the substandard falls into the category of unique word forms or unknown words. These are expressions such as *Bratans* ('Brother*Russian* + s*German plural masculine affix nominative*') or *Majka* (Mother*Bosnian/Croatian*), which are not yet considered standard German, but are still recognised by the tagger as nouns. So, if *Bratans* occurs often enough, is capitalised, and includes the plural masculine inflection affix <-*s*>, it is counted as a noun following German grammar.

The search in the corpus works in various ways. Users can search for specific word forms, phrases, (sub-)clauses, grammatical categories (tags or combinations of tags), lemmas, or keyword combinations for a specific topic. For example, in the present article, the topic that has to do with everything Jewish or Jews was analysed. The complication is that German spellings of the adjective *jüdisch* (Jewish*German*) and noun *Jude* (Jew*German*) differ in capitalization and the umlaut above the letter <*u*>. Corpus Query Language (CQL) enables the combined and simultaneous search query, including both lemmas: [word="jüd.*|Jüd.*|jud.*|Jud.*"]. This search query includes all word forms that start with the three letters <J/j>, <u/ü>, and <d> and continue with any number and combination of letters. This method ensures the counting of an adjective even if it is capitalised (at the beginning of the sentence or the line). The same applies to the possible alternative spelling of the noun with a small first letter, which may happen, for example, due to an unintentional mistake in the transliteration of the lyrics. The concordance result presentation on

SketchEngine includes all found keywords with left and right contexts, the tracking of the original song file in the corpus, the absolute number of hits, the relative number of hits in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.), and the percent of the whole corpus. DRaKoSlav 0.3 and its previous versions[9] are already freely available under certain conditions.[10]

4.2 Categories and choice of the keywords

This analysis encompasses 27 keywords in context (KWICs), which show the connection between languages, religions, and politics in the lyrics and socio-political opinions which the artists convey to their audience throughout their songs. The topic areas of (i) Religion, (ii) External Politics, and (iii) Domestic Politics will be explored by selecting the KWICs concerning the following principles to reveal the required information with the methods of corpus linguistics.

Under (i) Religions, the Abrahamic religions (Christianity, Islam, Judaism) are examined here because the three religions are statistically the most frequented religious confessions in the context of the German word Religion under the word profile.[11] Lexemes that are related to the three religions are derived from the associations and the collocations from the DWDS corpus (Digital Lexical System of the Academy by the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Sciences (www.dwds.de)) and the

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[9] DRaKoSlav 0.1 (East & West Slavonic) (2019/2020): lyrics from the albums of Capital Bra, Olexesh, Schwesta Ewa & Krime, 137.798 tokens, presented at the Sheffield Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics: Linguistic Variation and Identity 2019, University of Sheffield, published in Tikhonov (2020). DRaKoSlav 0.2 (East & South Slavonic) (2021): lyrics from the albums of Capital Bra, Olexesh, Ćelo & Haze, presented at the LTS Conference 2021: Responding to Conflict, Crisis and Change, University of Nottingham.

[10] Many European universities have acquired a license for SketchEngine, which means they have free access to the DRaKoSlav corpus series. In order to get access, interested parties would have to contact me by e-mail. Within a couple of days, they would have full access to the version of the corpus they wish to analyse.

[11] https://www.dwds.de/wb/Religion Last Access: 12 November 2021

frequent contexts in the analyzed lyrics.

The keywords choice for (ii) External politics is based on the origin countries or regions of the musicians or their parents. In addition, the USA as the global political player and the US President who was in office at the time of the data collection are both part of the analysis. The word "Krieg" (war) is also considered in the analysis as a frequent foreign policy word.

The keywords in (iii) Domestic politics include the name of the country (*Deutschland* (Germany)), the name of the Chancellor (*Merkel*), the name of the German parliament (*Bundestag*), as well as the names of the parties that are represented in the Bundestag. The analysis also includes the word *Politik* (politics) as a semantic generalisation for German domestic politics. In addition, the current social and political issue of *Migration* (migration) is dealt with in the analysis.

After zooming in on the corpus data and analysing single KWICs, the linguistic examination of the lyrics zooms out to inspect relationships between the lyrics, their style, and semantic value. The stylometric clustering is the final step of the case study.

Analysis

5.1 KWICs of Deutschrap

The results of the analysis of the 27 KWICs and keyword topics (e.g. political parties) are shown and discussed below in the three categories (i) Religion (9 KWICs), (ii) External Politics (12 KWICs), and (iii) Domestic Politics (6 KWICs).

(i) Religion

Nine lemmas associated with Abrahamic religions appear in their collocations or are conspicuous in the lyrics, as in section 4.2. They are subsequently examined as KWIC in DRaKoSlav 0.3. Their absolute and relative frequency indicated in the corpus will be presented and discussed in this section.

KWIC	Religion	Church	God	Allah	Jesus	Shalom	Jew/Jewish	Israel	Salam
F_{abs}[12]	0	0	134	5	4	1	2	0	14
F_{rel}[13]	0	0	353,32	13,18	10,55	2,64	5,28	0	36,91

Table 3 Nine KWICs in the category Religion and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Whilst none of our artists mention the lemmas *religion* and *church*, God is present in the lyrics of every one. The lexeme is always given in a neutral or positive connotation, as with phrases such as '*Gott sei Dank*' ('Thank God') (O_2012AA22.txt). The lexeme *God* can also support negative emotions of a statement, as in '*Oh mein Gott, was'n çoban!*' ('Oh my god, what a çoban!') (O_2015SC26.txt). Olexesh uses here the Turkish word '*çoban*' ('farmer') as a derogatory term. *God* is a high frequent lexeme (56/134 (41.7%) instances) in Capital Bra's lyrics. A typical example of this would be '*Gott steht über dem Gesetz*' ('God is above the law') (CB_2020CB9.txt). *Allah* is only mentioned in the lyrics by Ćelo and Haze. A noticeable line by Ćelo is '*Mais, ich bin gesund, Ça va? Allaha şükür*' ('But*French* I am healthy*German*. How are you?*French* Praise to Allah*Turkish*') (CA_2011MWT22.txt), in which he uses three languages. Haze mentions Allah once as interjection '*In shā 'Allāh*' ('God willing') (H_2016GAHH9.txt).

Haze and Haiyti both mention *Jesus*. Haze mentions *Jesus* in a rhetorical question or as an interjection '*Wann wird Jesus mich erlösen?*'

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[12] Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus

[13] Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.)

('When will Jesus redeem me?') (H_2020BS12.txt). For Haiyti, the topic is more critical, as the three instances show. An example of this is the statement *'Nein, ich glaub' nicht an Jesus'* ('No, I do not believe in Jesus') (HAI_2020I15.txt). *Jews*, *Jewish* and *Shalom* are only a topic in Ćelo & Abdï's lyrics: *'Balkan's Schon seit damals Schmelztiegel der Kulturen: Moslems, Christen, Atheisten und Juden'* ('The Balkans have been a melting pot of cultures since then: Muslims, Christians, atheists and Jews') (CA_2012HHJ15.txt), *'No Problems, hab' jüdische Anwälte'* ('No Problems*English*, I have Jewish lawyers*German*') (CA_2012HHJ18.txt), or *'mein Steuerberater sagt: Schalom […]'* ('my tax advisor says: Shalom […]') (CA_2017D7.txt).

Capital Bra is the only artist using the lexeme *Salam*. In the hook of his song *'Allein'* ('Alone'), he uses *Salam* 14 times, repeating the same two-line rhyme *'Alles, was wir machen, ist haram, // Ich komm' auf die Bühne: Ya Salam!'* ('Everything we do is haram, // I come on stage: Ya Salam!') (CB_2018ALLEIN9.txt).[14] With these lines, he establishes a direct connection to the Islamic value system by describing his activities as *forbidden* or *sinful*, using the Arabic adjective حرام / *haraam*. In addition, he greets his audience using سلام / *Salaam* (Arabic for *Greetings*).

(ii) External Politics

The section on external politics contains keywords that have to do with the artists' or their parents' countries of origin. Additionally, there are designations of regions or historical states, specifically the Balkans and Yugoslavia, as superordinate geographical, historical, and political concepts of the affiliation of the South Slavic languages relevant for the analysis. Regions with disputed status, such as Palestine and Kosovo, are also part of the present research - Kosovo, because it is a central topic of belonging in post-Yugoslav history; Palestine because it is also an often-discussed narrative in the Deutschrap scene, taken up by

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[14] The word hook is used to define the refrain in rap culture.

rappers with a Slavic background too. The keyword set complements the USA as the global player in politics and the names of the politician Donald Trump. The USA and Trump are popular topics in the lyrics because US rap is considered the globally dominant force in Rap music. Donald Trump was criticised for his conservative migration policy in German rap, whilst Vladimir Putin is also a frequent target of the lyrics of Capital Bra (and possibly other rappers). Finally, the word *Krieg* (war) is also examined because it might be relevant not only to the past Yugoslav Wars, but also the present Ukrainian-Russian conflict.

KWIC	F_{abs}[15]	F_{rel}[16]
Balkans	21	55,37
Bosnia	29	76,47
Croatia	9	23,73
Kosovo	5	13,18
Palestine	3	7,91
Putin	60	158,2
Russia	107	282,13
Trump	3	7,91
Ukraine	66	163,48
USA	11	29
War	42	110,74
Yugoslavia	33	87,01

Table 4 Twelve KWICs in the category External Politics and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Lyrics by Ćelo, Capital Bra, and Olexesh include the *Balkans*. The noun *Balkans* and the adjective *Balkanian* have positive connotations in all lyrics. The results for *Bosnia*, *Bosnian*, and *Bosniaks* are similar. The

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[15] Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus.

[16] Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.)

mentions are in the lyrics of the same three artists, and they mostly carry positive connotations. The connotation of Croatia is diverse and occurs in lyrics of Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh. Capital Bra and Olexesh mention Croatia or something Croatian one time: *'Komm' mit miese Kroate (Kuku) // Brech' deine Nase'* ('I will come with a reckless Croat (Kuku), // And break your nose') (CB_2016KUKU15.txt), and '*Slawische Bratans geben sich im Sechser Kroatische Voddys*' ('Slavonic Bratansdrink Croatian Vodka in the BMW 6 Series') (OL_2014NED8.txt).[17] The seven remaining instances are from the lyrics of Haze and are positively connotated. Two contexts are particularly noteworthy: '*In meiner Gegend hörst du Türkisch und Kroatisch*' ('In my hood you hear Turkish and Croatian') (H_2014KS20.txt) and '*Mit Kroaten iz svog kraja*' ('With Croats*German* from my Homeland*Croatian*') (H_2016GAHH18.txt). The second excerpt is an example of *translanguaging* (Cotgrove; Garcia & Wei; Mazzaferro; Moore et al.). Haze starts the phrase in German and ends it in Croatian. All line positions build a coherent syntactic structure that can be understood by people with both German *and* Croatian fluencies. As an example of translanguaging, this phrase means that language behaviour questions the hierarchy of languages and their affiliation to concrete states or regions. Translanguaging shows the flexible appearance of human behavior, which tries to invalidate the strict delimitation of languages based on national and political aspects. Instead, it reflects the interplay of various external social and cultural factors that lead to the equal use of several languages in a well-formed syntactic construction in multilingual communication.

The lexeme *Kosovo* and its derivatives in the lyrics by Olexesh and Ćelo. Olexesh's mention of Kosovo relates to the origin of his friends. Ćelo puts Kosovo in the context of his origin and the origin of his social environment: '*Rap mit Akzent vom Jugo-Betrugo [...] Baklava, Polska,*

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17 *Bratans* is a frequent loanword from the East Slavonic languages in Deutschrap. It is the plural nominative form of *brother,* but with a German plural flexion affix /-s/ and not an East Slavonic flexion affix /-ы/. The lexeme *Bratan* has not yet been codified for German.

Kosova, Bosna, Herzegowina, Kurdistan, Türkiye' ('Rap with a Yugo-accent by Yugo the fraud [...] Baklava*German*, Polska*Polish*, Kosova, Bosna, Herzegovina*Bosnian*, Kurdistan*German*, Türkiye*Turkish*') (CA_2011MWT13.txt). In another song by Ćelo, Kosovo stands in a political context of regional conflicts when he mentions Mitrovica alongside Kosovo (CA_2014AP3.txt). The city has been divided between Kosovo and Serbia since 1999. A consensual affiliation of the city to a state has not yet been implemented. Similar to the connotation of Kosovo is the connotation of *Palestine* in the corpus. Palestine appears three times - once in Ćelo's and twice in Olexesh's lyrics - but while Olexesh names the origin of his friends in a relatively neutral way, Ćelo refers to historical events, regions and whole continents that he evaluates as places of genocide: '*Genozid in Ruanda, Afrika, Srebrenica, Palästina*' ('Genocide in Rwanda, Africa, Srebrenica, Palestine') (CA_2012HHJ9.txt).

The search query for *Putin* resulted in 60 hits in the corpus in the following distribution:

Artist	Capital Bra	Ćelo	Olexesh
F_{abs}	57	2	1

Table 5 Distribution of Vladimir Putin in DRaKoSlav 0.3

Forty-nine of these hits come from Capital Bra's 2016 song with the same title - '*Vladimir Putin*'. One of the representative contexts from the song is '*Makarov, Kuku Bra // Auf dein Kopf, Kuku Bra // Vladimir Putin, Vladimir Putin*' ('Makarov, Kuku Bro // At your head, Kuku Bro // Vladimir Putin, Vladimir Putin' CB_2016KUKU2.txt). In this quote, Capital Bra portrays Vladimir Putin in the context of power and violence. The connection between the Makarov pistol, mainly used

by the police and secret services in the USSR and post-Soviet countries, which then targets the head of the imaginary antagonist, is part of the hook and thus the song's central message. In combination with other lines depicting the luxurious and dangerous lifestyle of gangsters, the Russian President is portrayed in a positive context as a role model from the perspective of Capital Bra. The corresponding album cover with the title *Kuku Bra* also shows Russian President Vladimir Putin, referring to the photo shooting for Putin's nomination as Person of the Year 2007 by TIME Magazine. However, Capital Bra mentions the politician again in another track on the same album, and the statement is clear '*Putin ist King*' ('Putin is the King') (CB_2016KUKU16.txt). Three out of sixty results are not from Capital Bra's lyrics, with two mentions from Ćelo and one from Olexesh. Ćelo mentions the politician once in a neutral context and again in an ambiguous context: '*Parallel dazu unterzeichnet Putin // Parallel dazu Unschuldige bluten, verhungern und verdursten*' ('At the same time, Putin is signing // At the same time, innocent people are bleeding, starving, and dying of thirst') (CA_2012HHJ9.txt). The possible semantic value could be the relation between documents signed by Putin and the deaths of innocent people. Olexesh also mentions the politician in an ambiguous context: '*Glatze rasiert, wie Putins Mafia*' ('Shaved bald heads, like Putin's mafia') (OL_2016MAK7.txt).

Russia, Russians, and *Russian* as an adjective appear in the lyrics of all six artists. In more than half of the results, however, the contexts relate to neutral statements, the social environment, stereotypes, or multi-word expressions, as in the case of Antifuchs: '*Russisches Roulette*' ('Russian Roulette') (A_2018S15.txt), '*Aufgewachsen zwischen 'Digga', kaltem Wind und bisschen platt Russisch fluchenden Verwandten, 'Иди на хуй, сука блядь!*' ('I grew up between 'Homie', cold wind, and relatives who swear a bit flatly in Russian_{German} 'Go fuck yourself, fucking bitch!_{Russian}') (A_2018S1.txt) or '*Ein, zwei, drei, vier Kurze Macht aus ei'm Mann noch kein'n Russen*' ('One, two, three, four shots [of alcohol] do not make a Russian out of a man') (A_2019LWM12.txt). However, some contexts require further discussion. The keyword

spectrum around Russia appears 41 times in the lyrics of Capital Bra, and 31 of 41 contexts are sexist descriptions of women. A frequent term used here is '*Russische Muschi*' ('Russian pussy') (CB_2016KUKU17.txt). In the lyrics of Olexesh, the adjective phrase '*Russki Kanak*' ('Russian Kanak') occurs 24 times. He describes himself using this phrase: '*Ich bin schon länger hier als Ratten Also was, he? Ich bin ein russischer Kanake // Russki Kanak, ja, Russki Kanak, Russki Kanak, ja, Russki Kanak // Ich bin international, mir egal, was du jetzt denkst // Ob ich hier oder da bin, pump es in dei'm Benzer*' ('I've been here longer than rats. So what, huh? I am a Russian Kanak. // Russki Kanak, yes, Russki Kanak, Russki Kanak, yes, Russki Kanak // I am international. I don't care what you think now. // Whether I'm here or there, I pump it [music] in your Benz') (OL_2016MAK3.txt). With this description, Olexesh speaks directly to the fact that he has lived in Germany for a long time and sees himself as multicultural. The term *Russian Kanak* includes his Russian-speaking background and socialisation among children and young people from working-class families with a Turkish or Arabic-speaking background.

The 45th President of the USA, Donald Trump, appears exclusively in the lyrics of Ćelo. His statements about the politician are ambivalent, but in this context, he makes a comparison which brings up the subject of the Jews in Deutschrap lyrics again: '*Bei Donald Trump werden Taschen vollgemacht // Tanz der Teufel, Diabolisch à la Dynastie Rothschild*' ('Donald Trump's pockets are full // Dance of the devils, diabolic à la Rothschild dynasty') (CA_2014AP20.txt). In the analysis point *(i) Religion*, Ćelo's attitude towards Jews might still be a question of perspective, humour, or interpretation, but in *(ii) External Politics*, the description of the Rothschild family as diabolical and their equalisation with the devil is clear. Ćelo uses here an old anti-Semitic ideological pattern of the so-called global Zionism and other anti-Semitic conspiracy theories (Fischer; Rathje; Rosenwald). Since Ćelo identifies himself as a Frankfurter, along with Frankfurt being the financial centre of Germany, and at the same time the original place of origin of the Rothschild family, there can be little doubt of Ćelo's anti-

Semitic attitude, which he projects through his lyrics. The USA and the adjective American rarely appear in the corpus, but almost exclusively in the negative context. Haiyti only uses it once in a neutral context. Ćelo, Capital Bra, and Olexesh use it more often - 10 out of 11 examples in the corpus come from their lyrics. Ćelo's lyrics say about the US: '*war noch nie in Amerika, BKA, jebiga*' ('has never been to America, Federal Criminal Police Office*German*, Fuck it*Bosnian*') (CA_2021MWT2_15.txt). The context becomes unambiguous after adding *Fuck it* in Bosnian at the end of the line.[18] Capital Bra's perspective on the USA is clearer than Ćelo's: '*Terror kommt von Amerika, nicht vom Islam, Bruda*' ('Terrorism comes from America, not from Islam, Brother') (CB_2016KUKU11.txt). Olexesh's lyrics join the semantic tendency: '*USA? нет, проблемы нам не надо*' ('USA?*English* No, we don't need problems*Russian*') (OL_2016MAK16.txt). Antifuchs, Ćelo, Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh mention *war* in their lyrics. Antifuchs uses the lexeme as a metaphor for personal arguments between two or more people. Ćelo and Olexesh use the word as a metaphor for their business activities in Deutschrap, but at least two times Ćelo addresses acts of war by the United States during Operation Desert Storm in the Gulf War of 1991 as an invasion (CA_2015BC16.txt). Ćelo also addresses the Yugoslav wars of the 1990s: '*Evropa Kriegsgebiet, [...] NATO-Draht*' ('Europe*Bosnian* war zone, [...] NATO razor wire*German*') (CA_2015BC5.txt). The combination of the name of Europe in the Bosnian language, the description of the area as a war zone, and the mention of NATO razor wire semantically occupy NATO with a negative value in Ćelo's lyrics. Another song from an earlier album of Ćelo confirms his negative assessment of NATO and its activities in the Yugoslavian wars: '*Waffenschieber, NATO-Projektile*' ('Gun pushers, NATO projectiles') (CA_2011MWT6.txt).

Yugoslavia appears in the lyrics of Ćelo (16 contexts), Haze (13 contexts), Olexesh (3 contexts), and Haiyti (1 context). Haiyti uses the name of the Yugo car brand. For Ćelo, the former country in the

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[18] The Bosnian phrase *jebiga* can be translated in several ways (*Shit, Fuck* etc.), yet the meaning remains always negative.

Balkans appears in neutral or humorous contexts, except for the personal designation '*Jugo-Betrugo*' ('Yugo the fraud') - a derogatory term for people from the former Yugoslavia accused of criminal activities. In Haze's tracks, one result stands out linguistically: '*meine Mukke pumpen alte Jugoslawen auf der Bauštela*' ('old Yugoslavs pump my music on the construction site') (H_2016GAHH4.txt). Haze uses the German-Croatian neologism '*Bauštela*' that does not exist in standard Croatian.[19] The artist intends to show the realities of Croatian migrants and their language in Germany through the creative use of language. In the lyrics of Olexesh, one context must be discussed in further detail: '*Das geht raus an die Jugos, Russkis, Azzlacks*' ('This goes out to the Yugos, Russkis, Azzlacks') (O_2012AA12.txt). The rapper uses the line to describe his target audience, which equates to his social environment as the name *Azzlacks* has two meanings – liberal people with a migration history and the name of the label of the aforementioned Kurdish-Turkish-German rapper Haftbefehl. Calling Russian speaking people '*Russkis*', Olexesh substantives the Russian adjective '*русский*' ('Russian') by adding the German plural noun ending /-s/. Similar linguistic phenomena may also be observed in lyrics by Olexesh ('*Russki Kanak*') and Capital Bra ('*Bratans*').

Ukraine and derivatives of the state name appear 62 times in the corpus. In the lyrics of Capital Bra, 47 contexts refer to his Ukrainian heritage. In one song, he mentions his use of the voiced alveolar trill [r], which occurs naturally in his oral speech and rapping. In his opinion, it is a feature typical of Ukrainian speech (CB_2018BERL8.txt). Olexesh also speaks about being Ukrainian in 14 mentions. Ćelo mentions Ukraine once and refers to one of the countries of origin in his social environment.

(iii) Domestic Politics

In this section, keywords from German institutions, parties, and attitudes towards politics are examined. The keyword *Politik* (politics)

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[19] In standard Croatian: *gradilište.*

is a synonym for the current government here. In addition, the Chancellor's name - Angela Merkel, migration and the contexts in which Germany occurs will be explored.

KWIC	Bundestag	Parties[20]	Politics	Merkel	Migration	Germany
F_{abs}[21]	3	8	15	2	2	42
F_{rel}[22]	7,91	21,09	39,55	5,27	5,27	110,74

Table 6 Six KWICs and keyword divisions (e.g. parties) in the category Domestic Politics and their frequencies in DRaKoSlav 0.3

The institution of the German parliament - the Bundestag - appears three times in the examined lyrics. Ćelo and Capital Bra mention the Bundestag in two similar contexts. Both lines can be interpreted as a call to an act of violence: '*[...] mach im Bundestag Action mit der Heckler // Schieß auf Rednecks*' ('[...] [I] will do action with the Heckler in the Bundestag // [I will] Shoot at rednecks') (CA_2014AP21.txt), and '*Ich komm' mit Dynamit zum Bundestag mit Aktentasche, Ha-Ha // Es macht Bang, Bra [...]*' ('I'll come with a briefcase full of dynamite to the Bundestag, Ha-Ha // It [will] make a bang, bra [...]') (CB_2019CB5.txt). Ćelo's lyrics may contain a warning that someone - presumably himself, as the song's protagonist - will come into the building to shoot white conservative members with a gun made by the German gun manufacturer Heckler & Koch. Capital Bra mentions in his song a bomb

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[20] AfD: 5 instances; 13,18 i.p.m. + Joschka Fischer (die Grünen): 2 instances; 5,27 i.p.m. + NPD: 1 instance; 2,64 i.p.m.

[21] Absolute frequency in instances in the corpus.

[22] Relative frequency in instances per million tokens (i.p.m.).

in a suitcase which he intends to detonane inside the building. Ćelo also mentions the building in another song: '*La Révolucion, mit Airmax im Bundestag // Wie Joschka Fischer*' ('La Révolucion, with Airmax to the Bundestag // Like Joschka Fischer') (CA_2014AP7.txt). He compares himself with the emeritus politician of the progressive-liberal party of the Greens, the former German Foreign Minister, and Vice-Chancellor Joschka Fischer. Another party mentioned is the AfD - the most conservative party currently represented in the Bundestag. Antifuchs, Ćelo, and Capital Bra mention the party five times, and in all contexts, it has negative connotations, e.g., the party is equal to feces (A_2021ZIF5.txt). Experts classify the party as right-wing extremists (Pfahl-Traughber 2019). Capital Bra also mentions the NPD party once in a similar negative context (CB_2016KUKU19.txt). The party is not represented in the Bundestag but is also a well-known right-wing radical party in Germany. Other German parties are not mentioned in the lyrics.

Ćelo, Capital Bra, Haze, and Olexesh speak 15 times about *Politik* (Politics). In most contexts, they criticise politicians for their passivity in regards to social injustice or discrimination. Capital Bra also addresses the inaction of German politicians during armed conflicts in eastern Ukraine (CA_2014AP2.txt). Capital Bra is also the only rapper in the corpus to mentions German Chancellor Angela Merkel. In one context, he calls her his '*Groupie*' (CB_2019CB6.txt). In another text, however, he threatens her with violence (CB_2018BERL16.txt).

Migration is an issue for two rappers - Antifuchs and Haze. Each of them mentions the word '*Migrationshintergrund*' ('migration background') (A_2021ZIF5.txt & H_2016GAHH22.txt) in a critical context. They show their dissatisfaction with the political division of German citizens into Germans with and without a history of migration.

Ćelo, Capital Bra, Haiyti, Haze, and Olexesh all mention Germany in their songs. Most of the contexts are neutral and tell a story about the commercial success across the country. The diversity of the few

politically relevant contexts ranges from nostalgic lines of Haze: '*Ich will in meine Heimat, Brate, Deutschland macht mich krank*' ('I want to go to my homeland*German*, brother*Croatian*, Germany makes me sick*German*') (H_2018DZLP5.txt) to ambiguous statements by Ćelo '*in Schulen hören's die Kinder Propaganda wie Göbbels und Himmler, Blitzkrieg, // ich erober' Deutschland, Abdï bald bekannt als Oberleutnant Führervisage*' ('in schools, children hear propaganda like from Göbbels and Himmler, Blitzkrieg, // I conquer Germany, Abdï will be soon known as first lieutenant Führer's visage') (CA_2011MWT12.txt).

5.2 Clustering Deutschrap

In regards to clustering, the linguistic proximity and the distance should be explored statistically. The semi-automated comparison is intended to extract knowledge from the examined data that remained hidden during the qualitative KWIC analysis and its interpretation. The calculation and visualisation of various distance measures applied to DRaKoSlav 0.3 are intended to break down the relationships between the lyrics and the artists, thus enabling the answer to the question:

What influence do the used languages, the cultural, linguistic, and geographical context of the socialisation and social gender have on the lyrics and their style?

In the language biographies in section 3, a tendency was noticed that the artists were socialised in three specific regions of Germany: (i) the North, (ii) the West or (iii) in Berlin. Berlin is geographically in the North-East of Germany, but it can be seen as an independent social and geographical unit because of its status as the capital and the largest city in Germany and the EU with a population of around 3.7 million. The selected artists with either Bosnian or Croatian language backgrounds had in common that they were all born in Germany. In contrast, the Ukrainian-Russian(-Kazakh)-German artists were all not born in Germany. The third aspect is the gender of the artist, for the search was deliberately selected from the two most commercially successful male artists and one commercially most successful female artist. These three

areas are to be questioned with the statistical investigation.

The *stylo* package (Eder et al.) for the statistics software *R* plays a decisive role here. Various distance measures show the stylistic relationship between texts and whether the style or, for example, gender, mother language, the epoch, or other factors play a role in the clustering. Since the texts are clustered most precisely from around 5,000 tokens per file (Eder), the lyrics from each release were combined into one txt-file, so that the clustering data set-up consists of 45 txt-files. In order to make the results unbiased through relying on one statistical analysis only, the lyrics were clustered using three methods – horizontal tree, bootstrap consensus tree, and the bootstrap consensus network. The following horizontal clustering tree is the result of measuring 2-grams of the tokens with Eder's Delta distance:
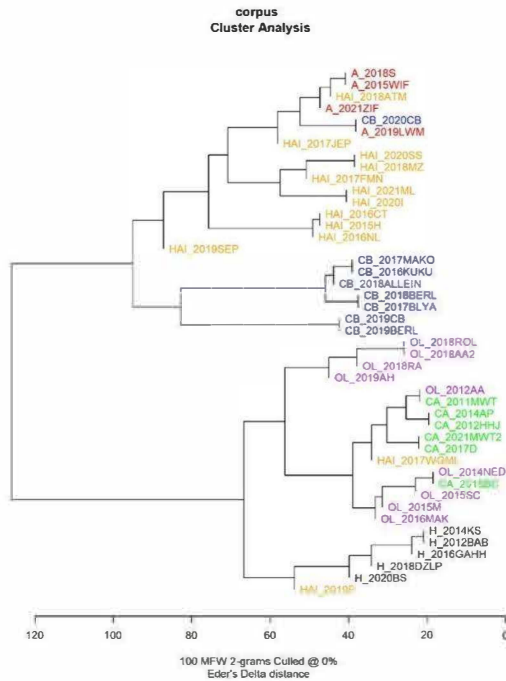

Figure 2 Horizontal clustering tree of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov'

With a few exceptions, the following tendencies in the clustering are noticeable:

The closeness and the overlap of Haiyti (yellow) and Antifuchs
(red)

The almost isolated positioning of Capital Bra (blue) in the middle
of the diagram

The closeness and overlap between Ćelo (green) and Olexesh
(purple)

Haze's lyrics (black) are almost isolated on the edge of the
diagram

Haiyti's single albums are close to Haze' and Ćelo's subclusters

The next clustering is the bootstrap consensus tree, in which 2-grams of
tokens are also measured, but with the Euclidean distances between the
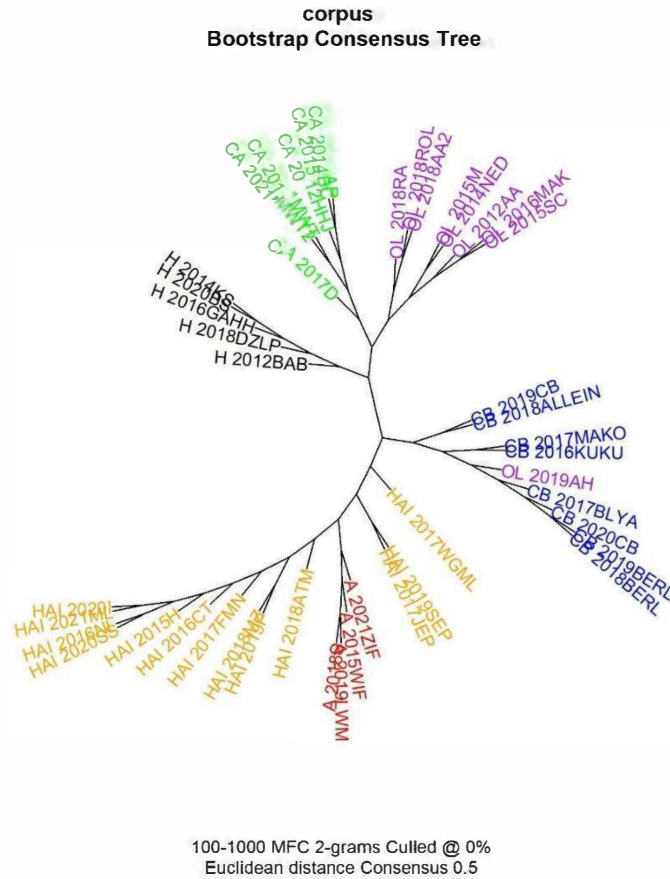analysed albums.

Figure 3 Bootstrap consensus tree of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov.

Figure 2 confirms most of the observations from Figure 1. In addition, there is a relationship between Olexesh and Capital Bra because Figure 2 features an album by Olexesh from 2019 in the subcluster of Capital Bra. In Figure 1, Olexesh's 2018-2019 albums were also close to Capital Bra's albums. The final step is a bootstrap consensus network. The network is the setup of the 1-grams of the graphemes measured with Eder's delta distance:
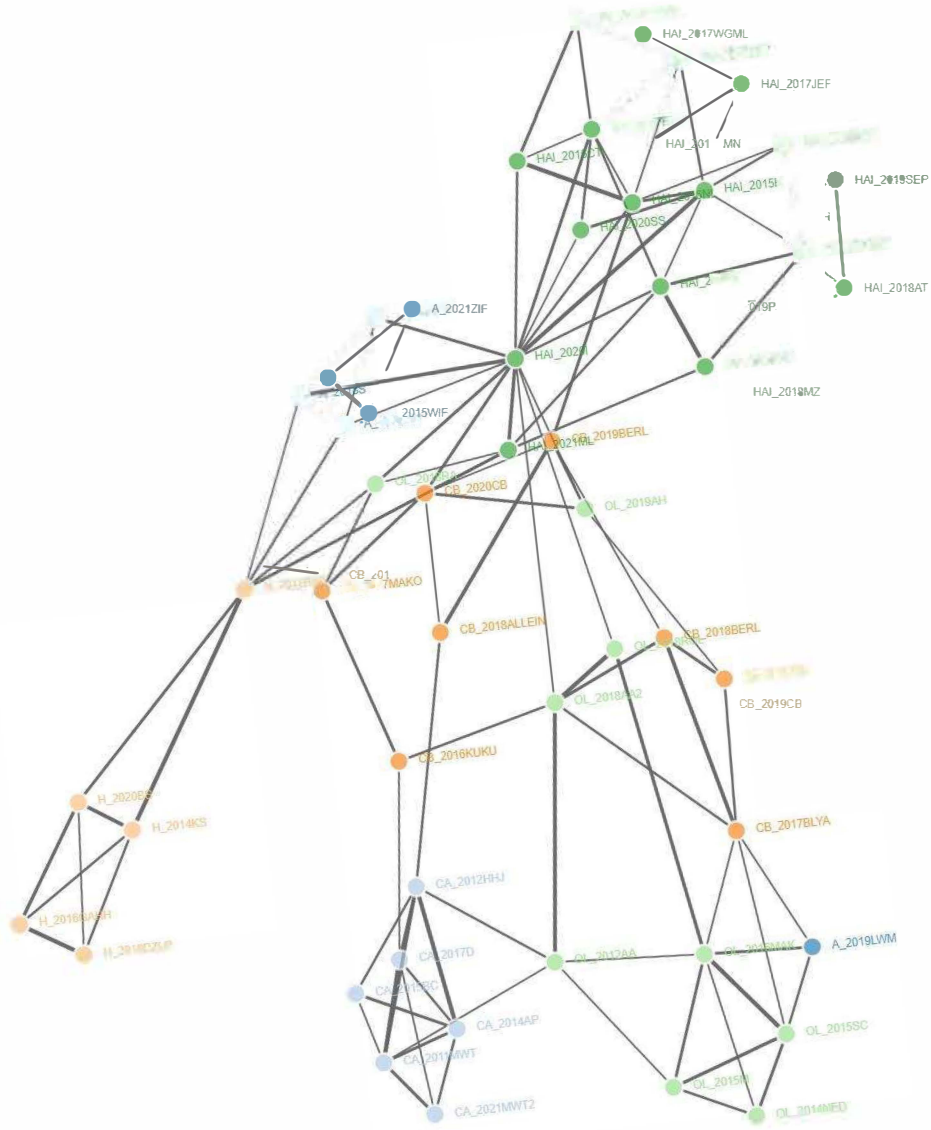
Figure 4 Bootstrap consensus network of the DRaKoSlav 0.3 data @Aleksej Tikhonov.

In Figure 3, the unique position of Haze (light orange) becomes more

evident, whereby his texts are closer to Ćelo (sky blue) and Antifuchs (dark blue) than, e.g., to Haiyti (dark green). The central position of Capital Bra (dark orange) in the network and his overlap with other artists (especially with Olexesh (light green)) also become more evident here.

Comparing the different vectors of various n-grams and distance measures in all three figures these quantitative tendencies must be combined with qualitative results from the KWIC analysis. In all three clustering analyses, Capital Bra's lyrics showed the shortest distance to the center of the clustering (Figure 2) or formed the center of the clustering (Figures 1 and 3). Haiyti and Haze formed the two extremes of all three clusterings, although they have a similar linguistic biography. Nevertheless, there is a special closeness between the lyrics by Haiyti and Antifuchs. The reason for the overlay may be their socialisation in Northern Germany. Likewise, the geographical proximity in Southwest Germany also seems to be a driving factor in why Ćelo, Olexesh, and Haze are not so far from one another statistically. In addition, as Ćelo is one of the label bosses for Olexesh, this may influence the intertextual dependence between both musicians.

In Figure 3, where the grapheme-combinations are analysed, the lyrics of Haze and Antifuchs show little distance. The connection here would be the content of their songs. Both have rarely or never made direct statements on political or religious matters. Most of their statements do not refer either to politics directly, nor their parent's country of origin. A frequent topic of their lyrics is social injustice and discrimination. The relationship to their parent's countries of origin is a rare topic that contains nostalgic and ironic contexts. In his lyrics, Capital Bra addresses all political and religious topics examined in the study. His political statements include calls for violence against the German government, whilst also insulting German Chancellor Angela Merkel. Ćelo's lyrics include more political contexts than Capital Bra's songs. In fact, he has most of the political and religious contexts in the corpus. In addition to negative criticism of the politics of Germany, the

USA, and NATO, his lyrics contained several radical anti-Semitic passages and threats of violence against the German government. The only positive political aspect in his lyrics was of *die Grünen* (a German liberal eco-party).

The reason for the overlapping of Haiyti and Antifuchs in all three clusterings may be the absence of religious topics, as combined they made hardly any religious references. Haiyti has distanced herself from religion in her lyrics, whilst other rappers have provided numerous religious contexts in theirs (notably in Capital Bra's and Ćelo's lyrics, wherein fear of God and Islam plays a superficial role).

Regarding national or ethnic self-identification, the lyrics mostly did not show any direct statements such as *I am X*, where *X* stands for a specific national affiliation. The exception here is Capital Bra, who often calls himself a Ukrainian or a Russian. Haze and Antifuchs generally identify themselves as migrants, or see this term as a social problem and would like to draw attention to the post-migrant perspective of the society (Gül & Tewes; Huxel et al.). The post-migrant society is a crucial aspect addressed directly or indirectly by all musicians in the corpus. Many of the musicians listed the various countries of origin, languages, or national affiliations in their social environment, or drew attention to them by using terms such as German '*Digga*' ('Homie'), East Slavonic '*Братан/Bratan*' ('Brother'), South Slavonic '*Brate* (Brother)', or the Turkish-German neologism 'Azzlack' ('liberal person with a history of migration' (Kielblock)) to express their solidarity, friendship, and diversity, and to defend their right of self-identification as Cotgrove also showed (Cotgrove: 85). The decisive milestone in the corpus is the direct connotation of the post-migrant society through the hybrid identity. In 2016, Olexesh referred to himself as '*Russki Kanak*' for the first time. In many of his songs and interviews, he has also stated that he was born in Kyiv and grew up in Germany near Frankfurt among children with mostly Turkish or Arabic backgrounds. Additionally, he has spoken of his parents' heritage; his father is Belarusian, whilst his mother is Ukrainian. This information results in a new hybrid identity,

which Olexesh himself defines as '*Russki Kanak*'.

Conclusion

In the 2010s, rappers with Slavonic language backgrounds garnered notable success in regards to streaming statistics, thus gaining chart hits in Germany. Furthermore, the most successful rapper in Germany since the year 2019 is Capital Bra, born in Russia and raised in Ukraine and Germany. Artists with East and South Slavonic backgrounds are becoming evermore dominant in the industry. Their lyrics bring not only new linguistic influences into Deutschrap, but also differing political and social views. In this study, the lyrics of the six most famous street and gangsta rappers in Germany with an East or South Slavonic background were examined in order to answer the question - What is the relationship between language(s), religion, and politics in the lyrics of the six most popular German-Slavonic rappers?

The result is that the family's language or country of origin does not play a significant role in the interrelations of the lyrics. The place of birth and the gender of the artists also appear to have no effect on the style of their lyrics, as the clustering has shown. Instead, the areas of socialisation and the professional/social environments are decisive. The lyrics tend to a north German (Haiyti & Antifuchs) and south-west German continuum (Ćelo, Haze, & Olexesh). Capital Bra - from Berlin - uses geographically all-encompassing lyrics, which could be one of the reasons for his popularity. His lyrics include links to different linguistic and religious settings (for example Islam, or lexis from Arabic and Turkish). German culture and language are also a part of this movement, as collaborative songs with German rappers like *Kitschrieg* or *Kontra K* show.

The multilingual language behaviour or translanguaging appears in most cases organic in the lyrics. From a structural point of view, the statements form complete syntactic constructions. In one syntactical construction combined languages could be German & Bosnian, German & Croatian, German & Russian, English & Bosnian, or French & German & Turkish. However, language diversity in the syntactical constructions is not limited to one, two, or three languages, but crosses

language boundaries and produces hybrid text passages in which the hierarchies between so-called prestigious or majority languages (in this case German) are either flat or can be described as not given. In most cases, however, the combination of the languages used in one line corresponds to the pattern *German + A [+ B + C + …]*. The variables *A, B, C*, and so on correspond to other languages from the artists' family, professional or social environment.

Nonetheless, the controversy between the German majority society and the call for the establishment of a post-migrant society persists in the lyrics. The demands range from moderate and constructive criticism (Haze & Antifuchs) to direct violent fantasies and threats against privileged and (mostly) white people and their politics (Ćelo & Capital Bra).

The question briefly mentioned in the article is anti-Semitism. Some results (Ćelo) are worrying, and the question arises whether the demonisation of Jews is an artistic practice, provocation, or, in fact, anti-Semitism. The answer to this question requires further study and could not be answered in detail within the scope of this article. By all means, the corpus needs to be expanded to explore the potential problem of anti-Semitism not based on just one or two examples in German rap, but in general. I will pursue this question in the further course of my research into Slavic languages in German rap and call in comparative data from rappers without a Slavic background.

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APPENDICES

List of Abbreviations

A - Antifuchs
CA – Ćelo (& Abdï)
CB – Capital Bra
H – Haze
HAI – Haiyti
O and OL – Olexesh
SE – Schwesta Ewa

KR – Krime
KWIC – Keyword in Context

DRaKoSlav – Deutschrap Korpus Slavonic Edition

AfD – Alternative für Deutschland

NPD – Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschlands

BKA – Bundeskriminalamt

Circulating Women's Stories

Giulia Siviero[1]

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Figure 1. Lucciola*, August 1910. © Archives of Società di Verona*

During the first thirty years of the twentieth century, *Lucciola* (meaning 'firefly' in Italian) was founded as an original, handwritten monthly journal, the postal exchange of which lasted for almost 18 years. These were years subsuming Giolittian Italy's successes and crises, the First World War, discussions on suffragism, and Fascism's rise to power.

The authors of the journal – who were also its readers – were all young women from 'good' families. They were educated and refined but imprisoned in the silence and isolation of their domestic and provincial lives. *Lucciola* was their 'travelling intellectual salon' and today it represents a precious and relatively rare testimony of female ideas – and to some extent feminist views – of the middle and upper-middle classes of the early nineteen-hundreds. Of the 115 booklets produced in total, 107 (each existing as a single copy) are stored at the cultural centre Società letteraria di Verona in Veneto, Italy, where they have been digitalised and made available for online consultation.

An Inkwell and a Ream of Papers

In a photo from the early years of the twentieth century (Fig. 2), one may see *Lucciola*'s founder, Lina Caico. The image shows a young woman sitting next to a wall whitened by lime. She wears big dusty shoes, her hair collected in a chignon, and a simple dress protected by an apron as if it were to indicate that no woman, not even the landlady or the landlord's daughter, could avoid her female duties. The year is 1908 and she has a ream of papers on her knees; these papers are the first issue of *Lucciola*.

Figure 2. Lina Caico working on the first issue of Lucciola, *1908. © Archives of Società Letteraria di Verona*

Lina Caico lived in Montedoro, in the province of Caltanissetta, with her father Eugenio, an aristocrat who owned *solfataras* (sulphur mines), and her mother, Louise Hamilton, a French-Irish noblewoman who was an ethnologist, photographer, translator and writer. Lina spent her youth between Bordighera, Nice, Montedoro and London. She studied in

an English college, spoke French and translated the work by the Indian poet Rabindranath Tagore, winner of the 1913 Nobel Prize in Literature. She also held a considerable correspondence with various early twentieth-century intellectuals, including Ezra Pound. Upon returning to her remote and underdeveloped Sicilian village, she decided to escape her intellectual isolation. She mustered other women from distant places around Italy who, like her, had returned to their father's or husband's provincial home after studying abroad, and who similarly wanted to avoid the destiny of mother or housewife. The monthly arrival of *Lucciola* became for all of them, in Lina Caico's words, a 'true ray of sunshine'.[2]

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[2] Translated from the original: 'Un vero raggio di sole' (*Leggere Le Voci: Storia Di 'Lucciola' Una Rivista Scritta a Mano 1908-1926*, ed. by Paola Azzolini and Daniela Brunelli (Verona: Cierre Edizioni, 1995), p. 17).
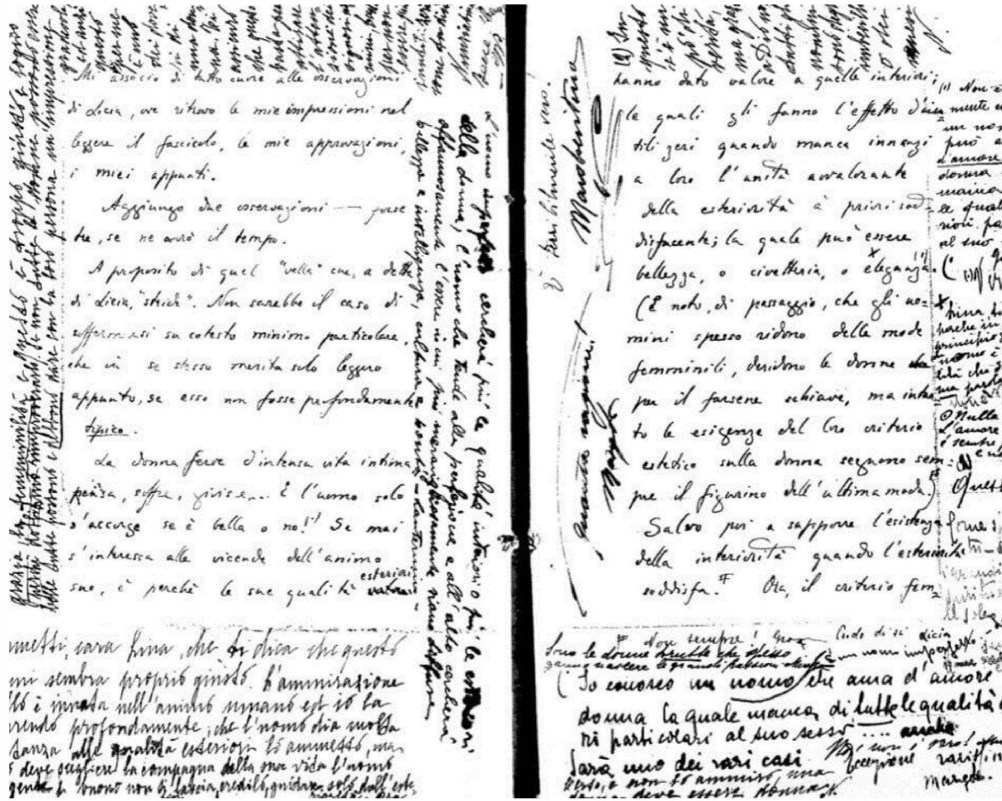
Figure 3. Observations and comments on a page from Lucciola, *January 1914.*
© Archives of Società Letteraria di Verona

For *Lucciola,* Lina Caico was inspired by other women's journals – like *Mouche volante, Parva favilla* and *Firefly* – that were circulating in French, German and English female boarding schools. Thus, she decided to create a similar project. She wrote in the periodical *Rivista per signorine* explaining all the necessary criteria for her future journal which had to be, first of all, handwritten.

In her presentation, she writes:

Handwriting is repulsive at first for our modern eyes, so used to printing: but in the long term we grow fond of the author's calligraphy, the different writing gives us almost the impression of hearing her voice, of seeing the look of each author, thus, what can

seem to be a blemish ends up being considered a virtue.[3]

Her request resulted in a number of admissions that exceeded her expectations: at first 24, then soon nearly 40, an amount considered conducive to make the periodical operate effectively.

Shipping Plan

During *Lucciola*'s years of activity – from 1908 to 1926, with a pause of three years due to the First World War – some contributors abandoned their endeavours, though many remained faithful, while some were added and others were expelled. Overall, the subscriptions numbered over 150. Among the criteria of admission (sent via a form that would be evaluated by a special committee) the place of residence was particularly significant. Since its beginning, the periodical wanted to guarantee a widespread and variegated origin of the opinions and experiences but also to involve women who lived in the most isolated and underdeveloped areas. In some specific periods, there were editors from Tripoli or Switzerland; some lucciole wrote from cities, but the majority were from villages of the entire peninsula, from Montedoro to Val di Scalve in Bergamo's province.

Due to the distance of contributors, it was necessary to work out a rather complex 'shipping plan': the editorial director used to buy a notebook and send it to the writer of the closest province, who added her contribution. Then she sent it to the nearest lucciola.[4] In every location, the notebook could stay for two days at the most. If writers did not abide by this, the penalty was fining or expulsion. During the periodical's initial journey, a first part of the manuscript was composed: the texts, concluded or episodical, could be short stories, poems, pages from diaries,

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[3] Translated from the original: 'L'essere manoscritto dapprima fa senso ai nostri occhi moderni, così abituati alla stampa: ma a lungo andare ci si affeziona a vedere ogni lavoro colla scrittura dell'autrice, le diverse scritture ci danno un po' l'impressione di sentire la voce, di vedere l'espressione di ciascuna autrice, sicché quello che può parere un difetto finisce coll'essere considerato come un pregio'. (Azzolini and Brunelli, p. 12).

[4] The term lucciola (singular), lucciole (plural) is used to refer to the female contributors of the journal.

descriptions or semi-journalistic reportages about important events experienced first-hand, like the Gleno Dam's structural failure in 1923 in Val di Scalve, or the construction of a railway bridge on the Po river between 1907 and 1911.

Every lucciola used to write under a pseudonym, despite the fact that the readers were the writers themselves. Among the many pseudonyms selected were Asfoldelo and Fulvetta; Lucciola forense and Oneira; Rosa sfogliata and Chiarezza.[5] While this choice was possibly due to reasons of authorial bashfulness, it can also be read as reflective of a society that constantly asked women to hide their intelligence and creativity. However, those lucciole who chose mottos as pseudonyms wanted to be recognised and to hint at their deepest and secret nature: Gina Frigerio, the last editor of *Lucciola*, used to sign her works as v. f. s., the acronym of *Veritate, Fortiter, Suaviter* ('For the truth, with more strength and more sweetness' in Latin).

Some men also took part in the project of *Lucciola*. They belonged to the family circle of the journal's female writers, being, for instance, brothers or cousins, and there were about 15 of them in total across *Lucciola*'s various publications. 'However, this never undermined the gender mark of the journal,' as explained by Daniela Brunelli, president of the Società letteraria di Verona and curator of the periodical.[6]

Every manuscript was composed of 300 pages on average, numbered by that year's editor who also took care of binding it and creating an index. The journal was also gradually enriched by a vast iconographic paratext: small paintings created with different techniques, sketches, drawings, works of embroidery or crochet, prints, photographs, and postcards accompanied by articles about current news.

Moreover, the covers were embroidered or branded on the velvet; the

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[5] Asfodelo means 'asphodel', Fulvetta is a feminine endearment from the adjective 'fulvo' meaning 'red'; Lucciola forense means 'forensic firefly'; Oneira derives from the Greek word which means 'dreams'; Rosa sfogliata means 'Rose losing its petals'; and finally Chiarezza is the Italian word for 'clarity'.

[6] Translated from the original: 'Ma questo non scalfì mai il segno di genere del progetto' (Brunelli, Daniela. Interview. Conducted by Giulia Siviero. February 2022).

frontispieces were drawn according to the different avant-garde styles of the time; and the decorations inside the journal were made of silk, velvet or braided straw.

Every booklet began with an index for the literary part and another one for the artistic part. The first article was always the editorial in which the editor wrote about the events of the *Lucciola* community – births, marriages and deaths – and summarised the content of the published texts.

Figure 4. Lucciola, *April 1910 and* Lucciola, *July 1914. © Archives of Società Letteraria di Verona*

The editorial was often followed by a financial report (every writer contributed to the journal's operating costs), a table reporting the time and date of reception and shipping of the periodical, and another one with the marks given by every lucciola to what they believed to be the most interesting literary or artistic work.

Similarly to printed journals, there were literary and artistic competitions – the prize was a book – alongside recurring columns and polls (for instance, in the first issue it was asked: 'Which virtue do you appreciate more in a man and which one in a woman? And why?'). Additionally, there was a section on book recommendations wherein citations from the texts in the original language were reported near the titles and authors' names. This testifies to the high cultural level of this community.

The creative process was extremely slow, and while a manuscript was travelling, the following one had already been dispatched: a booklet took months to go around and just as long to make a second journey. This allowed each writer to read every article and make notes on the white pages of the journal's second half. As one of the lucciole wrote, comments, questions and critiques had always to be guided by candour, spontaneity, and frankness.[7]

In the second edition, titled 'Observations', the annotations densely followed one another and were written around a central and longer comment. In this way, the final pages of the journal were transformed into the tangible graphic image of the long-distance dialogue among women.

The Social Debates of the Time.

With the passing of time, the lucciole developed from voices unknown to each other into pen-sisters. Some of the writers met in person and became long-lasting friends. On some occasions, they decided to live together.

The journal deals with the political and social themes of its time, especially connected to women's condition and their cultural and juridical subordination to their husbands' authority. Its contributors discussed issues including the abolition of prostitution, female education, pedagogy, and maternity. At the beginning of the First World War, they also debated interventionism and pacifism, feminism and women's right to vote. This last theme was one of the most divisive and about which

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[7] Azzolini and Brunelli, p. 41.

they moved many doubts and uncertainties. One contributor wrote: 'Female politics should be limited to the home'.[8] Another replied: 'This right must be given to women: they may use it wrongly, at first, but maybe also men sometimes make mistakes…'.[9] They agreed more firmly on the themes of marriage's limitations, as well as on the necessity of being socially active as it was required of women from their social condition.

Paola Lombroso, daughter of Cesare, a phrenologist, and already founder of the children's journal *Corriere dei Piccoli*, wrote for *Lucciola* with the pseudonym zia Mariù (auntie Mariù). She was, for instance, the promoter of the creation and expansion of rural libraries, the so-called *Bibliotechine rurali*, which had the objective of distributing books to the poorest schools in Italy in order to foster literacy. Many other writers of *Lucciola*, urged on by her, made this project one of their main philanthropic commitments.

Even if the writers of the journals remained within Catholic feminism and were always less radical than feminists of the time, their discussions initiated a new process of self-discovery. After a pause during the war years caused by disruption to the postal service, *Lucciola* changed format; the notebook was replaced by an album for commercial use, composed of papers with margins and lines. However, the most significant transformation was mainly in the sensitivity of its members.

Time had passed, they were not young women anymore, and they had survived the ordeals of the war. From their writing began to emerge how, while the men were at the front, many of them had to take on new tasks and this brought them to a different consciousness of their gender: their voices started to outline the delicate balance between work and new responsibilities on the one hand, and a greater awareness of their freedom and demand of rights, on the other. Eventually, before the last editor declared the end of *Lucciola* in 1926, it was politics that divided

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[8] Translated from the original: 'La politica femminile dovrebbe limitarsi alle pareti domestiche' (Azzolini and Brunelli, p. 79).

[9] Translated from the original: 'Bisogna darglielo questo potere: potrà magari sbagliare nell'esercitarlo, a tutta prima, ma via magari gli uomini qualche volta sbagliano…' (Azzolini and Brunelli, p. 79).

the writers. Some of them were passionate about Fascism and others stood against it, writing an emotional praise of a public holiday, International Workers' Day, that had recently been abolished by the Fascist regime. They declared that, unlike Fascism, the workers' festivity looked at the future and not at the past.

The most substantial corpus of *Lucciola*'s journals, 107 out of 115, is today stored at Società Letteraria di Verona (Italy). It was given to the association in 1991 by the heirs of Gina Frigerio, the journal's last editor, thanks to the mediation of a former librarian, Francesco Monicelli. Before the donation, six journals had already been sold to a Milanese antique dealer and bought by the historian Annarita Buttafuoco, who entrusted them to the association Unione Femminile Nazionale in Milan. Two other manuscripts belong to a private collector.

A Heritage to Preserve

Daniela Brunelli claimed that from the indexes and some articles in the journal, it is possible to deduce that many other unknown issues exist. For this reason, it is feasible to speculate that some booklets may have been lost or are to be found somewhere else. There have also been reports of the existence of other periodicals derived from *Lucciola*, and demanded by its contributors: *Lucciola Braille*, to make the journal accessible for blind women, and *Lucciolina*, a version for minors under 17 years old. Nonetheless, no proof remains of these projects.[10]

During the 1990s the Società letteraria di Verona promoted several initiatives to add value to the periodical: two exhibitions and a book *Leggere le voci* edited by Paola Azzolini and Daniela Brunelli that reports a wide anthological selection of the texts contained in the manuscripts. In 1998 *Lucciola*'s booklets were recognised as cultural assets by Sovrintendenza archivistica per il Veneto, the regional archival superintendence. Moreover, the State Archive of Verona was subsequently also permitted to microfilm and digitally convert the journals. Today, they are available for everyone to consult online. Meanwhile, Brunelli has now stated that a new investment is necessary

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[10] Brunelli, Daniela. Interview. Conducted by Giulia Siviero. February 2022.

to sustain operations of conservative restoration upon past issues of *Lucciola*, especially on the booklets that present chemical deterioration caused by the acidity of papers, inks, and other mechanical damages, mainly in the bindings.[11]

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[11] *Ibid.*

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The Role of Stylistics in Writing and Translating Poetry

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Introduction

We are two academics who work in literary stylistics (broadly speaking the analysis of the production, reception and evaluation of literary texts using insights from modern linguistics). We are also poets and in this article we reflect on the connection between stylistics and the writing of poetry. One of us (Pager-McClymont) is also interested in the relationship between stylistics and translation. This article therefore examines the extent to which stylistics as an academic discipline impacts on our roles in writing poetry and translation. Following brief biographical introductions, we do this by first reflecting from the perspective of stylistician-poets on four poems we have written, and then discussing how awareness of stylistic principles and frameworks helped to capture

meaning and authorial style in the translation of our poems into French. The article ends with the original poems and their French translations, alongside further discussion of the relationship between language awareness, creative writing and translation.

This article addresses the following research questions:

- RQ1: to what extent does stylistic knowledge enhance the creative writing process for poetry?
- RQ2: to what extent does stylistic knowledge allow for accuracy of language and effects when translating poetry?

Marcello Giovanelli: educator, scholar, poet

I have worked in education for twenty-five years, first as a secondary school English teacher (including posts as a head of English, assistant headteacher, head of sixth form, and deputy headteacher), and then for the last thirteen years in higher education. I am currently a Reader in Literary Linguistics at Aston University, UK. Although teaching poetry has inevitably helped fuel my fascination for writing it, my love of poems stretches right back to childhood, to the nursery rhymes my mother would read to me as child, and to my own emergent writing when I was a teenager. From a very early age, I was always an avid reader of poetry. In my twenties, I started to take writing (and reading) poetry more seriously but increasingly found finding time for my own work difficult and it has only been in the last few years that I have managed to find the space to write as much as I would like.

Kimberley Pager-McClymont: early career researcher, poet, translator

I completed my BA in France and moved to the UK to complete my MA and PhD in Linguistics. I worked as an English secondary school teacher for three years, and I now teach English and Academic Skills at the University of Aberdeen's International Study Centre. I studied poetry throughout my education, and I taught it in secondary school as well as higher education settings, but I truly learned to enjoy poetry when reading stylistic analyses of it (such as McLoughlin 'Text-worlds, blending and allegory', or Nuttall). My leisure reading habits tend to circle around prose fiction (i.e. short story, novels), as I enjoy character development most. Yet studying stylistics has allowed me to fully appreciate the language of poetry and to take note of authorial choices, which brought me a new sense of meaning to the poems I read. During the Covid-19 pandemic, I developed anxiety (likely due to lockdowns), and found refuge in writing poetry, as studies

have shown it can help alleviate symptoms (see Bolton and Latham, for example). What was at first a therapeutic exercise became a hobby and a habit, a way to express myself and play with language using stylistic tools I had once studied in others' writing. I originally wrote mostly for myself, but under the encouragement of friends and mentors, I submitted my poems for publication.

Stylistics and Poetry Writing

In this section we reflect on our writing practices and provide an overview of the poems translated in this paper.

Marcello Giovanelli's reflection on writing poetry

Although I would not necessarily say that my academic work completely drives my poetry writing, I am certain that my stylistician's sensitivity to language and, importantly, my understanding of the ways that language may be used to manipulate attention does influence how I write. My general strategy is that I tend to write short scenes, often building up a series of images or speech fragments into something cohesive and then joining those with others to form a longer piece. This process may often start with what feels or sounds right, but hopefully I may start to notice patterns which I then work on more consciously across the poem. I believe for me this is the point in the writing process where I start to think more carefully about language, and in this sense I might draw more explicitly on my knowledge of linguistics. I have always been mindful, through both my research and my teaching, of other stylisticians who have made explicit connections between creative writing and drawing on stylistics (e.g. Pope; McLoughlin 'Making creative use of cognitive stylistic frameworks'). I see value in the usual practice of stylistics (the analysis of texts and responses to them) being inverted to help make more explicit some of the guiding choices behind writing; as Scott (3) argues, knowledge of stylistics can be used 'to travel in the other direction […] from writer to text to reader'. I also think it helps that my research uses cognitive-functional models of grammar where the emphasis is on meaningfulness rather than rules, so I am always looking for ways in which the shaping of language may position readers in specific ways and give rise to particular interpretative effects. As a way of exemplifying my working process and reflecting on some of my conscious language choices, I will now make some specific comments on the two poems of mine included in this article.

'Notes From The Park' arose from summer visits to my local country park where I walked my dogs in the evening. The original idea was to capture the various kinds of sounds and sights (the 'music') of the park in a creative way. As I came to piece together, edit and rework the various scenes I had written, an important emphasis

seemed to be on movement, both of the speaker walking through the park and of the various entities in the scenes within it. With this in mind, I drew on the cognitive stylistic ideas of trajector-landmark alignment (Langacker) and a SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image-schema (Johnson) to give structure to the poem. The speaker, initially profiled as the *trajector* (the participant given focal attention) against the *landmark* (background) of the park, fades away from attention after the first couplet where other trajector-landmark relationships profile foregrounded and backgrounded aspects of scenes (the paths against the lawn, the clouds against the sky, branches against the bench and so on); the intended (I use that term cautiously!) effect here is to portray the abundant and fast-changing visual and aural stimuli that appear when walking in the park. Equally, the poem draws on the idea of movement from a starting point along a path towards an end goal, explicitly in the second stanza, but also throughout as the scenes rely on various kinds of orientational language: the sky 'lifts', clouds are 'drifting', the speaker's attention is diverted 'beneath' to the water and then 'above' where the branches dance 'along' the bench and the imagined 'Mary' crosses the bridge. At the end of the poem, the paths of Mary and the speaker are aligned as the day reaches its endpoint in the 'diminishing light', and the movement inherent in the dusk strumming the 'white birch bark' and the passing 'two jays' is brought to a close in the final word '*piano*' (meaning 'softly'). Although the speaker's endpoint is never explicitly completed, I felt ending the poem by positioning the reader within the speaker's imagined epistemic modal text-world (Gavins), triggered by the modal adverb 'Perhaps' offered a neat way of capturing the magic and increasingly dream-like nature of the walk through the park. This modal-world contains an embedded temporal shift back to a previous time frame (marked by the change from present to past tense and the use of the adverb 'once') and positions the reader to make connections between current time and imagined/past time through the use of the proximal deictic demonstrative that pre-modifies 'bridge' in the noun phrase 'this bridge'. My aim was to prime the reader to reflect on the different mental representations of the 'bridge' and for the former to act as a reference point to access the imagined scene of the newly triggered world evoked through the modality of 'Perhaps'; in this case, although the temporal deictic parameters of the poem change, the perceptual deictic centre (Zubin and Hewitt) remains constant.

My second poem, 'Hush' began as two scenes created around the metaphorical presentation of 'night' as a blanket and a cathedral. Although most of the poem was written intuitively, I did consciously aim to extend the image of night towards the end of the poem using a series of parallel prepositional phrases so as to emphasise a sense of enclosure. This pattern appears most prominently in the final three verse paragraphs where 'as the ancient feet of trees' and 'the painted sheet of stars' both consist of a noun phrase with an embedded prepositional phrase,

together with the replicated /eɪ/ and /iː/ sounds. I specifically wanted to capture the sense of enclosure, again drawing on an image-schematic template, this time a CONTAINER, so as to align these images with the beginning of the poem and the enfolding nature of the night. Consequently, the poems foregrounds various realisations of being inside through further prepositional phrases 'in the soft unwrapping of the leaves' and 'in the cool, crisp, close/cathedral sound of night'; the embedded prepositional phrase in each acts, I think, in an iconic way, replicating the enclosing night outlined in the first line of the poem. My aim in the poem was to create a timeless atmosphere and a final strategy that I used drew on a simple idea from Cognitive Grammar (Langacker) which proposes that that we mentally scan a scene in one of two ways depending on how it is presented to us. In *sequential scanning*, a scene is revealed as unfolding through time and we scan each moment of it successively; this is generally the effect of using finite verbs. In *summary scanning*, however, the effect of using non-finite forms (e.g., participles and infinitives) and nominalisations, we track a scene in a more cumulative fashion, much like viewing a multi-exposure photograph. In the final three verse paragraphs, the scene is scanned first sequentially through the finite verb 'are', but then summary scanning is imposed through the extended use of different forms: nominalisations, a past participle functioning adjectivally 'inverted' and a further set of nominalisations (although 'murmurs' could be a verb, the grammar is set up to present it as a noun) to hopefully present a timeless quality to the described scene.

Overall, I believe that an explicit awareness of how language works is useful in any creative practice. Of course, this does not necessarily make me a better poet but the tools that stylistics offers do provide a helpful way of understanding the different choices I have in presenting scenes and, crucially, understanding how those choices might position readers to respond in particular ways.

Kimberley Pager-McClymont's reflection on writing poetry

When writing poetry, I aim to include techniques I appreciate when I read poetry or even prose. I love natural scenes (or simply being outdoors), and I hope this transpires in my poems. My inspiration comes from specific images or details I picture, and I try to describe them in writing, and to bring it to life. I sometimes get inspiration from literature as I exemplify below, sometimes from my travels, or even just an association of words I think sound 'good' (this is of course subjective). I start by writing freely to portray the scene or story, using this flow as a therapeutic exercise. This process does not focus on the words or structure, simply on letting the image I have in mind take form on paper. Once the poem is

drafted and the relevant themes and ideas are established, I then go back to edit the language and change certain aspects for aesthetic purposes, such as adding rhymes, lexical or syntactic repetition.

As part of my doctoral thesis, I developed a model of pathetic fallacy as it is an ambiguous technique that I find particularly aesthetic (in prose, poetry and even art), because it represents a projection of emotions onto surroundings such as nature. The technique's ambiguity stems from Ruskin's work in which he describes pathetic fallacy as a projection of emotions onto the elements but provides examples of personification (see Pager-McClymont 'Communicating Emotions' 15-21). My doctoral thesis aimed to create a stylistically informed model of pathetic fallacy to allow its identification in texts. In my model, I define pathetic fallacy as a projection of emotions onto the surroundings, often natural elements. Therefore, I often feature pathetic fallacy when I write, at times this is subtle, but in other times it is obvious, as it is the case in the poem below entitled 'Of the Pathetic Fallacy'.

'Of the Pathetic Fallacy' not only features pathetic fallacy, but it explains it using the definition I developed, and I wrote it using my own stylistic model, in which pathetic fallacy has three indicators: imagery, negation, repetition. Pathetic fallacy also has three criteria for its definition to occur: presence of animated entity, emotion, and surroundings. In my poem 'Of the Pathetic Fallacy', negation is present ('unreal', 'uncertain', 'not', 'cannot', 'misery'), as well as repetition ('rain drops on a curtain' occurs twice), and imagery as the phrase 'infuse a breath within' is a metaphor. The three criteria are equally featured: the animated entity is the speaker ('I'), the emotions are explicitly stated ('melancholia', 'anxiety', 'misery'), and the surroundings are those of 'rain drops', 'gust[s] of wind', 'steam', 'cold', 'fog'.

Furthermore, I refer to Ruskin's criticism of the technique through the phrase 'not Ruskin's cup of tea' (see Pager-McClymont 'Communicating Emotions', 'Linking Emotions') as a way to create intertextuality with the original source. I also include a line from Arthur Conan Doyle's *The Hounds of the Baskervilles* '[it is] melancholia, outside and in'. This phrase in the poem (and arguably in Conan Doyle's novel) is what contains pathetic fallacy explicitly: the emotion (here melancholia) is projected onto the surrounding world, indoors or outdoors. The scene's settings describe elements of outdoors such as rain, fog, trees[1], as well as indoor elements (i.e., curtains, steam on a window). The rationale behind writing this poem, and titling it after Ruskin's chapter in *Modern Painters*, is to offer readers with a concrete example of a text featuring pathetic fallacy (at least

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[1] These outdoor elements of the description mirror Conan Doyle's in *The Hounds of the Baskervilles*: "A dull and foggy day with a drizzle of rain". A complete analysis of the extract can be found in Pager-McClymont ("Communicating Emotions", 219-224).

according to my stylistic model of it). My intent was to provide readers with an example of a poem containing pathetic fallacy based on my own stylistic model of the technique, the model itself being grounded in academic research, and yet showing creativity.

'Autumn Confetti' was written with an image in mind inspired by reading Alice Walker's short story *The Flowers*, which features a dark twist and detailed surroundings. In my writing process I tried to use language to allow others to construct a mental representation of the image I pictured as richly as possible to allow for the twist to surprise them. To convey to readers the prevalence of the surroundings, I used repetitions (i.e., colour terms such as 'green', 'orange, 'brown', 'red'), and personification ('the wind roared'). Using pathetic fallacy, the phrase 'I walked in the fog between the trees' indicates uncertainty as to what the speaker will discover. To reinforce the surroundings and create a well-rounded experience for readers, I used phonetic iconicity (when sounds mimic meaning, Körtvélyessy, 29). Indeed, there is a consonance of fricative sounds, at times those are also alliterated: /f/ ('fell', 'floor', 'of, 'fog', 'confetti'), /θ/ ('Earth', 'with'), /ð/ ('the'), /z/ ('leaves', 'as', 'hours', 'trees', 'was'), /s/ ('soil', 'surrounded', 'silence', 'sound', 'so', 'searched', 'stumbled', 'stupor', 'saw', 'swinging', 'smiled', 'skin'), and /ʃ/ ('branch', 'she'). This consonance of fricative sounds can be interpreted in different ways, as it can mimic the sound of the wind, or the sound of the swinging rope on the branch. There is also a consonance of the alveolar sound /r/ ('branch', 'green', 'orange', 'brown', 'red', 'covering', 'surrounded', 'trees', 'creaking', 'frantically') which mirrors the sound of leaves and branches cracking under footsteps. Although readers are unlikely to interpret these consonances, nor do they need to, they add an aesthetic phonetic dimension to the poem.

Additionally, my use of punctuation and grammar also carries meaning. The punctuation is meant to show a sequence of events, as for instance the commas after each colour listed mimic the falling leaves. The dashes in 'to-and-fro' reflects the movement itself; and lastly, the ellipsis indicate a sudden action or twist. The twist of the discovery is emphasised by the change of tense: from simple past and present tenses to past perfect, further emphasised with the repetition of 'once' contrasted with the 'now' of the following line. The aim was not only to tell a story with a plot twist, but to also paint a picture with words to showcase how it happened. The choice of 'autumn' in the title has a symbolic representation: this season typically can represent decay, old age, or even death as it is linked to the idea of flora being past its prime state. This notion is also represented by the twist of the poem: the woman is found hung. This is contrasted, almost as an oxymoron, by the term 'confetti' which is usually associated with celebration. The poem ends on this cliff-hanger as I wanted readers to have their own reaction to the discovery of the body, rather than that of a character or the poetic persona.

Ultimately, I do not believe that my stylistic knowledge makes me a better poet, but it allows me to enjoy reading and writing poetry. Similarly, I do not believe that the stylistic choices of the poems I analyse above need to be perceived for readers to enjoy reading the poems, as I mean them to add an aesthetic dimension when discovering the text for the first time, and as we all share different schemas[2] and experiences, readers' mental representations of the scenes I describe will logically vary. My knowledge of stylistics, however, allows me to include devices with aim to impact and enhance readerly experience and emotional reaction (see Oatley's taxonomy of the emotions of reading).

Stylistics and Translation

There are many discussions on translation processes and principles (see Vinay and Darbelnet, Hodges, Munday, Petrili). However, there is limited research on the link between stylistics and translation, although this has been explored increasingly often over recent years. There are also few accounts of poets reflecting on their authorial choices using stylistics to describe their writing process.

The reason for the interest in linking stylistics to translation is that stylistics, in particular cognitive stylistics, can provide a greater understanding and/or appreciation for the source text, which could thus transpire in the target text. Boase-Beier (396) explains:

> Cognitive poetic studies of translation can thus account for the style of the source text as an embodiment of the source text author's choices, the style of the source text as it affects readers (including the translator), the style of the target text as an embodiment of the translator's choices, or the style of the target text as it affects the readers of the translation.

As such, in the commentary of the translation process of our poems, I (Kimberley Pager-McClymont) discuss the salient stylistic choices that arose in sections above, and how these were translated into French. I also draw on our respective writing processes to keep the translations (target texts) as close to the source texts. I maintained whenever possible a similar structure and punctuation, as well as lexical field and figures of speech.

In the poem 'Notes From The Park' written by Marcello Giovanelli, movement is prevalent throughout, at times with animation and personification ('bordent', 'le

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[2] Schemas are "cluster[s] of concepts [...] involving generic knowledge" used to represent events, precepts, relations, situations, and objects (Eysenck and Keane, 275).

ciel envoie', 'nuages glissant', 'Les poings lourds battent') as described above, and thus this was preserved in the translation. This is also the case for the contrast between what is foregrounded and backgrounded, which is why I picked the verb 'bordent' to translate 'scale' as it shows a clear demarcation between the lawn and the path, further emphasising the contrast between the two whilst keeping the figurative aspect of the language.

To translate 'Hush' (also written by Marcello Giovanelli), I maintained the enclosing effect in the phrases 'Dans le déploiement doux des feuilles/ Murmures dans le froid, frais, proche/ Son de cathédrale de nuit', as well as the build up to it with the repetition of the coordinating conjunction 'et' in the fourth stanza. The lexical field of darkness, stillness, and silence also transpires in the target text ('sombre', 'froide', 'hantée', 'crépuscule', 'minuit', 'immobile', 'murmures').

The term for pathetic fallacy as a technique is rarely used in French and can be considered as archaic unlike in English. Nevertheless, for the translation of my 'Of the Pathetic Fallacy' and to remain faithful to the original text and refer specifically to the technique, I used the phrase used in the translation of Ruskin's *Modern Painters*, that is to say 'sophisme pathétique' (Watkin). Similarly, I used the official translation of *The Hounds of the Baskervilles*'s sentence used in my poem ('La mélancolie, est à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur', Viénot) to keep the intertextual reference present. During the translation process I also ensured to preserve the criteria and indicators of pathetic fallacy to keep the applicability of my model onto the target text.

To translate my poem 'Autumn Confetti', I focussed primarily on the syntax and punctuation, as those are responsible for the rhythm of the poem leading to the twist in the story as I previously explored. The commas after each colour ('vertes, orange, brunes, et rouges') is present, as well as the ellipsis ('quand...') and the change in tenses. Similarly, I tried to keep the consonances as much as possible: fricatives are still prevalent ('feuilles', 'sol', 'silence, 'cherchant', 'sourit'), but the consonance of the alveolar sound /r/ is more omnipresent in the French translation than it is in the original English poem.

Overall, I think that being a stylistician has allowed me to reflect on the techniques and language used in the original poems and apply those to the translations. It was more challenging to translate poems that were not my own, because my perception of salient stylistic devices may differ from what the author originally intended. This means that I have to mitigate my stylistic analysis of the poem by remaining as neutral as possible (see Conclusion section) and maintaining the intended form and meaning of the piece. On the other hand, for the translation of my own poems, I can use similar processes when translating as when writing, which I also try to implement in the translation of others' work from an 'outsider's'

perspective. Furthermore, when faced with the choice of applying similar stylistic effects in the target text at the risk of losing nuances of meaning of the source text, I chose to maintain the meaning as faithfully as possible. This is the case with 'Of the Pathetic Fallacy': the original poem rhymes, and yet the translation does not, to allow for the conservation of meaning. I also avoid changing verbs for nouns, as they do not have a similar effect, as a Transitivity analysis would confirm (see Halliday). Arguably, this helps me translate more than meaning in the target texts: it let me translate style. Thus, using stylistics and similar processes for translation and for creative and poetry writing enhances the language to keep the effects of the target text as close to the source text as possible.[3]

Translation

This section features the original poems discussed in this paper and their translations.

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[3] For a more detailed discussion of the value of stylistics for translation purposes, see discussion by Boase-Beier.

Poems by Marcello Giovanelli

Notes From The Park

We prefer to walk slowly,

take in the music of the park.

In the late heat, worn paths

scale the edges of the lawn,

stones riff on heels like a playful

child, the sky lifts an arpeggio

of clouds drifting to a crayon horizon,

contrails, thinly-cut, chorus the tired day.

Heavy fists secretly beat beneath

us in thick water, above, branch feet

tap-dance lightly, intuitively, along

bare bench wood where a dedication

to Mary recalls the words

of an old song. Perhaps she too

crossed this bridge, once sang of

summer in the diminishing light

as the dusk strummed white birch bark

and two jays passed, quietly, *piano*.

Mots du parc

Nous préférons marcher doucement,

en absorbant la musique du parc.

Dans la chaleur tardive, les chemins usés

bordent la pelouse,

les cailloux crissent sous les talons,

comme un enfant joueur, le ciel envoie un arpège

de nuages glissant vers un horizon de craie

traînés, finement coupés, refrain du jour las.

Les poings lourds battent secrètement en dessous

de nous dans l'eau épaisse, au-dessus, des pieds de branches

font des claquettes légèrement, intuitivement, tout le long

d'un banc en bois brut où une dédicace

à Mary rappelle les mots

d'une vieille chanson. Peut-être qu'elle aussi

traversa ce pont, jadis chanta

l'été dans la lumière faiblissante

lorsque le crépuscule caressa l'écorce de bouleau blanc

et deux geais passèrent, silencieusement, *piano*.

Hush

All round us now is dark,

a blanket, cold, haunting,

untouched by the spell of late day

or the soon chill of velveted

moonlit voices,

whose incoming midnight songs

are lines from poems

that form endless rows of mirrors.

And you are still

as the ancient feet of trees

and the sheet of stars

inverted beneath your neck

like a pillow

in the soft unwrapping of the leaves,

murmurs in the cool, crisp, close

cathedral sound of night.

Silence

Désormais tout est sombre autour de nous

une couverture, froide, hantée

épargnée par le sort du crépuscule

ou à la lumière de la lune

les frissons des voix de velours

aux chants de minuit entrants

sont des lignes de poèmes

formant des successions de miroirs sans fin.

Et tu es immobile

comme les pieds anciens des arbres

et le drap étoilé

inversé derrière ta nuque

comme un coussin

dans le déploiement doux des feuilles

murmures dans le froid, frais, proches

son de cathédrale de nuit.

Poems by Kimberley Pager-McClymont

Of the Pathetic Fallacy

Rain drops on a curtain

It all feels unreal, uncertain

Gust of wind against my skin, infuse a breath within

Melancholia, outside and in

Steam on the window, shivering of cold

Just anxiety, or so I have been told

Fog across the street, cannot see the trees

Evanescence and vapours: not Ruskin's cup of tea

Rain drops on a curtain, as far as I can see

Image of misery, pathetic fallacy

Sur le Sophisme Pathétique

Gouttes de pluie sur un rideau

Tout parait irréel, incertain

Coup de vent sur ma peau, infuse en moi un souffle

La mélancolie, est à l'intérieur comme à l'extérieur.

Buée sur la fenêtre, frissonnant de froid

Ce n'est que de l'anxiété, du moins c'est ce que l'on dit

Brouillard dans la rue, les arbres sont hors de vue

Evanescence et vapeurs : à Ruskin, ce n'est pas sa tasse de thé

Gouttes de pluie sur un rideau, aussi loin que je puisse voir

Image de misère, sophisme pathétique.

Autumn Confetti

The leaves fell to the floor

As the wind roared

Green, orange, brown, and red

Autumn Confetti

Covering the soil of the Earth.

Early hours in the morning

Surrounded by silence

I walked in the fog between the trees

When a creaking sound, of to-and-fro, so loud

I turned, frantically searched when…

I stumbled on an uneven root

Fell and with stupor saw

The swinging rope on a branch.

She had been pretty, once

She had smiled, once

Now her skin was green, and her lips red

With orange and brown leaves in her hair

Autumn confetti

Confettis d'Automne

Les feuilles tombèrent au sol

Alors que le vent hurlait

Vertes, orange, brunes, et rouges

Confettis d'Automne

Qui parsemaient le sol de la Terre.

Au petit matin

Plongé dans le silence

Je marchais dans le brouillard, entre les arbres

Lorsqu'un craquement, un va-et-vient retentit bruyamment

Je me retournai alors, cherchant frénétiquement quand...

Je trébuchai sur une racine qui dépassait

Tombai, et vis avec stupeur

La corde qui se balançait sur une branche.

Elle était belle, avant

Elle souriait, avant

Maintenant sa peau était verte, et ses lèvres rouges

Avec des feuilles orange et brunes dans ses cheveux

Confettis d'Automne

Conclusion

To conclude, this paper explored how having stylistic awareness has the potential to enhance the creative process for writing poetry. We both draw on our linguistic and stylistic knowledge to elevate some of our language choices in our poems, but the scenes we have in mind are the main motivation behind those choices. Similarly, the stylistic devices used may not be perceived by some readers beyond the aesthetic aspect they bring to poems. Other readers may identify them, though ultimately this is not a driving force behind using consciously stylistic devices when writing. Furthermore, this paper also examined how being familiar with stylistics and being able to recognise certain processes in style help the translation process. It allowed the maintenance of the most salient aspects of the source texts in the target texts, whether those were grounded in lexis, syntax, or figures of speech.

Overall, being aware of stylistic principles and being able to identify authorial choices, even at a basic level, can be particularly beneficial for the process of translation. Indeed, it allows translators to communicate more than just meaning, style and language features can equally be part of that process. Stylistic awareness also has the potential to limit manipulations of language that inevitably occur during translation. Though one may argue that a translation revolving around stylistic devices would diminish the translator's choices and their own style by limiting their visibility, we argue that by translating meaning and style together, the translator can thus ally the writer's 'voice' (O'Sullivan, Suchet, Stalling) to their own in a more natural manner.

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Book Review

Cow-boy. Jean-Michel Espitallier. Inculte, 2019. ISBN: 978-23-69840-22-9, 131pp.

Born in Barcelonnette in 1957, Jean-Michel Espitallier is one of the most eclectic contemporary French writers. Active since the late '80s, Espitallier has published around 26 books, including novels and poetry. His most recent publications include *Tourner en rond: De l'art d'aborder les ronds-points* (2016), *La Première année* (2018), *Cow-Boy* (2020), and *Tueurs* (2022). He also founded the literary magazine *Java* (1989-2006), in collaboration with Jacques Sivan and Vannina Maestri, and coordinated an issue on 'La nouvelle poésie française' for *Magazine Littéraire* in March 2001.

Cow-boy was published in French in 2019.[1] The text traces the story of Espitallier's paternal grandfather Eugène, who left his native village Ancelle in Hautes-Alpes to migrate to the United States with his brother in the early 20th century, like millions of other European citizens at the time.

At the beginning of the book, Espitallier explains that he knows little about his grandfather. His father, like the rest of his family, was never inclined to talk much about Eugène and his American dream. The only information Espitallier had was his grandfather's name, that he left France to work as a cowboy in America when he was very young, that he returned home in 1918, that he met his wife when he returned to France, and that he tried without success to convince her to leave Ancelle to start a new life together in America before he died in his early forties.

The mystery surrounding his grandfather's life fascinated Espitallier since childhood and left him with many questions. He attempts to answer these by imagining how Eugène's life in America might have been and the reasons why his

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[1] The book has not yet been translated into English.

family was always so reluctant to talk openly about him.

However, with *Cow-boy*, Espitallier seeks not only to reconstruct his family's story but also to deconstruct the Hollywood myth of the cowboy and America. Eugène is not a typical cowboy. He is not conceived as the adventurer hero of the Hollywood Westerns of the mid-20th century. Rather, he is imagined as a humble cattleman, a young migrant who, after moving to another continent, ends up doing the same job as he did at home. This is because Espitallier's objective is not to celebrate America as the Wild West of endless possibilities, but rather to criticize its capitalist organization and racism (Agnew 2015, 10). The myth of the cowboy was invented by Hollywood to romanticize the conquest of the Wild West and to promote the American dream (12). Westerns of the mid-1900s generally presented cowboys as white 'Knights of the range', heroes willing to fight the villainy of corrupt bankers and rustlers or Native Americans, depicted as evil and uncivilized, so that justice and Western values triumph (13–14). In the 1950s, cowboys were usually associated with law and order. They were presented as courageous men keen to sacrifice their personal life to settle in the Wild West and build a civil society based on moral integrity and justice (13).

Eugène is far from that, and America is not depicted as the land of opportunity where a new society based on justice and moral integrity can be founded. Instead, it is presented as a land full of violence, exploitation, and racism. Whilst Eugène spends his uneventful days watching his herd, unaware of what is happening in the rest of the continent, America faces a succession of racial murders, repressive attacks on workers, factory openings, and exploitation of natural resources. Ultimately, America is depicted as the cradle of contemporary capitalism and neoliberal ideology.

Entangling Eugène's story with this critique of American imperialism enables Espitallier to imbue *Cow-boy* with the collective and political significance typical of his writing. Influenced by Deleuze's anti-capitalist philosophy, Espitallier's texts are always openly engaged in the struggle against capitalist society and its injustices. From a Deleuzo-Guattarian perspective, Espitallier can be understood to be a 'minor writer' – a 'revolutionary writer' of a 'minor literature' (Deleuze and Guattari 1975, 149-50). In *Kafka: Pour une littérature mineure*, Deleuze and Guattari describe this 'minor literature' as being able to challenge, and therefore revolutionise, the ideological apparatus at the basis of society (149–150). Aligned with this perspective, Espitallier does not employ his memories and familial story for a narcissistic exercise in style but as the starting point for the creation of what the two philosophers call 'a people yet to come' (149–150) – that is, for the creation of new potential societies.

Eugène's experience leads the reader on a cognitive journey during which they can

begin to reflect on the images of cowboys and America proposed by Western narratives. Since the socio-political and cultural issues documented by Espitallier in *Cow-boy* are the same that afflict America and the Western world today, the reader is inevitably led to question their modes of thinking and living, potentially paving the way for the emergence of new modes that can lead to the actualization of new societies.

As often happens with his texts, *Cow-boy* does not fit into any singular literary genre; it is a hybrid and unclassifiable text sitting at the intersection between different genres, namely biography, fiction, and poetry. Sections written in the first-person singular that narrate and comment on Espitallier's family memories are alternated with fictional sections – reminiscent of Espitallier's poetic style – which imagine his grandfather's life by filling the gaps in his family's narrative, as well as traditional songs about cowboys, and impersonal lists documenting the social issues that have marked American capitalist struggle.

Cow-boy is also hybrid from a linguistic point of view; the text written in French presents numerous familiar as well as argot terms, alongside English words or expressions that give movement to the narration and oblige the reader to reconsider the concept of the mother tongue and the relationship between language and power, as exemplified here:

> Il faut huit jours au paquebot pour atteindre Le Havre. Océan monotone, horizon, ronron anesthésiant des machines, lenteurs. Des ciels. Un horizon toujours le même avec option nuages, gros temps ou plein soleil. L'air est poisseux. La nuit, c'est noir. Des rencontres éphémères, peut-être. Succession *day and night, night and day, like the tick, tick, tock*… (Espitallier 2019, 92).

In this extract, Espitallier draws on expressions in both French and English. This hybridity is intensified by his reference to Cole Porter's 'Night and Day' (recorded 1932; released 1933), a song ingrained in American popular culture which includes the lyrics: 'Like the tick, tick, tock [...] Day and night, night and day' (n.p).

Ultimately, the tension between language and power also guides Espitallier's reconstruction of the story of his immigrant grandfather, providing an intricate discussion of migration, socio-political, and translation studies. At the same time, it denounces the politics of America, setting the conditions for rethinking the way we perceive America and the conquest of West. *Cow-boy*'s literary-critical value emerges from its hybrid and aesthetic features, which enact the deconstruction of literary genres and exemplify the spirit of postmodern literature that requires the elaboration of new approaches to analysis and interpretation than those offered by traditional literary categories.

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Book Review

Multilingual Literature as World Literature. Edited by Jane Hiddleston and Wen-chin Ouyang. Bloomsbury, 2021. ISBN 9781501360091, 314 pp.

Multilingual Literature as World Literature (2021) is a recent addition to Bloomsbury's 'Literatures as World Literature' series engaging with the "elusive concept of 'world literature'" (ii), edited by Thomas O. Beebee. It deviates from the standard format of the series, which is to focus on one country's literature (see, for example, the preceding *German Literature as World Literature* (2014) and *Brazilian Literature as World Literature* (2019)), by taking a look at a much broader category: multilingual literature. With a view to the elimination of the stark borders drawn between languages and nations, the collection engages with the mixing, blending, translation and creation of languages in various forms of literature; chapters in this collection touch on everything from poetry to short fiction and novels. While most of the contributors to the volume are affiliated with UK universities, the United States, Germany, Sweden and France are also represented, and the variety of languages discussed ranges from French, Spanish, Mandarin Chinese and Arabic to Antillean Creole, highlighting the vast diversity and scope of this volume.

The breadth of its subject matter is where the collection both shines and courts risk. Several chapters define 'world literature' and even in some cases 'multilingualism' anew, some in fairly diverging ways; this leads to a plurality of thought that, while perfectly mirroring the plurality the chapters unanimously discuss, defend and analyse, does create an impression of inconsistency in the collection. The introduction explicates that the volume is not concerned with the binarism of local vs national, which is emphasised in many discussions of world literature, but the way multilingual literatures "take neither the nation nor a single language as their starting point" (2). Multilingual literatures thus have an intrinsic resistance to "linguistic, national or communitarian boundaries" and

dramatize "cultural movement and blending" (2). The stated aim of the collection is to "take multilingualism in literature as its own structuring and generative principle" (5), allowing for analysis of linguistic plurality across a range of contexts. Pointing to some of the overarching topics, the book is divided into four parts: Multilingualism and modes of reading; A multilingual ecology of world literature and modes of circulation; Multilingual comparative reading: Beyond translation and untranslatability; and Multilingual poetics of world literature.

The first part focuses on the interactions between different media, featuring a discussion of Édouard Glissant's late theoretical works in relation to language, literature and the world (Jane Hiddleston), and an analysis of the way Francophone Chinese migrant writers Francois Cheng and Shan Sa negotiate the boundaries of text and image (Shuangyi Li). It also includes a meditation on the interplay of poetry and visual art in the Moroccan *Souffles* generation (Khalid Lyamlahy), and thoughts on the political implications of 'worldliness' in the Anglophone Arabic writing of authors Dunya Mikhail, Zeina Hashem Beck, Suheir Hammad and Sinan Antoon (Claire Gallien).

The second part leads the reader through the multilingual ecology of Manuel Rivas (Laura Lonsdale), anxieties about foreign form in literary criticism of the Ottoman novel with the example of Ahmet Midhat Efendi (Keya Anjaria), Rubén Darío's blending of French style in Spanish works (Carlos F. Grigsby), and Primo Levi's use of multilingualism as a motif in Holocaust literature (Dominique Jullien).

The third part focuses more on translation, particularly untranslatability, with a discussion of the usage and divergent meaning of the terms *nabka*, *ghetto* and *holocaust* in Elias Khoury's *Awlād al-Ghītū* (Nora Parr), a close reading of Somaya Ramadan's transliteration practice (Dima Ayoub), a study on the bilingual yet translation-defying work of Isabel del Río (Ellen Jones), and a meditation on productivity and creativity generated by issues related to translation exemplified by the literature magazine *transition* (Juliette Taylor-Batty).

Finally, part four examines poetry. This includes a focus on the sonic aspects of twentieth-century avant-garde poetry (yasser elhariry), a look at Vahni Capildeo's translation synaesthesia (Rachael Gilmour), and a study of Creole proverbs in Monchoachi's work (Christopher Monier). The book closes by contemplating the multilingual history of English and Arabic exemplified by sexuality in the travelogues of Uthmān al-Miknāsī and Aḥmad Fāris al-Shidyāq (Wen-chin Ouyang).

The contributors practice what they preach, as all chapters feature extensive passages in languages other than English. However, the impact of the multilingualism of the book is dampened by the practical, pragmatic consideration

of the assumed English-speaking readership; all non-English text (or imagery), whether in the main body of the text or large block quotations, has an English translation. As much as translation is noted in the collection as a distorting and, according to some arguments, de-pluralising force, its presence in the scholarly work itself remains unacknowledged.

Several chapters also engage with the questions of the constituent parts of language and what makes a language; notable examples are Shuangyi Li and Rachel Gimour's chapters. Li's chapter is focused on the blending of Chinese calligraphy, Chinese text and French text, and shifts not only between the two languages but between the disparate scripts which have given rise to divergent scriptural cultures. Gilmour's analysis of synaesthesia in Vahni Capildeo's poetry focuses on non-linguistic as well as linguistic meaning-making, skilfully evoking the way Capildeo calls attention to "language calling up not only more language, but also sounds, shapes, colours, sensations" (254) and showing the poet's rejection of the "strictures of linguistic comprehensibility" through the contrasting of structurally disparate poetry fragments (254). Meanwhile, Li reveals a playfulness in medium that highlights the visual traits of Chinese and the way Cheng and Sa create art and meaning out of its differences to French, through detailed analysis of whole pages that fuse the Latin and Chinese scripts. For me, these two chapters perfectly highlight the boundary-breaking intention of the collection.

Overall, especially for those interested in the authors discussed in each chapter, this collection is a useful resource. The different approaches taken by the contributors to multilingualism and world literature raise many thought-provoking questions in this growing field. Here, however, the limits of a single volume also come to the fore – it is simply impossible for the collection to look at more than a snapshot of languages and pieces of literature. Thus, the focus on pluralism throughout lends a certain sense of irony, given the self-evident difficulty in achieving it within the current conventions of western Anglocentric academia. It is an irony that the collection exploits; without losing readership or becoming too unconventional to publish within academia, the heterogeneity of languages, diversity of approaches, and refusal to definitively limit what should count as multilingualism all play a part in raising new questions, and go some way towards signposting what a truly *plurilingual* collection might look like in the future. In this, the collection stays true to its stated intention: opening up, rather than setting boundaries.

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Book Review

L'istinto persuasivo. Come e perchè gli umani hanno iniziato a raccontare storie. Francesco Ferretti. Carroce Editore, 2022. ISBN 9788829012466, 220 pp. (*Narrative persuasion. A cognitive perspective on language evolution.* Springer, 2022. ISBN 9783031092053, 138 pp.)

Among the many names attributed to our species, that of *homo narrans* (storytelling human) takes on particular importance in Francesco Ferretti's *L'istinto persuasivo. Come e perchè gli umani hanno iniziato a raccontare storie* (2022). The book's underlying arguments revolve around two fundamental theses: "first, the idea that communication at any level (both human and animal) is a form of persuasion, rather than of information transmission; second, the idea that humans, unlike other animals, began to tell stories with the aim of being more effective in communication and, therefore, more persuasive" (p.).

In this naturalized and continuist framework, in which language is not a "miracle" but the result of a complex biological and cultural evolutionary history, Ferretti identifies *narrative competence*, the ability to understand and invent stories, as a peculiar trait of human language. Intertwining a pragma-rhetorical perspective on communication and an evolutionary reflection, Ferretti suggests that humans began to tell stories to enhance their persuasive capacities: narrativity is positioned as the basis of the origin of language, developed to enhance the persuasive abilities present in other forms of animal communication.

The first and second chapters are dedicated to the selective pressures of persuasive communication and to the distinctive traits that make storytelling an effective tool of persuasion: by referring to an extensive literature, the author shows that the ability to influence other individuals is widespread in animal species able to communicate. Ferretti draws a line of continuity between animal communication and human language and argues that the latter evolved starting from narratives, a tool which enhanced human persuasive effectiveness. From this point of view, the narrative competence that characterizes human communication is both the distinctive element of language and the link to other forms of animal communication.

The third chapter opens with a contrast between the Language First Hypothesis and the Narrative First Hypothesis that can be summarized as follows: language or narrative, which appeared first? The Language First Hypothesis establishes the primacy of language over thought and considers narrative as the product of language; by contrast, the Narrative First Hypothesis, favoured by Ferretti, supports the primacy of narrative thought over language. Discussing the evolutionary patterns which explain how language has a narrative foundation, the author examines the question of how our ancestors began to tell stories by "inventing" a new communication system.

Ferretti argues that narrative competence presupposes a "narrative brain" and thus to analyze the narrative foundation of language we must study the cognitive systems underlying the brain of our ancestors. The concept of the narrative brain refers to a brain capable of representing reality in a narrative form before the means emerge to share narrative representations of reality. Ferretti then analyzes the Social Brain Hypothesis (Dunbar 2009), arguing that the social brain, although necessary for the origin of language, is not sufficient to account for narrative competence. In particular, the Social Brain Hypothesis is unable to answer two fundamental questions: a) how is it possible to represent reality in the form of stories before and in the absence of language?; b) how is it possible to justify the hypothesis that our predecessors had a narrative brain before they began to tell stories? What is needed, Ferretti notes, is a cognitive macro-system whose study

enables us to give structural and functional substance to the Narrative Brain Hypothesis, i.e. the hypothesis of the existence of narrative thought and a narrative brain in the absence of language.

The cognitive macro-system is addressed in the fourth chapter, which discusses how it is possible to think in a narrative way in the absence of language – that is, how narrative thought could be the pre-condition of narrative communication. The hypothesis advanced by Ferretti, using extensive empirical and clinical literature that includes his previous works, is that the narrative brain is equipped with structures that allow individuals to navigate in space and time. This macro-system is called the Triadic System of Grounding and Projection (TSGP) and composed of mindreading systems, Mental Time Travel and Mental Space Travel (Ferretti 2010, 2015, 2016). In the absence of language, the narrative brain would have been made possible, therefore, by this mindreading system underlying the social brain and by spatio-temporal navigation devices – also present in other non-human animals and independent of communication.

In the fifth chapter, Ferretti's goal is twofold: to show that it is possible to tell stories without language and to argue that narrative communication is the evolutionary precondition of language emergence. In particular, the author argues that narrative thought – made possible by the Triadic System of Grounding and Projection – is communicated from our ancestors in narrative forms of expression. It is the pantomime that Ferretti indicates as the first narrative form of communication. A multimodal and poly-semiotic system of expression, pantomime consists of a "performance that resembles an action of some kind and can thus evoke ideas of the action itself, an associated action, object, or event, or a combination thereof" (Arbib 2012, 217). Specifically, the hypothesis is that pantomime is the evolutionary precondition of language, a form of protolanguage that made possible the transition from thinking in the form of stories to telling actual stories to others without language. In a second phase, to further enhance human persuasive abilities, verbalization and a complex grammar arise, allowing the development of argumentative forms of persuasion.

Across the book's five chapters, Feretti identifies and then

argumentatively severs the Achilles' heels of dominant models in the cognitive and evolutionary study of language, presenting an innovative hypothesis on language evolution based on the pragmatic and rhetorical traits of human communication (for a philosophical foundation of a pragma-rhetorical perspective, see Piazza 2008, 2017).

The great merit of the book is in its balanced dialogue between different research fields; it uses scientific and empirical data blended with detailed theoretical reflection to create a successful interdisciplinary discussion. The arguments are clearly and presented, making it easy to follow, even for novice readers. While the problem of the origins of language may never be definitively resolved, Ferretti's work triumphs in providing an interesting framework for new and exciting investigations on the topic.

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Book Review

Telecinematic Stylistics. Edited by Christian Hoffmann and Monika Kirner-Ludwig. Bloomsbury Academic, 2020. IBSN: 978-1-3500-4285-8, 335 pp.

This is the first edited collection published under the terminology of 'telecinematic stylistics', establishing a stepping stone for a wider consideration of the potential posed by the discourse of film and television for linguists. As its name suggests, _telecinematic stylistics_ is concerned with the style of cinema and television, a cross-discipline between traditional film studies and stylistic enquiry. Before the field of telecinematic stylistics had been fully recognised, Dan McIntyre (309) argued that the two fields focused on different properties of artefacts: while film studies relies on the visuals, stylistics highlights the 'dramatic texts rather than dramatic performances'. However, this view has changed over time. This volume brings to the forefront the foundations of this incipient field of enquiry by collating thirteen case studies which use various stylistic frameworks to analyse the text and co-text of film discourse.

Telecinematic stylistics draws its name from its central object of analysis, 'telecinematic discourse', which has been described as

> an exploration of spoken and written language used in fictional/narrative film and television from various perspectives and discussing different kinds of data. [...] [It] attempts to understand, describe and define such language in its relation to real life and in consideration of its functions within the fictional narrative. (Piazza et al, 1).

Following this, Christian Hoffman and Monika Kirner-Ludwig begin *Telecinematic Stylistics* by advancing a definition in the Introduction (5) which proposes a reactualisation of its objects of interest, referring to the discipline as an exploration of the visuals, sound and written language of cinema.

There are three noteworthy methodological issues brought forward in the Introduction, which are *the complexity problem, the transcription issue* and *the participation complex* (for a comprehensive account, see 6-8). Even though all the contributions differ in their expansions of telecinematic stylistics, they converge in their aim to address these specific concerns in their own ways and according to the material available at the time. The volume achieves what Michael Toolan (104, see also 2014) describes as a 'blend of several modalities', that is, an analysis which systematically and accurately balances the relevant techniques in both film and cinematic sound.

The contributions have been grouped under three important areas of interest in telecinematic stylistics: *film discourse, cinematic discourse* and *intertextuality/intermediality*. While these are an attempt at thematically organising the chapters into three main areas of inquiry which deal with the script, the visuals and the processes of adaptation, Hoffmann and Kirner-Ludwig acknowledge the existing blurriness of some of the papers and the potential for future inquiries to explore more than one avenue at the same time.

The chapters in the first part focus exclusively on various language patterns and their connotations, such as the role of demonstratives building audience expectations and characterisation (Pavesi), exploring language variation in television discourse using The Sydney Corpus of Television Dialogue (Bednarek), conflict strategies in soap operas (Jautz and Minow), and minute visual humorous instances, important in defining the trigger mechanisms of humour (Messerli).

The second part focuses on the formal visual features and strategies which facilitate multimodal delivery. This extends analysis to the portrayal of minority communities of travellers and gypsies in three documentaries (Piazza); the interplay of diegetic and non-diegetic narrator voices in documentaries (Chovanec); the multimodal representation of autism spectrum disorder in television (Reichelt);

the application of Grice's cooperative principle (1975) to horror film cinematography, more importantly to film shots and cuts (Schubert); and the advertising persuasiveness of trailers (Krebs).

The third and final part deals with issues of intertextuality or intermediality, which compare and contrast the transfer of techniques and characteristics from one medium to another: the adaptation of medieval motifs, speech patterns and settings to modern audiences (Kirner-Ludwig); the study of 'graphic cinema', or the adaptation of comics to the big screen (Sanchez-Stockhammer); the analysis of the process and effects of 'good quality' Closed Captions for the deaf and hard of hearing (Dahne and Piazza); and a look at the reflexive consciousness of creators and their consistency across their work (Gordejuela).

Collectively, these papers succeed in their intention to demonstrate that telecinematic research is able to contribute original analyses to the stylistic field. The volume does not favour one approach over another but unites case studies accomplished through quantitative methods (Pavesi, Bednarek, Jauntz and Minow, Reichelt), mixed methods (Messerli), and qualitative approaches (Piazza, Schubert, Sanchez-Stockhammer, Dahne and Piazza, Gordejuela). It explores an assortment of genres, subgenres, and hybrid genres: feature films in general (Pavesi), soap operas (Jautz and Minow), comedy/drama (Reichelt), horror (Schubert), television sitcoms (Messerli), documentaries and broadcast performances (Piazza; Chovanec), film trailers (Krebs), historical productions (Kirner-Ludwig), and adaptations (Sanchez-Stockhammer). Likewise, it does not focus on just one type of film discourse but includes a range of analyses of cinematic dialogue and monologue, of on-screen or off-screen narrators and characters, and of diegetic and non-diegetic sounds.

As Hoffman (13) argues in the Introduction, this volume is by no means an exhaustive account of the possibilities existing at the moment in the field to study cinematic discourse, but provides a springboard. It is an eclectic assortment of methodologies, frameworks and genres which challenges the boundaries previously set by analyses performed on the telecinematic medium. Of great interest is the way in which this volume, while recognising the merits of current research, aspires to even greater avenues. This anthology

offers a practical starting point for more comprehensive analysis, such as Monika Bednarek's argument that The Sydney Corpus can be useful in comparisons not only of characters residing in the same series but also of those in other series, or how Christoph Schubert's analysis contributes preliminary insights into the (non-)cooperative aspect of horror film cinematography. Furthermore, it touches on the need to explore certain areas which are even more prevalent in contemporaneous film and television, such as character diversity and its cinematographic representation, as argued by Susan Reichelt.

There is an overarching sense across various chapters that the motivation behind the research has been informed by personal beliefs and expectations, on behalf of the researcher or a larger community. It would have been fascinating to include viewer data, because, as Christoph Schubert (200) argues, creators 'appeal to their target group through the process of *audience design*'. Future accounts could also focus more, or in greater detail, on other formal features, for example the audio track, or better balance the linguistic and visual analysis.

This volume is nonetheless a valuable contribution to the discipline, presenting both the foundations and the current concerns of telecinematic stylistics through the inclusion of valuable methodologies, major concepts, theoretical frameworks, and a consideration of possible developments. It unites significant analyses which, even three years after its publication, are influential in terms of their range of theoretical approaches and findings. Along these lines, the strengths of this volume span a number of areas: clarifying the analytical requirements for explorations of this nature, challenging the problems and any pre-existing biases of other fields regarding authorial choices, and, maybe one of the most important tenets, the creative potential of these forays. I believe that, as in any other newly-emerging field, there will always be new avenues to explore and novel opportunities to develop – but then we all start from somewhere! As Christian Hoffmann reiterates in the Introduction, 'the best is yet to come' (13).

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Book Review

Style in Narrative: Aspects of an Affective-Cognitive Stylistics By Patrick Colm Hogan. Oxford University Press, 2021. ISBN: 9780197539590, pp303.

In this book, Patrick Colm Hogan attempts to answer challenging questions such as "What is style?" and "What purposes are served by style?" when discussing narratives. He proposes to answer these questions through formulating a new theory of style, an approach he defines as *affective-cognitive stylistics*. This new methodology stems from his notion that the way the academic discipline of *stylistics* is currently defined in literary study can be unclear. According to Hogan, at times stylistics is too narrow compared to what the name of "stylistics" suggests, in that it is confined to the analysis of linguistic features of a text despite the term "style" being used in other ways, such as discussing the stylistic features of a story as part of a narrative. At the same time, he argues that stylistics is sometimes used too broadly when referred to as an academic discipline, in that it is often used to include anything that connects linguistic study with literature, even though much of this may not be directly related to style as a literary concept. Hogan also notes that any discussion of style in literary study should integrate research on emotion, stating that "without emotion, one does not have a literary work, at least not a literary work that anyone would care to read" (2). However, he aims to avoid confusion with broader concepts of

emotion that are included in fields such as *affective narratology*, focusing only on how emotion and cognitive processing are inseparably linked. It is the combination of these ideas from stylistics and affective narratology, while being separate from both, that leads to his defined approach of affective-cognitive stylistics. Following the introduction, in which Hogan presents a wide-ranging theoretical discussion of what constitutes style supported by examples of verbalization, the book is divided into three parts: Part I discusses literary style, including story structure and verbal narration; Part II discusses style in film, including perceptual interface and painterly cinema, employment, and visual narration; and Part III discusses stylistic choices in graphic narratives.

In the first chapter of Part I, Hogan begins by providing his definition of style and a discussion of authorial intent. He then presents a detailed analysis of the internal and external levels of literary style; the internal levels are divided between story and discourse, with discourse being summarised through the three components of communication, plot, and verbalization, while the storyworld level is examined through textual, authorial, genre, and stylistic patterns, such as rhythm in text, or the use of sound and visual techniques to highlight the themes of a film. Both the internal and external levels are supported by examples from *Mrs. Dalloway* by Virginia Woolf, with the exception of textualization, which is supported with an example from Chinese poetry. This is done to demonstrate how stylistic patterning in the typesetting of a text (such as in the number of strokes in a written Chinese character) can influence its interpretation. Hogan uses the Chinese example because this form of textualization in European prose is "generally [...] understood as something added by publishers [...] thus it is not part of the literary work proper" (49). However, it would have been interesting to see Hogan also use an English language example, such as *House of Leaves* by Mark Danielewski, which makes use of various typesetting techniques (such as writing text upside down or vertically) as a form of thematic representation. This discussion is followed by chapter 2, which focuses on a discussion of how story genres are combined to create individual story style in works by William Shakespeare, and

chapter 3, which focuses on verbal narration in William Faulkner's *As I Lay Dying*.

In Part II, chapter 4, Hogan moves on to discuss style in film, presenting an overview of the theoretical principles that are required to understand film style. Hogan focuses on the differences between literary and film style, namely in the matters of medium and perceptual interface. This begins with a discussion on the extrinsic and intrinsic norms in cinema, particularly highlighting the differences between literature and cinema (particularly Hollywood cinema) in wealth and distribution, as well as in national tradition (such as Japanese cinema) or a movement (such as the French New Wave). A brief discussion on stylistic scope in film follows, with the key difference being the individual "authorial scope" in literature and the more collaborative "auteurial scope" in cinema. Finally, there is again an examination of discourse and storyworld levels, with comparisons made to literature. Hogan argues that while the greatest similarities between literature and film can be found in the content of the story that is told, the greatest differences are found in the discourse of *how* the story is told. While highlighting these differences throughout Part II, Hogan also makes references to the parallels between film and literature, with the structure of Part II being parallel to Part I. In chapter 4, Hogan uses the film adaptation of *As I Lay Dying* for his supporting examples, drawing direct comparison with the literary version in chapter 3. Chapter 5 focuses on the perceptual interface of films, the process of how the cinematic visuals chosen to portray the story contribute to style, parallel to the process of verbalisation in chapter 1, the process of how the words chosen to convey the story contribute to style. Chapter 6 focuses on emplotment, the organisation of story information in film, parallel to the focus on story genre in literature in chapter 2, while chapter 7 discusses visual narration in parallel to the verbal narration in a single work in chapter 3. Ultimately Hogan argues that the definition of style remains the same for film as it was for literature, while the scope is parallel, and the greatest divergences can be found in narration.

Part III begins with a discussion of Benoît Peeters' theory of graphic narrative, before moving on to discuss functions of style in graphic narrative, specifically the perceptual interface. This includes some examples from art Spiegelman's *Maus* and Marjane Satrapi's *Persepolis* to highlight the particular perceptual features of graphic narratives, including layout and panels. Once more, Hogan discusses patterns in the narratological levels of storyworld, story, narration, and plot, as well as book and chapter organisation, with clear comparisons made to verbal novels. Again, Hogan summarises this chapter by concluding "the stylistic principles of graphic narrative carry over from literature and film" (267) while highlighting the differences in perceptual interface.

Overall, Hogan succeeds in providing a comprehensive discussion of style in different forms of narrative with extensive but necessary examples. Novice readers might struggle at times with some of the more complex ideas involved in narratological levels, but Hogan makes a good effort to explain these as clearly as possible, generally introducing the ideas in the opening chapter of each part before providing more extensive explanations in the analyses presented in the following chapters. While the section on graphic narratives is shorter than the others, it still presents some interesting comparisons for a medium that is often ignored at this level of academic enquiry. The text ends with an afterword that briefly touches on politics and the political analysis of style with specific references to the Trump administration. Considering the increasing importance and impact of political discourse in modern politics, this could potentially be an important area for future exploration of the effectiveness of Hogan's theory of affective-cognitive stylistics.

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